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# Socio-Spatial Relationship Between Pesantren and the Local Community: Case Study Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Jombang

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Since its establishment in 1885, Darul Ulum (PPDU) Jombang Islamic Boarding School has a long history of having a socio-spatial relations with the local community. Utilizing a qualitative analysis of in-depth interview with PPDU's management and the local community, this research found that the socio-spatial relations is reflected in the forms of familiarity and bounded solidarity. Based on these two socio-spatial characteristics, indicators were identified that were formed through understanding from the theoretical foundation, followed by data categorization. These are formed through face-to-face interactions and reciprocal relationships that provide mutual benefits. From a spatial perspective, this relationship occurs due to distance and boundaries. The subjects of this study include pesantren, comprising kyai and santri, along with the community residing in the area surrounding the pesantren. This community is interconnected with the pesantren both socially and economically in their daily lives. These findings are interesting because there remains only few research on "pesantrens" that focuses on their socio-spatial relations with the local community from the perspective of urban and regional planning.

Keywords: Pondok Pesantren, Socio-Spatial Relation, Familiarity, Bounded Solidarity, Local Community

#### ABSTRAK

Sejak berdiri di tahun 1885, Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum (PPDU) Jombang memiliki sejarah relasi sosio-spasial yang panjang dengan masyarakat di sekitarnya. Melalui analisis kualitatif-rasionalistik dari wawancara dengan pengelola PPDU dan masyarakat menunjukkan bahwa hubungan sosio-spasial antara PPDU dengan masyarakat di sekitarnya tercermin dari adanya familiarity dan bounded solidarity. Berdasarkan dua karakteristik sosio-spasial tersebut, ditemukan indikator-indikator yang terbentuk melalui pemahaman dari landasan teori yang kemudian dilakukan kategorisasi data. Kedua hal tersebut terbentuk karena adanya interaksi face-to-face (tatap muka) dan hubungan timbal balik yang saling memberikan manfaat. Sedangkan dalam perspektif spasial, hubungan tersebut terjadi karena adanya jarak (distance) dan batasan spasial (boundaries). Subjek dari penelitian ini meliputi pesantren yang terdiri dari kyai dan santri dengan komunitas masyarakat yang bertempat tinggal di area sekitar pesantren. Masyarakat ini memiliki keterhubungan dengan pesantren, baik secara sosial maupun ekonomi dalam kesehariannya. Temuan ini menjadi menarik karena masih sedikit penelitian tentang pesantren yang menitikberatkan pada hubungan sosio-spasial dengan masyarakat di sekitarnya dari perspektif keilmuan perencanaan wilayah dan kota.

Kata Kunci: Pondok Pesantren, Relasi Sosio-Spasial, Familiarity, Bounded Solidarity, Masyarakat

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Relations are interactions between individuals or groups that occur in a two-way manner or involve mutual responses (Enifika et al., 2020; Miura et al., 2022). A relation occurs due to the fundamental nature of humans as social beings who cannot be separated from one another. Relations are divided into two types; associative and disassociative. Associative relations involve interactions that provide mutual benefits, while disassociative relations are those that do not offer mutual benefits (Kholis & Rezqia, 2020; Miura et al., 2022).

Relationships are formed through social interactions, whether intentional or spontaneous. These social interactions create social spaces with different characteristics, aligned with the forms or types of social activities occurring within them (Anggiani & Ayudya, 2024). Forms or types of social activities vary widely, ranging from the smallest actions such as meeting in a place to exchange stories to other activities that can be done while interacting with each other in a space.

According to Lefebvre (2004) as explained in Elden (2007), Social space is a social product, meaning that each society generates its own spaces. Space can be understood and analyzed by examining the social relationships occurring within it, as the formation of these spaces is closely tied to the social life of the individuals involved (Putra, 2019). In addition to being a result, space also functions as a tool for production that can be used to create new spaces in structured, unstructured, and dynamic forms (Putra, 2019).

As the oldest Islamic educational institution established by the community in Indonesia, pesantren has a significant impact on the surrounding society. Socially, people living near pesantren often experience shifts in social values, particularly in terms of spiritual enhancement. Economically, the local economy benefits greatly, as seen in Pesantren Darul Ulum, where meeting the needs of 10,000 students contributes significantly to the local economy.

