

The Resilience of Madurese *Santri* in Facing Modernity: A Study of the Indonesian *Ngabuleh* Tradition

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Abstract: This article explores the survival strategy of the Madurese *Santri* in maintaining local traditions in the middle of the incessant currents of modernity. The *Ngabuleh* tradition that has been institutionalized in the Pamekasan Madurese society is a portrait of how the Madurese *Santri* experience the technological advances that affect people's behavior, especially young people. This tradition serves as a medium for preparing *santri* who will marry by serving in the Kyai's residence. This enables them to learn how to prepare the household. Furthermore, the goal is that when they get married, they will be fully ready to settle down physically and mentally. This study uses Bronislaw Malinowski's structural functionalism theory by placing the *Ngabuleh* tradition as an integral part of the social system. The persistence of the *Ngabuleh* tradition is a strategy for inheriting local traditions to the younger generation as well as a strategy for surviving the negative effects of globalization that penetrate regional boundaries to rural areas. Additionally, the *Ngabuleh* tradition is a way of showing the social identity of the Madurese *santri*, namely religiosity, integrity, loyalty or obedience, and autonomy. *Ngabuleh* serves as a strategy of cultural resilience as well as a form of obedience in maintaining and preserving local wisdom.

Keywords: cultural resilience, Madurese *santri*, *Ngabuleh*, social identity.

A. INTRODUCTION

Resilience is the ability to maintain basic functions and dependency on system vulnerabilities and adaptability (Neher and Miola, 2016: 25). Every society has resilience or endurance, ranging from social, cultural, and environmental aspects that enhance its survival from internal and external vulnerabilities. People work together to adapt and negotiate to globalization (Flrlncl, 2018: 69) The result of this collective work is known as culture or tradition, which is a manifestation of resilience in form of activities (Beel et al. 2017). This is what happens in the Madurese society, especially in Pamekasan, where tradition is an instrument to respond to modernity.

The Madurese society has an Islamic identity, therefore Islam becomes an inherent self-image in everyday life (Amrullah, 2015: 66). Historically, Islam entered Madura through the lower society and then slowly formed the cultural structure. In Hidayat's study, the ontology structure of Madurese culture is centered on mutual agreement, or what is known as socio-cultural centrism (Hidayat, 2012). The existence of Madurese tradition remains strong and institutionalized due to the collective support of the society. The Islamic identity in the Madurese tradition shows the relationship between religion and culture at the structural and cultural levels. This strengthens the view of cultural researchers who conclude that social traditions are integration between religion and culture (Andries, 2018: 92).

The integration of Islam and Madurese culture at the structural level is shown by the strong position of the *Kiai* in society. The Madurese philosophy, *bhuppa'-bhabhu'-ghuru-rato*, recognizes the central position of the *Kiai* (*ghuru*) as a respected figure. The legitimacy of *Kiai*'s leadership is not only limited to the Islamic boarding school but extends to society. In the Islamic boarding school environment, *Kiai* is the patron while *santri* is the client (Ma'arif, 2010: 273). Therefore the *Kiai-santri* relationship is paternalistic (Muhakamurrohan, 2014: 109). The emergence of patron-client relationships occurs due to dependence on leaders in traditional societies (Khalik, 2007: 132). The position of *Kiai* is a cultural broker and guardian who acts as a midwife in domesticating culture and adapting it to global developments (Chinsinga, 2006: 255). In the Madurese society, the *Kiai* is the leader of the acculturative traditional Islamic society (Hefni, 2013), positioned as the guardian of tradition from syncretic influences and global penetration.

One tradition that survives the central role of the *Kiai* is the *Ngabuleh* tradition. In Pamekasan, which is the locus of this study, the tradition of serving the *Kiai* is still widely practiced. This tradition is positioned as a medium of apprenticeship for *santri*, especially females who will be married. They serve in the *Kiai's dhalem* (house) by doing various tasks related to married life. These activities during *Ngabuleh* are based on the orders of the *Kiai* as the patron in providing life courses. This tradition not only shows their obedience to the *Kiai* but also hones piety to build their independence. Through this tradition, the *santri* develop the ability to maintain their cultural identity and use it as a strategy for building resilience for themselves and their families.

