



Unpacking Social Capital for Growth and Development of Islamic Boarding School

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ABSTRAK

Artikel ini mendeskripsikan dan menganalisis pentingnya modal sosial bagi pertumbuhan dan perkembangan Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al Kamal di Blitar, Jawa Timur. Ini merupakan hasil dari penelitian kualitatif yang bertujuan untuk menggambarkan, mengungkap, dan menjelaskan pentingnya modal sosial bagi Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al Kamal di Blitar, Jawa Timur. Data diperoleh melalui pengamatan, wawancara mendalam, dan dokumentasi, mengikuti prosedur penelitian kualitatif John W. Creswell. Teknik analisis data yang digunakan adalah analisis interaktif, mengikuti prosedur Matthew B. Miles, A.M. Huberman, dan Saldana. Berdasarkan temuan penelitian, dapat disimpulkan bahwa keberadaan pesantren erat kaitannya dengan peran modal sosial. Selain berfungsi sebagai lembaga pendidikan dan agama, pesantren juga berperan penting sebagai lembaga sosial dalam masyarakat. Modal sosial telah menjadi kendaraan untuk pertumbuhan dan perkembangan pesantren. Ini terlihat jelas di Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al Kamal di Blitar, Jawa Timur, di mana pertumbuhan dan perkembangannya sangat terkait dengan modal sosial yang dibangun dan dimiliki. Jenis modal sosial yang dikembangkan oleh pesantren meliputi modal sosial bonding, bridging, dan linking.

ABSTRACT

This article describes and analyzes the significance of social capital for the growth and development of the Integrated Islamic Boarding School Al Kamal in Blitar, East Java. It is the result of qualitative research aimed at illustrating, revealing, and explaining the importance of social capital for the Integrated Islamic Boarding School Al Kamal in Blitar, East Java. Data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation, following John W. Creswell's qualitative research procedures. The data analysis technique used was interactive analysis, following the procedures of Matthew B. Miles, A.M. Huberman, and Saldana. Based on the research findings, it can be concluded that the presence of pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) is closely related to the role of social capital. Besides serving as educational and religious institutions, pesantren also play a crucial role as social institutions within the community. Social capital has become a vehicle for their growth and development. This trend is evident in the Integrated Islamic Boarding School Al Kamal in Blitar, East Java, where its growth and development are intricately connected to the social capital it has built and possesses. The types of social capital developed by the pesantren include bonding social capital, bridging social capital, and linking social capital.

KATA KUNCI

Modal Sosial; Pondok Pesantren.

KEYWORDS

Social Capital; Islamic Boarding School.

A. Introduction

Historically, Islamic boarding schools have been intertwined with the spread of Islam in Indonesia, indicating their enduring presence across various strata of Muslim society in the country.¹ These institutions have earned recognition as educational establishments that have contributed significantly to the intellectual development of the nation. During the colonial era, Islamic boarding schools played a pivotal role in providing education and enlightenment to the Indonesian Muslim community.² It's worth noting that, at the time, many of these schools resisted modernization, assuming a more conservative stance. This perspective can be understood as a consequence of the strong anti-colonial stance adopted by numerous Islamic boarding schools, with modernization often perceived as an offshoot of colonialism.³

Islamic boarding schools can be regarded as the oldest Islamic educational institutions deeply ingrained in Indonesian culture. They have maintained their role as centers for the study and deepening of Islamic sciences and simultaneously acted as centers for the propagation of Islam.⁴ These institutions have continued to thrive, all the while operating independently and without reliance on government subsidies for their sustenance. Their existence hinges on the social capital they accumulate within the society.⁵

This study on social capital should garner significant attention from researchers and writers, especially concerning development issues within society.⁶ Social capital holds a prominent position in the context of community development, mainly because it operates on a bottom-up approach rather

¹ Sadali, "Eksistensi Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam", *Atta'dib: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2020), p. 53.

² Muhammad Hasyim, "Modernisasi Pendidikan Pesantren dalam Perspektif KH. Abdurrahman Wahid", *Cendekia: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2016), p. 168.

³ Syamsul Kurniawan, "Sukarno's Thought on the Importance of Reintegration of Religion and Science in Pesantren Education in Indonesia", *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2018), pp. 221–2.

⁴ Mochamad Nasichin Al Muiz, *Pengembangan Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Telaah Terhadap Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al Kamal Desa Kunir Kecamatan Wonodadi Kabupaten Blitar* (Tulungagung: Akademia Pustaka, 2019), p. 1.

⁵ Sadali, "Eksistensi Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam", p. 53.

⁶ Look: James S. Coleman, *Social Capital in Creation of Human Capital* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Francis Fukuyama, *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and The Reconstitution of Social Order* (Newyork: Free Press, 1999); Alejandro Portes, "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology", *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 24, no. 1 (1998), pp. 1–24; Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and the Revival of the American Community* (Newyork: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

than a top-down one.⁷ This notion is intrinsically tied to the historical trajectory of growth and development within Indonesian indigenous educational institutions like Islamic boarding schools.⁸

Social capital has enabled Islamic boarding schools to maintain their distinctiveness, not only due to their long-standing historical presence but also because of the unique culture, methods, and networks they've cultivated.⁹ Institutions often struggle to grow and evolve without fostering strong, collaborative relationships and networks with relevant social entities.¹⁰ Social capital for Islamic boarding schools should be viewed as an ongoing process rather than a static outcome. It evolves and accumulates over time¹¹, unlike other assets that might deplete. Its quality even improves with frequent utilization.¹²

In this context, several factors shape the formation of social capital, including habits, social positions, education, economic status, and personal values. Trust, norms, and informal networks are the bedrock of social capital, serving as valuable resources.¹³ These elements are interwoven and instrumental in the successful growth and development of an Islamic boarding school.