The interactions and activities that occur are closely tied to the spatial aspects that accommodate them. This is because space gains meaning through the activities that take place within it. Additionally, according to Osti (2015), there is a shared meaning between spatial form and social relation in several terminologies used. In the case of pesantren, spatial form facilitates the occurrence of social relations. For example, face-to-face interactions (social relations) occur because of their close proximity (spatial form), which then creates a socio-spatial relationship referred to as familiarity. Similarly, other terminologies within socio-spatial relationships also reflect this connection.

#### 1.1. Sosio-Spasial Relationships

Social activities are interconnected with spatial space. This is also referred to as sociospatial relationships. According to Osti (2015), Socio-spatial relationships occur in three forms (Table 1). "Distance", or proximity in spatial terminology, is related to face-to-face interactions or direct encounters, which can occur due to the closeness within a certain distance. Distance and face-to-face interactions are socio-spatial relationships referred to as "familiarity". Next is border, or the boundary of a space based on its characteristics. In spatial terminology, it is related to the concept of "exchange of gifts" or the exchange of something in social relationships. According to Osti (2015), These two factors result in "bounded solidarity," meaning that exchange activities between individuals or groups occur only within a certain boundary, which can be either physical or non-physical. Lastly, "density" in spatial terms refers to land ownership, which affects the quality and quantity of activities on a specific piece of land. In social terminology, this is known as "domination" or "power." Both phenomena result in control over land within the context of socio-spatial relationships.

 Table 1 Structural Homologies of Spatial Forms with Social Relations

SPATIAL FORM	SOCIAL RELATION	SOCIO-SPATIAL RELATIONSHIP	
Distance	Face-to-face	Familiarity	
Border	Exchange of gifts	Bounded Solidarity	
Density	Dominance	Land Use Control (at a distance)	

Source: Osti, (2015)

Osti acknowledges limitations in his theory, including the potential for other forms of social relationships that might evolve due to shifts in the meanings of the terminologies used. The extensive scope of socio-spatial discussions indicates that further exploration and deeper investigation are still needed. Thus, to advance socio-spatial theory, similar research efforts are required to contribute to this field of study.

# 1.2. Islamic Boarding Schools (Pondok Pesantren) and The Surrounding Community

Pondok Pesantren is an educational institution that has existed since the 16th century, making it the oldest among educational institutions established by communities in Indonesia (Direktorat Pendidikan Diniyah dan Pondok Pesantren, 2021). Pondok Pesantren is an educational institution focused on religious knowledge and employs an intensive learning method that allows students to reside in dormitories, commonly known as the boarding school method. The environment of a pesantren consists of a Kyai (teacher) and followers or Santri (students) (Patriadi et al., 2015).

In addition to its role as a religious education institution, a pesantren also has a close relationship with and influence on the surrounding community (Fathoni & Rohim, 2019). The close relationship between a pesantren and the community is a crucial component, as the development of the pesantren is closely tied to the support it receives from the community (Fikri et al., 2023). According to Patriadi et al. (2015), the openness of pesantren to the community brings benefits both socially and economically. This enables pesantren to become important agents of change in Indonesia.

Darul Ulum has a long history with the surrounding community. Since its establishment in 1885, PPDU has always progressed in tandem with the local community. This is evident from the well-established interactions and relationships between them over more than a century, including socio-spatial relationships. According to Osti (2015), the two characteristics in socio-spatial terminology, namely familiarity and bounded solidarity, can emerge in the relationship between PPDU and the surrounding community.

# 1.3. Research on the Socio-Spatial Relationship Between Islamic Boarding Schools and the Surrounding Community

Previous research related to pesantren generally focuses on teaching methods, the relationship between kyai and santri, or the economics of pesantren. However, no research has yet examined pesantren as an institution that has socio-spatial relationships with the community. This represents a theoretical gap concerning the relationship between pesantren and the surrounding community. Therefore, this study aims to examine the social relationships formed and the spatial spaces that facilitate these activities, creating a socio-spatial relationship between PPDU and the surrounding community. Consequently, this research can provide a scientific perspective on regional and urban planning by viewing PPDU as an Islamic educational institution with strong ties to the community.