The *Ngabuleh* tradition performs several functions as described by previous studies. Ismail's study at the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School Banyuwangi Pamekasan showed that the *Ngabuleh* tradition has three values, as an exemplary implementation to the characteristics of the Prophet, a form of obedience to the supporter of Madurese culture which is *Kiai*, and sharpening the competence of *santri* in the field of entrepreneurship (Wardi and Ismail, 2018: 49). Meanwhile, Mun'im and Hefni, who studied the *Ngabuleh* tradition in the Akkor Village society, Palengaan District, Pamekasan Regency, regarded tradition as an effort to form a *sakinah* family (Mu'in and Hefni, 2016: 209). Through tradition, *santri* obtain direct knowledge from the *Kiai* and his family on family planning. However, these two studies have not explored tradition as a form of cultural resilience. This is important to place the function of tradition, not only as a frame of reference or behavioral guidelines but also as a material or tool for the process of identifying oneself and one's group (Abdullah, 2010: 51).

The persistence of the *Ngabuleh* tradition among *santri* in Islamic boarding schools raises questions as to why this tradition is still practiced. Currently, globalization, which is marked by changes in social structure from a bounded system to cultural deterritorialization and the mobility of various groups, promotes the reconstruction of group identity (Abdullah, 2010: 43-44). The existence of the *Ngabuleh* tradition in the Pamekasan society also questions the relationship between the tradition and the confirmation identity of the Madurese *Santri*. It also questions the implications of the *Ngabuleh* implementation on the resilience of the *santri* in facing globalization. These questions will be used as a guide to explore the existence of the tradition,

especially in its position as cultural resilience. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to determine the factors that cause the persistence of the *Ngabuleh* tradition among Pamekasan *santri*, to map the relationship between tradition and strengthening the *santri* identity, and to explain the traditional implications of *santri* independence.

This study uses a cultural anthropological approach, placing the *Ngabuleh* tradition as the object. The focus is the cultural resilience of Madurese *santri* who are the *Ngabuleh* traditional actors. This analysis utilizes the structural functionalism theory of Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), which places culture and social organization as a response to the biological and psychological needs of society (Saifuddin, 2005: 167). The *Ngabuleh* tradition carried out by Pamekasan *santri* in this theory's view has a certain function related to meeting the needs of people. Therefore, an explanation of the relationship between both traditional and societal functions constitutes the focus of this study.

The society supporting the *Ngabuleh* tradition is positioned as a social organization which is explained through two points: the totality of activities carried out in a certain context, and the roles played by individuals in their relationship with one another (Saifuddin, 2005: 170). This tradition is part of the cultural activities of the Pamekasan society, especially the *santri*, which are carried out as a preparation for domestic life. In its implementation, some actors are interconnected in paternalistic relations, between *santri* as *Ngabuleh* actors and *Kiai* as mentors who carry out the transmission and integration of values. Through the analysis of structural functionalism, this tradition is explained as a social response in meeting its biological and psychological needs, thereby enhancing social and cultural resilience for the actors. In Basset's view, five subsystems function in resilience, and include the social economy, civil society, regional infrastructure, supply chains, and government institutions (Carlson et al. 2012: 25). These five subsystems are analyzed for their existence, interrelationships, and attachments to each other.

