

SOCIAL NETWORK OF MODERN ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOLS IN BANTEN

Apud^{1a*}, Akrom^{2b}, Basri Asyibli^{3c}, Aqila Azharrani Ibtihal^{4d}

¹²³⁴ Universitas Islam Negeri Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin Banten, Banten, Indonesia

^aE-mail: apud@uinbanten.ac.id

^bE-mail: akrom@uinbanten.ac.id

^cE-mail: 242625103.basriasyibli@uinbanten.ac.id

^dE-mail: 242625101.aqilaazharraniibtihal@uinbanten.ac.id

(*) Corresponding Author

apud@uinbanten.ac.id

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received : 19-07-2026

Revised : 23-09-2026

Accepted : 30-09-2026

KEYWORDS

*Social Network;
Pesantren; Multisite
Case Study; Banten;
Social Capital;*

ABSTRACT

This study aims to describe and analyze the social network of modern pesantren in Banten, which includes network structure, relationship patterns, and network effects on the actors involved. The phenomenon of rapid growth of modern pesantren requires a deep understanding of the social mechanisms that support its sustainability. This study uses a qualitative approach with a multisite case study strategy in six modern pesantren spread across Banten Province. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with kiai, administrators, and teachers, participatory observation, and documentation studies. The results of the data analysis showed that the network structure placed the founder/leader of the pesantren as a central actor (hub and bridge), supported by families and alumni networks. The relationship pattern formed was open but selective, including equal and unequal relationships based on trust and shared values. The network effect was proven to significantly increase institutional knowledge capacity, social legitimacy, as well as economic independence and resource management. In conclusion, social networks function as strategic capital and social infrastructure for the sustainability of Islamic boarding schools. The implications of this study emphasize the importance of network institutionalization and strengthening partnership governance, and it is recommended for future research to examine the dynamics of digital networks in the pesantren ecosystem.

This is an open access article under the CC-BY-SA license.



INTRODUCTION

Education based on pesantren constitutes one of the oldest legacies of the Islamic education system in Indonesia and continues to demonstrate significant quantitative growth (Kholifah, 2022; Mubarak et al., 2026). Data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia for 2024/2025 record at least 42,433 Islamic

boarding schools distributed throughout Indonesia, with Banten Province ranking third nationally in terms of the number of institutions, namely 6,776, after West Java and East Java (Nisak et al., 2025; Purnama et al., 2021). This growth accelerated considerably following the enactment of Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning Pesantren, which reportedly encouraged the establishment of approximately 11,000 new pesantren over the past five years (Hasibuan et al., 2026; Mubarak, 2021; Setyawan, 2019). Globally, the strengthening of community-based religious education institutions has coincided with increasing academic attention to the role of social networks in supporting the sustainability and quality of educational institutions, both in developed and developing countries (Kusniatul Ummah et al., 2025; Rosanti et al., 2025). The quantitative expansion of modern pesantren in Banten raises a fundamental question that remains largely unanswered: how are the social networks underlying this growth formed, operated, and experienced by their actors? (Alam et al., 2022; Suwendi et al., 2024). Furthermore, the transformation of modern pesantren in this region depends not only on institutional managerial capacity but also on ideological contestation manifested through the use of digital media as a new public sphere for disseminating institutional identity (Maemonah et al., 2023; Sani & Majeed, 2025).

The issue of social networks in Islamic educational institutions deserves greater attention because networks are not merely by-products of institutional growth, but structural prerequisites that determine whether a pesantren is able to survive, develop, or instead stagnate (Nikmatullah et al., 2023; Suresman & Faqihuddin, 2026). Recent studies on social capital in higher education indicate that the structure of relationships among actors influences knowledge-sharing processes and the learning performance of a community (Han et al., 2022; Lenkewitz & Wittek, 2022), while other research emphasizes that access to social capital tends to be unevenly distributed among actors within a network, thereby contributing to disparities in their achievements (Afrizal et al., 2026; Azhari & Aimah, 2026). In the context of pesantren, such unequal access to networks may help explain why some modern pesantren in Banten have grown rapidly with the support of extensive affiliations and resources, whereas others have developed independently and with more limited resources (Hudaeri et al., 2020; Kharisma & Muhammad Fathur Rozaq, 2026). Without an adequate understanding of the structure, patterns, and effects of these social networks, efforts to develop and empower pesantren risk being misdirected because they focus only on institutional quantity rather than on the quality of the relationships that sustain them (Kutsiyah et al., 2026; Syamsuri et al., 2023). The use of digital platforms has now become a strategic instrument for religious-based educational institutions to construct their institutional identities in the public sphere while also expanding the reach of their social networks beyond traditional geographical boundaries (Badrah & Mohammad, 2024; Hidayat et al., 2022). The integration of digital technology into the pesantren ecosystem has created a complex sociotechnical network in which institutional leadership plays a crucial role in navigating disruption while preserving Islamic values amid the currents of modernity (Hanafi et al., 2021; NLEC et al., 2021).