This observation is evident in the growth and development process of Islamic boarding schools, largely the result of independent efforts by the kyai, assisted by ustadz, santri, and the surrounding community.¹⁴ The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Blitar Regency, East Java, is no exception. Its growth and development are inextricably linked to the accumulated social capital. Social ties and cohesion serve as invaluable assets, underpinning a climate of cooperation essential for the school's advancement, as explored in this article.

This article aims to delineate and analyze the significance of social capital in the growth and development of Islamic boarding schools, specifically focusing on the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Blitar Regency, East Java. To address this, the study seeks to answer two fundamental questions: first, how crucial is social capital in influencing various aspects of the growth

⁷ Rusydan Fathy, "Modal Sosial: Konsep, Inklusivitas dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat", *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2019), p. 2.

⁸ Nurcholis Madjid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren Sebuah Potret Perjalanan* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), p. 59; La Rudi and Husain Haikal, "Modal Sosial Pendidikan Pondok Pesantren", *Harmoni Sosial: Jurnal Pendidikan IPS*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2014), p. 31.

⁹ Arief Eko Priyo Atmojo, "Pesantren dalam Budaya Pendidikan", *Ibda': Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2014), pp. 172–84; Muhammad Idris Usman, "Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam (Sejarah Lahir, Sistem Pendidikan, dan Perkembangannya Masa Kini)", *Jurnal al-Hikmah*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2013), pp. 127–46.

¹⁰ Rusydi Syahra, "Modal Sosial: Konsep dan Aplikasi", *Jurnal Masyarakat dan Budaya*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2003), pp. 1–22.

¹¹ Sadali, "Eksistensi Pesantren Sebagai Lembaga Pendidikan Islam", p. 53.

¹² Baca lebih lanjut: John Field, *Social Capital* (UK: Routledge, 2008).

¹³ Fathy, "Modal Sosial: Konsep, Inklusivitas dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat", p. 3.

¹⁴ Muiz, *Pengembangan Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Telaah Terhadap Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al Kamal Desa Kunir Kecamatan Wonodadi Kabupaten Blitar*, p. 19.

and development of the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School? Second, what forms of social capital contribute to the school's growth and development?

The author's literature review revealed several previous studies that explored the concept of social capital within the context of Islamic boarding schools. These studies encompassed various aspects, including a comprehensive investigation into the relationship between social capital and social change in Islamic boarding schools, a study conducted by Dakir and Umiarso.¹⁵ Additionally, there were examinations of the significance of social capital in specific Islamic boarding schools, with case studies conducted by La Rudi and Husain Haikal regarding Al-Syaikh Abdul Wahid Bau Bau and Ali Maksun Krapyak Islamic Boarding Schools, Imam Sukwatus Suja'i's study on social capital in the Wali Aminah Jombang Islamic Boarding School, and research conducted by Muktirrahman, Muhtadi Ridwan, and Fauzan Zenrif exploring the role of social capital at the Sidogiri Islamic Boarding School.¹⁶

What sets this research apart from previous studies is the specific social context and typology of the Islamic boarding schools examined. Unlike previous research, this article delves into the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School located in Blitar Regency, East Java Province, offering a unique perspective on social capital within this particular educational institution.

The article stems from qualitative research conducted by the author in the year 2000, with the primary objective of describing, revealing, and explaining the role and importance of social capital at the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Blitar Regency, East Java Province. The research involved the collection of data through methods such as observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation, adhering to John W. Creswell's established qualitative research procedures. Data analysis was conducted using interactive analysis techniques, in accordance with the procedures outlined by Matthew B. Miles, A.M. Huberman, and Saldana.¹⁷

B. Profile of The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School, Blitar

Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia have a rich history as the oldest model of Islamic education. They serve as strongholds for the Muslim community, centers for da'wah (religious

¹⁵ Dakir and Umiarso, "Pesantren dan Perubahan Sosial: Optimalisasi Modal Sosial Bagi Kemajuan Masyarakat", *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2017), pp. 1–22.

¹⁶ Muktirrahman, Muhtadi Ridwan, and Fauzan Zenrif, "Peran Modal Sosial Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri dalam Mengembangkan Koperasi Jasa Keuangan Syariah", *Islamic Economics Quotient: Journal of Economics & Business Sharia*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2018), pp. 56–70; Rudi and Haikal, "Modal Sosial Pendidikan Pondok Pesantren", pp. 27–42; Imam Sukwatus Suja'i, "Modal Sosial Pondok Pesantren (Studi Kasus Pondok Pesantren Wali Aminah)", *Jupeko: Jurnal Pendidikan Ekonomi*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2016), pp. 90–104.