B. NGABULEH TRADITION, ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

In traditional Madurese Islamic society, *Kiai* is the central figure who gains legitimacy in power through his charisma. The position of *Kiai* and his Islamic boarding school constitute the axis of religious, economic, social, and

cultural education. The *Kiai* closeness to the *santri* and the society fosters loyalty (Ma'arif, 2010: 273) which places them as role models and sources of knowledge. The Islamic Boarding school functions as a place for the transfer and transmission of religious knowledge, a cadre of ulema institutions, as well as guardians of the traditions of the people (Basyit, 2017: 293). Therefore, the position of Islamic boarding schools for the society not only function as a place to gain religious knowledge but also as a place to learn life sciences. It is not uncommon for the *Kiai's* house (*dhalem*) to become a living laboratory for *santri* and the society to acquire social skills. This is conducted in the *Ngabuleh* tradition which involves serving the *Kiai's* family in Pamekasan.

In Pamekasan, there are many Islamic boarding schools where *santri* live the *Ngabuleh* tradition. Some of the major Islamic boarding schools in the region include Miftahul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Panyeppeen, Miftahul Qulub Islamic Boarding School Polagon, Mambaul Ulum Islamic Boarding School Panaan Palengaan, and Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Banyuanyar. *Santricarriedout Ngabuleh* are *santri* who have stayed at the Islamic boarding school (Mu'in and Hefni, 2016: 115), therefore they performed this tradition in other Islamic boarding schools. *Ngabuleh* forms also have different purposes; some aim to hone their entrepreneurial skills, as did the *santri* at the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Banyuanyar (Wardi and Ismail, 2018: 50), while some seek household knowledge, such as the people of Akkor Village in Palengaan (Mu'in and Hefni, 2016: 114). This research focuses on the second form of *Ngabuleh*, which is performed by female *santri* when they are about to get married.

Ngabuleh in the Islamic boarding school society is defined as *khadam*, which means helping or serving the *Kiai's* family. In the world of Islamic boarding schools, *khadam's* task is not only to assist *Kiai* in household matters but also to Islamic boarding schools and economic activities (Z. Amrullah and Said, 2020: 234). The *Ngabuleh* actor resides in the *dhalem* *Kiai* and his family is directly involved in daily household activities such as cooking, sweeping, and others. In this tradition, the performer becomes part of the *kiai's* family and is given the mandate to carry out activities in the *kiai's dhalem*. In carrying out *Ngabuleh*, *Kiai* represents the parent of the actor who directs and supervises his service activities.

The actors of the *Ngabuleh* tradition in the Pamekasan society are carried out by female *santri* who are getting married. This is related to the matrilo-

uxorilocal Madurese marriage tradition, where the husband lives in the house of the wife who is with her mother (Azis, 2017: 619). The *Ngabuleh* procession was preceded by the handover of the female *santri* by their parents to the *Kiai* at his residence. Furthermore, the parents explained the purpose of their arrival and informed the condition of their daughter who was getting married. The *Kiai* and his family accepted the handover and expressed their willingness to guide the female *Ngabuleh* actors (Mu'in and Hefni, 2016: 109).

The implementation of *Ngabuleh* usually lasts for one week to one month, and during this time the actors receive theoretical and practical guidance in the household. *Kiai* and *Bu Nyai* occupy multifunctional positions, namely as *ustadz*; teachers of make-up or make-up skills, marriage advisors, and mentors on life issues. The purpose of education during *Ngabuleh* is to prepare actors to have physical, mental readiness, and household skills. Therefore, when individuals have lived in his household, they will not be confused and awkward anymore as they have experienced all the factors of domestic life during *Ngabuleh*.

The intensity of the relationship and communication between the *Kiai* and the *Ngabuleh* actors is interpersonal, therefore it builds a closeness between both parties. In this communication model, the delivery of messages from *Kiai* to actors is symmetrical (Wasta Utami, 2018: 141). *Kiai* and his family dominate in this relationship, and this is marked by the arrival of orders from the *Kiai* to be carried out by the actor during the implementation of *Ngabuleh*. Symmetrical personal communication enhances the *santri* respect for *Kiai*. It is this closeness and respect that strengthens the loyalty of the *santri* to the *Kiai* without limits. The *Kiai's* relationship with the *santri* continues even though the *santri* no longer resides in the Islamic boarding school.

