



Formalization of Education Management: A Challenge to Indonesia's Traditional Pesantren System

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ABSTRACT

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Purpose Efforts to improve education quality through formalization have resulted in the disorientation of *pesantren* education (i.e., education conducted at traditional Islamic boarding schools), and even created a dilemma in everyday life dynamics of these institutions. This study seeks to understand how the formalization process occurs in *pesantren* and what factors hinder the formalization of *pesantren* education management. This study also seeks to understand the implications of formalization for the traditions of these institutions. **Methodology** The study applied a descriptive-qualitative approach, with data collected through observations, interviews, and document reviews

Findings. This study finds that formal education management systems limit the ability of *pesantren* to adapt to new challenges and demands. At the same time, formalization has eroded the traditional characteristics of these institutions, including the dignity of the *Kyai* and the values of independence, simplicity, and submission. *Pesantren* have been required to transform their cultural management systems into structural ones, and their family-based leadership models into professional ones. These institutions have not rejected change but sought to accommodate it by maximizing the potential of new systems. **Implications to Research and Practice** Future research should consider a range of *pesantren* to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how the formalization of education management influences such institutions.

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Introduction

The Indonesian education system much depends upon *pesantren* education system, which is the education conducted at traditional Islamic boarding schools. In recent times, efforts have been made to improve education quality through formalization, which has, however, resulted in disorientation of *pesantren* education and even created a dilemma in the everyday life dynamics of these institutions. The *pesantren*, have experienced significant changes subsequently and begun to lose their social influence. Recognizing graduates' anxiety when entering general society, where formal education is preferred over informal education, some *pesantren* have transformed themselves by abandoning their traditional management systems and even such values as freedom and autonomy, simplicity, and submission (Bashori, 2017; Faizin, 2015; Rizal, 2011; Suheri, 2016; Suradi, 2018). According to Ahmad Najib Afandi, only 10% of Indonesia's 14,798 *pesantren* have maintained their traditional values. The remainder have become "accommodations" for students to study Islam after learning science, social studies, mathematics, and citizenship, which are no longer viewed as *haram* (forbidden) but *fard* (compulsory) (Afandi, 2007).

Talking about *pesantren* leadership, of course it must involve an ideal system in *pesantren*. In order to create an ideal Islamic boarding school education system, it must have leaders who are adaptive, selective, independent, strong and hold on steadfast in the values of Islamic teachings (Fajarudin, 2022). In addition, the criterion for a *Kyai* who can lead a boarding school well is a *Kyai* who is democratic but also has charismatic traits (Imaduddin, 2021). Although the types of *Kyai* are indeed different, some are modern with transformational (Mukri & Tamam, 2021), some are traditional by making their children their successors (Kastamin, Tamam, & Afif, 2021). Meanwhile, charismatic leadership can build an organizational culture (Amarullah & Prayoga, 2020). The problem is, empirically, based on the author's observations, that the *Kyai* leadership at the Darul A'mal Lampung Islamic boarding school does not have good regeneration. It is evidenced by the lack of religious knowledge from the sons of the *pesantren* caregivers. In addition, they also do not have expertise in the field of management education.

Darul A'mal Metro Lampung Islamic Boarding School was the research destination for the current study. The rationale for conducting this research was to uncover several cases that the researchers addressed in real terms based on observations, namely the management of the *pesantren*, the leadership of the *Kyai* and their generation, as well as the education system, because good leadership involves a good education system too. Meanwhile, at the Darul A'mal Metro Lampung Islamic Boarding School, this was not good in terms of education management.

