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Development of an Alumni Based Islamic Boarding School at the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School

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Abstract: *This study aims to analyze the development of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Kedungpedati, Tasikrejo, Pemalang which is based on an alumni network from the perspective of Robert D. Putnam's social capital theory. This qualitative field study employed observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation with purposively selected informants (teachers and alumni), followed by analysis through data reduction, presentation, and drawing of conclusions. The results show that social capital transforms the religious emotional bond between students and the kiai into cooperation and a source of resources for the pesantren. The alumni network is formed from shared educational experiences and closeness to the kiai, and is then channeled through alumni and supporter organizations as well as religious activities in various regions. Trust is maintained through the practice of mutual assistance, the example set by the kiai, and the value of upholding the pesantren's good reputation, while the norm of reciprocity develops as generalized reciprocity. Alumni contributions include material and non-material support, education, da'wah, the promotion and recruitment of students, as well as access to employment and business opportunities, and the establishment of Raudhatul Athfal, Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, and Madrasah Aliyah. These findings reinforce Putnam's logic, emphasizing that networks are centered on kiai and that trust is underpinned by religious values. For Islamic education administrators, alumni networks should be positioned as a relational institutional resource. In practical terms, Islamic boarding schools need to formalize alumni management through databases, ongoing communication, and the integration of alumni organizations into strategic planning as a complement to, rather than a replacement for, the social relationships that serve as a source of trust.*
Keywords: *Alumni Networks, Social Capital, Pesantren Development*

Introduction

Islamic boarding schools are Islamic educational institutions that play an important role in the lives of the Indonesian people.[1] In addition to serving as

[1] Heriyadi Heriyadi and Moch. Iqbal, "Kebijakan Pendidikan Pesantren Di Indonesia," *Journal of Primary Education (JPE)* 2, no. 1 (2022): 23, Heriyadi Heriyadi and Moch. Iqbal, "Kebijakan Pendidikan Pesantren Di Indonesia," *Journal of Primary Education (JPE)* 2, no. 1 (2022): 23. Retrieved from https://ejournal.uinfasbengkulu.ac.id/index.php/jpe/article/view/3683/6038.

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centers of religious education, Islamic boarding schools also play a role in moral and social development, as well as community empowerment. The purpose of these schools is not only to transmit Islamic knowledge but also to shape the character of students so they can live and contribute to society. As times change, Islamic boarding schools are required to adapt to social, economic, and educational changes without abandoning the Islamic values that form their core identity.[2]

Statistical data show that as of October 2025, there were approximately 42,391 Islamic boarding schools spread across Indonesia, with the highest concentration on the island of Java, including West Java as one of the regions with the largest number of boarding schools.[3] The data shows that Islamic boarding schools are one of the Islamic educational institutions that make a significant contribution to the development of education, moral guidance, and the social and religious life of communities in Indonesia.[4] However, despite these significant contributions, many Islamic boarding schools still face various challenges in institutional development, particularly in the areas of financing, resource management, and institutional autonomy. These conditions pose a challenge for Islamic boarding schools in maintaining their existence and improving institutional quality amid an increasingly complex and ever-changing world. [5]

In addition to funding issues, Islamic boarding schools also face the challenge of managing increasingly dynamic institutional structures. Social changes and growing competition among educational institutions require Islamic boarding schools to be able to develop in an adaptive and sustainable manner. However, many Islamic boarding schools still face obstacles in their institutional development, such as limited resources, a lack of innovation,

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[2] Riski Ayu Amaliah, Bahaking Rama, and Muhammad Yahdi, "Islamic Boarding School Education Institutions in Indonesia Article Info," *Jurnal Ilmu Kependidikan Dan Keislaman* 18, no. 2 (2023): 101–107, Retrieved from https://jurnal.unismuhpalu.ac.id/index.php/IQRA/article/view/3771/2953.

[3] Bidayah Zulfa Izzatillah et al., "Konstruksi Tanggung Jawab Hukum Orang Tua Terhadap Anak Usia Dini dalam Penyerahan ke Pesantren Perspektif Maqasid Shari'ah (Studi Kasus Pondok Pesantren Al-Huda Pamijahan Kabupaten Cirebon)"*Maqasid* : *Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam*" 15, no. 1 (2026): 250–265.

[4] Safiqul Shubuh et al., "Implementasi Konsep Finite State Automata (FSA) Untuk Pengolahan Data Santri Pada Pondok Pesantren" 9, no. 1 (2023): 23-27. Retrieved from https://ejournal.fikom-unasman.ac.id/index.php/jikom/article/view/260/136.

