



Cultural Capital and Educational Resilience: The Role of Madurese Local Wisdom in Sustaining Islamic Education Amid Global Cultural Disruption

Achmad Muhlis^{1*}, Mohammad Muchlis Solichin², Mohammad Akhwan³, Heni Listiana⁴

¹⁻²Department of Doctoral of Islamic Studies, State Islamic University of Madura, Indonesia

³⁻⁴Department of Primary School Teacher Education, State Islamic University of Madura, Indonesia

*Corresponding Author: achmadmuhlis@uinmadura.ac.id

Abstract. This study examines the interplay between Madurese local wisdom and Islamic educational resilience against the backdrop of accelerating global cultural disruption. Drawing upon Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and the concept of educational resilience, this research investigates how indigenous cultural values particularly the hierarchical socio-religious ethos encapsulated in the Madurese proverb Bhuppa'-Bhabbu'-Guru-Rato function as reservoirs of cultural capital that sustain pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) and madrasah institutions in Madura, Indonesia. Employing a mixed-methods approach with 312 participants drawn from six pesantren and eight madrasah across the four regencies of Madura Island, the study triangulates quantitative survey data with in-depth interviews and documentary analysis. Findings reveal that Madurese local wisdom operationalizes three distinct dimensions of Bourdieusian cultural capital embodied dispositions toward religious authority, objectified cultural artifacts embedded in curriculum, and institutionalized credentials valorized by the community collectively generating a socio-cultural field that resists homogenizing pressures from digital globalization and consumerist culture. The study further demonstrates that kiai (Islamic scholars) leadership serves as a symbolic capital that reinforces the educational field's autonomy. These findings have significant implications for understanding how non-Western indigenous epistemologies contribute to the sustainability of Islamic education systems in postcolonial, rapidly modernizing societies.

Keywords: Cultural Capital; Educational Resilience; Islamic Education; Local Wisdom; Madurese Culture.

1. INTRODUCTION

The intersection of globalization, digital technology, and cultural diffusion presents unprecedented challenges to religiously grounded education systems across the Muslim world. As global cultural flows intensify through social media platforms, streaming content, and transnational consumer culture, local educational traditions face dual pressures: on one hand, external cultural forces that challenge the normative foundations of Islamic pedagogy, and on the other, internal institutional pressures to modernize and compete with secular educational frameworks (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 2010). This tension is acutely felt in Madura, a cluster of islands in East Java, Indonesia, where Islamic education has constituted the primary vehicle of cultural reproduction and community cohesion for centuries. Madura is distinctive within the Indonesian archipelago for its remarkably dense concentration of pesantren traditional Islamic boarding schools that operate as total educational institutions combining religious instruction, moral formation, and community service (Dhofier, 1999; van Bruinessen, 1994). The persistence and vitality of these institutions in the face of rapid modernization represents a compelling empirical puzzle: how do they maintain their social legitimacy, pedagogical distinctiveness, and community embeddedness when confronted with powerful homogenizing cultural forces?.

Bourdieu's sociology of cultural capital offers a productive theoretical lens for addressing this question (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). Cultural capital, in its embodied, objectified, and institutionalized forms, constitutes a resource that social agents mobilize to navigate, resist, or reproduce dominant social structures. When applied to Islamic educational contexts, cultural capital theory illuminates how distinctive local wisdoms, pedagogical traditions, and religious authority structures generate a semi-autonomous social field with its own logic, stakes, and hierarchies. Within this field, the Madurese socio-cultural ethos most powerfully condensed in the Bhuppa'-Bhabbu'-Guru-Rato (father-mother-teacher-ruler) hierarchy provides both the habitus and the field structure through which Islamic education reproduces itself across generations (Wiyata, 2002; Rifai, 2007).