Previous studies have addressed the network dimension of pesantren from various perspectives, but they have not specifically examined the concept of social networks itself. For example, Saihan and El-Rumi (Saihan & El-Rumi, 2021), examined the institutional and educational transformation of pesantren from a social capital perspective and found that social capital was able to transform pesantren from an isolative-traditionalist paradigmatic system into a modernist synthesis. However, their study did not explicitly elaborate on the structure or patterns of relationships among actors. Aimah's study (Azhari & Aimah, 2026), on the application of social network analysis to the alumni and Islamic educational institution network at Pesantren Blokagung successfully mapped network-cluster polarization and identified alumni as brokers bridging structural holes. Nevertheless, its focus was limited to alumni-institution relationships and did not comprehensively address the networks involving founders, founders' families, and fellow pesantren administrators. Meanwhile, the study by Chanifudin and Tekwana (Chanifudin & Tekwana, 2024) on pesantren alumni networks in the Meranti Islands focused primarily on the contribution of networks to the development of Islamic religious education at the regency level, without conceptually elaborating the structure and patterns of the network. These three studies, like other previous research on pesantren, demonstrate that studies of pesantren social networks remain fragmented around specific issues. Few studies have

comprehensively analyzed network structure, network patterns, and the effects of networks on their actors within a single, integrated social network analysis framework.

This gap becomes increasingly evident when considered in relation to the local context of Banten, a region that has empirically demonstrated the most rapid growth of modern pesantren among Indonesia's major provinces, yet has received limited academic attention concerning the social-network mechanisms underlying this growth. Studies of community-based educational networks in the global context indicate that network design, including centrality and structural holes, plays an important role in fostering knowledge creation and institutional innovation (Enworo, 2023; Tahira et al., 2025). This framework is relevant but has not yet been systematically applied to the context of modern pesantren in Banten. Accordingly, this study seeks to address this gap by presenting a social network analysis grounded in the empirical reality of modern pesantren growth across six regencies/cities in Banten Province, while also enriching the academic discourse on the relationship between social networks and the sustainability of community-based Islamic educational institutions.

Based on the foregoing discussion, this qualitative study aims to explain the patterns of social networks in modern pesantren in Banten; analyze the structure of these social networks; and explain the impacts or effects of social networks on the actors within modern pesantren networks in Banten. Consistent with the exploratory and descriptive nature of qualitative research, this study is not designed to test hypotheses but is instead directed toward answering the following research questions: How are social-network patterns in modern pesantren in Banten formed? How do the social-network structures of modern pesantren in Banten operate? And how are the effects of these social networks experienced by the actors within them? Using social network analysis as its primary analytical lens, this study is expected to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how relationships among actors from founders and founders' families to fellow alumni of modern pesantren form the social foundation supporting the growth of modern pesantren in Banten, while also serving as a conceptual reference for studies of social networks in Islamic educational institutions in other regions.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative-naturalistic design with a multisite case study strategy, which is a design that allows researchers to dig into a phenomenon in depth in several locations at once without the intention of comparing it statistically, but to obtain a rich and contextual picture of the same phenomenon in different settings (Miles et al., 2014). This approach was chosen because the research aims to explain the patterns, structure, and effects of the social network of modern Islamic boarding schools in Banten as understood and experienced directly by the actors (emic perspective), not to test the cause-and-effect relationship between variables so that a statistical hypothesis is not formulated. The researcher acts as a key instrument (human instrument) assisted by semistructured interview guidelines, observation guidelines, and documentation study sheets as supporting instruments; All three are conceptually validated through expert judgment on the question grid and refined through initial field testing (pilot interview) before being fully used. The data collected consisted of primary data, namely oral statements and behavior of network actors that were explored directly through in-depth interviews and participatory observations, as well as secondary data in the form of institutional documents, archives, photographs, and historical records of pesantren used to complete and confirm the primary data. The subjects of the study were determined through purposive sampling techniques on six modern pesantren spread across five districts/cities in Banten Province with the criteria of data availability, affordability of access, and representation of the growth pattern of modern pesantren in the region, while the determination of key informants (kiai, administrators, and pesantren teachers) in each location used the snowball sampling technique, which is a chain of informant tracing based on previous informant references until the information obtained reaches a saturation point (data saturation) (Miller et al., 2022; Mwilongo, 2025).

Data collection was carried out through triangulation techniques in the form of in-depth interviews, nonpartisan participatory observations, and documentation studies, the results of which were analyzed using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldana interactive analysis model, covering three streams of activities that took place simultaneously from the beginning of data collection, namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion

drawing and verification (Miles et al., 2014). Data processing was carried out manually with the help of thematic matrix and coding to organize interview transcripts, field notes, and documents based on the focus of social network structures, patterns, and effects. The validity of the data was tested through four trustworthiness criteria, namely credibility (achieved through triangulation of sources and methods, member checks, and peer debriefing with academic peers), transferability (through thick descriptions so that findings can be considered for application in other similar contexts), dependability, and confirmability (both are traced through trail audits of the entire research process, from raw data to conclusion drawn) as well as parallel criteria developed by Lincoln and Guba and widely adopted in contemporary qualitative research (Enworo, 2023). The procedure for analyzing and examining the validity of this kind of data is consistent with the practice of similar qualitative research that analyzes social networks in Islamic educational institutions based on Islamic boarding schools, which also relies on in-depth interviews, participant observations, and documentation studies analyzed with similar interactive models to map the structure and patterns of inter-stakeholder relationships.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Modern Islamic Boarding School and Social Network Context in Banten