The *Ngabuleh* procession ends with the departure of the actor from the *Kiai's dhalem* to his house to perform the marriage contract. The actor is also made to be a bride after leaving the *Kiai dhalem*. Interestingly, in the implementation of *Ngabuleh*, each actor helps and supports each other. In the case of bridal makeup, for example, those who do it are not makeup experts, but fellow *Ngabuleh* actors as proof of mastery of the skills they already have. The release of the *Kiai* and his family from the *Ngabuleh* actor to his home is the final part of the *ngabuleh* procession, but not the end of the relationship between the *Kiai's* family and the *Ngabuleh* actor family.

For society, the implementation of the *Ngabuleh* tradition at the *kiai's dhalem* is a form of final respect for the *santri* to the *Kiai* before embarking on married life (Mu'in and Hefni, 2016: 114). This is inseparable from the *Kiai's* position as a religious and cultural elite who is respected by the surrounding society. The persistence of this tradition from generation to generation represents an effort to maintain the continuity of the relationship between the *santri* and the *Kiai*. Although they do not personally live in the *Kiai's* Islamic boarding school or *dhalem*, their relationship is maintained through the *kompolan* tradition (Hidayati, 2011: 144). It is in this context that *Kiai* becomes the main actor and agent of socio-cultural change that influences society's resilience in adapting to social change (Abidin and Wahid, 2017: 1). *Kiai*, through their Islamic boarding school, are not only required to adapt to changes, but also to maintain the identity of their Islamic boarding school from the impact of change (Said, 2011: 178).

The implementation of the *Ngabuleh* tradition shows the installation of the life values of the *Kiai* and his family to the actor. The educational material during *Ngabuleh* is the implementation of the values of religiosity, integrity, loyalty, and independence. The value of religiosity integrates piety to the actor, specifically education on how to be a pious wife as the main requirement for the creation of a *sakinah* family. The value of integrity educates the actor's sincerity when serving the *Kiai* family. When the actor carries out the tasks assigned by the *Kiai*, everything is performed without coercion and based on mere devotion. Furthermore, loyalty involves obeying the orders of the *Kiai* and his family during the traditional process. For the *Ngabuleh* actor, obeying these orders is an honor because in the structure of *santri* thinking, obedience to the *Kiai* results in blessings in life. The skills to perform household tasks when carrying out *Ngabuleh* form an independent person for the actor. The repetition of these tasks in daily life forms positive habits and prevents dependence on others.

Based on these values, the *Ngabuleh* tradition has a function related to the survival of the actor as a member of society. Through this tradition, actors acquire a variety of knowledge and skills, thereby enhancing their resilience for life (Beel et al., 2017: 2). The practice of *Ngabuleh* in society, apart from being a living laboratory for the actors, also shows the existence of cultural reproduction as part of efforts to combat the challenges of modernity. In Daskon's view (Daskon, 2010: 1080), cultural resilience rests on existing and

sustainable cultural traditions. On that basis, the *Ngabuleh* tradition still exists in the Pamekasan *santri* society as a medium to adapt to globalization.

C. NGABULEH AND CONFIRMATION OF SANTRI IDENTITY

The application of the *Ngabuleh* tradition in the Islamic boarding school environment shows the strong influence of the school in preserving and inheriting culture. The Islamic boarding school education system that produces a patron-client relationship between *Kiai-santri* and society are influential in the formation of traditions (Muhakamurrohman, 2014: 115). Furthermore, the position of the *Kiai* as the leader of the Islamic boarding school acts as a midwife in efforts to domesticate and adapt traditions to social change (Chinsinga, 2006: 255). In carrying out the *Ngabuleh* tradition, the *Kiai* is not only a guide for the actor. The *Kiai's* house which is integrated with the Islamic boarding school is also a place for internalizing the religious values, integrity, loyalty, and independence.