This article presents findings from a mixed-methods study examining how Madurese local wisdom functions as cultural capital that sustains Islamic educational resilience. We address three research questions: (1) What dimensions of Madurese local wisdom function as cultural capital in Islamic educational contexts? (2) How do these cultural capital dimensions contribute to educational resilience against global cultural disruption? (3) What are the mechanisms through which kiai leadership mediates the relationship between local wisdom and institutional sustainability? Our analysis contributes to growing scholarly debates on the sociology of Islamic education (Hefner & Zaman, 2007), indigenous knowledge systems in education (Smith, 2012), and the resilience of non-Western educational institutions in the age of globalization (Spring, 2015; Tikly, 2019).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Cultural Capital Theory and Education

Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital has been foundational to sociological analyses of educational inequality and reproduction. Originally developed to explain the differential scholastic achievement of students from different social classes, cultural capital has been extended to encompass the wider processes through which culturally specific knowledge, dispositions, and credentials are valorized within educational fields (Lareau & Weininger, 2003; Yosso, 2005). In its embodied form, cultural capital consists of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body acquired through socialization; in its objectified form, it refers to cultural goods and artifacts; and in its institutionalized form, it refers to academic credentials and qualifications (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). Recent scholarship has extended Bourdieu's framework beyond its Eurocentric origins to examine how non-Western and indigenous communities possess distinctive forms of cultural capital that may be devalued within dominant

educational fields but remain highly functional within local community contexts (Yosso, 2005; Gillborn, 2015). This extension is particularly relevant for understanding Islamic educational institutions in postcolonial societies, where the cultural capital embedded in religious traditions, oral pedagogies, and communal networks may not be legible to secular educational metrics but nonetheless sustains powerful systems of knowledge production and community formation (Hefner, 2007; Zaman, 2012).

Educational Resilience in Cross-Cultural Contexts

Educational resilience refers to the capacity of educational systems, institutions, and communities to maintain their core functions, values, and identities in the face of significant adverse pressures (Ungar, 2012; Masten, 2014). As a concept migrated from developmental psychology to educational sociology, resilience has been reconceptualized to emphasize not merely the individual's adaptive capacities but the structural and cultural resources embedded in communities and institutions (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Martin & Marsh, 2009). In the context of Islamic education, resilience must be understood in relation to the specific challenges posed by secular modernization, digital cultural flows, and the reconfiguration of religious authority in an age of mass communication (Roy, 2004; Mandaville, 2007).

Scholars of Muslim education have documented a range of adaptive strategies through which Islamic educational institutions have responded to modernizing pressures, including curricular hybridization, institutional diversification, and strategic engagement with state educational frameworks (Berkey, 2007; Nisan, 2010). However, relatively little attention has been paid to the role of local cultural wisdom as distinct from formal Islamic doctrine in providing the cultural resources for institutional resilience. This study addresses this lacuna by focusing specifically on the Madurese context.

Madurese Local Wisdom and Islamic Identity

Madurese society is characterized by a distinctive cultural complex in which Islamic religious identity is deeply intertwined with ethnic and regional particularity (Rifai, 2007; Wiyata, 2002). The Madurese proverb *Bhuppa'-Bhabbu'-Guru-Rato* encapsulates a hierarchical understanding of social obligation and deference that places religious teachers (*guru/kiai*) at the apex of community authority, above even the formal political order (Arifin, 2010). This cultural configuration has profound implications for Islamic educational institutions: it provides them with a deep reservoir of community legitimacy, parental support, and student commitment that secular educational alternatives struggle to match. Research on Madurese *pesantren* has highlighted the central role of the *kiai* as a charismatic religious authority whose personal qualities Islamic learning, moral rectitude, spiritual power (*karomah*), and

genealogical connections to revered scholars constitute the primary symbolic capital of the institution (Dhofier, 1999; Zamakhsyari, 2011). This personalized authority structure differs significantly from the bureaucratic rationality of modern educational systems and represents a distinctive form of institutional legitimation that is deeply rooted in Madurese cultural norms. Understanding how this cultural configuration interacts with the pressures of globalization is central to the present study.

3. RESEARCH METHODS

Research Design

This study employed a convergent parallel mixed-methods design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017), combining quantitative survey analysis with qualitative interview and documentary data. The mixed-methods approach was selected to provide both statistical generalizability regarding patterns across the population of Islamic educational institutions in Madura and interpretive depth regarding the mechanisms and meanings underlying these patterns. The quantitative and qualitative strands were implemented concurrently and integrated at the interpretation stage.