This study reveals that social networks have an important role in the formation, development, and sustainability of modern Islamic boarding schools in Banten, as seen from the findings of field research with a qualitative-naturalistic approach on six modern Islamic boarding schools spread across several regions of Banten Province. Data collected through interviews, observations, and documentation were then analyzed interactively through the stages of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing and verification, showing that the focus of the analysis on three main aspects, namely the structure of social networks, the pattern of inter-stakeholder relationships, and the effect of networks on the development of Islamic boarding schools and the actors involved in them, provided a comprehensive picture of the dynamics of social relations surrounding modern Islamic boarding schools. In general, modern pesantren that are the location of the research have diverse institutional characteristics, where some pesantren are founded by alumni of modern pesantren who have teaching experience and scientific networks, while others grow from the initiative of family, surrounding community, or the development of educational institutions that have been established earlier, so that the difference in the background of the establishment shows that modern pesantren in Banten does not develop through one uniform pattern, but through a combination of personal capital, family, science, organizational experience, and social access owned by the founders.

Social Network Structure of Modern Islamic Boarding Schools in Banten

The structure of the modern pesantren social network in Banten shows that there are a number of interconnected actors in supporting the sustainability of the pesantren, where the main actor in the network is the founder or leader of the pesantren who occupies a very important position because he not only functions as the initiator of the institution, but also as a decision-making center, resource liaison, legitimacy builder, and director of pesantren relations with the internal and external environment. In some cases, the founder becomes the actor who has the widest access to families, alumni, educational institutions, socio-religious organizations, the government, donors, and the community, so that the founder can be understood as the main node that connects various elements in the pesantren's social network. In addition to the founder, the family is an actor who has an important position, especially in the early stages of establishing and developing the pesantren, where family support is not always in the form of financial assistance, but can also be in the form of moral support, energy, administrative management, student upbringing, and involvement in decision-making (Abubakar & Hemay, 2020; Kutsiyah, 2020). In the Taajul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, for example, the role of the founder's wife appears to be very strong in supporting the process of pioneering the institution, especially when the pesantren does not have adequate resources, so these findings show that the pesantren network in the early stages is often personal and based on family ties, where the pesantren is not always born from an established organizational structure, but can start from home, family relationships, and personal beliefs which then develop into educational institutions.



Other actors who occupy strategic positions are friends, companions, and fellow alumni of the pesantren, where the alumni network not only functions as a communication space, but also as a source of knowledge, educators, material support, information, and institutional access. At Al-Markaz Islamic Boarding School, the relationship with Daar El-Qolam alumni and the university network plays a role in the provision of human resources, the development of agribusiness programs, and the expansion of relationships with other institutions, and some alumni also help the pesantren by publishing programs, connecting the pesantren with potential donors, and supporting students to gain access to higher education, so that in this context the alumni network functions as a bridge that connects the pesantren with resources that are outside the formal structure of the institution. The network structure also shows the existence of actors who act as bridges or links between groups that were previously not directly connected, where this role can be carried out by pesantren leaders, alumni, community leaders, officials, academics, and individuals who have cross-institutional experience (Al Muiz et al., 2023). In Al-Markaz, for example, the founder's experience in Islamic boarding schools, universities, community empowerment programs, and training in South Korea forms diverse access, and this access is then used to develop agriculture, build cooperation, present educators, and open opportunities for students, so that the strength of the network is not only determined by the number of actors, but also by the ability of certain actors to connect various social environments.

In addition to connecting actors, there are also actors who have the most connections and become the center of network movements, where in this study the position is generally occupied by the founder or leader of the Islamic boarding school, but in some pesantren this position can also be occupied by senior alumni, organizational leaders, or administrators who have wide access, so that these actors become centers for information distribution, aid management, cooperation determination, and resource mobilization. The network's dependence on central actors can indeed accelerate decision-making, but at the same time it also poses a risk if leadership regeneration and role distribution are not adequately developed (Zaki et al., 2022). The findings of the study also show that not all pesantren have the same strong network in every sector, where some pesantren have a strong network in the religious field but have not developed in the field of economics and technology, while other pesantren have good access to socio-religious organizations but are still limited in obtaining government support or regular donors, so this condition shows that the social network of pesantren is uneven and greatly influenced by the personal capacity of the founder, institutional history, educational background, and the ability of pesantren to build trust with external parties.

Relationship Patterns in Islamic Boarding School Social Networks

The pattern of social networks of modern pesantren in Banten can be distinguished into relatively equal relationship patterns and relationships that are not completely equal, where the equivalent pattern can be seen in the relationships between pesantren and alumni, peers, the community, and other institutions that are built on the basis of mutual need and mutual benefit. In this kind of relationship, pesantren receive support in the form of knowledge, energy, information, and access, while the parties involved get space to develop devotion, expand networks, or contribute to community education, so that these relationships tend to take place repeatedly because they are based on trust, emotional closeness, and shared vision (Wahono et al., 2023). The relationship between pesantren and alumni is a form of relatively equal network pattern, where alumni are not always placed as parties who only provide assistance to pesantren, but also as partners in developing programs, so that alumni can play the role of educators, consultants, donor liaison, institutional promoters, or companions to entrepreneurship programs, and on the contrary, pesantren provide a space for actualization for alumni to develop ideas and devote their knowledge, so that this kind of relationship shows that alumni networks are not just alma mater-based emotional relationships, but also develop into productive social relationships (Pargito et al., 2025; Tahira et al., 2025).