The basic problem of any failed institutional journeys is usually found in poor educational management. The main cause is the lack of understanding of the community-based education management model (Wahyudin et al., 2021), *Kyai*-based, collaboration-based between stakeholders, and so on. In addition, the failure of *pesantren* management can be seen in the ineffective management of character education such as being religious, honest, and tolerant, disciplined, and loving the country. Even though education management based on the tradition of *pesantren* with planning, organizing, implementing, and evaluating can make *pesantren* successful in managing the education system within it (Atikah, Satibi, & Fauziah, 2021). Good *pesantren* management must also focus on several

things, namely the focus on planning, organization, control, communication, decisions, functional management, and quality management (Salamun & Sa'diyah, 2021). The problem is based on the author's observation that the Darul A'mal Metro Lampung Islamic Boarding School had not fully implemented nor focused on some of these significant management factors.

This article seeks to fill the gap in studies of education management, which have failed to analyze these institutions dynamic response to government and social demands for formalization. This study departs from three arguments. First, the formalization of education management in *pesantren* has transformed these institutions' traditional values. Consequently, formalization has caused these institutions to lose their unique identity as Islamic educational institutions that strictly adhere to traditional principles. Second, the formalization of *pesantren* has resulted in their administration being static, rather than dynamic (as under the traditional system), and as such this formalization has faced both internal and external resistance. Third, the formalization of *pesantren* education has reduced the influence of the *Kyai* in these institutions and in their communities. *Kyai* have consequently lost their authority in today's ever-changing society, as have the *pesantren*. Thus, the purpose of this study was to answer several problems, namely; (a): How is education management formalized in *pesantren*; (b): What factors hinder the formalization of education management in *pesantren*; and (c): How does the formalization of education management in *pesantren* influence the traditions of these institutions?

Literature Review

• Education Management

Moloney and Pettersen (2016) define management as encompassing all of the everyday practices used to ensure the comfort of members of an organization in order to achieve a shared goal. Hallinger (2019) adds that management plays a central role in organizational advancement. In education, management is necessary to ensure that institutional needs are fulfilled effectively and efficiently (Romlah, 2016). According to Romlah (2016), education management is necessary to anticipate the global transformations that are precipitated by advances in science and information technology. Such advances occur rapidly, and as such educational institutions must continually adapt themselves to remain competitive and optimize their output. Only through optimal management can educational institutions provide quality education and realize their goals (Romlah, 2016).

Studies of *pesantren* management generally fall into three categories. First are those studies that examine the processes through which *pesantren* change and adapt to new demands and developments (Asifudin, 2016; Sagala, 2015). Second are those studies that examine the resources of *pesantren* as well as said resources use in empowering students and administrators (Arifin, 2014; Baroroh, 2006; Faj, 2011; Fauzi, 2017; Qodir, 2013; Siregar, 2018). Third, studies have examined these institutions' management of their finances and assets, particularly their efforts to guarantee their economic independence (Arifin, 2017a; hendi Suhendi, 2018; Marlina & Almunawwaroh, 2016; Prasetyo, 2017; Priatna et al., 2018; Sulaiman et al., 2016). It may thus be surmised that structural considerations, particularly within the context of management reform in response to macro-level policies, have yet to receive significant attention.

Education management is not only used by formal institutions, but also by informal ones such as *pesantren*, where values of faith and piety are emphasized. The implementation of education management in *pesantren* cannot be separated from the activities of planning, organizing, motivating, conforming, and evaluating, all of which require a high level of discipline to implement maximally, as seen in the Gontor *Pesantren* (Faj, 2011). *Pesantren* must open themselves and their eyes to the outside world, understanding and anticipating global phenomena to mitigate any clashes that would threaten their sustainability. At the same time, mutual symbiosis is necessary to ensure that *pesantren* can contribute to global discourse, accumulate resources, and empower themselves. This will enable such traditional institutions to survive in an increasingly modern world (Munir, 2018; Untung, 2011).

There is a gap in education management between existing theories and the Darul A'mal Metro Lampung Islamic boarding school. This Islamic boarding school has not fully implemented the Islamic Boarding School Education Management theory in the perspective of Dr. KH. Abdullah Syukri Zarkasyi, especially in discipline that facilitates a maximize return. In addition, in terms of learning evaluation carried out by the Darul A'mal Islamic boarding school, it is necessary to prioritize a more modern education system.