The choice of Islamic boarding school as a place for carrying out the *Ngabuleh* tradition is proof that the school is not only an educational institution for religious knowledge but also as a socio-cultural institution (Chaer, 2017: 49). In the current modernity, Islamic boarding schools play a fundamental role in their environment, namely maintaining the continuity of religious teachings and preserving society traditions. Modernity, according to Abdullah, produces changes in three ways. First, the differentiation and weakening of communalism, second, the weakening of traditional ties replaced by rationalism, and third, the occurrence of dehumanization due to the use of machines and technology (Abdullah, 2010: 30). These three changes are challenges faced by Islamic boarding schools and society. The existence of the *Ngabuleh* tradition cannot be separated from the existence of the Islamic boarding schools and the people in it, namely *Kiai* and *Santri*. Islamic boarding schools, together with the society use the *Ngabuleh* tradition as a medium to strengthen social identity that distinguishes it from other communities.

The function of Islamic boarding schools as a religious and socio-cultural educational institution places *Kiai* in the position of the religious and socio-cultural elite (Susanto, 2017: 30). This position has not changed even though the currents of modernity continue to reveal its influence. The belief of the *Ngabuleh* actors' parents in the *Kiai* shows that the religious-paternalist-charismatic relationship of the *Kiai* in Pamekasan is still maintained. In other

Islamic boarding schools, the influence of modernity is marked by the emergence of new *santri* with modern characteristics which have the potential to change this relationship into a persuasive-participatory-rational one (Susanto, 2017: 39). This reality does not occur in the Pamekasan Madura Islamic boarding school, where *Kiai's* charisma is still prominent and influential in society. Therefore, modernity and all its changes have not completely changed the existing socio-cultural order. The *Ngabuleh* tradition strengthens the position and legitimacy of the *Kiai* among the *santri* and the surrounding society.

The persistence of the patron-client relationship between the *Kiai*, *santri*, and the society is proof of the *Kiai's* effective leadership (Hernawati, 2015: 1). With their legitimacy as a religious and a socio-cultural elite, the *Kiai* determines the model of change carried out by the Islamic boarding school. Through the *Ngabuleh* tradition, relations are established between actors, namely *Kiai* as mentors, *santri* as actors, and parents as supporters of the tradition. *Santri* is the central actor in this tradition, while *Kiai* is the determinant of the values to be internalized. *Kiai's* vision and strategy in this internalization process determine the direction of change in the personality. This encourages parents to choose *Kiai* and his family as a place for their children to live, and learn the *Ngabuleh* tradition. Therefore, in the practice of *Ngabuleh*, *Kiai* instills certain values into his *santri* through a learning process and living practice.

The religiosity values, integrity, loyalty, and independence that were carried by the *Kiai* during *Ngabuleh* serve to strengthen the identity of the *santri*. Actors with the status of *santri* and places of implementation of traditions in Islamic boarding schools are important elements that support the success of the *Ngabuleh* tradition. In the world of Islamic boarding school, the *Kiai* is the spirit, while the *santri* constitute the components that support the spirit (Fatoni, 2011: 165). This trilogy relationship, *Kiai-santri-Islamic boarding schools*, is formed through learning activities and daily life when *santri* are still learners at the Islamic boarding schools. This condition supports the effectiveness of the implementation of the *Ngabuleh* tradition, as the introduction of these values can be performed quickly. Although the *Ngabuleh* practice only lasts between a week and a month, the trilogy relationship is already established and makes the process of introducing these values easy to absorb.

The affirmation of the identity of the *santri* through the *Ngabuleh* tradition is also supported by the institutionalization of the concept of piety. The substance of *Ngabuleh* is devotion to *Kiai* and Islamic boarding school. There is a connection and attachment between *santri* and Islamic boarding school services (Zulaili, 2020: 99). The religiosity values are integrated when the *Ngabuleh* actors were still *santri*. Therefore, in the process of carrying out *Ngabuleh*, their piety is strengthened by these values. Piety is the main identity of *santri* which describes individuals with deep religious knowledge and noble character. The combination of depth of religious knowledge and the nobility of morality is what forms their identity. During the *Ngabuleh* process, piety is further forged because it enables direct supervision and control from the *Kiai* and the family.