The pattern of unequal relationships appears when one of the actors has much greater resources, legitimacy, or access than other actors, where the inequality is not always negative because it can be a mechanism that helps pesantren obtain resources that they do not have. For example, an alumnus or certain figures can be the entrance to the pesantren to obtain development assistance, access to higher education, agribusiness cooperation, or support from government agencies, but these relationships still have consequences in the form of dependence on certain actors, so that the greater the dependence of the pesantren on one actor, the greater the actor's bargaining position in

determining the direction of the relationship (Saharuddin et al., 2020). The network pattern is also seen in the relationship between pesantren and the government and socio-religious organizations, where these relationships generally take place through licensing, communication forums, assistance programs, institutional cooperation, and social activities, but the findings of the study show that access to government assistance has not been consistent because some pesantren have received assistance, but the assistance is incidental and unsustainable, so as a result pesantren tends to develop an independent strategy by utilizing internal resources, family businesses, alumni support, and community contributions, and this independent attitude does not mean that pesantren closes itself to outsiders, but shows that there are efforts to maintain institutional autonomy (Al Muiz et al., 2023; Hartono et al., 2023).

In this context, the pattern of pesantren networks can be understood as an open but selective network, where pesantren basically receive cooperation from various parties as long as the cooperation is in accordance with the values, vision, and needs of the institution, but pesantren do not always actively ask for help due to limited access, ethical considerations, or the desire to maintain independence, so this kind of pattern shows that pesantren social networks are built through a combination of openness, prudence, and selectivity, where pesantren opens up opportunities for cooperation but still tries to determine the boundaries of relationships based on institutional interests and values believed in (Kutsiyah et al., 2020). The pattern of social networks is also influenced by the peculiarities of the programs developed by the pesantren, where Al-Markaz, for example, builds a network through agricultural and agribusiness programs, so that these peculiarities make the pesantren have a different identity from other pesantren while opening access to partners who have concerns about agriculture, entrepreneurship, community empowerment, and education, and these findings show that program differentiation can strengthen social networks, so that pesantren that have certain advantages or characteristics are easier to recognize by prospective partners because they offer specific contributions.

The Impact of Social Networks on Islamic Boarding Schools and Actors

Social networks have a number of effects on modern Islamic boarding schools in Banten, where the first effect is an increase in knowledge and institutional capacity, so that through a network of alumni, universities, training institutions, and social partners, Islamic boarding schools gain new knowledge about management, curriculum, entrepreneurship, agriculture, technology, and human resource development, and this knowledge is not only received theoretically, but also applied in the form of concrete programs such as agribusiness training, student skill development, foreign language strengthening, business management, and access to higher education. The second effect is the formation of the legitimacy and social status of pesantren, where pesantren that have relationships with prominent alumni, community leaders, religious organizations, universities, or donor institutions tend to gain greater recognition in the eyes of the public, so that this legitimacy can strengthen parents' trust to send their children to school, increase public interest in getting involved, and make it easier for pesantren to build relationships with other institutions, and in this case networks not only serve as a channel for exchanging resources, but also as a means of establishing reputation and social recognition (Solihin, 2024; Tahira et al., 2025).

The third effect is related to the economic aspect and resource management, where social networks help Islamic boarding schools obtain development assistance, infrastructure facilities, support for educators, business access, and alternative sources of financing, so that in Al-Markaz social networks support the development of the agricultural sector, including the management of melon and grape crops, the provision of greenhouses, as well as strengthening relationships with partners who have experience in agriculture, and the program is not only an economic activity, but also part of the students' skills education and pesantren financing strategies. Social networks also open access for students from limited economic groups, where several pesantren develop low-cost or no-cost education policies for the surrounding community, so that at the Taajul Ulum Islamic Boarding School the existence of a social network and the commitment of the founder allows children from underprivileged families to get education without having to bear large costs, and the pesantren not only plays a role as a religious educational institution, but also as a social institution that expands educational opportunities for the community, so that thus the network effect does not stop at the interests of the institution, but is also felt by students, families, and the surrounding community. Another important effect is the formation of solidarity and a sense of belonging to the

pesantren, where the intensive relationship between the pesantren, alumni, family, and the community gives birth to an emotional bond that strengthens the sustainability of the institution, so that community support is not always manifested in the form of financial donations, but can be in the form of manpower, building materials, information, promotion, nurturing, and participation in pesantren activities, and this solidarity becomes an important social capital, especially for pesantren that does not have a stable source of financing.

Theoretical Analysis of Islamic Boarding School Social Networks

However, social networks also have limitations, where relationships that are too dependent on certain founders or actors can cause the network to become vulnerable if the actor is no longer active, and in addition personal and uninstitutional assistance is difficult to ensure its sustainability, so that some pesantren receive assistance incidentally from certain individuals or institutions but do not have a long-term cooperation mechanism, and this condition shows that social networks need to be developed from personal relationships to more structured institutional relationships without eliminating the element of trust and social closeness that is its strength. The findings of the study show that the development of modern pesantren in Banten cannot be explained only through internal factors such as leadership, curriculum, infrastructure, and the number of students, so the sustainability of pesantren is also highly determined by the institution's ability to build and manage social networks, where the network provides access to knowledge, resources, legitimacy, educators, community support, and program development opportunities, and in other words modern pesantren is an institution that grows through the interaction between internal capacity and external relationships.