- **Formalization of Pesantren Education**

Education is foundational in personal and cultural development (Nurmadiansyah, 2016). As the oldest educational institutions in Indonesia, *pesantren* have contributed significantly to the shaping of the ummah (Arifin, 2013). As times have changed, *pesantren* have been forced to adapt (Subhi, 2016). This can be seen in their formalization, which is used in the political-administrative domain to refer to the proliferation and application of formally and explicitly defined values for managing individual behaviors within an organizational context (Woelert, 2015). According to Maksum (Yahya, 2017), formalization may involve the application of state regulations in accordance with specific criteria. In the context of *pesantren* education, formalization may include the revision of curricula to include general knowledge and/or the use of educational institutions and facilities for general purposes (Zaini Tamin, 2018). The fundamental philosophy of *pesantren* has thus transformed in order to accommodate the changing needs of society.

Historically, *pesantren* have been independent institutions, meaning that they have had the right to administer themselves using their own strategies and approaches. Over time, however, this has changed as *pesantren* have interacted with public education systems and as general knowledge has been incorporated into their curricula (Subhi, 2016). These institutions of Islamic education no longer rely exclusively on indigenous and traditional approaches such as *halaqah*, *wetonan*, *bandongan*, and *sorogan*; many have adopted westernized systems and models (Abdullah, 2013). Steenbrink notes that *pesantren* have been formalized by incorporating non-religious materials into their curricula, creating "integrated madrasahs" with both religious and secular materials (Zaini Tamin, 2018). Furthermore, as many *pesantren* have begun referring to guidelines provided by the Department of Education and Culture when planning and implementing their learning activities, their structures and processes are nearly identical to those of public schools.

The real problem at the Darul A'mal Metro Lampung Islamic boarding school is the shift in the meaning of leadership and management of the *pesantren*. This is a fundamental problem, for example there is a leadership culture that is not passed on to their children, regulations that have followed the Office of Education and Culture, and no authority for *pesantren* to regulate freely. Although the author realizes that in fostering Islamic boarding schools, of course, it must be based on theory management good education.

- **The De-authorization of Traditional Leaders**

Leadership is defined as the process through which individuals influence others to create organizational change and betterment (Antes, Mart, & DuBois, 2016). All leaders are expected to have several key competencies: 1) an ability to convey their vision of the future to others; 2) interpersonal skills that enable them to effectively interact with others; 3) personal skills that enable them to endure and persevere in the face of difficulty (Muhammad, 2014). Leadership is dynamic, and leaders can lose their authority where they lack dominance and decision-making power (Koschmann et al., 2017). Where more rational and national systems are implemented, this de-authorization can erode the quality of traditional authority (legitimacy, charisma, and trust). Although these leaders retain their titles and their support, they lose their ability to influence society. To ensure that traditional leadership is maintained, authority and legitimacy are thus necessary (Mansur, Sofianto, & Mahzuni, 2013).

Kyai, as the central figures in *pesantren*, have significant leadership power, and even at the village level they can help determine the future of the nation (Abd Rohim, 2015). *Kyai* and their students (*santri*) establish effective kinship networks based on ethics and aesthetics, which are used to influence broader society (Abd Rohim, 2015). *Pesantren* can use their political influence to facilitate their provision of educational services. However, has a boomerang effect; many have criticized *pesantren* for their political activities. First, the quality of education suffers when *Kyai* and other *pesantren* leaders focus on politics. Second, *pesantren* are perceived as supporting pragmatic politics, wherein votes are exchanged for money, and this distances *pesantren* from their communities. Third, local communities oppose political decisions that they perceive as purely interest-driven (Saidin & Ferry Muhammadsyah, 2010).

Therefore, empirically, researchers see that the Darul A'mal Metro Lampung Islamic Boarding School has a system shift management. The management system that forms the basis for *pesantren* will change all aspects, for example teachers, learning, materials, and regulations. This Islamic boarding school has begun to be seen, for example, the shift from classic to modern which is indicated by the existence of certificates for students who have graduated equivalent to formal education. This formalization is a fundamental issue for stakeholders at the Darul A'mal Metro Lampung Islamic boarding school.