¹⁷ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (California: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2009); Matthew B. Miles, A.M. Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*, Fourth edition edition (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2020).

outreach), and catalysts for the development of Muslim society.¹⁸ The term "Islamic Boarding School" or "pesantren" is rooted in its etymology, originating from "pe-santri-an," signifying the place of santri, or students. This designation is reinforced by the common inclusion of the term "pondok" in the names of these institutions. An Islamic boarding school can be understood as a place where students, known as santri, reside and stay to receive guidance from a respected religious scholar, often referred to as a kyai.¹⁹ The primary focus of their education is centered on Islamic teachings. In its broadest sense, an Islamic boarding school serves as an educational institution dedicated to Islamic religious studies, offering facilities such as dormitories for students to live in while they receive their education.²⁰

Within the social environment of Islamic boarding schools, several crucial elements are integral to their functioning. These elements can be categorized into three main groups. The first group comprises the actors, including the kyai (scholar), ustadz (teacher), and administrators. The second group encompasses hardware facilities, such as mosques, kyai's residences, ustadz dormitories, santri dormitories, and various physical infrastructure necessary for the educational process. The third group consists of software facilities, including educational objectives, curriculum content (including the recitation of classic Islamic texts like "kitab klasik" or "kitab kuning", assessment methods, rules, teaching methodologies, and other educational tools.²¹ These three groups of elements collectively contribute to the effective functioning and fulfillment of the diverse roles of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesian society.

Islamic boarding schools, or pesantren, have evolved over time and adapted to the changing socio-political, socio-cultural, socio-economic, and socio-religious dynamics of their respective eras.²² Islamic boarding schools, or pesantren, in Indonesia possess distinctive characteristics that set them apart from other Islamic educational institutions. These unique features, as highlighted by Mastuhu, Islamic boarding schools prioritize religious education by providing instruction in Arabic versions of classical Islamic texts. This emphasis on the original language of these texts ensures a deep and authentic understanding of Islamic teachings. Pesantren employ unique teaching methods, such as "sorogan" and "bandongan" (or "weton"). These methods are well-suited to imparting religious

¹⁸ Kutbuddin Aibak, and Anin Nurhayati, *Inovasi Kurikulum: Telaah terhadap Pengembangan Kurikulum Pesantren* (Yogyakarta: Teras, 2010), p. 47.

¹⁹ Manfred Ziemek, *Pesantren dalam Perubahan Sosial*, trans. by Butche B. Soedjojo (Jakarta: P3M, 1986), p. 16.

²⁰ M. Ridlwan Nasir, *Mencari Tipologi Format Pendidikan Ideal: Pondok Pesantren di Tengah Arus Perubahan*, ed. by M. Adib Abdushomad (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005), p. 80.

²¹ Muiz, *Pengembangan Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Telaah Terhadap Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al Kamal Desa Kunir Kecamatan Wonodadi Kabupaten Blitar*, pp. 14–9.

²² Muiz, *Pengembangan Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Telaah Terhadap Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al Kamal Desa Kunir Kecamatan Wonodadi Kabupaten Blitar*, pp. 14–9.

knowledge and are tailored to the specific needs of the students. Memorization plays a crucial role in the learning process within Islamic boarding schools. Students are encouraged to commit significant portions of classical religious texts to memory. This practice not only aids in retention but also enhances comprehension. Islamic boarding schools utilize the halaqoh system, wherein students form circles for discussions and study sessions. This approach fosters active participation and engagement among students, promoting a deeper understanding of religious topics.²³

These characteristics reflect the commitment of Islamic boarding schools to providing a thorough and authentic religious education, with a focus on classical texts, innovative teaching methods, and the development of strong memorization skills. This educational approach is a vital part of the rich tradition of Islamic education in Indonesia. In addition to these general characteristics, A. Mukti Ali, as quoted by Abdul Munir Mulkhan, identified several specific traits of Islamic boarding schools; first, students, known as santri, develop a close bond with their religious scholars, or kyai, because they reside in the same location. This proximity fosters a strong mentorship relationship; second, santri exhibit a high degree of respect and obedience to the kyai. It is considered impolite and contrary to religious teachings to question or challenge the kyai's authority; third, frugal and Simple Living: Islamic boarding schools promote a frugal and simple way of life. Students are accustomed to basic living conditions, which reflect the humble and modest values of the institution.; fourth, spirit of Self-Help: Santri are actively involved in daily chores, such as laundry, cleaning, and even cooking their own meals. This instills a sense of self-reliance and responsibility.; fifth, mutual Assistance and Brotherhood: An ethos of mutual assistance and brotherhood prevails within the pesantren. Students collaborate and support each other, fostering a sense of unity and camaraderie.; sixth, emphasis on Discipline: Discipline is a core element of life within Islamic boarding schools. Students are expected to adhere to a structured routine and strict guidelines.; seven, willingness to Sacrifice: Students learn the value of enduring hardship and making sacrifices to achieve their goals. This determination is a crucial lesson imparted within the pesantren environment.²⁴ These characteristics collectively contribute to the unique and rich educational experience offered by Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia.

Islamic boarding schools, as integral components of Islamic education, have demonstrated their adaptability to evolving circumstances over time, particularly in response to advances in science and technology. It is important to recognize that these schools, sometimes viewed as traditional or

²³ Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Suatu Kajian Tentang Unsur dan Nilai Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994), pp. 143–4.