This can be seen from the perspective of network structure, the founder of the pesantren occupies a very dominant position, where the founder functions as a hub, bridge, as well as a cutpoint in the network, so that he becomes a hub because he has relationships with many actors, becomes a bridge because he connects pesantren with groups or institutions outside, and becomes a cutpoint because the existence of a certain network is very dependent on him, so that this position provides an advantage in accelerating resource mobilization but can also cause institutional problems if not followed by the division of roles, strengthening the organization, and regenerating leadership. In the perspective of social capital, pesantren networks are built through trust, norms, shared values, and mutual relationships, where trust is the main foundation because many pesantren cooperation does not take place through detailed formal contracts, so that alumni are willing to help because they have historical and emotional ties with their alma mater, the community supports because they have trust in kiai figures or pesantren leaders, and donors provide assistance because they see the reputation and social commitment of the pesantren, so that trust serves as a mechanism that reduces uncertainty in social relations and allows for the exchange of resources (Munif, 2020; Saharuddin et al., 2020).

In this case, social capital based on personal closeness needs to be complemented by strengthening institutional capacity, where personal relationships can be the entrance for cooperation but the sustainability of cooperation requires an administrative system, documentation, program planning, transparency, and accountability, so that pesantren that are able to turn personal relationships into institutional cooperation will have a more stable network, and conversely pesantren that only rely on personal relationships risk stagnation if there is a change in leadership or a decrease in the intensity of relationships with certain actors. The findings on the pattern of open but selective networks also show that there are efforts by pesantren to maintain a balance between independence and connectivity, where pesantren do not completely reject assistance from the government, organizations, or donors but also do not make external assistance the only source of financing, so this attitude is important because excessive dependence can reduce the autonomy of pesantren and influence the policy direction of the institution, and conversely independence that is too strong without network support can limit the ability of pesantren to develop programs and expand its social benefits (Hartono et al., 2023; Kutsiyah, 2020).

Social Network as a Strategy for Islamic Boarding School Development

The peculiarity of the program is also an important strategy in expanding the network, where Al-Markaz shows that the agribusiness program can be the basis for the formation of new networks because it connects the pesantren with the agricultural sector, the business world, training institutions, universities, and international

partners, so that the strategy shows that modern pesantren needs to develop a clear institutional identity, and a strong identity makes it easier for the pesantren to build a position in the network because prospective partners can recognize the fields of contribution and excellence offered. In terms of education, the social network of pesantren has an impact on the development of student competencies, where students not only gain religious knowledge and general knowledge, but also gain access to practical experience, entrepreneurial skills, foreign languages, technology, organization, and social service, so that this is in line with the character of modern pesantren that integrates religious education, formal education, nurturing, and life skills development, and social networks expand the learning space of students because the educational process does not only take place in the classroom, but also through interaction with the community, alumni, the world of work, social institutions, and higher education institutions (Wahono et al., 2023).

Implications and Strategies for Strengthening Islamic Boarding School Social Networks

Thus, the social network of modern Islamic boarding schools in Banten has a multidimensional function, where the network functions as a means of reproducing knowledge, a mechanism for obtaining legitimacy, an instrument of resource mobilization, a media for community empowerment, and the basis for the economic development of the Islamic boarding school, and the network also plays a role in strengthening the identity of the pesantren and expanding students' access to educational opportunities and self-development, but the benefits of the network depend on the ability of the pesantren to manage relationships, maintain trust, distribute roles, and develop sustainable cooperation. Overall, the results of this study show that social networks are not just additional relationships outside the structure of the pesantren, but an integral part of the growth process of modern pesantren so that pesantren that are able to manage networks strategically have a greater chance of surviving, adapting, and developing in the face of social change, and therefore the strengthening of modern pesantren is not enough to be done through physical development and curriculum updates, but also needs to be directed at strengthening network governance, developing alumni networks, increasing institutional partnerships, and documenting and evaluating the social relationships that have been built.

Based on the results of the research, there are several implications that can be considered, where first, pesantren need to map the actors involved in the network, including families, alumni, communities, socio-religious organizations, governments, universities, the business world, and donor institutions, so that the mapping is important to know the position, contribution, and potential of each actor in the development of pesantren. Second, personal networks need to be strengthened through institutional mechanisms, where pesantren can form alumni forums, cooperation units, partnership information centers, or network documentation systems, so that this step is needed so that relationships that have been dependent on certain figures can become more sustainable institutional assets. Third, pesantren need to develop superior programs that are in accordance with the needs of the community and local potential, where agriculture, entrepreneurship, technology, skills, and higher education programs can be the entrance to expand the network while increasing the independence of pesantren, and superior programs also need to be developed in a planned manner so that they do not stop at momentary activities. Fourth, cooperation with the government and external institutions needs to be built in a transparent and sustainability-oriented manner, where incidental assistance can indeed help Islamic boarding schools in meeting certain needs but long-term partnerships will have a greater impact on institutional strengthening, improving the quality of education, and empowering students, so that thus the social network of modern Islamic boarding schools in Banten can be seen as strategic capital that connects leadership, families, alumni, communities, educational institutions, social organizations, government, and the business world, where the network structure provides actors and relationships, network patterns determine how these relationships take place, while the network effect is seen in increasing knowledge, legitimacy, resources, independence, and educational opportunities, so that the three aspects are interrelated and together explain why modern Islamic boarding schools are able to grow and adapt in the midst of social change.