Method

- **Research Design**

A qualitative research design was adopted for the study, mainly relying on phenomenological and naturalistic data. Since this study was conducted at the Darul A'mal *Pesantren* in West Metro, Metro, Lampung, the study employed an accommodative model recognizing the formal schools offering traditional *pesantren* services. Established by the

charismatic *Kyai* Khusnan Musthafa Ghufron, (nicknamed the White Lion), Guardian of the Ulama, this *pesantren* was entrusted to its founder's son after Ghufron's death. Owing to formalization, it lost much of its influence, instead being recognized primarily as a formal educational institution. This *pesantren* was chosen as the research site owing to its being an old *pesantren* established in 1987.

- **Sampling and population**

The key informants of this research were Gus Umar Anshori Khusnan, the son of Khusnan Mustafa Ghufron, the leader of the Darul A'mal *Pesantren*; and Gus Kodratul Sidiq, the brother of Gus Umar. Other informants included *ustad* (religious scholars) and administrators, who were selected through purposive sampling. Collectively, these informants represented the policymakers, managers, and teachers of the Darul A'mal *Pesantren*.

- **Instrument and procedure**

Data were collected through observations of three factors: the physical and geographic condition of the *pesantren*, the people of the *pesantren*, and their behavior. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with informants and a review of the literature. The researchers also participated in several *pesantren* activities to record the situation, events, and knowledge, all of which were necessary for analysis.

- **Data analysis**

Data analysis was conducted inductively, using an interpretative approach both during and after data collection. Data was organized, categorized, and described, then interpreted. A conclusion was ultimately drawn.

Results

- **Formalization of Education Management in Pesantren**

The formalization of education management in *pesantren* has a legal basis in Government Regulation No. 55 of 2007 regarding Religion and Faith, which contains several articles that regulate the religious education provided by *pesantren*. In accordance with this government regulation, the Ministry of Religion issued Regulation of the Minister of Religion No. 3 of 2012 regarding Religious Education. More recently, this matter has been regulated through Law No. 18 of 2019, under which *pesantren* are required to become legal bodies, and to provide formal and non-formal education in accordance with government standards.

Darul A'mal *Pesantren* was established in 1987 as a *salafiyah pesantren* with a strong cultural affiliation with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), one of Indonesia's largest Islamic organizations. It initially taught Islam using non-formal managerial techniques and classical textbooks, and its graduates did not receive diplomas. However, over time, recognizing government and public demands, the administrators of the institution adapted a *mu'adalah* model whose graduates were equal to those of formal schools and madrasahs. Under this system, the *pesantren* not only provided non-formal lessons, but also established its own *madrasah* at the junior and senior high school levels, as well as a vocational school.

This formalization process involved a few stakeholders. The first and foremost of these was the government, which – through the Ministry of Religion – had the authority to issue permits, regulate, and standardize formal religious educational institutions. Formalization also involved a number of outside actors who had never previously been involved with the *pesantren*, including teachers (in charge of formal education), administrators (in charge of infrastructure and finances), human resource officers (in charge of socialization), janitors, and canteen staff. Formalization also required significant changes to the buildings, infrastructure, human resources, administration, and financial management of the *pesantren*, as well as the creation of new linkages with outside stakeholders.

- ***Obstacles to the Formalization of Education Management in Pesantren***

The adoption of a *mu'adalah* model in the Darul A'mal *Pesantren* has transformed the values that have long characterized such institutions, including piety, simplicity, independence, and submission. Previously, education had been entirely under the purview of the *Kyai*. However, it has adapted to formal and legal guidelines, becoming more pragmatic, uniform, and monolithic. When asked why she had entered the profession, one madrasah teacher answered:

"I'm a graduate of teacher's college, and so I became a teacher, because I wanted to earn an income from this profession" (U. Salamah, personal communication, August 22, 2019).