[5] Isropil Siregar et al., "Tantangan dan Solusi dalam Pengelolaan Dana Operasional Pesantren Berdasarkan Perpres No.82 Tahun 2021,"*Jurnal Review Pendidikan dan Pengajaran 7,no.3(2024)*: 9058–9067. Retrieved from https://journal.universitaspahlawan.ac.id/index.php/jrpp/article/view/30906/20973.

weak organizational management, and the underutilization of their alumni. These conditions prevent Islamic boarding schools from fully harnessing their potential to support institutional development. 6

One of the strategic assets of Islamic boarding schools is their alumni network. Alumni are an important part of Islamic boarding schools, maintaining emotional, social, and intellectual ties with the institutions where they received their education. Alumni are not only an indicator of a pesantren's educational success, but they can also serve as social capital in supporting the pesantren's development. Through alumni networks, pesantrens can gain support in the form of ideas, manpower, connections, promotion, and financial assistance to bolster their institutional development.7 However, the potential of the alumni network has not yet been fully harnessed as a strategy for the development of Islamic boarding schools. This is still evident in the weak institutional governance and coordination, the lack of integration of the alumni information system, and the suboptimal collection of alumni data.

A similar situation exists at the Annahdlah Islamic Boarding School in Makassar, which faces challenges in governance, coordination, and its alumni information system.8 These findings are consistent with those of Putra and Harini, who show that alumni management at Islamic educational institutions has yet to receive systematic attention, particularly with regard to strengthening relationships with alumni and fostering their contributions.9 In fact, alumni can serve as a bridge between Islamic boarding schools and the wider community, while also acting as a driving force to strengthen institutional capacity, improve the quality of education, and promote the

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[6] M Zulfakar Pratama, Siti Zulaikha, and Masduki Ahmad, "Kemitraan Pesantren Dengan Alumni Dalam Peningkatan Kapabilitas Dinamis Yayasan Pondok Pesantren," *Didaktika: Jurnal Kependidikan* 14, no. 3 (2025): 4105–4112. https://doi.org/10.58230/27454312.2516.

[7] Nur Ali Yasin, Mohammad Nurul Yaqin, and Ahmadi Pramuja, "Revitalisasi Kultur Pesantren Dan Sosial Di Masyarakat Melalui Kegiatan Alumni: Studi Kasus Organisasi CENDANA (Cendekiawan Muda Nurul Amin)," *Jurnal Masyarakat Madani Indonesia* 4, no. 2 (2025): 102–113, https://doi.org/10.59025/07e11w95.

[8] Andy, Akramun Nisa, dan Amran Eku, "Manajemen Strategi Ikatan Alumni Dalam Pengembangan Pondok Pesantren Annahdlah Makassar: Analisis Kondisi, Faktor, Dan Strategi" 1, no. 14 (2026): 1–20. https://doi.org/10.31969/pusaka.v14i1.1653.

[9] Ilham Andika Putra dan Hegar Harini, "Pengelolaan Alumni Dalam Mendukung Mutu Pendidikan: Analisis Strategi dan Kontribusi Alumni," *Al-Zayn:Jurnal Ilmu Sosial & Hukum* 2, no. 1 (2024): 135–149. Retrieved from https://ejournal.yayasanpendidikandzurriyatulquran.id/index.php/AlZayn/article/view/5774/3699

independence of Islamic boarding schools. Nevertheless, the management of alumni networks in many Islamic boarding schools is still not functioning optimally. Some Islamic boarding schools still face challenges such as low alumni participation in school activities, poor communication among alumni, and the lack of a sustainable alumni network management system.10 As a result, the potential of alumni as a strategic force in the development of Islamic boarding schools has not been fully utilized.

This is also evident from various previous studies that have focused on the empowerment of alumni in the development of human resources at Islamic boarding schools.11 Romdoni and Sa'diyah's research examines alumni planning and development through alumni organizations, tracking, and mentoring programs.12 Erly's research examines the contribution of alumni to the economic development of Islamic boarding schools.13 However, the study has not specifically examined how alumni maintain their social ties with the pesantren after completing their education and how these ties develop into collective collaboration. This aspect is important to examine in order to understand the role of trust, norms of reciprocity, and social networks as social capital in supporting the development of pesantren. A number of studies on the use of alumni networks in the development of Islamic boarding schools have been conducted at boarding schools with a large alumni base or a well-structured alumni management system.

Research at the Sunan Drajat Islamic Boarding School, for example, shows how the school leverages a network of thousands of alumni through the Pessandra organization to support the boarding school's economic development.14 Meanwhile, a study at the Darul Muttaqien Modern Islamic Boarding School examined alumni development through organizations, tracking, and institutional programs.[15] However, this study has not yet provided an overview of the utilization of alumni networks in the context of Salafi Islamic boarding schools that have developed at the local level. The

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[10] Putra&Harini.

[11] Asep Dawami, "Pemberdayaan Alumni Terhadap Peningkatan Mutu Sumber Daya Manusia Di Pesantren Al Binaa" 3, no. 2 (2022): 87–108, https://doi.org/10.32832/itjmie.v3i2.7723.