CONCLUSION



This study concludes that social networks are fundamental elements that are inseparable from the dynamics of the growth and sustainability of modern pesantren in Banten, where the network structure built by the founder as the central actor, the family as the main supporter, and alumni as strategic partners form a complex but functional relational ecosystem. This structure not only functions as an organizational framework, but also as an adaptive mechanism that allows pesantren to access knowledge resources, social legitimacy, economic support, and program development opportunities that are difficult to obtain through individual efforts alone. The network pattern formed shows an open but selective characteristic, where pesantren maintains institutional autonomy while still building partnerships with various parties based on shared values and strategic interests, so that the relationship built is not purely transactional but develops into a social bond based on trust, solidarity, and mutual commitment to the development of Islamic education. The resulting network effect is multidimensional, including increasing institutional capacity through knowledge transfer and program innovation, strengthening social legitimacy through association with prominent figures and institutions, diversifying economic resources through business partnerships and access to alternative financing, and expanding educational opportunities for students from various socio-economic backgrounds, so that overall social networks function as strategic capital that distinguishes pesantren that are able to survive and develop from pesantren that are stagnant or even out of business.

The implications of these findings show that strengthening modern Islamic boarding schools in the future is not enough only through interventions on internal aspects such as curriculum improvement, additional infrastructure, or increasing the number of students, but requires a comprehensive strategy that includes strengthening network governance, transforming personal relationships into structured institutional partnerships, developing excellent programs that serve as the basis for differentiation and partnership attraction, and building a network documentation and evaluation system that allows Islamic boarding schools to map, manage, and optimize the social relationships that have been formed. Islamic boarding schools need to develop network institutionalization mechanisms through the establishment of active alumni forums, professional cooperation units, integrated partnership information centers, and transparent accountability systems, so that relationships that have been dependent on certain founding figures or figures can become sustainable institutional assets despite leadership regeneration. In addition, pesantren also need to strengthen internal capacity in managing partnerships, including negotiation skills, joint program planning, monitoring and evaluation of cooperation, and effective strategic communication, so that the position of pesantren in the network is not only as a passive beneficiary but as an equal partner and actively contributes. Thus, the social network of modern pesantren in Banten can be understood not just as an additional relationship outside the formal structure, but as a social infrastructure that is the foundation for sustainability, adaptability, and relevance of pesantren in facing the challenges of social, economic, and technological change in the contemporary era, so that investment in strengthening networks should be a strategic priority that is on par with investment in human resource development, physical infrastructure, and educational innovation.

REFERENCES

- Abubakar, I., & Hemay, I. (2020). Pesantren Resilience: The Path to Prevent Radicalism and Violent Extremism. *Studia Islamika*, 27(2), 397–404. <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v27i2.16766>
- Afrizal, M., Syarifudin, K., & Lawang, R. M. Z. (2026). Human, Social, and Digital Capital in Educational Development: Evidence from Pasirmae Village. *Ilomata International Journal of Social Science*, 7(3), 959–968. <https://doi.org/10.61194/ijss.v7i3.2246>
- Al Muiz, M. N., Kurniawan, S., Miftah, M., & Fitriyani, F. N. (2023). Unpacking Social Capital for Growth and Development of Islamic Boarding School. *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam (Journal of Islamic Education Studies)*, 11(1), 89–108. <https://doi.org/10.15642/jpai.2023.11.1.89-108>
- Alam, N. A. R., Jamil, A. I., & Adnan, M. A. M. (2022). The Current Research of Pesantren Muhammadiyah in Indonesia: A Bibliometric Study from 2011-2020. *Al-Afkar, Journal For Islamic Studies*, 215–232. <https://doi.org/10.31943/afkarjournal.v5i4.367>