When asked about her understanding of *pesantren*, she answered:

"Because I'm not a graduate of a *pesantren*, I don't really know. To the best of my knowledge *pesantren* graduates know much about Islam, such as Arabic, Islamic jurisprudence, and prayer" (U. Salamah, personal communication, August 22, 2019).

Formalization has not only been manifested in the erosion of existing values, but also in the transformation of managerial processes. Previously, the *Kyai* – as the owner of the *pesantren* – had been the sole leader and manager of the *pesantren*, being assisted by several senior *santri*. However, because of formalization, authority has been redistributed. Madrasahs, despite formally being part of the *pesantren*, require staff with the necessary managerial competencies. This can be seen, for example, in financial matters. Where the *pesantren* had previously relied on its *santri* to manage its assets, formalization has necessitated the hiring of professional staff who required adequate payment. Before formalization, the fields owned by the *pesantren* had been worked voluntarily by *santri*, with the harvests being used to support the institution. Such a practice is untenable today. Many *santri* and their guardians feel that, as they have paid for an education, they are only required to focus on their studies; other activities, such as asset management, are no longer viewed as compulsory.

The formalization of *pesantren* management has received diverse responses, and the difference has been felt acutely by individuals who dealt with the *pesantren* before it began formalization. One local resident, who had interacted with the *santri* since the institution's establishment, stated:

"Before, when the *pesantren* was first established, I experienced for myself how the *santri* were. Many came from around here, while some came a significant distance. They were simple, polite, and friendly in their interactions with others. However, now I am having trouble distinguishing between the *santri* and the ordinary students, especially since there are many boarders around here". (Rudi, personal communication, August 17, 2019).

Students also mentioned the differences between the formal and non-formal systems. As one informant stated:

"My parents told me to study at the Madrasah Aliyah here, while living in the *pesantren* and studying religion. However, after I started, I felt it was very difficult, because I did not only have to study at the *pesantren* but also the numerous subjects in the Madrasah Aliyah. I also didn't like living in the *pesantren*, because the schedule was strict, and I'd often lose my sandals. My phone and the money in my wallet even went missing. In the end, I asked my parents to let me board elsewhere, while I was finishing my studies at the MA. My parents could understand, and so I didn't stay at the *pesantren*, but still studied at its MA" (Dimas, personal communication, August 17, 2019).

Efforts to create an integrated education management model that meets regulatory standards and recent developments were also recognized by *pesantren* leaders.

"Now, if a *pesantren* relies on old models of learning like before, people would abandon them. As a *pesantren* administrator, I need to consider the future of my *santri*. After they graduate, they need a recognized diploma that they can use to continue their studies or apply for work, or for other purposes. Looking only at the *pesantren*, it faces difficulty in developing because it has significant needs. That's why we established our own schools. But those schools are still under the *pesantren*, and so we can continue to develop" (G. Umar Anshori, personal communication, August 22, 2019).

From these interviews, it is apparent that *pesantren* have been expected to adapt to the changing times. Parents have been generally unwilling to send their children to *pesantren*, especially those that have continued applying a traditional approach. As such, *pesantren* have begun abandoning their traditional models and establishing formal educational institutions. Even where *pesantren* retain their traditional model, they still operate formal schools. This has occurred throughout Indonesia, including in Java.

Therefore, these obstacles become opportunities as well as challenges in today's modern times. This challenge must be resolved by the *pesantren*, both in terms of the quality of its human resources, as well as challenges coming from financial sources. Another challenge regarding this formalization of course comes from the government which requires it to follow all the regulations that have been set. This is more challenging since the Darul A'mal Metro Lampung Islamic boarding school is currently experiencing a shift from classic boarding schools to modern boarding schools. On the positive side, in today's modern era, Darul A'mal Islamic boarding school can be better in terms of administration, once it shifts to modern form as a result of formalization.