[12] Muhammad Dede and Maemunah Sa, "Perencanaan Pengembangan Alumni Di Pondok Pesantren (Studi Di Pesantren Darul Muttaqien Bogor)" 5, no. 3 (2024): 413–420. https://doi.org/10.32832/jpg.v5i3.16147.

[13] Erly Juliyani, "Peran Alumni Dalam Pengembangan Ekonomi Pondok Pesantren Sunan Drajat," *Al-Maqashid: Journal of Economics and Islamic Business* 3, no. 1 (2023), https://doi.org/10.55352/maqashid.v3i1.273.

[14] Erly Juliyani,"Peran Alumni dalam Pengembangan Ekonomi,"25

[15] Romdoni dan Sa'diyah,"Perencanaan Pengembangan Alumni,"415

Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Kedungpedati, Tasikrejo, Pemalang, serves as a relevant and interesting case study because it has successfully developed the institution through the involvement of its alumni. This Islamic boarding school began as a simple religious study group, which later developed into a madrasah and eventually became an Islamic boarding school with formal educational institutions, such as Raudhatul Athfal, Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, and Madrasah Aliyah.

This progress is closely linked to the contributions of alumni, who have played a role in supporting the development of the Islamic boarding school.16 These findings indicate that alumni networks are linked to efforts to develop and strengthen Islamic boarding schools. However, the role of alumni networks in supporting the development of Islamic boarding schools still requires more in-depth study; in this context, social capital is utilized because the development of Islamic boarding schools based on alumni networks depends not only on material resources but also on the strength of social ties between the boarding schools and their alumni. Such networks can serve as a collective resource through trust, reciprocal norms, and cooperation. Robert D. Putnam's perspective on social capital was chosen because it is relevant for analyzing the interrelationships among social networks, trust, reciprocal norms, and cooperation in generating collective benefits.[17] This theory is used to explain how alumni networks are built and maintained, how mutual trust and norms are formed, and how these relationships encourage alumni participation in supporting the development of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School.

Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach using field research and a descriptive methodology. The qualitative approach was chosen because the study focuses on gaining an in-depth understanding of the formation and utilization of alumni networks in supporting the development of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Kedungpedati, Tasikrejo, Pemalang. This approach allows researchers to gain insight into the experiences, relationships, interactions, and forms of engagement between the pesantren and its alumni based on conditions that occur naturally in the field.

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[16]Ali Fikri, ""Interview with an Alumnus of Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, August 1" (Personal, 2026).

[17] Mochamad Nasichin Al Muiz et al., "Unpacking Social Capital for Growth and Development of Islamic Boarding School" *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam (Journal of Islamic Education Studies)* 11, no. 1 (2023): 89–108. https://doi.org/10.15642/jpai.2023.11.1.89-108.

The data sources for this study consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained directly from informants who were selected through purposive sampling based on the consideration that they possessed knowledge and experience relevant to the development of Islamic boarding schools and alumni networks. Research informants included caregivers and alumni of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School. Meanwhile, secondary data was obtained from boarding school documents, alumni activity archives, institutional data, and various scholarly publications relevant to the development of Islamic boarding schools and social capital.

Data collection was conducted through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Observations were conducted to directly observe the activities of the Islamic boarding school, the interactions between the boarding school and its alumni, and the ways in which alumni are involved in the boarding school's development activities. In-depth interviews were conducted with the Director of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School and alumni to gather information on the processes of network formation, trust, reciprocal norms, cooperation, and alumni contributions to the boarding school. Documentation was used to supplement the research data, including archives, photos of activities, institutional documents, and other data related to alumni involvement in the boarding school's development.

The data were analyzed qualitatively through several stages: data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. Data reduction was carried out by selecting, focusing, and grouping data from observations, interviews, and documentation in accordance with the research focus. Subsequently, the data were presented in the form of descriptive analyses that revealed patterns of relationships between alumni networks and the development of Islamic boarding schools. The final stage involves drawing conclusions based on the patterns and findings that emerge from the data, followed by a review to verify that the findings align with the field data to ensure the validity of the research results.

Result and Discussion

The Formation and Dynamics of Social Capital in the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School Alumni Network

Research findings indicate that the alumni network of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School was formed through the shared educational experiences the students had while at the boarding school. Interactions among students, clerics, and caregivers were an integral part of their educational lives and subsequently kept the students connected to the boarding school after they completed their studies. *"Pak yai itu kalo ngajar ngaji malem kang jam*

1,jam2 malam nanti setelah selesai mengaji bercengkrama dengan para santri. Soalnya kalo siang- sore itu waktu beliau untuk masyarakat. Nanti pulang kegiatan masyarakat beliau bawa jajan dibagikan ke santri. Santri yang gapunya uang dikasih sama beliau, padahal beliau sendiri buat makan dirinya sendiri saja susah. Nah darisitu muncul perasaan seperti anak dan orang tua kang" [18] *Pak Yai teaches the Quran at night—around 1 or 2 a.m.—and after the lesson is over, he chats with the students. That's because his time during the day and early evening is dedicated to the community. Later, on his way home from community activities, he would bring snacks to share with the students. He would give them to students who didn't have any money, even though he himself barely had enough to feed himself. That's where the bond between him and the students like that of a parent and child came from*.