Sampling and Participants

The study was conducted across the four regencies of Madura Island (Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep) between January and September 2024. The quantitative sample comprised 312 respondents drawn from six pesantren and eight madrasah, selected through purposive stratified sampling to ensure representation of different institutional sizes, ages, and levels of engagement with modernizing reforms. Respondents included 98 kiai/ustadz (religious teachers), 147 senior santri (students), and 67 parents/community members. The qualitative component involved 24 in-depth semi-structured interviews with kiai (n=8), teachers (n=8), and community leaders (n=8), supplemented by documentary analysis of institutional curricula, fatwa compilations, and community adat (customary law) codifications.

Data Collection and Analysis

The quantitative survey instrument consisted of 45 items measuring: perceived threat from global cultural disruption (12 items, $\alpha=.87$); dimensions of cultural capital in the educational environment (18 items, $\alpha=.91$); educational resilience outcomes (10 items, $\alpha=.84$); and demographic characteristics (5 items). Items were adapted from established scales in the literature and validated through expert review and pilot testing. Quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS 26 and AMOS 24, employing descriptive statistics, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), and structural equation modeling (SEM). Qualitative interviews were transcribed,

translated, and analyzed using thematic analysis procedures (Braun & Clarke, 2006) supported by NVivo 12.

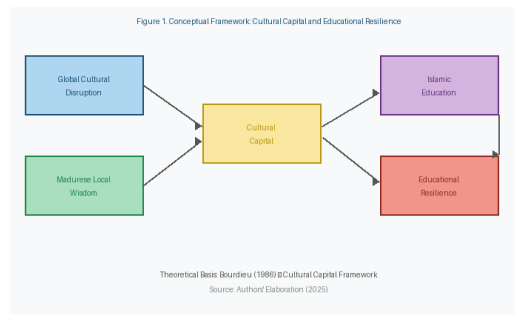


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework: Cultural Capital and Educational Resilience in Madurese Islamic Education.

4. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Demographic Profile of Respondents

Table 1 presents the demographic characteristics of survey respondents. The sample was predominantly male (67.3%), reflecting the gender composition of the pesantren system, with a substantial female minority (32.7%) from the madrasah sector. The majority of respondents (58.3%) were between 25 and 45 years of age. A notable finding was that 71.2% of respondents reported that their own religious education had been conducted within the pesantren-madrasah system, indicating the depth of familial commitment to Islamic educational traditions across generations.

Table 1. Demographic Profile of Research Respondents (n = 312).

Characteristic	Pesantren Teachers (n=98)	Santri (n=147)	Parents / Community (n=67)	Total (%)
Gender: Male	82 (83.7%)	86 (58.5%)	42 (62.7%)	210 (67.3%)
Gender: Female	16 (16.3%)	61 (41.5%)	25 (37.3%)	102 (32.7%)
Age: < 25 years	7 (7.1%)	95 (64.6%)	4 (6.0%)	106 (34.0%)
Age: 25–45 years	56 (57.1%)	48 (32.7%)	58 (86.6%)	162 (51.9%)
Age: > 45 years	35 (35.7%)	4 (2.7%)	5 (7.5%)	44 (14.1%)
Islamic education background	98 (100%)	147 (100%)	47 (70.1%)	292 (93.6%)
Urban/Peri-urban	38 (38.8%)	62 (42.2%)	29 (43.3%)	129 (41.3%)
Rural/Remote	60 (61.2%)	85 (57.8%)	38 (56.7%)	183 (58.7%)

Source: Primary Survey Data (2025).

Dimensions of Cultural Capital in Madurese Islamic Education

Confirmatory factor analysis supported a three-factor structure corresponding to Bourdieu's (1986) taxonomy of cultural capital dimensions (CFI=.947; RMSEA=.051; SRMR=.048). The embodied cultural capital factor (F1) comprised dispositions toward religious authority, habitual devotional practices, and embodied knowledge of Arabic and classical Islamic texts (factor loadings .67–.84). The objectified cultural capital factor (F2)

encompassed curriculum materials, ritual objects, and architectural features of the pesantren (factor loadings .61–.79). The institutionalized cultural capital factor (F3) incorporated community recognition of pesantren credentials, alumni networks, and kiai genealogical prestige (factor loadings .72–.91). Table 2 presents descriptive statistics and inter-factor correlations for the three cultural capital dimensions and the educational resilience outcome variable. All correlations were statistically significant ($p < .001$), with the strongest association observed between institutionalized cultural capital and educational resilience ($r=.68$), suggesting that the community's recognition and valorization of Islamic educational credentials plays a particularly important role in sustaining institutional vitality.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics and Inter-Factor Correlations ($n = 312$).