²⁴ Abdul Munir Mulkhan, *Menggagas Pesantren Masa Depan: Geliat Suara Santri untuk Indonesia Baru* (Yogyakarta: Qirtas, 2003), pp. 7–11.

outdated, have not lost their unique identity but have embraced contemporary changes. Islamic boarding schools have managed to modernize their educational approaches without compromising their core values and traditions. They remain relevant while upholding their distinctive character. Each Islamic boarding school is characterized by its own unique features, influenced by factors such as the school's management style and the socio-cultural and geographic context in which it operates. This diversity enriches the broader landscape of Islamic education. Variations among Islamic boarding schools can be assessed from various angles, including their curriculum content, specialized areas of focus based on location, level of adaptability to contemporary changes, and the overall structure of their educational systems.²⁵ In summary, Islamic boarding schools have continued to play a crucial role in delivering Islamic education while evolving in response to the changing needs of their communities. They remain dynamic and resilient institutions, preserving their distinct identity while embracing necessary transformations.

Abdul Munir Mulkhan's classification of Islamic boarding schools offers valuable insights into the diversity of these educational institutions. There are three main types: Salaf (traditional) Islamic boarding schools, Khalaf (modern) Islamic boarding schools, and semi-salaf-semi-modern (integrated) Islamic boarding schools.²⁶ Let's examine each type in more detail:

First, Salaf (traditional) Islamic Boarding Schools. Focus on recitations of classical Islamic texts, especially the kitab kuning. Emphasize deliberation or bahtsul masa'il, a method of discussing and debating religious matters. Adhere to a classical diniyah (religious) system. Maintain a traditional appearance, including clothing such as sarongs and songkok. Students often take on responsibilities like cooking for themselves. Embrace a culture and mindset rooted in classical Islamic terms and values. There are several advantages, students develop a strong enthusiasm for life, mental independence, and resistance to modernity's influence. They cultivate creativity, entrepreneurship, and the determination to achieve their goals without relying on diplomas.

Second, Khalaf (Modern) Islamic Boarding Schools. Place a strong emphasis on mastering foreign languages, particularly Arabic and English. Typically do not focus on recitations of classical texts like the kitab kuning. Adopt a modern curriculum, with flexibility in terms of traditional values. Prioritize rationality, future-oriented education, competitiveness, and technological literacy. The weakness of this model, graduates may lack deep mastery of classical Islamic treasures, such as nahwu, sharaf, balaghah, 'arudh, mantiq, ushul, and qawa'id.

²⁵ Muiz, *Pengembangan Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Telaah Terhadap Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al Kamal Desa Kunir Kecamatan Wonodadi Kabupaten Blitar*, pp. 19–24.

²⁶ Mulkhan, *Menggagas Pesantren Masa Depan: Geliat Suara Santri untuk Indonesia Baru*, pp. 7–11.

Third, Semi-Salaf-Semi-Modern (Integrated) Islamic Boarding Schools. Combine elements of both traditional and modern education. Teach classical-salaf books alongside modern subjects. Maintain independence in determining their educational direction and policies. Provide creative opportunities for students, including organizing events, publications, seminars, and discussions. There are several weaknesses of this model. Students may not achieve in-depth mastery of classical texts, and their commitment to traditional values like barakah, tawadhu, kuwalat, and zuhud might waver. Their focus on afterlife-oriented activities and societal contributions may diminish.

In Blitar Regency, East Java, there are 132 Islamic boarding schools, one of which is the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School.²⁷ This school falls into the category of semi-salaf-semi-modern (integrated) Islamic boarding schools. It combines traditional and modern elements, offering students a diverse educational experience. This classification provides a comprehensive view of the diverse educational approaches offered by Islamic boarding schools, reflecting the varied needs and goals of their students and communities.

**Picture 1. The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School, Blitar Regency, East Java
(Source: Author's Documentation, 2020)**



The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School is part of the Al Kamal Kunir Islamic Boarding School Foundation. This institution is distinctive due to its integrated ('ashriyah) nature, combining elements of both Salaf and Khalaf Islamic boarding school systems.²⁸ The caregiver's statement affirms the integrated nature of the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School. This approach combines elements of both the traditional (Salaf) and modern (Khalaf) systems. In terms of the traditional Salaf characteristics, the school continues to emphasize the study of classical books, often referred to as

²⁷ Ditpontren Kemenag, "Pangkalan Data Pondok Pesantren", *Ditpontren Kemenag* (18 Jul 2020), <https://ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id/pdpp/statistik?id=35>, accessed 24 Sep 2023.

²⁸ Muiz, *Pengembangan Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Telaah Terhadap Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al Kamal Desa Kunir Kecamatan Wonodadi Kabupaten Blitar*, p. 43.