#### 2. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative-rationalistic approach, referring to the theory of sociospatial relationships. The focus of this research is to examine the Socio-Spatial Relationship between PPDU and the surrounding community. Data collection is carried out through interviews with pesantren administrators and community members living around PPDU, as well as field observations to identify the socio-spatial interactions that occur. In-depth interviews are conducted with unstructured questions to allow informants to elaborate on the socio-spatial relationship based on their experiences. The interviews were conducted in June-July 2022, each lasting approximately 50-60 minutes. The interview transcriptions were done manually by the

researcher. Data presentation is in a descriptive narrative format, accompanied by maps or images needed for analysis. Qualitative analysis involves grouping interview excerpts into themes representing socio-spatial relationships, namely familiarity and bounded solidarity.

#### 2.1. The Study Area

This research was conducted in the pesantren area, covering both the pesantren's property and the surrounding environment, which consists of the local community's residential area (Figure 1). The delineation of the research location is bounded by K.H. Romli Tamin Road to the north and a river to the south. To the west and east, the boundaries are marked by buildings or properties owned by PPDU Jombang. This delineated area is the central zone of socioeconomic interaction between PPDU Jombang and the surrounding community. It includes pesantren buildings, the homes of kyais and community members, as well as social and economic spaces.



**Figure 1** Delineation of the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding Achool in Jombang Area Source: *Google Earth*, 2023

#### 2.2. Informants of the Study

In this study, the selection of informants used a purposive sampling approach, considering the ease of choosing sources that meet the required criteria. The interviews were conducted with the consent of all parties involved, including the Board of Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School and the participating community members. Personal information is kept confidential by the author, ensuring that informants can answer questions without fear of pressure or other concerns from specific parties. The number of informants in this study is 11, with the criteria and reasons for selection presented in Table 2:

Table 2 Criteria and Reasons for Selected Informants

No	Informant Criteria	Reasons	Informant Codes
1.	The surrounding community of PPDU Jombang	<ul> <li>Reside within the delineated research area,</li> <li>Directly involved in socio-economic activities,</li> <li>Knowledgeable about the relationship between the pesantren and the surrounding community.</li> </ul>	<ul><li> PS</li><li> PM</li><li> PSS</li></ul>
2.	Pimpinan PPDU Jombang	<ul> <li>Main subjects of the research,</li> <li>Reside within the delineated research area,</li> <li>Aware of physical, social, and economic changes in the delineated research area,</li> <li>Knowledgeable about the relationship between the pesantren and the surrounding community</li> </ul>	<ul><li>KMI</li><li>KMA</li><li>KHB</li></ul>
3.	Community of the pesantren (ustadz and santri)	<ul> <li>Reside within the delineated research area,</li> <li>Directly involved in socio-economic activities,</li> </ul>	<ul><li>UAM</li><li>UKQ</li><li>UM</li></ul>
4.	Employees of PPDU Jombang	<ul> <li>Directly involved in socio-economic activities,</li> <li>Knowledgeable about the systems and regulations of PPDU Jombang related to the surrounding community.</li> </ul>	• PU • PH

Source: Author. 2022

The data collection process through interviews was not conducted systematically based on informant criteria but rather randomly. Therefore, the number of informants involved was 11. This number is considered sufficient because the interview process reached a point of information saturation, where the information obtained began to repeat. This repetition was due to the ongoing interaction between the researcher and the informants, resulting in relatively consistent information. Thus, the number and proportion of informants did not affect the results or conclusions of this study.

#### 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

The relationship formed between PPDU and the surrounding community is based on mutual benefit. PPDU relies on the community to help meet the daily needs of its approximately 10,000 students, while the community depends on PPDU for its own daily needs. According to some informants, this dynamic is influenced by the religious teaching of "khoirun naas anfa'uhum linnaas", which means "the best of people are those who are most beneficial to others" (Hadith narrated by Ahmad). Therefore, forms of familiarity and bounded solidarity result from the exchange of values between PPDU and the surrounding community.

#### 3.1. Familiarity

Familiarity arises from the face-to-face social interactions between PPDU and the surrounding community. The term "surrounding" indicates a certain distance that allows for these interactions to take place. Several forms of familiarity between PPDU and the surrounding community include:

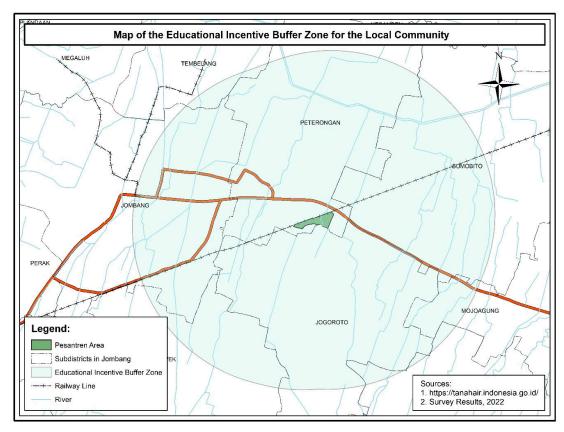
#### 3.1.1. Educational Alternatives and Incentives

Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum (PPDU) is a islamic boarding school classified as *khalafiyah*. This pesantren is characterized by studying two fields of knowledge simultaneously: religious knowledge through the study of classical manuscripts (*kitab kuning*) and general or formal education through schools. PPDU has 12 formal education units, ranging from kindergarten to high school, and 51 dormitory units. The distribution of educational units at PPDU is shown in Figure 2. These educational units are part of the general/formal education activities, while the dormitory units focus on religious education. Santri attend school from morning until noon, and then return to their respective dormitory units in the afternoon or evening to study religious knowledge.



Figure 2 Map of the Distribution of Educational Units at Darul Ulum Source: Google Earth, 2023

In addition to the alternatives provided by PPDU, the pesantren also offers incentives to the surrounding community and underprivileged santri. The pesantren provides a 50% discount on school fees for the local community within a 5km radius of the pesantren (Figure 3). This discount is available to santri categorized as lower-middle or impoverished economically. Each year, approximately 5-6% of the total santri benefit from this incentive.



**Figure 3** Map of the Educational Incentive Coverage Provided by PPDU to the Surrounding Community

Source: Author, 2023

This indicates that PPDU grants special privileges to the surrounding community. The reason for the 5km radius is that within this distance, it is still feasible for PPDU and the community to get to know each other. The intensity of face-to-face interactions is greater compared to those living beyond the 5km radius. Thus, setting a 5km radius for providing incentives allows PPDU to better understand the economic conditions of applicants, while the community benefits from not needing to meet complex requirements to receive these privileges. Therefore, the educational alternatives and incentives provided by PPDU, which are accessible only to the local community, demonstrate that proximity—both physical and emotional—creates a sense of familiarity.

# 3.1.2. Guidance and Supervision of Santri by the Community

The long-standing relationship between the pesantren and the surrounding community creates a mutual relationship. Although there may be material imbalances in these interactions, the exchange between the pesantren and the community remains beneficial and interdependent. The pesantren offers the community opportunities to enhance their social status through

educational opportunities and income improvement. In return, the surrounding community provides non-material support, such as loyalty. This loyalty is based on a sense of ownership, with the community feeling a sense of belonging to the pesantren and vice versa. One of the most visible forms of this loyalty is the community's moral responsibility towards the santri of Darul Ulum. The community provides supervision and guidance to the santri, reflecting their concern and care for the pesantren.

The community feels aligned with the pesantren and thus shares a responsibility for guiding the character of the santri. Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum has a set of rules that apply to the santri, including restrictions on activities and behavioral conduct, as well as limitations on the spaces where activities can take place. These rules are clearly understood by the community, so if any santri are observed violating them, they can be monitored and admonished to receive proper guidance.

The area of Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School is not enclosed by walls separating the pesantren from the surrounding community, unlike some other pesantren in Indonesia. Therefore, the pesantren relies on the community to help monitor santri who might exceed the established boundaries. This arrangement reflects the community's sense of ownership of the pesantren and their moral responsibility to assist in supervising the santri.

This occurs due to the close physical and emotional proximity between the two (Figure 4). The close physical proximity allows the community to help monitor the santri, as their living environment is integrated with the pesantren. The emotional closeness is formed through long-standing social interactions. These factors create a sense of familiarity between the pesantren and the surrounding community, fostering a sense of ownership and mutual assistance. The community consciously and voluntarily helps the pesantren in supervising and guiding the santri.