- Azhari, A. K., & Aimah, S. (2026). Peran Social Network Analysis (SNA) dalam Memetakan Jaringan Kolaborasi Mutu Antara Alumni dan Institusi Pendidikan Islam. *EDU SOCIETY: JURNAL PENDIDIKAN, ILMU SOSIAL DAN PENGABDIAN KEPADA MASYARAKAT*, 5(3), 1687–1699. <https://doi.org/10.56832/edu.v5i3.2472>
- Badrah, U., & Mohammad, A. (2024). Philosophical Foundations in Training Traditional Religious Educators: Bridging Past and Present. *Futurity Philosophy*, 3(2), 40–65. <https://doi.org/10.57125/FP.2024.06.30.03>
- Chanifudin, C., & Tekwana, P. (2024). Islamic Boarding School Alumni Network in the Development of Islamic Religious Education in Meranti Islands Regency. *QALAMUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, Dan Agama*, 16(2), 1031–1044. <https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v16i2.5990>
- Enworu, O. C. (2023). Application of Guba and Lincoln's parallel criteria to assess trustworthiness of qualitative research on indigenous social protection systems. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 23(4), 372–384. <https://doi.org/10.1108/QRJ-08-2022-0116>
- Han, S., Grace Oh, E., & “Pil” Kang, S. (2022). Social Capital Leveraging Knowledge-Sharing Ties and Learning Performance in Higher Education: Evidence From Social Network Analysis in an Engineering Classroom. *AERA Open*, 8, 23328584221086665. <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584221086665>
- Hanafi, Y., Taufiq, A., Saefi, M., Ikhsan, M. A., Diyana, T. N., Thoriquityas, T., & Anam, F. K. (2021). The new identity of Indonesian Islamic boarding schools in the “new normal”: The education leadership response to COVID-19. *Heliyon*, 7(3), e06549. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e06549>
- Hartono, S. B., Wijayanti, R., & Sekarsari, V. R. (2023). The financial performance of Islamic boarding school in the domain of social networking, trust, and morality of financial accountability. *Journal of Islamic Accounting and Finance Research*, 5(1), 131–148. <https://doi.org/10.21580/jiafr.2023.5.1.16549>
- Hasibuan, M. K., Siregar, N., & Magdalena, M. (2026). Analysis of Islamic Education Policy on Pesantren Institutionalization. *AL-HIKMAH: JURNAL AGAMA DAN ILMU PENGETAHUAN*, 23(2). [https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.25299/ajaip.2026.vol23\(2\).029176](https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.25299/ajaip.2026.vol23(2).029176)
- Hidayat, A., Fatimah, S., & Rosidin, D. N. (2022). Challenges and Prospects of Islamic Education Institutions and Sustainability in The Digital Era. *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 5(2), 351–366. <https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v5i2.2106>
- Hudaeri, M., Karomah, A., & Al Ayubi, S. (2020). The Pesantren in Banten: Local Wisdom and Challenges of Modernity. *Proceedings of the Proceedings of the First International Conference on Religion and Education 2019, INCRE, October 8 – 10, 2019, Bintaro, Indonesia*. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Religion and Education 2019, INCRE, October 8 – 10, 2019, Bintaro, Indonesia. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.8-10-2019.2294504>
- Kharisma, S. N. L. & Muhammad Fathur Rozaq. (2026). The Transmission Network of Qirā'āt Knowledge: The Genealogy of the Sanad of Arab-Indonesian Scholars and the Dominance of the Riwayat Hafs in National Standardization. *Al-Fahmu: Jurnal Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Tafsir*, 5(1), 460–472. <https://doi.org/10.58363/alfahmu.v5i1.743>
- Kholifah, A. (2022). Strategi Pendidikan Pesantren Menjawab Tantangan Sosial di Era Digital. *Jurnal Basicedu*, 6(3), 4967–4978. <https://doi.org/10.31004/basicedu.v6i3.2811>
- Kusniatul Ummah, A., Hadi, M. F., & Hayumuti. (2025). VIRTUAL PESANTREN SEBAGAI CATALYST PENDIDIKAN ISLAM DI ERA SOCIETY 5.0. *Studia Religia : Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Pendidikan Islam*, 9(01), 41–53. <https://doi.org/10.30651/sr.v9i01.25177>
- Kutsiyah, F. (2020). Social Capital and Its Transformations in Sidogiri Islamic Boarding School. *KARSA: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture*, 28(1), 57–94. <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v28i1.3058>
- Kutsiyah, F., Hakim, L., & Kalsum, U. (2020). Kelekatan Modal Sosial Pada Keluarga Santri Di Pulau Madura. *Palita: Journal of Social Religion Research*, 5(2), 183–203. <https://doi.org/10.24256/pal.v5i2.1399>



- Kutsiyah, F., Kamaroellah, A., & Kulsum, U. (2026). Exploring social capital in pesantren communities: A pathway to poverty alleviation in the Tapal Kuda region of Indonesia. *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice*, 34(2), 129–151. <https://doi.org/10.1332/17598273Y2026D000000058>
- Lenkewitz, S., & Witte, M. (2022). Social Networks and Educational Decisions: Who has Access to Social Capital and for Whom is it Beneficial? *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift Für Soziologie Und Sozialpsychologie*, 74(4), 437–472. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11577-022-00866-z>
- Maemonah, M., Zuhri, H., Masturin, M., Syafii, A., & Aziz, H. (2023). Contestation of Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia: Content analysis on social media. *Cogent Education*, 10(1), 2164019. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2022.2164019>
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis a methods sourcebook*. SAGE Publications.
- Miller, E., Porter, J., & Barbagallo, M. (2022). Simplifying Qualitative Case Study Research Methodology: A Step-By-Step Guide Using a Palliative Care Example. *The Qualitative Report*. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2023.6478>
- Mubarak, M., Nuryadin, N., Kartika Mr, G. N., Radiyah, I., & Mukmin, M. (2026). Pesantren Strategies in Maintaining Islamic Education Traditions and Shaping Santri Social Identity in the Midst of Social Change. *Tafkir: Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Education*, 7(2), 565–579. <https://doi.org/10.31538/tijie.v7i2.2632>
- Mubarak, Z. (2021). The Urgency of Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning Pesantren as an Educational, Da'wah and Community Empowerment in Tegal Regency. *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Social Science, Humanities, Education and Society Development, ICONS 2020, 30 November, Tegal, Indonesia*. Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Social Science, Humanities, Education and Society Development, ICONS 2020, 30 November, Tegal, Indonesia. <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.30-11-2020.2303722>
- Munif, F. (2020). Pengembangan Madrasah melalui Modal Sosial. *Jurnal Kependidikan*, 8(1), 84–98. <https://doi.org/10.24090/jk.v8i1.5133>
- Mwilongo, N. (2025). Understanding Sampling Techniques and Determining Sample Size in Qualitative Research. A Novice Guide. *Eminent Journal of Social Sciences*, 1(4), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.70582/shdhga10>
- Nikmatullah, C., Wahyudin, W., Tarihoran, N., & Fauzi, A. (2023). Digital Pesantren: Revitalization of the Islamic Education System in the Disruptive Era. *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, 1. <https://doi.org/10.31332/ai.v0i0.5880>
- Nisak, Z. H., Pitoyo, A. J., Ikhwan, H., & Maryudi, A. (2025). NAVIGATING THE PARADOX: Integrating Tradition and Educational Innovation in Indonesian Pesantren. *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM*, 19(2), 448. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2025.19.2.448-475>
- (NLEC), N. L. E. C., Gourlay, L., Rodríguez-Illera, J. L., Barberà, E., Bali, M., Gachago, D., Pallitt, N., Jones, C., Bayne, S., Hansen, S. B., Hrastinski, S., Jaldemark, J., Themelis, C., Pischetola, M., Dirckinck-Holmfeld, L., Matthews, A., Gulson, K. N., Lee, K., Bligh, B., ... Knox, J. (2021). Networked Learning in 2021: A Community Definition. *Postdigital Science and Education*, 3(2), 326–369. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42438-021-00222-y>
- Pargito, P., Arif, A., & Saptaningtyas, H. (2025). SOCIAL CAPITAL AND RESILIENCE OF DAWAR ISLAMIC SCHOOL AND ITS ROLES TO SUPPORT SANTRI ALUMNI'S SOCIOECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE. *Journal of Social Politics and Governance (JSPG)*, 7(2), 390–397. <https://doi.org/10.24076/5r1rba14>
- Purnama, T. S., Zirmansyah, Z., & Fitriyana, I. (2021). Pesantren as a Halal Center Institution Towards Religious Tourism Development. *Indonesian Journal of Halal Research*, 3(1), 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijhar.v3i1.10768>