"yellow books," across various scientific fields, including linguistic tools (nahwu, shorof, and i'lal), as well as the fields of aqidah (theology) and morals of Sufism. On the other hand, in terms of the modern Khalaf aspects, the school incorporates a modern curriculum that includes the mandatory study of Arabic and English as the languages of daily communication. It also focuses on organizational learning with direct implementation, efficiently utilizing general Islamic boarding school education systems and methods, with an emphasis on fostering reasoning and critical thinking skills among the students. This integrated approach aims to provide a well-rounded education that combines traditional Islamic knowledge with contemporary skills and perspectives, preparing students for a diverse and changing world.²⁹

It's characterized by the integration of classical and modern educational methods. The founders established this school in response to the ongoing debate between traditional (Salaf) and modern (Khalaf) educational systems. It was founded in Kunir Village, Kunir District, Blitar Regency, where the local Muslim community follows the Abangan typology, which, in Geertz's terms, is one of the three Javanese Muslim societal strata.³⁰ The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School aims to instill noble qualities such as steadfastness, exemplary behavior, patience, simplicity, and high enthusiasm among its students, incorporating these values into its education system.³¹

The leadership of the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School is under the guidance of caregivers, including Dr. KH. Asmawi Mahfudz, M. Ag, KH. Ahmad Hasanudin, SHI, and KH. Aminudin Fahruda, S. Ag, supported by teachers and administrative staff. They operate under the motto "al-Muhafadhah ala al-Qadim al-Shalih wa al-Akhdhu bi al Jadidi al-Ashlah," which signifies their commitment to preserving the teachings of ancient scholars while adopting more contemporary methods that are relevant to current conditions. Students are educated with the motto "ready to lead and willing to be led," preparing them for various roles in society.³²

Over time, the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School has experienced significant growth in terms of both quantity and quality. As of the 2020/2021 academic year, it has 1,124 active students, including students at the primary, junior, and senior high school levels, as well as those in the college-level Ma'had Aly program. The institution has achieved numerous accolades at advanced study levels, and various branches and institutions have developed in its environment, including the Al Kamal

²⁹ Interview with Dr. KH. Asmawi Mahfudz, M. Ag, as caregiver of Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School, Blitar, Tuesday 21 July 2020).

³⁰ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, Nachdr. edition (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1996).

³¹ Asmawi Mahfudz, *Fiqh Pesantren: Memahami Tradisi dan Aksi Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al Kamal* (Jakarta: Luxima Metro Media, 2016), p. 24.

³² Interview with Muhammad Khoirul Umam, S.Pd.I, as chairman of the central board of The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic boarding school Blitar, Monday 20 July 2020

Foreign Language Development Institute, a library, computer laboratories, and a health post, among others.³³

The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School has a vision to produce devout and morally upright Muslim generations who are intelligent, open-minded, have strong character, are proficient in international languages like Arabic and English, and are prepared for leadership roles. To achieve this vision, the school has formulated several missions, including preparing students who can apply Islamic values, are proficient in international languages, and are willing to lead and be led.³⁴

C. The Importance of Social Capital for the Growth and Development of the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School, Blitar

The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School recognizes the significance of social capital in fostering the growth and advancement of Islamic boarding institutions. This concept of social capital originates from the notion that any institution, regardless of its form, faces challenges in its development without adequate social support. Lyda Judson Hanifan introduced the concept of social capital in the early 20th century in her work titled "The Rural School Community Center." Hanifan delineated social capital as not mere wealth or money but rather a figurative concept encompassing tangible assets essential for societal life. According to Hanifan, social capital includes elements such as goodwill, camaraderie, mutual sympathy, and robust social relationships, fostering collaboration among individuals and institutions.³⁵

Nearly a century later, the academic discourse on social capital gained momentum, particularly with the publication of "The Forms of Capital" by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu emphasized the importance of comprehending various forms of capital, extending beyond economic capital. Alongside economic capital, he highlighted cultural and social capital, each with its distinct features and levels of convertibility.³⁶

Bourdieu defined social capital as the aggregate of both real and potential resources within a network of institutional relationships rooted in mutual acquaintance and trust. An institution's growth and development are significantly influenced by the social capital it accrues from its network.³⁷

³³ Interview with Ahmad Zaki Fauzi, S.Pd.I, secretary of the central board of The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic boarding school Blitar, Monday 20 July 2020)

³⁴ Muiz, *Pengembangan Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Telaah Terhadap Pondok Pesantren Terpadu Al Kamal Desa Kunir Kecamatan Wonodadi Kabupaten Blitar*, pp. 47–8.

³⁵ Lyda Judson Hanifan, "The Rural School Community Centre", *Annual of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 67, no. 1 (1916), pp. 130–8.

³⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital", in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. by J. Richardson (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), p. 249.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

Except Hanifan and Bourdieu above, The concept of social capital also discussed by George Ritzer in *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, James S. Coleman in *Social Capital in Creation of Human Capital*, Robert Putnam in his several writings such as *Making democracy work: civic tradition in modern Italy*, *The prosperous community: social capital and public life*, and *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and the Revival of the American Community*, Alejandro Portes in *Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology*, and Francis Fukuyama in his book *Trust; the social virtues and the creation of prosperity*, and also in *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and The Reconstitution of Social Order*.³⁸

George Ritzer stressed the significance of social ties and cohesion in social capital. It refers to the capacity to attain valuable material or symbolic goods through social relationships and group memberships. Ritzer posited that this capacity is vital for institutions to benefit from collective actions, based on social participation, trust, and commitment.³⁹

James S. Coleman's concept of social capital is based on its function within a social structure. He identifies two essential functions of social capital, both of which contribute to the ease with which individuals and institutions operate within a particular social context. These functions are facilitated by three key elements; first, social capital fosters obligations and expectations that arise from mutual trust in a given social environment. When trust exists within a network or community, individuals tend to feel a sense of responsibility toward one another. This mutual trust leads to expectations of cooperation, support, and reciprocity; second, effective social capital promotes a smooth flow of information within the social structure. Information sharing is essential for the growth and development of institutions and the success of collective activities. When information flows freely, it enables informed decision-making and proactive actions; third, social capital relies on shared social norms and consensus within a community. These norms guide behavior and actions, ensuring that individuals adhere to common values and expectations. The presence of agreed-upon norms and consensus helps maintain social order and cooperation.