These findings indicate that in the early stages of their development, the relationships between caregivers and students at the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School are formed not only through the learning process but also through attention, care, and emotional closeness in daily life. These interactions foster a sense of family and the students' loyalty to the boarding school.

The relationships formed during their time at the school later evolved into a network that continues to connect alumni with the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School after they graduate. "kami melihat pondok itu merasa seperti keluarga, rumah sendiri disana ada guru-guru kami sudah kami anggap seperti orangtua sehingga kami tetap kepondok untuk silaturahmi atau pondok ngadain kegiatan kami hadir"19 We see the boarding school as a family, like our own home. Our teachers there are like parents to us, so we still visit the boarding school to keep in touch, and whenever the school *holds an event, we attend*. The existence of this network is evident through various activities that serve as gathering spaces for alumni, such as social gatherings, religious study sessions, Muludan, Syawalan, istighasah, yasinan, tahlilan, and halal bihalal during Eid al-Fitr. In addition to activities held within the pesantren, alumni also organize regular religious study sessions in their respective communities. *"Kegiatan rutin alumni di masing masing daerah ada, yang muda muda ada sendiri, yang tua tua ada sendiri. Yang tahunan ada, kumpulan di bulan mulud, syawal. Ada rutinan istiqozah, yasin tahlil, pemuda ngadain sendiri, emak emak juga ngadain sendiri kang."*[20] *There are regular alumni activities in each region—the younger members have their own*

[18] Roni, "Interview with an Alumnus of Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, August 21" (Personal, 2026).

[19] Roni, Interview.

[20] Sofal Al Musa, "Interview with the Supervisor of Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, September 1" (Personal, 2026).

gatherings, and the older members have theirs. There are annual events, such as gatherings during the month of Mawlid and Shawwal. There are regular istiqoza and Yasin-Tahlil sessions; the young people organize their own events, and the women organize theirs too. These various activities demonstrate that the alumni network does not end with the relationships formed during their time at the university, but continues to grow through opportunities for alumni from different graduating classes and regions to stay connected.

The growth of this network eventually led to the formation of an organization specifically dedicated to supporting alumni and supporters of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, namely the Hadirul Ulum Alumni and Supporters Association of the Kedung Pedati Islamic Boarding School (KASIH PPKD). This organization has a broad membership base. Its members include alumni, the extended pesantren family, comprising caregivers, descendants of the founders, teachers, and administrators as well as supporters who share a deep affection for the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School. "Alumni disini itu sudah dari dulu mereka bersatu dan mengadakan kegaiatan-kegiatan baik di pondok pesantren saat Haflah, Halal Bihalal pas Idul fitri, ngadain kegiatan rutinan ditiap daerahnya masing-masing yasin tahlil, istighosah, berzanji, pengajian. Nama KASIH PPKD itu diberikan Oleh Pak kiai Chadirin yang kepanjangannya Keluarga Alumni dan Simpatisan Hadirul Ulum Pondok Pesantren Kedung Pedati. Nama Simpatisan ini dipilih memberikan makna untuk siapapun yang ingin bergabung dan mencintai Hadirul Ulum kita terima walaupun tidak pernah mondok disini atau sekolah disini."[21] The alumni here have long been united and have organized activities, whether at the Islamic boarding school during the Haflah, the Halal Bihalal gathering on Eid al-Fitr, or regular events in their respective regions, such as Yasin recitations, Tahlil, Istighosah, Berzanji, and religious study sessions. The name KASIH PPKD was given by Kiai Chadirin. It stands for the Alumni and Supporters Association of Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Kedung Pedati. The term "Supporters" was chosen to signify that we welcome anyone who wishes to join and loves Hadirul Ulum, even if they have never lived at the boarding school or attended school here. This membership structure shows that the network that has been formed not only connects alumni with their alma mater, but also extends these connections to others who share a deep affection for the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School.

[21] Sofal Al Musa, Interview.