- Rosanti, C., Waston, Gigih Setianto, Yogi Muhammad Saputro, Mahnoor Fatima, & Muhammad Rehan Sabi. (2025). Global Trends and Controversies in Multicultural Islamic Education within the SDGs Framework. *Profetika: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 26(03), 977–990. <https://doi.org/10.23917/profetika.v26i03.13502>
- Saharuddin, S., Mahmud, Moch. N., Ondeng, S., & Rahman, U. (2020). Social Capital Analysis as a Pattern of Developing Islamic Education in an Integral School Lukman al-Hakim Surabaya. *Didaktika Religia*, 8(1), 197–214. <https://doi.org/10.30762/didaktika.v8i1.1626>
- Saihan, S., & El-Rumi, U. (2021). Institutional and Educational Transformation of Pesantren in Social Capital Perspective: A Phenomenological Study at Pesantren of Miftahul Ulum, Suren, Jember. *Edukasia : Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Islam*, 16(2). <https://doi.org/10.21043/edukasia.v16i2.11711>
- Sani, A., & Majeed, M. K. (2025). Transforming kitab kuning literacy in the digital era: Challenges and future prospects for Islamic education. *Al'Adalah*, 28(1), 45–72. <https://doi.org/10.35719/aladalah.v28i1.397>
- Setyawan, M. A. (2019). UU Pesantren: Local Genius dan Intervensi Negara terhadap Pesantren. *MANAGERIA: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, 4(1), 19–40. <https://doi.org/10.14421/manageria.2019.41-02>
- Solihin, K. (2024). Strategi Penguatan Kemandirian Ekonomi Pesantren Melalui Usaha Mikro Kecil Menengah. *Santri: Journal of Pesantren and Fiqh Sosial*, 5(1), 85–114. <https://doi.org/10.35878/santri.v5i1.1209>
- Suresman, E., & Faqihuddin, A. (2026). From traditional religious leader to actor of social change: A comprehensive Systematic literature network analysis the role of a Kyai in Indonesia based on scopus database. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 13(1), 2625597. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2026.2625597>
- Suwendi, S., Gama, C. B., Farabi, M. F. F., Fuady, F., & Arman, A. (2024). ROLES AND CHALLENGES OF PESANTREN INTELLECTUAL NETWORKS. *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura*, 24(2), 453. <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v24i2.23134>
- Syamsuri, S., Johari, F., Ahmad, H. F., & Handayani, R. F. (2023). Five Principles of Pesantren as Social Capital to Overcome the Problems of Economic Business Development at Pesantren. *Society*, 11(1), 173–192. <https://doi.org/10.33019/society.v11i1.467>
- Tahira, N., Sari, K. A., Asmawati, A. Z., & Fajriani, S. W. (2025). Social capital in Islamic community-based pesantren. *Priviet Social Sciences Journal*, 5(10), 184–193. <https://doi.org/10.55942/pssj.v5i10.706>
- Wahono, M., Budimansyah, D., Malihah, E., & Fitriyari, S. (2023). The Role of Social Capital of Islamic Students (Santri) in Facing the Impacts of Globalization: A Case Study at Buntet Islamic Boarding School. *Society*, 11(2), 377–397. <https://doi.org/10.33019/society.v11i2.591>
- Zaki, I., Zusak, M. B. F., Mi'raj, D. A., & Hasib, F. F. (2022). Islamic community-based business cooperation and sustainable development goals: A case of *pesantren* community in Indonesia. *International Journal of Ethics and Systems*, 38(4), 621–632. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJOES-12-2021-0218>