In summary, according to Coleman, social capital is heavily reliant on these three elements. Without mutual trust, information sharing, and adherence to social norms, social capital cannot

³⁸ James S. Coleman, *Social Capital in Creation of Human Capital* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. Lihat;; Francis Fukuyama, *Trust; The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (Newyork: Free Press, 1995); Fukuyama, *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and The Reconstitution of Social Order*; Portes, "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology"; Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and the Revival of the American Community*; Robert D. Putnam, "The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life", *The American Prospect*, vol. 13 (1993); Robert D. Putnam, Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, 5. print. and 1. Princeton paperback print., [Nachdr.] edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1994); George Ritzer (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, vol. 2 (California: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2005).

³⁹ Ritzer (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*.

effectively operate. Social capital plays a vital role in supporting individuals and institutions by creating an environment of trust, facilitating the exchange of information, and promoting adherence to common norms. This perspective underscores the importance of social relationships and shared values in building and utilizing social capital for the growth and development of institutions and communities.⁴⁰

Robert D. Putnam's concept of social capital emphasizes the significance of horizontal relationships between individuals within a community. He defines social capital as a network of social ties governed by shared norms that influence the productivity and functionality of a social group, community, or institution. Putnam's perspective on social capital is built upon two fundamental assumptions; first, social capital relies on the presence of a network of relationships among people, supported by common norms and values. These shared norms provide a framework for cooperation and mutual trust among individuals; second, social capital, as a feature of social organization, promotes coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. It creates an environment where individuals within the network are supportive of each other's economic endeavors and aspirations.⁴¹

Putnam's research suggests that social capital, in the form of these shared norms and networked relationships, serves as a vital precondition for the growth and development of institutions, particularly from an economic perspective. Furthermore, he asserts that social capital is an essential prerequisite for the sustainability and effectiveness of institutional systems. He presents three key reasons to support this assumption; first, social networks enable effective coordination and communication among members of society. This facilitates the establishment of mutual trust and cooperation; second, trust within social networks positively impacts individuals' lives. It strengthens norms that emphasize the obligation to help one another, fostering a sense of social responsibility and mutual support; third, previous successes achieved through collaboration within social networks encourage continued cooperation in the future. The cycle of collaboration and success reinforces the importance of social capital.⁴²

Putnam also underscores the role of social capital in bridging gaps between different social groups and fostering a collective agreement on the significance of assisting one another, particularly in the context of empowerment. In this way, social capital plays a crucial role in building social cohesion, trust, and a sense of community, which are integral to the growth and development of institutions and the empowerment of individuals and groups within society.⁴³

⁴⁰ Coleman, *Social Capital in Creation of Human Capital*.

⁴¹ Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, *Making democracy work*, p. 36.

⁴² Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, *Making democracy work*.

⁴³ Putnam, "The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life", pp. 35–42.

Alejandro Portes viewed social capital as the capacity of actors to secure benefits by relying on social networks and structures.⁴⁴ On the other hand, Francis Fukuyama emphasized the role of trust in economic prosperity and used it as a metric to measure social capital. Fukuyama focuses on trust as a key component of social capital and its relationship to economic prosperity. He uses trust as a measure of the level of social capital within a society. Fukuyama contends that social capital is reinforced when the norms of mutual assistance and cooperative collaboration are embedded in a society through its network ties and social institutions. He connects the level of mutual trust within a society to its cultural values, particularly those related to ethics and morals. In his perspective, a society's cultural values play a vital role in shaping the degree of mutual trust it can achieve.⁴⁵

In summary, social capital pertains to the degree of social cohesion in a community. It encompasses processes that build networks, norms, social trust, and facilitate coordination and cooperation. Social capital comprises trust, norms, and networks that are harnessed by society to address common issues.⁴⁶

This aligns with the viewpoints of Hanifan, Bourdieu, Ritzer, Coleman, Putnam, Portes, and Fukuyama, all of whom underscore the importance of mutual trust in effectively utilizing social capital within a community.⁴⁷ Sunyoto Usman's insight aligns with the understanding of the importance of social capital in fostering a sense of security and ensuring the continuity of activities within a community.⁴⁸ This interplay of social capital holds substantial meaning for the growth and development of the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Blitar.

D. Discussion

In this context, social capital can be categorized into three distinct forms, each delineating different types of social ties or networks. Firstly, there is bonding social capital, which pertains to connections within the same immediate circle, such as close family members, intimate friends, and neighborhood associations. Secondly, bridging social capital encompasses ties with a broader range of individuals, including distant friends and colleagues. Lastly, linking social capital extends to

⁴⁴ Portes, "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology".