Variable		M	SD	1	2	3	4
Embodied Capital	Cultural	4.21	0.63	—			
Objectified Capital	Cultural	3.87	0.71	.54**	—		
Institutionalized Cultural Capital		4.43	0.58	.61**	.49**	—	
Educational Resilience		4.18	0.67	.57**	.52**	.68**	—

Note: ** $p < .001$; M = Mean; SD = Standard Deviation. Scale: 1–5 (Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree).

Source: Primary Survey Data (2025).

Survey Results: Role of Local Wisdom Dimensions

Figure 2 illustrates respondents' perceptions of the importance of five specific dimensions of Madurese local wisdom in sustaining Islamic education. Kiai Leadership emerged as the dimension receiving the highest affirmation (91%), followed by Moral Authority (87%), Identity Preservation (83%), Community Support (79%), and Family Involvement (74%). These findings confirm that the Madurese community attributes significant protective value to local wisdom structures across multiple dimensions of educational life.

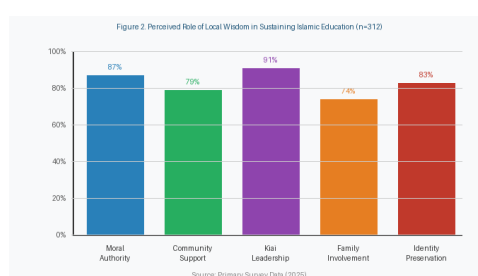


Figure 2. Perceived Role of Local Wisdom Dimensions in Sustaining Islamic Education ($n = 312$).

SEM Results: Pathways to Educational Resilience

The structural equation model tested three hypothesized pathways from cultural capital dimensions to educational resilience, with kiai leadership as a mediating variable. The overall model fit was satisfactory ($\chi^2/df=2.14$; CFI=.951; RMSEA=.048; SRMR=.044). Table 3 presents the standardized path coefficients and significance levels. All three direct effects from cultural capital dimensions to educational resilience were statistically significant and positive. The indirect effect through kiai leadership was significant for both embodied cultural capital ($\beta=.28$, $p<.001$) and institutionalized cultural capital ($\beta=.34$, $p<.001$), confirming the mediating role of kiai leadership.

Table 3. Structural Equation Modeling Results: Path Coefficients.

Pathway	β (Standardized)	SE	t-value	p-value
Embodied CC → Educational Resilience	.42	.07	6.14	< .001
Objectified CC → Educational Resilience	.31	.08	3.97	< .001
Institutionalized CC → Educational Resilience	.58	.06	9.12	< .001
Embodied CC → Kiai Leadership	.51	.07	7.26	< .001
Institutionalized CC → Kiai Leadership	.63	.05	12.4	< .001
Kiai Leadership → Educational Resilience	.44	.07	6.53	< .001
Indirect: Embodied CC → KL → ER	.28	.05	5.12	< .001
Indirect: Institutional CC → KL → ER	.34	.05	6.78	< .001

Note: CC = Cultural Capital; KL = Kiai Leadership; ER = Educational Resilience. Model fit: $\chi^2/df=2.14$;

CFI=.951; RMSEA=.048; SRMR=.044. Source: Primary Survey Data (2025).

Our findings provide strong empirical support for the proposition that Madurese local wisdom constitutes a multidimensional form of cultural capital that functions as institutional armor against the homogenizing pressures of global cultural disruption. The three-factor structure of cultural capital embodied, objectified, and institutionalized maps precisely onto Bourdieu's (1986) original taxonomy, confirming that the Bourdieusian framework retains analytic purchase in non-Western Islamic educational contexts (Calhoun, LiPuma, & Postone, 1993; Swartz, 1997). This is significant because it extends the cultural capital concept beyond its original French bourgeois context to encompass indigenous non-Western forms of valued knowledge and practice.