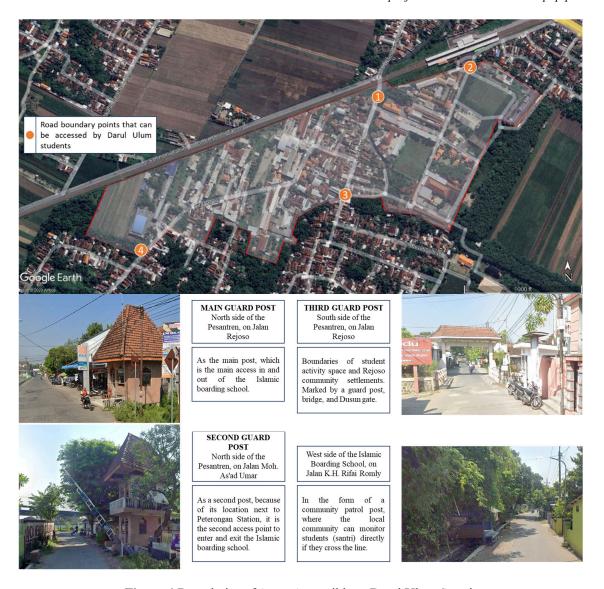


Figure 4 Boundaries of Areas Accessible to Darul Ulum Santri Source: Survey Results, 2022

# 3.2. Bounded Solidarity

The socio-spatial relationship between PPDU and the surrounding community arises due to tangible and intangible borders. In this study, the term "surrounding" represents this border, limiting the social exchange of values between PPDU and the community. This creates a form of solidarity that is limited, known in socio-spatial relationship terminology as bounded solidarity.

## 3.2.1. Access to Capital

Darul Ulum does not directly provide cash capital to the surrounding community but offers access that the community can utilize to obtain capital. This access to capital is exclusively provided to the local community, making it a special privilege granted by PPDU.

Third parties, such as Bank Jatim and Bank Mandiri Syariah, offer business capital loans specifically to the community around the pesantren. These banks provide business loans with very low interest rates and no collateral, provided they receive approval and endorsement from the Majelis Pimpinan PPDU.

Additionally, educators, staff, and employees of PPDU who wish to start a business can apply for capital loans from Koperasi Simpan Pinjam (KSP) Rohmat. Although this cooperative is affiliated with the pesantren, its management operates independently of the pesantren foundation. Unlike banks that charge administrative fees of up to 2%, KSP Rohmat waives administrative fees for borrowers and charges a loan fee of only 1% per month. This is because KSP operates on a sharia system, prioritizing the social values and welfare of its members.

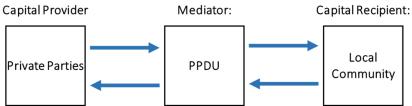


Figure 5 Triadic Relationship between Capital Providers, Mediators, and Capital Recipients Source: *Author, 2023* 

The capital access system within the PPDU community involves a triadic relationship among the capital providers (such as Bank Jatim, Bank Mandiri Syariah, and KSP Rohmat), the mediators (PPDU Leadership Council), and the capital recipients (local community members, educators, staff, and employees).

#### 1. Capital Providers

- a. Banks: Bank Jatim and Bank Mandiri Syariah offer business loans with low interest rates and no collateral, but require approval from the PPDU leadership,
- b. KSP Rohmat: Provides loans to PPDU educators, staff, and employees with a 1% monthly fee and no administrative charges, adhering to sharia principles.
- 2. The Mediator is PPDU Leadership Council, acts as a guarantor and provides necessary approvals for loan applications to ensure that recipients meet the criteria and maintain the pesantren's values.

# 3. Capital Recipients

- a. Local Community Members: Receive privileged access to capital loans from banks through the endorsement of PPDU leadership.
- b. Educators, Staff, and Employees: Can apply for loans from KSP Rohmat to start or expand their businesses, benefiting from the cooperative's social and welfare-focused approach.

This triadic relationship facilitates a system where the local community around PPDU, as well as its internal members, can access necessary capital, ensuring mutual benefit and reinforcing socio-economic ties within the community.

This indicates a reciprocal social relationship between the pesantren and the surrounding community (Figure 5). The pesantren provides access to capital so that the nearby community can start and develop businesses for their economic needs as well as meet the needs of the students. This exchange is facilitated by a border, namely "surrounding," which means it is available only to a community living in close proximity to the pesantren. Therefore, it can be concluded that the access to capital provided by PPDU to the nearby community represents a socio-spatial relationship in the form of bounded solidarity.

# 3.2.2. Pesantren as a Mediator between Government and Community

Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum Jombang maintains strong relationships with the local community, council members, and both regional and central government authorities. These positive relationships with council members and government officials add significant value to the community and the pesantren itself. Some of the leaders at Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum are also involved in various political parties. This close relationship has existed for a long time, dating back to the leadership of K.H. Musta'in Romly, who was known for his close connections with key policymakers of the time through the most dominant political party during the New Order era. Despite the pros and cons of his choices, it is evident that this approach enabled Darul Ulum to develop more rapidly compared to other pesantrens in Jombang Regency. This is evident in the formal schools owned by Darul Ulum, both then and now.