The value of integrity is formed from the sincere attitude shown by the *santri* in carrying out household and Islamic boarding tasks given. The *Kiai*'s relationship with the *santri* and the patron-client model is an influential factor in the formation of this sincere identity. Furthermore, in Scott's view (Scott, 1990), relations between actors form a power relationship that is influenced by the authority that each has. *Kiai* is the patron whose charismatic leadership influences their actions in carrying out their orders. This is an award, therefore when carrying out the order, the *santri* are happy and do not feel coerced. Meanwhile, the concept of blessing is closely related to the sincerity of carrying out the *Kiai*'s orders, therefore this identity is formed and embedded in the personality of the *santri*. While carrying out *Ngabuleh*, are happy and do not feel coerced. to the *Kiai* and his family. Being in the *Kiai*'s *dhalem* is a pride and glory because not all *santri* get this opportunity. *Ngabuleh* places the actor in the *dhalem* and interacts directly with the *Kiai* and his family which further confirms their sincerity.

The loyalty value integrated during the process of *Ngabuleh* confirmed the identity of obedience for the *santri*. Loyalty to *Kiai* and the Islamic boarding school is a fixed price. Obedience to *Kiai* is formed through the *Kiai-santri* physical relationship while at the boarding school. In traditional Islamic boarding schools, the relationship between them is strong and then forms a paternalistic pattern. This is different from modern Islamic boarding schools because it is a formal institution. Therefore, the relationship between *santri* and *Kiai* is functional (Muhakamurrohman, 2014: 113). Their close relationship fosters the character of the *santri* in terms of obedience, simplicity, inde-

pendence, a helping spirit, high brotherhood, discipline, and concern for achieving noble goals (Halim, 2018: 100). These characters are formed because the strong Islamic boarding school culture is under the control of the *Kiai*. Through this position, *Kiai* is an important figure in the formation of the socio-cultural and religious life of Muslims in Indonesia (Halim, 2018: 100). Therefore, their contribution in shaping and maintaining the sustainability of the Islamic boarding school culture enhances high sincerity. This attribute is strengthened when the *santri* carries out *Ngabuleh*. Their close relationship with *Kiai* brings *santri* obedience which at a later stage strengthens sincerity or loyalty. This will be maintained even though they no longer live in the Islamic boarding school or the *dhalem*.

The implementation of household and Islamic boarding school tasks that are carried out continuously form the independent identity of the *santri*. The habit of helping the *Kiai* family during *Ngabuleh* enhances skill acquisition. This is especially when they are given the trust to run a business owned by *Kiai* and his family which economically contributes to strengthening their entrepreneurial competence (Wardi and Ismail, 2018: 50). Through this habit, the independent spirit of *santri* is increasingly formed which becomes an important capital for them in the future. Their independence will be a strategy of resilience in facing the economic challenges of the family they will foster.

The identity of piety, sincerity, obedience, and independence which is formed from the value integration of religiosity, integrity, loyalty, and autonomy, strengthens the resilience of *santri* in facing social changes around them. In this modern era, affirmation of identity is important to reduce social vulnerability. Modernity with all its effects is unavoidable therefore efforts are needed to combat it. Through the *Ngabuleh* tradition, the *santri*, through the *Kiai's* control, adapt and negotiate modernity while maintaining their identity. The position of *Kiai* in the Islamic boarding school enables them to function as guardians of religious traditions and values (Masyhuri, 2015: 10). Therefore, external values with the flow of modernization can be filtered and adapted. The persistence of the *Ngabuleh* shows the effort to dynamic tradition by having a dialogue with the development and changes in the needs of life, carried out by *Kiai*, *santri*, and the society.