KASIH PPKD also serves as a platform that connects alumni across different graduating classes and regions. Alumni scattered across various regions still have a space to communicate and participate in activities related to the Islamic boarding school. At the regional level, regular religious study sessions serve as a means of organizing alumni networks, while halal bihalal gatherings provide a venue for alumni from across regions to meet during Eid al-Fitr. KASIH PPKD is also involved in supporting major events at Islamic boarding schools, such as the Haflah Akhirussanah celebration at the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School. "Banyak konribusi alumni dalam menyukseskan acara-acara besar dipesantren misalnya Haflah Akhirussanah. Para alumni membantu ada yang memberikan dukungan secara finansial untuk acara, ada yang membantu menyusun konsep acaranya, ada yang membantu dari konsumsinya, perlengkapannya gitu kang, diacara lainya juga begitu dan itu inisiatif dari para alumninya sendiri"22 Alumni have made many contributions to the success of major events at the Islamic boarding school, such as the Haflah Akhirussanah. Some alumni provide financial support for the events, some help develop the event concepts, and others assist with catering and supplies—it's the same for other events as well, and these initiatives come from the alumni themselves. Thus, the alumni network operates on two levels: through the KASIH PPKD organization and through alumni activities in their respective regions.

From Robert D. Putnam's perspective, networks are a key component of social capital because the denser the network of interactions within a community, the more likely its members are to cooperate for the common good.23 In the context of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, this network was formed through shared educational experiences and later gained an organizational framework through KASIH PPKD. The existence of this organization has expanded opportunities for alumni interaction, while region-based activities demonstrate that the network continues to evolve in line with the social environments of its members. Thus, the Hadirul Ulum alumni network is both organized and widespread in nature, as there is a formal structure connecting its members, but its activities also take shape through initiatives in various regions.

The findings show that the formation of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School alumni network took place gradually, beginning with shared

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22 Sofal Al Musa, Interview.

23 Robert D. Putnam, Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), hlm.172

educational experiences and evolving through various alumni activities in each region and at the boarding school, which were later formalized into an organization through KASIH PPKD. This network consists not only of alumni, but also includes the broader pesantren community and supporters. This pattern indicates that the dynamics of the Hadirul Ulum alumni network unfold through relationships organized within KASIH PPKD, as well as through region-based activities and religious occasions.

Trust and Reciprocal Norms in Alumni Networks

The alumni network of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School not only demonstrates the continuity of relationships after the students' time at the school, but also reflects the trust that has developed among its members. This trust is evident in the alumni's willingness to stay in touch with their mentors, visit the Islamic boarding school when facing problems, and give and receive support in certain situations. "Alumni kalo ada masalah pasti lapor ke Abah, minta nasihat, minta saran"[24] If alumni have a problem, they always go to Abah to report it, ask for advice, and seek guidance. These findings indicate that alumni ties to Islamic boarding schools do not end with the bond of being former students, but evolve into social relationships that allow network members to rely on one another.

One example that illustrates this trust occurred when an alumnus returned from Jakarta after dealing with family issues and was short on capital. According to an informant, Kiai Chadirin provided capital assistance so that the alumnus could start a small business. "Ada alumni dari Bebel pulang dari Jakarta, nggak punya modal, nggak punya apa-apa, habis ada masalah cerai sama istrinya. Datang ke pondok ketemu Abah, dikasih modal 20 ribu sama Abah. 'Ini kamu beli ayam.' Dari satu ayam jadi bebek, jadi kambing. Dulu 20ribu setara 200rb, padahal abah dulu juga masih susah."[25] There was alumnus from Bebel who returned from Jakarta, he had no capital, nothing at all, after going through a divorce with his wife. He came to the boarding school to see Abah, who gave him 20,000 as startup capital. "Here, buy a chicken with this." From that one chicken, he moved on to ducks, then goats. Back then, 20,000 was worth 200,000—even though Abah himself had struggled back in the day. This action demonstrates that the relationships formed during their time at the pesantren continue to serve a social function even after the alumni have left. For the alumni, the pesantren is not only a

[24] Sofal Al Musa, Interview.
[25] Sofal Al Musa, Interview.

place where they received their education in the past, but also a social space they can turn to when facing life's challenges.

From Robert D. Putnam's perspective, trust is one of the key components of social capital because it enables individuals to build relationships and take collective action based on the belief that others can be relied upon.[26] Trust is not merely a matter of perception; it is also reflected in a person's willingness to form relationships, share needs, and offer support. In the context of Hadirul Ulum, the interactions that have taken place since the students' time in school lay the foundation for relationships that allow alumni and faculty to continue relying on one another. Thus, trust within alumni networks can be understood through concrete actions that demonstrate the continuity of social relationships.

This trust is then linked to the emergence of norms of reciprocity in the relationships among its members. The research findings indicate that the practice of mutual assistance occurs not only between alumni and mentors, but also among alumni themselves and among members of the pesantren's extended family. When an alumnus falls ill or faces difficulties, information about the situation is shared with other members of the network and may be followed by a visit, a collection of aid, or other forms of social support. "Ada alumni yang sakit, pondok tahu, langsung dikoordinir untuk iuran membantu, kemudian dijenguk dan para alumni lain juga ikut menjenguk, meringankan bebannya. Saling menolong bukan untuk pesantren saja, tapi juga untuk alumni lainnya dan santri yang kesusahan, bahkan untuk keluarganya."27 If an alumnus falls ill, efforts are immediately coordinated to collect donations to help, and then visits are made; other alumni also join in visiting to ease the burden. Helping one another isn't limited to the pesantren alone, but extends to other alumni and students facing hardship, and even to their families. These findings indicate that relationships within alumni networks are not only maintained through communication but are also manifested in actions that benefit network members.