- ***The Influence of Formalization on the Educational Traditions of Pesantren***

Pesantren are broadly recognized as having several unique characteristics, including the reproduction of fundamental values through the *Kyai*, the *santri*, and the *ustad*. Because these institutions were established to promote community service and Islamic piety, *pesantren* were culturally recognized as financially and academically independent educational institutions. *Pesantren* also promoted simplicity, as well as participation in all aspects of society. Local communities felt themselves to be part of the *pesantren* and consulted the *Kyai* when making decisions.

In the case of Darul A'mal *Pesantren*, its founder Khusnan Musthafa Ghufron was not only perceived as a leader by *santri*, but also by the community throughout Lampung. After being educated in such an environment, *santri* were expected to open their own *pesantren* elsewhere. This situation changed, however, since the formalization system was introduced for all institutions, which resulted in the *pesantren* losing their flexibility, becoming less independent and more structural.

At the same time, formalization transformed leadership from familial to professional. In the past, leadership of Darul A'mal *Pesantren* was inherited; upon the death of the *Kyai*, his eldest son would become the new *Kyai*, as he occupied a special position and was given special recognition. The sons of *Kyai* were given the honorific title "Gus". For example, KH Khusnan Musthafa Ghufron had three sons: Gus Umar Anshori Ghufron (the current leader of the *pesantren*), Gus Kodratullah Sidiq, and Gus Isro' Sulthoni (both members of the foundation). However, despite occupying important formal positions, these men lacked their father's authority and influence. This can be attributed not only to them having less religious knowledge than their father, but also to them no longer being the sole managers of the *pesantren*.

Under the current hybrid system, wherein the *pesantren* operates its own madrasahs, the institution is restricted by formal regulations and must search for professional labor elsewhere. The previous system, wherein the *Kyai* was assisted by senior *santri*, can no longer be employed. The educational system, which once accommodated diversity, must now conform to outside curricula. Traditionally, *pesantren* have employed an open system, accepting any *santri* at the discretion of the *Kyai*. Under this system, *pesantren* operated independently, without government intervention. The formalization of education management has forced *pesantren* to employ a uniform and singular approach, a process that is still ongoing (Ishari, 2014). The madrasahs opened by these institutions, meanwhile, have had to follow government-set curricula and standards. *Santri* are given the opportunity to receive a diploma, known as a *mu'adalah*, but must write a government-drafted equivalency examination to do so. Consequently, *pesantren* – including the *Kyai* – must orient them towards the competency standards set by the government.

Discussion

The formalization of education management at *pesantren* has significant implications for their institutional survival as well as the perpetuation of their traditional values. *Pesantren*, which have existed in the Indonesian archipelago for centuries and developed diverse forms, have begun losing their unique characteristics. Despite remaining identified as *pesantren*, these are no longer indigenous educational institutions, but hybrid ones with different forms and types (Arifin, 2017b; Maulida, 2017; Zulhingga, 2013), being identified variously as "modern *pesantren*," "combination *pesantren*," "mixed *pesantren*," "integrated *pesantren*," etc. (Alwi, 2013).

The institutional transformation of *pesantren* also has implications for the foundational values that have enabled them to endure through the centuries. The loss of such values as simplicity, independence, and submission has broad and complex consequences. Such traits, once commonly practiced and internalized by *santri*, are no longer common. These noble values have given way to more pragmatic, static, uniform, and mathematic ones, and this has undermined the goal of providing an Islamic education.

Formalization generally leads to standardization, and standardization is usually measured in terms of institutions' ability to apply these standards without discrimination; this has been shown by several previous studies (Hidayatullah, 2015; Sidiq, 2013). This has also occurred in *pesantren*, where unique traditions and characteristics have been eroded by formalization. Recognition of this tendency underpinned the debate and discussion that emerged as the *Pesantren* Law was being drafted. Opponents of the law feared that, with the introduction of government regulations, *pesantren* would lose their genuineness, while supporters suggested that government regulation and support would facilitate their institutional and economic survival.