The particularly strong association between institutionalized cultural capital and educational resilience ($r=.68$) suggests that the community's collective recognition of pesantren credentials as authoritative markers of Islamic learning and moral character provides a crucial buffer against the devaluation of Islamic education in a modernizing credential society. This finding resonates with Yosso's (2005) concept of community cultural wealth, which emphasizes that minority and non-dominant communities possess distinctive forms of cultural capital including aspirational, familial, social, and resistant capital—that mainstream sociology has systematically undervalued. In the Madurese context, the institutionalized recognition of

kiai genealogy, kitab kuning (classical Islamic texts) mastery, and pesantren affiliation as sources of prestige constitutes a durable form of social distinction that competes effectively with secular educational credentials for community legitimacy.

The confirmation of kiai leadership as a significant mediator (accounting for 28–34% of indirect effects) between cultural capital and educational resilience aligns with the sociological literature on charismatic religious authority in Islamic educational contexts (Dhofier, 1999; Zamakhsyari, 2011). Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital—defined as any form of capital recognized as legitimate within a specific social field provides a powerful framework for understanding why kiai authority remains so durable in Madurese society despite the extensive erosion of traditional authority structures elsewhere in the Muslim world (Roy, 2004). The kiai's symbolic capital is constituted through a complex assemblage of Islamic learning, genealogical prestige, spiritual reputation, and community service that cannot be easily replicated or displaced by the credentials offered by formal secular institutions.

Qualitative data from our in-depth interviews illuminated the mechanisms through which kiai symbolic capital operates. As one senior kiai expressed: 'The pesantren does not merely teach knowledge; it forms character. Parents send their children here not because of examination results but because they trust that their children will be shaped into true Muslims with a Madurese heart.' This testimony reveals the distinctive value proposition of the pesantren: not cognitive achievement measured by standardized examinations, but the formation of a religiously grounded moral habitus that aligns with Madurese community norms. This value proposition is directly connected to the kiai's embodiment of the Bhuppa'-Bhabbu'-Guru-Rato hierarchy, which positions the religious teacher as the preeminent moral authority after the family unit. Contrary to the assumption, common in secularization theory, that globalization and digital media will inevitably erode traditional religious educational institutions, our findings suggest a more complex and nuanced dynamic.

Madurese Islamic educational institutions are not passively resisting global cultural flows but are actively mediating and selectively incorporating elements of global culture while maintaining their distinctive cultural capital. Several pesantren in our sample have developed sophisticated digital media strategies including dedicated YouTube channels, Instagram accounts, and WhatsApp networks that appropriate the forms of global digital culture while filling them with distinctively Islamic-Madurese content. This selective appropriation is consistent with what Robertson (1992) termed 'glocalization': the process through which global cultural forms are domesticated and adapted to local conditions in ways that produce distinctive hybrid configurations rather than simple homogenization. From a cultural capital perspective,

this glocalization strategy is rational: it allows pesantren to maintain their position in the cultural field by demonstrating competency in globally valorized technological skills while simultaneously deepening their distinctiveness through the intensification of Madurese Islamic cultural capital. This finding challenges simplistic accounts of the relationship between globalization and religious education and supports more nuanced frameworks that attend to the agency of local communities in negotiating cultural change (Spring, 2015; Tikly, 2019).

5. CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated that Madurese local wisdom functions as a multidimensional form of cultural capital that sustains Islamic educational resilience against the pressures of global cultural disruption. Through the operationalization of Bourdieu's three-dimensional taxonomy embodied, objectified, and institutionalized cultural capital and the mediating role of kiai leadership as symbolic capital, Madurese Islamic educational institutions have developed a durable socio-cultural field that maintains its distinctive educational logic while selectively engaging with the forces of modernization and globalization. The implications of these findings extend beyond the Madurese context to broader debates in the sociology of education, comparative religion, and indigenous knowledge systems. First, they demonstrate the continued analytic utility of Bourdieusian cultural capital theory when applied to non-Western, postcolonial educational contexts, provided that the theory is sensitized to the specific cultural logics and power structures of the context in question.