This pattern is consistent with Putnam's concept of reciprocal norms. Reciprocity in social networks does not always take the form of a direct exchange between the same parties at the same time. The assistance a person receives may be repaid on another occasion by providing assistance to a different member of the network.28 Thus, the norm of reciprocity operates

[26] Sudarmono, Pembangunan Modal Sosial (Bandung: Rtujuh Media Printing, 2021), 28–29.

[27] Ali Fikri, Interview.

[28] Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work,* hlm.172

through the awareness that members are part of the same community and bear a social responsibility for the continuity of that relationship. In the context of Hadirul Ulum, the identity of being part of the pesantren's extended family serves as one of the contexts that enables the practice of mutual assistance to take place without always being based on the expectation of an immediate return.

This mutual trust and these norms are maintained through various spaces for social and religious interaction. Alumni participate in activities such as Muludan, Syawalan, istighasah, yasinan, tahlilan, regional religious study sessions, and halal bihalal. The event served as a gathering place that allowed alumni from various graduating classes and regions to reconnect. "Melalui kegiatan, perkumpulan alumni ditiap daerah ataupun dipondok itu banyak manfaatnya kang dari kegiatan tersebut bisa menjadi wadah silahturahmi para alumni, ya mengaji juga dawuhe pak yai yang namanya santri itu jangan sampai berhenti mengaji"29 Through these activities, alumni associations in each region or at the Islamic boarding schools offer many benefits. These activities can serve as a forum for alumni to stay connected, and they also provide opportunities for reciting the Quran as Pak Yai has taught us, a santri must never stop reciting the Quran. Thus, social-religious activities not only serve a ritual function but also provide a space for interactions that renew social bonds among their members. In this context, the existence of KASIH PPKD as an official organization provides a more structured framework for relationships between alumni and supporters of the Islamic boarding school. Its membership, which includes alumni, the broader pesantren community, and supporters, expands the scope for interaction within the network. However, mutual trust and norms are not produced solely through organizational activities. Religious study sessions in their respective regions, personal communication, visits to mentors, and the practice of mutual assistance demonstrate that social capital also operates through relationships that take place at the local level. This indicates a connection between the organizational structure and the social relationships that exist among its members.

In addition to mutual trust and practices, alumni relationships are also influenced by the values instilled by Kiai Chadirin during their time at the school. The value of contributing to the community and upholding the good reputation of the Islamic boarding school remains one of the guiding principles that alumni continue to uphold after completing their education.

[29] Ali Fikri, Interview .

"Dawuh beliau pak yai Chadirin, saya nggak malu jadi kiai miskin, tapi saya malu kalau santri saya tidak manfaat."[30] *As Pak Yai Chadirin said, I'm not ashamed to be a poor kiai, but I'm ashamed if my students aren't of any use.* This statement indicates that the educational process at Hadirul Ulum not only fosters a relationship between students and the pesantren but also instills a set of values that alumni carry with them into their lives after graduation. These values serve as a guide in shaping their relationship with the pesantren and in fulfilling their roles within their respective social communities.

Research findings indicate that trust and reciprocal norms within alumni networks work in tandem to maintain the sustainability of social relationships. Trust enables network members to rely on and support one another, while reciprocal practices strengthen relationships through experiences of mutual assistance. Both are supported by ongoing interaction, shared values, and the existence of KASIH PPKD as a forum for alumni and supporters. Thus, the social capital within the Hadirul Ulum alumni network lies not only in the existence of relationships among members, but also in the quality of those relationships, which are characterized by trust, care, norms of reciprocity, and shared values passed down through educational experiences.

The Contribution of Social Capital from Alumni Networks to the Development of Islamic Boarding Schools

Social capital within the alumni network is manifested through various contributions to the development of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School. The research findings indicate that these contributions include material and non-material support, such as human resources, education and da'wah, the promotion and recruitment of students, and the expansion of social networks. These various forms of contribution demonstrate that alumni networks serve not only as social connections but also as resources that can support the sustainability and development of Islamic boarding schools.

Material support is one way alumni contribute to the needs of the Islamic boarding school. Alumni provide assistance according to their individual means; some contribute financially, while others provide educational supplies such as books, religious texts, and Qur'ans, as well as desks and chairs to support the students' learning process. "Para Alumni itu banyak sekali kontribusinya kang untuk Hadirul Ulum ada yang memberikan dukungan finansial, tenaga, pikiran, waktu ada juga yang memberikanbuku, kitab, al Qur'an, meja kursi untuk belajar para santri disini dari semua dukungan itu alhamdulillah pondok bisa mendirikan sekolah seperti Raudhatul Athfal,

[30] Ali Fikri, Interview.

Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, dan Madrasah Aliyah."31 The alumni have made so many contributions to Hadirul Ulum, some have provided financial support, labor, ideas, and time, while others have donated books, religious texts, Qur'ans, and desks and chairs for the students here to study. Thanks to all this support, alhamdulillah, the boarding school has been able to establish schools such as Raudhatul Athfal, Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, and Madrasah Aliyah.

This assistance demonstrates a sense of care and a sense of belonging to one's alma mater. From Putnam's perspective, social networks underpinned by trust and reciprocal norms can facilitate coordination and cooperation to achieve shared interests.32 Thus, material support is one concrete example of how social relationships within alumni networks generate resources for Islamic boarding schools.

Alumni contributions are also evident in the provision of human resources. A number of alumni are involved in educational and school-related activities at Hadirul Ulum, including at the RA, MI, and MA levels. "Saya seneng kang bisa belajar bareng sama santri disini dan saya masih mending hanya mengajar kalo dulu pak yai sangat berjuang tenaga, pikiran,waktu jiwa raga semua diberikan ke santrinya"33 I'm happy to be able to study together with the students here, and I'm actually better off just teaching, back then, Pak Yai really gave it his all, dedicating his energy, thoughts, time, and his whole being to his students. This involvement demonstrates that alumni contributions are not limited to material aspects, but also include non-material aspects, such as time, effort, ideas, knowledge, and expertise. The educational experience at the pesantren serves as one of the foundations that motivates alumni to give back by sharing their knowledge. Thus, the alumni network acts as a human resource that helps support the continuity of the pesantren's educational activities.

Contributions are also expanding through the fields of education and da'wah. Alumni in various regions conduct religious study sessions and community outreach programs, while also connecting the pesantren with the wider community outside Hadirul Ulum. *"banyak alumni yang sekarang di Bogor, Jakarta, Tangerang, Brebes, semarang"* [34] *Many alumni are now in Bogor,*

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[31] Sofal Al Musa, Interview

[32] Rusydi Syahra, "Modal Sosial : Konsep dan Aplikasi," *Jurnal Masyarakat dan Budaya*, 5 no. 1 (2003): 1–22. Retrieved from https://ejournal.brin.go.id/jmb/article/view/10361/8200.

[33] Roni, "Interview with an Alumnus of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School," August 21."

[34] Sofal Al Musa, Interview .

Jakarta, Tangerang, Brebes, and Semarang. Some alumni also help children from low-income families by mentoring them and recommending that they attend Hadirul Ulum as boarding students.. *"Ada itu namanya Kang Muslihin dimanapun beliau merantau pasti nanti ada anak-anak yang daftar ke Hadirul Ulum melalui beliau. Belalui itu mebina anak anak kurang mampu ngajari ngaji terus seneng ngadain pengajian-pengajian pasti nanti pada tertarik mondok disini"*[35] *There's a man named* Kang Muslihin—wherever he goes, there are always children who enroll at Hadirul Ulum through him. Through his efforts to mentor underprivileged children, teach them to read the Quran, and enthusiastically organize religious study sessions, they'll surely be interested in attending the boarding school here. These activities expand the pesantren's social reach, as the connections that alumni have in their respective regions provide the pesantren with access to a broader community.

The role of alumni as "Brand Advocate" shows that social networks also serve as a channel for promoting Islamic boarding schools. "sebagian santri disini itu juga dari para alumni kang. Ketika selesai mondok disini kembali ke kampung halamannya ada sodara, tentangganya di ajak mondok di Hadirul Ulum walaupun pondok nya sederhana tapi orang-orangnya disana baik-baik, keilmuan guru-gurunya tidak diragukan dan saya mondok disana dapet temen seperti keluarga"36 Some of the students here are from alumni, sir. When they finish their studies here and return to their hometowns, they invite their relatives and neighbors to study at Hadirul Ulum. Even though the boarding school is simple, the people are kind, the teachers' expertise is unquestionable, and while I was studying there, I made friends who were like family to me. Recommendations are made based on alumni experiences during their time at Hadirul Ulum, so information about the pesantren is conveyed through personal connections and firsthand experiences. This approach not only provides access to prospective students but also promotes the pesantren's reputation within the alumni community. Thus, alumni serve as a bridge between the pesantren, the community, and prospective students.

Alumni networks also provide benefits to their members through the exchange of information, opportunities, and support in the areas of employment and business. Alumni also help other alumni who are facing difficulties whether recent graduates of the boarding school or peers to find jobs or business opportunities. "Alumni disini yang sudah pada sukses kang ntah itu punya usaha atau kerja dimana pasti kalo ada Santri baru lulus atau alumni lain pengen kerja, belum dapet kerjaan langsung kang diajak kerja.