⁴⁵ Fukuyama, *Trust; The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*.

⁴⁶ Fathy, "Modal Sosial: Konsep, Inklusivitas dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat", p. 4.

⁴⁷ Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital"; Coleman, *Social Capital in Creation of Human Capital*; Fukuyama, *Trust; The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*; Fukuyama, *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and The Reconstitution of Social Order*; Hanifan, "The Rural School Community Centre"; Portes, "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology"; Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and the Revival of the American Community*; Putnam, "The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life"; *ibid.*; Ritzer (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*.

⁴⁸ Syahra, "Modal Sosial: Konsep dan Aplikasi", p. 13; Sunyoto Usman, *Esai-Esai Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005), p. 5.

relationships with individuals or groups from entirely different contexts, outside the immediate community, thereby enabling the utilization of a wide array of resources within the community.⁴⁹

In essence, social capital underscores the importance of social ties and cohesion. For Islamic boarding schools, the term social capital revolves around their capacity to derive material or symbolic benefits from social relationships and group memberships. This capacity is pivotal for these institutions to harness the advantages of social capital, as previously elucidated. According to Ritzer, it is crucial for institutions to reap the benefits of collective actions rooted in social participation, trust in the institution, and commitment to their missions.⁵⁰

For Islamic boarding schools, social capital signifies the degree of social cohesion within society and the community. It encompasses the processes that build networks, norms, and social trust, enabling effective coordination and cooperation. Social capital for Islamic boarding schools emerges from the availability of mutual trust within society, along with the norms and networks that can be harnessed to address common challenges related to the growth and development of these institutions.⁵¹ However, following Fukuyama's perspective, this social capital can only be optimally utilized by Islamic boarding schools when there is a foundation of mutual trust within their relationships and social networks.⁵²

The core concept of social capital concerning social ties is that networks hold significant value as they foster a collaborative atmosphere for mutual benefit.⁵³ This spirit of cooperation can be harnessed by Islamic boarding schools in the context of their growth and development, including those in Blitar Regency, East Java.

Based on research conducted in Blitar Regency, Islamic boarding school social relations can be a source of empowerment, yielding not only economic benefits but also social advantages crucial for their development. This occurs because social relations facilitate the flow of vital information about the needs of the Islamic boarding school environment, contributing to decision-making for its growth and development. Additionally, these relations instill and propagate trust, enabling Islamic boarding schools to cultivate mutually beneficial relationships and foster a climate of mutual respect, thereby facilitating the exchange of resources and interests. These relationships provide not only a sense of security but also continuity of activities, a crucial aspect for Islamic boarding schools' progression.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Syahra, "Modal Sosial: Konsep dan Aplikasi", p. 13; Usman, *Esai-Esai Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial*, p. 5.

⁵⁰ Ritzer (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*.

⁵¹ Fathy, "Modal Sosial: Konsep, Inklusivitas dan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat", p. 4.

⁵² Fukuyama, *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and The Reconstitution of Social Order*, p. 43.

⁵³ Field, *Social Capital*.

⁵⁴ Usman, *Esai-Esai Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial*, p. 13.

The different forms of social capital can be summarized as follows: bonding social capital, which stems from connections within the immediate circle; bridging social capital, which encompasses broader ties with various individuals; and linking social capital, which extends to relationships beyond the community.⁵⁵

The growth and development of Islamic boarding schools should not be limited to physical aspects but should also prioritize social development. This emphasis encourages full involvement and active participation of educational stakeholders, including caregivers/kyai, administrators, ustadz, students, and the surrounding community. The three types of social capital previously mentioned serve as a driving force that optimizes the potential of other essential resources for the growth and development of the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Blitar Regency, East Java.

First, bonding social capital is instrumental for the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School. It is characterized by a focus on maintaining traditional values and practices within the institution, akin to a family unit. This type of social capital builds on the concept of solidarity, wherein members are bound by moral ties and familial responsibilities, a feature identified by Emile Durkheim as mechanical solidarity.⁵⁶ Characteristics that Ferdinand Tonnies generally shows by society community which *gemeinschaft* (*paguyuban*).⁵⁷

Bonding social capital for the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School acts as a cohesive force, fostering unity among its members and serving as a foundation to overcome challenges and promote institutional growth. According to Suparman Abdullah, institutions with bonding social capital exhibit strong group cohesion and a high degree of concern among their members.⁵⁸

Islamic boarding schools, as educational institutions, play a pivotal role in generating social capital.⁵⁹ The close-knit relationships and interactions between kyai, ustadz, and students are deeply ingrained in Islamic traditions and values, forming a substantial component of the social capital of these institutions.⁶⁰

Second, bridging social capital enhances the connectivity of Islamic boarding schools with individuals and groups beyond their immediate circles. It relies on trust cultivated over time to open pathways for information exchange, external opportunities, and external investments. Bridging social

⁵⁵ Usman, *Esai-Esai Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial*, p. 13..

⁵⁶ Look: Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (Newyork: Free Press, 1984).

⁵⁷ Ferdinand Tonnies, *Community and Society* (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2017).