This political proximity adds significant value to both the pesantren and the community. The community leverages this relationship to use the pesantren as a channel for communication with policymakers. For instance, when the community feels that the infrastructure or amenities in their area need improvement or expansion, they are likely to report these issues to the pesantren leaders. They believe that the voices of the pesantren leaders will be more effectively heard by the government compared to voicing concerns independently.

In addition to conveying community aspirations to policymakers, the pesantren also receives government programs entrusted to the community. According to several informants, Darul Ulum acts as a mediator for the government in implementing community empowerment programs, such as training and livestock programs. This is supported by Law No. 18 of 2019 on Islamic Boarding Schools, which stipulates that one of the functions of pesantrens is to empower the community. At that time, there were training programs for sewing and cattle

fattening. The local government provided 50 cattle for this program, with the pesantren preparing the land and the community assisting with care and feeding. When the cattle are ready for sale, the proceeds are split equally.

Even if these programs are ultimately unsustainable, at least the government has confidence in Islamic boarding schools. The discontinuation of this program was not only due to its political nature (changing leadership), but also because of the perception that the community around the Islamic boarding school did not need it. People feel that the business they are currently doing is enough to meet their needs and do not have free time to start a new business.

This phenomenon is only found in people who live around Islamic boarding schools. Islamic boarding schools have their own limitations to determine how far and what can be accommodated. This is based on the existence of a reciprocal relationship with the exchange of values between the Islamic boarding school and the surrounding community. In this way, bounded solidarity arises or in another meaning, a special privilege where the conveniences obtained by the community are obtained because of a limited exchange of values.

# 3.3. Comprehensive Discussion

This study finds that the socio-spatial relationship between PPDU and the surrounding community reflects the concepts of familiarity and bounded solidarity as described in (Osti, 2015), study. Physical and emotional proximity play a crucial role in creating limited solidarity and reciprocal relationships that benefit both parties. However, unlike the aforementioned study, our results introduce additional indicators for each socio-spatial relationship formed based on the specific conditions between PPDU and the surrounding community.

Familiarity is reflected in the forms of educational alternatives and incentives as well as the guidance and supervision provided by the community to the students. PPDU offers a variety of educational opportunities and support incentives to the community, while the community provides guidance and supervision as a form of care for the students. Both of these aspects would not be possible without the characteristic proximity in the spatial aspect, which facilitates face-to-face interactions. Meanwhile, bounded solidarity is evident in the provision of financial access by PPDU and its role as a mediator between the government and the community. This financial access is specifically designated for the surrounding community, demonstrating a form of limited solidarity within the group directly connected to the pesantren.

However, this study has limitations related to sample size and geographical scope, which may affect the generalizability of the results. Additionally, the socio-spatial relationship

between PPDU and the surrounding community, which has been ongoing since 1885, provides a strong foundation for further studies on different types of socio-spatial relationships, such as land use control, which was not explored in this research. Thus, this study can serve as a basis for future research with similar characteristics in terms of subject and object of study.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Based on the qualitative analysis of in-depth interviews with the management of PPDU and the surrounding community, the socio-spatial relationship between PPDU and the local community is functioning well and reflects the concepts of familiarity and bounded solidarity as formulated by Osti (2015). In the familiarity relationship, there are phenomena such as the educational alternatives and incentives provided by PPDU to the surrounding community, as well as the guidance and supervision provided by the community to the students. Meanwhile, bounded solidarity is evidenced by access to capital and the role of the pesantren as a mediator between the government and the community. All of this occurs due to the reciprocal socio-spatial relationship between PPDU and the surrounding community, which has been established since 1885. These findings warrant further examination and present an opportunity for future research to focus on the third type of socio-spatial relationship, namely land use control.

This study reveals that institutions like PPDU play a crucial role in the social and economic dynamics of their surroundings. In the context of urban and regional planning, it is important to consider the role of pesantren and the surrounding community as key actors in broader social and economic development. The researcher is open to using the data and findings from this study as a basis for further research to identify potential changes or new types of relationships that may emerge. This is due to the fact that the research uncovered numerous data points indicating various other forms of relationships between PPDU and its surrounding community.

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