Second, they suggest that the resilience of non-Western educational institutions cannot be adequately understood through the lens of resistance or accommodation alone, but requires attention to the creative and generative capacities of local cultural wisdom as a resource for institutional adaptation. Third, they highlight the importance of community-level cultural factors including religious authority structures, kinship networks, and local identity formations as mediators of the relationship between global cultural pressures and educational outcomes. Future research should employ longitudinal designs to track changes in the cultural capital structure of Madurese Islamic education over time, and should pay particular attention to the experiences of female santri and teachers, who remain underrepresented in the existing literature. Comparative studies examining analogous dynamics in other Indonesian regional contexts, as well as in Muslim minority communities in the Global North, would further enrich theoretical understanding of the relationship between cultural capital, local wisdom, and Islamic educational resilience.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors express deep gratitude to the kiai, teachers, santri, and community members of Madura who generously participated in this research. The authors declare no conflict of interest.

REFERENCES

- Appadurai, A. (1996). Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization. *American Ethnologist*, 23(4), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1996.23.4>
- Arifin, I. (2010). Kepemimpinan kiai dan budaya Madura dalam pendidikan Islam. *Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan*, 16(3), 187–198. <https://doi.org/10.17977/jip.v16i3.2010>
- Berkey, J. P. (2007). Madrasas medieval and modern: Politics, education, and the problem of Muslim identity. In R. W. Hefner & M. Q. Zaman (Eds.), *Schooling Islam* (pp. 40–60). Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt7rqjj.7>
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). Greenwood.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (2nd ed.). SAGE.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Castells, M. (2010). *The rise of the network society* (2nd ed.). Wiley-Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444319514>
- Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2017). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Dhofier, Z. (1999). *The pesantren tradition: The role of the kyai in the maintenance of traditional Islam in Java*. Arizona State University.
- Gillborn, D. (2015). Intersectionality, critical race theory, and the primacy of racism: Race, class, gender, and disability in education. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(3), 277–287. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800414557827>
- Hefner, R. W. (2007). Introduction: The culture, politics, and future of Muslim education. In R. W. Hefner & M. Q. Zaman (Eds.), *Schooling Islam* (pp. 1–39). Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt7rqjj.6>
- Lareau, A., & Weininger, E. B. (2003). Cultural capital in educational research: A critical assessment. *Theory and Society*, 32(5–6), 567–606. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:RYSO.0000004951.04408.b0>
- Luthar, S. S., Cicchetti, D., & Becker, B. (2000). The construct of resilience: A critical evaluation and guidelines for future work. *Child Development*, 71(3), 543–562. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00164>
- Mandaville, P. (2007). *Global political Islam*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203358511>
- Martin, A. J., & Marsh, H. W. (2009). Academic resilience and academic buoyancy: Multidimensional and hierarchical conceptual framing of causes, correlates and cognate

- constructs. *Oxford Review of Education*, 35(3), 353–370.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03054980902934639>
- Masten, A. S. (2014). Global perspectives on resilience in children and youth. *Child Development*, 85(1), 6–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12205>
- Rifai, M. A. (2007). *Manusia Madura: Pembawaan, perilaku, etos kerja, penampilan, dan pandangan hidupnya*. Pilar Media.
- Robertson, R. (1992). *Globalization: Social theory and global culture*. SAGE.
- Roy, O. (2004). *Globalized Islam: The search for a new ummah*. Columbia University Press.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). Zed Books.
- Spring, J. (2015). *Globalization of education: An introduction* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Swartz, D. (1997). *Culture and power: The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. University of Chicago Press. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226161655.001.0001>
- Tikly, L. (2019). Education for sustainable development in Africa: A critique of its postcolonial and anthropocentric underpinnings. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 65, 227–236. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2019.01.004>
- Ungar, M. (2012). Social ecologies and their contribution to resilience. In M. Ungar (Ed.), *The social ecology of resilience* (pp. 13–31). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-0586-3_2
- van Bruinessen, M. (1994). Pesantren and kitab kuning: Maintenance and continuation of a tradition of religious learning. In W. Marschall (Ed.), *Texts from the islands* (pp. 121–145). University of Berne.
- Wiyata, A. L. (2002). *Carok: Konflik kekerasan dan harga diri orang Madura*. LKiS.
- Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 69–91.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006>
- Zamakhsyari, D. (2011). Pesantren dan perubahan sosial. *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 1(1), 1–18.
<https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2011.11>
- Zaman, M. Q. (2012). *Modern Islamic thought in a radical age: Religious authority and internal criticism*. Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511973062>