⁵⁸ Suparman Abdullah, "Potensi dan Kekuatan Modal Sosial dalam Suatu Komunitas", *Socius: Jurnal Sosiologi*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2013), pp. 17–8.

⁵⁹ Robert Crosnoe, "Social Capital and the Interplay of Families and Schools", *Jousnal of Marriage and Family*, vol. 66, no. 2 (2004), p. 267.

⁶⁰ Interview with Dr. KH. Asmawi Mahfudz, M. Ag, as Caregiver of The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic boarding school Blitar, Tuesday, 21 July 2020

capital, as described by Peter Kearns, encourages relationships to be conditioned and fortified, promoting mutual benefit.⁶¹ The relationships established with external parties, including formal educational institutions and the local community, are of paramount importance in maintaining the existence and development of the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Blitar Regency, East Java.⁶²

Relevant to this concept is Suparman Abdullah's viewpoint, emphasizing the importance of expanding networks and relationships as dynamic efforts for institutions to overcome challenges they encounter. Bridging social capital not only reflects the capabilities of a particular institution but also contributes to broader societal movements, fostering diverse reciprocity and hybrid ideas that align with universally accepted development principles in society. This type of social capital significantly contributes to the progress and strength of an institution⁶³, as exemplified by the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Blitar, East Java.

A crucial aspect of the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School's approach to social capital, which is its outward-looking nature and the establishment of mutually beneficial connections and networks beyond its immediate community. This approach, often referred to as "bridging social capital," indeed serves as a powerful driver of progress and development, not only for the institution but for society at large. In summary, the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School's proactive approach to building bridging social capital not only strengthens its position in society but also contributes to the school's resilience and adaptability. It serves as a model for how educational institutions can play a vital role in community development and respond effectively to changing social circumstances.⁶⁴

Third, linking social capital plays a vital role in connecting various resources and potentials required for institutional development. The network and relationship capital potential can substantially influence the dynamics of growth and development at the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Blitar, East Java. The complex relationships established by Islamic boarding schools are indicative of their potential to thrive within society. Therefore, in accordance with Suparman Abdullah's assumption, expanding networks and relationships becomes essential for institutions to

⁶¹ Peter Kearns, *VET and Social Capital: A Paper on The Contribution of The VET Sector to Social Capital in Communities*, Research (Australia: NCVER, 2004), p. 7.

⁶² Interview with Dr. KH. Asmawi Mahfudz, M. Ag, as Caregiver of The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic boarding school Blitar, Tuesday, 21 July 2020

⁶³ Abdullah, "Potensi dan Kekuatan Modal Sosial dalam Suatu Komunitas", pp. 18–9.

⁶⁴ Interview with Dr. KH. Asmawi Mahfudz, M. Ag, as Caregiver of The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic boarding school Blitar, Tuesday 21 July 2020

address challenges effectively.⁶⁵ According to Peter Kearns, linking social capital showcases an institution's strength in society when it optimizes these potentials for its benefit.⁶⁶

Islamic boarding schools, situated at the heart of society, must strategically organize network capital to maintain their existence and development. The Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Blitar, East Java, has initiated relationships with various groups, organizations, and agencies outside the school, including religious and social organizations, government institutions, and the private sector. (Interview with Dr. KH. Asmawi Mahfudz, M. Ag, as Caretaker of the Al Kamal Blitar Integrated Islamic Boarding School, Tuesday 21 July 2020) This initiative is designed to ensure the continued development of Islamic boarding schools amid a globalized era marked by increasing information intensity and technology.

E. Conclusion

The intricate relationship between the growth and development of Islamic boarding schools and social capital is predicated on the notion that no institution can function in isolation when confronted with the diverse challenges it encounters. Effective collaboration and cooperation with the broader social networks and relationships in existence are essential for an institution's progress and resilience. Islamic boarding schools, while primarily educational and religious institutions, also serve as vital social entities within society. Social capital, in this context, serves as a conduit for their growth and development. This paradigm is evident in the trajectory of the Al Kamal Integrated Islamic Boarding School in Blitar Regency, East Java, where its progress and development are inherently intertwined with the social capital it has cultivated and possesses.

Social capital, comprised of bonding, bridging, and linking forms, plays a pivotal role in enhancing the collaborative and cooperative dimensions of Islamic boarding schools. Bonding social capital strengthens the institution's internal unity and cohesion. Bridging social capital expands the connections with external individuals and groups, enabling access to information, opportunities, and external support. Linking social capital, on the other hand, acts as a crucial resource that connects Islamic boarding schools with various external resources and potentials essential for their development.

The existence of Islamic boarding schools goes beyond their role as mere educational and religious institutions; they are integral components of the social fabric of society. As such, they are well-positioned to leverage social capital to promote their growth and development. This trend

⁶⁵ Abdullah, "Potensi dan Kekuatan Modal Sosial dalam Suatu Komunitas", pp. 18–9.

⁶⁶ Kearns, *VET and Social Capital: A Paper on The Contribution of The VET Sector to Social Capital in Communities*.

underscores the significance of social capital in facilitating collaboration and cooperation between Islamic boarding schools and their broader social networks, ultimately contributing to their continued progress and resilience in the face of contemporary challenges.

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