[35] Sofal Al Musa, Interview.
[36] Sofal Al Musa, Interview.

Nanti kamu ikut saya, ini saya transfer untuk ongkos kesini ya, ikut 1-2 tahun kalo sudah bisa buka sendiri. Kalo alumni yang masih merintis biasanya merekomendasikan ke alumni lain yang sudah sukses"37 The alumni here who've already made it—whether they run their own businesses or work elsewhere—will definitely bring in any newly graduated students or other alumni looking for work who haven't found a job yet. They'll say, "Come work with me. Here's some money to cover your travel expenses to get here. Stay with me for a year or two, and once you're ready, you can start your own business." If alumni who are still just starting out, they usually recommend other alumni who've already succeeded.

The findings indicate that resources within the network flow not only from alumni to Islamic boarding schools but also circulate among network members. This pattern demonstrates that social capital generates benefits through reciprocal relationships that expand access to social and economic resources.

Within Putnam's framework, social networks, trust, and reciprocal norms are the elements that enable individuals to coordinate and cooperate more easily.38 Within the Hadirul Ulum alumni network, this principle is evident in the various forms of contributions made according to each alumnus's individual capabilities. Thus, trust and the norm of reciprocity serve as mechanisms that link social relationships to collective action.

KASIH PPKD also provides an organizational platform that brings together alumni, the broader pesantren community, and supporters. ""KASIH PPKD was established as a forum for fostering camaraderie and facilitating communication through various activities organized by the boarding school, its alumni, and supporters who have joined out of their love for Hadirul Ulum."39 The existence of these organizations complements the social relationships that take place on an interpersonal level in various regions. Alumni contribute not only through organizational activities, but also through social relationships in the areas of education, da'wah, outreach, social assistance, employment, and business. This situation indicates that social capital within alumni networks operates through a combination of organizational structure and the social relationships that develop among its members.

The research findings show that the development of an alumni-network-based Islamic boarding school at Hadirul Ulum does not depend solely on

[37] Sofal Al Musa, Interview.
[38] Sudarmono, "Pembangunan Modal Sosial."
[39] Sofal Al Musa, Interview.

alumni support, but on the network's ability to connect and mobilize various resources. Trust, mutual norms, and shared values formed through educational experiences enable alumni to contribute in both material and non-material ways. These contributions include financial support, human resources, education, and da'wah; the promotion and recruitment of students; as well as social and economic access. Thus, the strength of the Hadirul Ulum alumni network lies in its ability to transform social relationships into collaborations and resources that support the development of the pesantren.

This study has limitations because it was conducted at only one Islamic boarding school using a qualitative approach and a limited number of informants; therefore, the findings cannot yet be broadly generalized and do not yet describe the dynamics of the alumni network over time. Future research is recommended to use a comparative approach across several Islamic boarding schools or a longitudinal design to test the sustainability of these findings on social capital. In practical terms, these findings highlight the importance of pesantren formalizing the management of their alumni networks for example, by strengthening alumni databases, maintaining ongoing communication, and integrating the roles of organizations such as KASIH PPKD into institutional strategic planning, so that the trust and norms of reciprocity that have been established can support the development of pesantren in a more structured manner.

Conclusion

This study concludes that social capital within the alumni network of the Hadirul Ulum Islamic Boarding School serves as a mechanism that transforms the religious-emotional bonds between students and teachers into cooperation and resources for the development of the boarding school. The network is formed through shared educational experiences and close ties with the kiai; it is sustained by mutual trust and shared norms, and is manifested in alumni contributions such as material and non-material support, educators, education and da'wah, the promotion and recruitment of students, access to employment and business opportunities among alumni, and the establishment of formal schools including Raudhatul Athfal, Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, and Madrasah Aliyah. These findings support Putnam's argument that dense networks, trust, and norms of reciprocity reinforce one another and facilitate cooperation. However, this case highlights three key points: the network is centered on the figure of the kiai; trust is underpinned by the kiai's exemplary conduct and inherited religious values; and reciprocity takes the form of generalized reciprocity, as assistance flows to the pesantren, fellow

alumni, and family members without demanding immediate repayment. Thus, cooperation within this network stems not only from frequent interactions, but also from the figure of the kiai and the religious values that form the core of the network's beliefs.

For Islamic education management, alumni networks should be viewed as a relational institutional resource. Because this social capital is rooted in inherited figures and values, the challenge to its sustainability lies in transforming personal bonds into institutional management. Formalization through an alumni database, ongoing communication, and the integration of KASIH PPKD into strategic planning should be designed to complement, not replace, the social relationships that serve as the source of trust and mutual norms among alumni.

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