D. NGABULEH AS A SOCIO-CULTURAL RESILIENCE STRATEGY FOR MADURESE SANTRI

The existence of the *Ngabuleh* tradition places the *Kiai* as an agent of social reproduction that determines the implementation of the tradition (Hidayati, 2011: 146). With this knowledge and the people's respect, *Kiai* occupies a special position and becomes a determinant of the tradition's continuity (Hariadi, 2015: 99). In the context of the Madurese society, the polymorphic position of *Kiai* as a local religious-Islamic leader experiences no difficulties in maintaining their position and authority (Hasan, 2018: 18). In the *Ngabuleh* tradition, the *Kiai* retains the position of patron, the religious and social elites to maintain their power relationship with the *santri* and the society. *Ngabuleh* is carried out in the *Kiai's dhalem* and its implementation is also determined by the *Kiai*. Therefore, the continuity and dynamics of this tradition depend on the *Kiai*.

The persistence of tradition in a society in this modern era is a form of resistance that presents a new world, namely post-modernity (Jalil, 2019: 113). This resistance can be in form of acceptance, rejection, and negotiation (Masyhuri, 2015: 2). The *Ngabuleh* tradition carried out by the *santri* in the *Kiai dhalem* intending to gain domestic knowledge is a form of negotiation against modernity. The Islamic boarding school directly or indirectly always adapts and adopts new values (Basri, 2017: 313). Its environment becomes a socio-cultural resilience laboratory for *Ngabuleh* actors, to prepare for social change. In this place the actor interacts with the other *santri*, *Kiai*, and their families (Fahham, 2020: 43), producing intensive communication in a conducive situation in the context of ongoing educational interactions (Hariadi, 2015: 26). Modernity with all its problems cannot be avoided, therefore adapting to modernity while maintaining the *santri* identity is the result of negotiations. This process of adaptation and negotiation forms the socio-cultural resilience of the *Ngabuleh* actors, thereby preventing them from experiencing life's vulnerability. This is evidenced by the results of Mun'in's study in the village of Akkor Palengaan, where the *Ngabuleh* actors have more socio-cultural resilience in overcoming the problems of their household life (Mu'in and Hefni, 2016: 122).

The implementation of *Ngabuleh* involves inheriting identity from the older to the younger generation. Several sources interviewed by Mun'im

stated that the willingness of the *santri* to carry out *Ngabuleh* at first was for the continuity of tradition (Mu'in and Hefni, 2016: 116). Cultural resilience and the ability to recognize cultural identity enable society to overcome their life's difficulties (Smyntyna, 2016: 1-20). The inheritance of the *Ngabuleh* tradition to the younger generation is part of building social and cultural resilience. This tradition is positioned as a mitigation of the vulnerability of life that may be faced by actors in their marriage. By getting used to household work as well as those related to Islamic boarding schools, *Ngabuleh* actors anticipate, respond, and adapt to the changes that will be faced.

The persistence of a tradition in a society indicates the existence of certain functions in their collective life. Societal resilience is a function of its subsystem resilience, which includes its tradition or culture (Carlson et al., 2012: 22). The *Ngabuleh* tradition in the life of the Pamekasan society is not just a tradition of serving and expecting blessings from a *santri* to the *Kiai*, but functions to build family, economic, social, and cultural resilience. The implementation of this tradition is related to the preparation of *santri* as prospective brides in household skill empowerment, building strong relationships with their patrons, and preserving the cultural heritage of their ancestors.

The formation of values such as religiosity, integrity, and loyalty during the *Ngabuleh* process form the resilience of the *santri* family as the actors. The individual and social piety acquired during his interaction with the *Kiai* and his family will shape his spiritual strength. In his position as a *santri*, *Ngabuleh* actors have a good appreciation and practice of religious knowledge (Zamroni, 2020: 3). Socio-ecologically, *Kiai's* family environment is the right place to observe the practice of husband-wife-child relations. The *Ngabuleh* tradition is also an effective practicum for actors to gain theory and practice on the rights and obligations of husband and wife, taught and demonstrated by *Kiai* and his family. These lessons and life practices strengthen the resilience of the *Ngabuleh* families in the face of social changes around them.