Formalization, in conjunction with standardized education management, can cause significant shock. *Pesantren* must change their ideologies and accommodate new values and techniques, and such transformations cannot be readily accepted by members and affiliates of these organizations (Moorhead & Griffin, 2013; Purhantara, 2009; Sutirman, 2005; Wijaya, 2011). It is thus not surprising that formalization has faced resistance, both open and covert, even as government standards have been begrudgingly adopted.

It may thus be surmised that the formalization of education management in *pesantren* has only been accepted half-heartedly, as these institutions fear that it will erode their very essence. Many are unwilling to abandon their deep-rooted institutional values, but nonetheless are forced to embrace new values that are different than or even opposed to their own. In the social sciences, this phenomenon is known as culture shock (Kracke, 2001; Presbitero, 2016), a condition wherein one must accept and adapt to an entirely different culture.

As the *Kyai* have lost influence and as the cultural values of *pesantren* have changed, these educational institutions have lost their nobility and authority in their society. The title *Kyai*, which is traditionally bestowed upon individuals with a deep knowledge of Islam, has been contaminated by globalization (Khanif, 2011; Mundry & Bariroh, 2018; Musaropah, 2018). Traditionally, *Kyai* have been venerated as wise authority figures who impart their students with wisdom and moral fortitude. Some months ago, a viral video depicted an incident at a *pesantren* where a parent raged through a *pesantren* in Pekanbaru, Riau, even hitting an *ustad* because his son had been expelled from the *pesantren* and would be unable to write his final examinations. This example shows that formalization is associated with several complex phenomena, including a loss of respect for *pesantren* and their staff as well as an expectation that these institutions provide the same services as formal schools.

Such transformations seemingly confirm the view that, the more advanced and modern a society, the more likely it will abandon its traditions—even when those traditions had been maintained for centuries (Ismanto, Huda, & Maulida, 2012; Mazidah, 2011; Zulfikri, 2005). However, history is replete with examples of traditional values being re-embraced when new values are found to be lacking (Pabbajah et al., 2020). In the current era of modernization and digitization, there is still a desire to restore the traditional order. It is therefore necessary to ensure that *pesantren* retain their traditional characteristics and values, even as they are formalized to meet the demands of the times.

Conclusion

Formalization, long identified as a means of providing quality education, has not had a positive effect on the management of *pesantren*. This study makes three important findings. First, the formalization of education management has transformed the traditional characteristics of *pesantren* as these institutions have been forced to adapt to changing policies. Second, the traditional authority and charisma of the *Kyai*, as well as the cultural values of simplicity, independence, and submission, have been eroded over time. Third, *pesantren* have embraced new practices as they have transformed their cultures and structures, shifting from familial practices to professionalism. It may be seen that *pesantren* do not reject change but accommodate it as they attempt to maximize their potential. Several *pesantren* have thus taken on a more formalistic and modern form.

The perspective used in this study has enabled it to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of how *pesantren* have culturally and managerially transformed their education management systems. The formalization of education management requires significant change, and this has faced both overt and covert resistance from administrators, *santri*, and communities. As such, the formalization of *pesantren* must be reexamined to ensure that these institutions can retain their traditional identities while adapting to the demands of the times.

This study has been limited by its dependence on data from a single *pesantren*, one that has combined formal and non-formal education, and thus cannot provide a comprehensive and comparative understanding. Future studies should thus consider several types of *pesantren* to provide a comprehensive understanding, with a particular focus on the effectiveness of formalization. It is also necessary to consider stakeholders and educators in drafting policies that enable *pesantren* to retain their traditional characteristics. Only then can the quality of education be improved and expected goals are realized.

Theoretically, this research can provide information related to the formalization of education management in educational institutions. Practically, this research can provide an overview regarding good education management and its application. For the academic community of Islamic boarding schools, this research can be a reference in implementing daily activities, providing motivation for students in applying the values of Islamic Education for future researchers to further enrich and refine new findings in terms of management in educational institutions.

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