Islamic boarding schools have proven to be resilient in facing the various challenges of modernity (Fahmi Arrauf Nasution, Miswari, and Sabaruddin, 2019: 211). This occurs through negotiating and adapting while maintaining the strong values of religious teachings and integrating the principle of independence. One of the things carried out by *pesantren* in responding to modernity is to reform functions, from the mere educational to the socio-

economic function (Basyit, 2017: 303). In terms of economic development, Islamic boarding schools foster a significant and strategic entrepreneurial spirit for the economic development of the people (Halim, Suhartini, and Arif, 2005: 218-219). The implementation of the *Ngabuleh* tradition in the schools will grow the economic resilience of the actors. Furthermore, it has shaped the personality of the *santri* to be independent. Independence is a form of subjective attitude in which individuals are not affected by other parties (Rahman, 2019: 85). The competencies and skills acquired while carrying out the *Ngabuleh* tradition reinforce the spirit of independence, while simultaneously strengthening its economic resilience.

The ability of the society to work together and cultural factors affect their resilience and vulnerability (Neher and Miola, 2016: 15). The strong collective ties and the large number of people who maintain their culture constitute the dominant elements in strengthening their socio-cultural resilience. In this condition, a tradition functions as a glue or social cohesion, preventing conflict, and strengthening togetherness. This also happens in the *Ngabuleh* tradition carried out by the *santri* in the *dhalem*. The *Kiai* and the actors' families collectively maintain tradition, which enhances a strong relationship between both parties. *Santri* and their families will always be part of *Kiai*'s extended family. Therefore, there is a relationship between them throughout the ages. This will produce a hierarchy on the one hand as well as loyalty on the other. *Kiai*'s position in Islamic boarding schools, in particular, gave birth to a real hierarchy of power (Muhammad, 2019: 25). *Kiai*'s expertise, depth of knowledge, and charisma strongly influence Islamic boarding schools (Junaedi, 2017: 182), which enhances the loyalty of *santri* (Savran and Thaha, 2018: 125). Their relationship is likened to that of a child and the parents because the *Kiai* always pays attention to the wishes and desires of the *santri* (Syarif, 2017: 130). For society, the *Kiai*'s instructions are considered or believed to be instructions from God and have wisdom (Muhammad, 2019: 26).

The collaboration and cooperation between the *Kiai* and his Islamic boarding schools and the surrounding society in preserving traditions influence the socio-cultural resilience of the society. With his relationship power, he carries out the dynamics of tradition as part of adapting to modernity. Furthermore, *Kiai*'s vision and mission are very important as they determine the direction of traditional developments, including the *Ngabuleh*

tradition. With the support of the surrounding society, in the hands of the *Kiai*, this tradition becomes a socio-cultural resilience typical of Madurese *santri*, which is influenced by the *Kiai*'s paternalistic relationship with his *santri*. Through the implementation of the *Ngabuleh* tradition, the transmission of attributes such as piety, sincerity, obedience, and independence continues and increases the socio-cultural resilience of the society when facing modernity. *Ngabuleh* for the *santri* is a strategy of cultural resilience in the face of changes caused by modernity.

E. CONCLUSION

The *Ngabuleh* tradition for Madurese *santri*, especially in Pamekasan, is a socio-cultural resilience strategy. It aims to fulfill the functions of individual and social life needs, both biological and psychological. The implementation of this tradition facilitates the relationship between the *Kiai* and the *santri* and continues although they are no longer in Islamic boarding schools. For the people, *Kiai* is still positioned as a religious and socio-cultural elite who holds the continuity and dynamics of a tradition. Through the *Ngabuleh* tradition, *Kiai* responds to modernization by adopting several important values of life. These values become the identity of Madurese *santri* which distinguishes them from others. Therefore, cooperation between *Kiai*, *santri*, and the society in preserving the *Ngabuleh* tradition is an important asset in dealing with socio-cultural changes due to modernization.

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