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Transformation and Reconstruction of Khidmah in the Ro'an Tradition: A Phenomenological Study of Santri Experiences in the Context of Pesantren Modernization

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Abstract

Studies of the ro'an tradition have mostly examined its role in cleanliness, solidarity, and character formation, but few explain how changes in the way ro'an is governed shape the way santri experience and internalize khidmah. This phenomenological study examines how the shift of ro'an from a spontaneous practice to a scheduled and supervised system transforms and reconstructs the meaning of khidmah at Roudlotut Tholibin Islamic Boarding School, Kademangan, Probolinggo City. Informants were selected purposively and grouped by length of participation in ro'an (long-, intermediate-, and short-tenure); they include the pesantren leader, administrators, the ro'an coordinator, active santri, and alumni. Data from in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation were analyzed through phenomenological reduction and thematic clustering, organized with data reduction, display, and conclusion drawing, and checked through triangulation, member checking, and persistent observation. The findings show that khidmah is not lost but reconstructed: it moves from devotion grounded in the relationship with teachers toward a value that santri internalize gradually through habituation, peer presence, and explanations of meaning. Structured governance works as both an entry point to khidmah and a risk of reducing ro'an to administrative compliance. The study contributes a governance-mediated account of khidmah internalization to pesantren character education and separates practices already implemented by the pesantren from the authors' recommendations for sustaining khidmah.

Keywords: Ro'an; khidmah; value reconstruction; pesantren governance; phenomenology

1. Introduction

The ro'an tradition is an integral part of non-formal education in Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), which functions to shape students' character through collective activities in their daily lives. Activities such as cleaning dormitories, arranging the environment, and maintaining boarding school facilities serve as a means of internalizing the values of

discipline, responsibility, independence, cooperation, solidarity, and social awareness (Masfufah et al., 2025). Ro'an also represents the concept of khidmah, namely devotion and service to the pesantren and the common good, which is considered a valuable act of worship.

In the era of traditional pesantren, ro'an was understood as a form of khidmah (devotion) by santri to the kiai, the pesantren, and its community through various activities such as cleaning the environment, organizing boarding school facilities, and assisting with pesantren activities (Ramadhan et al., 2025). This tradition is based on the awareness that maintaining cleanliness and order is part of the ethics of seeking knowledge. The implementation of ro'an is not based on coercion or material rewards, but rather on the values of sincerity, obedience, and the belief in the blessings of knowledge gained through service to the pesantren. Thus, ro'an becomes a medium of moral education that instills the values of discipline, simplicity, tawadhu' (humility), responsibility, and respect for teachers (Husni, 2025).

Besides being a form of devotion, ro'an also plays a role in building social solidarity among santri. Activities carried out collectively encourage the development of mutual cooperation, teamwork, and a sense of belonging toward the pesantren environment. Through shared experiences in carrying out responsibilities, santri learn to understand the importance of togetherness and social awareness (Nahrowi & Rahayu, 2025) . This process makes ro'an a part of pesantren culture that not only strengthens relationships among santri but also shapes character through everyday life practices.

Entering the modern era, pesantren have undergone various reforms in both their educational systems and institutional management. Amid these developments, ro'an has continued to be preserved, but its meaning has expanded. The caregivers of modern pesantren view ro'an not merely as a classical tradition, but also as a character education method that remains relevant to contemporary needs (Harifah & Sofa, 2025) . Today's santri interpret ro'an as a practice that develops discipline, independence, and concern for their living environment. If in the past ro'an emphasized more on khidmah and adab (proper conduct), it is now also understood as a form of life skills training. Ro'an trains santri to work in an organized manner, pay attention to cleanliness, understand the importance of environmental health, and develop habits of orderly and responsible living (Robbaniyah & Lina, 2023).

In various modern pesantren, ro'an has begun to be integrated into more systematic programs. Some pesantren establish structured cleaning schedules, divide work groups based on specific zones, or provide technical training when ro'an activities involve particular tasks. This approach makes ro'an not only effective but also better managed to ensure the comfort and safety of santri. The transformation of ro'an does not only occur in the practice and management of its activities but also in the values it embodies. If previously ro'an prioritized spiritual and social values, it now also encompasses ecological awareness, practical skills, and even pragmatic values needed by santri in their future lives. Ro'an has become an educational medium that integrates adab, good habits, social awareness, and environmental literacy.

With these various changes, ro'an continues to survive as an important identity of pesantren (Fanani, 2025) . It demonstrates how a tradition can be inherited, preserved, and transformed according to the context of the times without losing its fundamental spirit. Studying the meaning and development of the ro'an tradition helps us understand how pesantren maintain a balance between classical heritage and modern needs, allowing santri education to remain strongly rooted while also being adaptive to change. This indicates the

existence of a dynamic shift in the meaning and practice of ro'an among santri along with the development of time, modernization of the pesantren education system, and changes in the mindset of the santri generation. Therefore, examining how past and present santri interpret and practice the ro'an tradition is important to understand the continuity and transformation of the values of devotion within the pesantren environment (Ifadah, 2023) .

Previous studies have discussed ro'an as a means of forming social character (Saini, 2020) , environmental care (Alfiansah, 2025; Pudjiastuti et al., 2021), gotong royong(Sabili & Wardhani, 2024), the role of ustadz in character education (Fanani, 2025), and ecological education (Listiyani & Taufiqurrahman, 2026) approach ro'an through the lens of living hadith and power relations. Taken together, these studies describe what ro'an does and which values it carries. Three aspects remain understudied: (1) how changes in ro'an governance, such as scheduling, zoning, task allocation, and supervision, change the way the tradition is run; (2) how santri subjectively experience and make sense of ro'an under those arrangements; and (3) whether and how the internalization of khidmah is sustained once service is administered rather than spontaneous. The relationship among these three, namely governance, lived experience, and the sustainability of khidmah internalization, has not been examined. As a result, it is still unclear why a more orderly ro'an does not automatically produce a stronger sense of service.

The uniqueness of this study does not rest on comparing santri of different generations. Its focus is the transformation and reconstruction of khidmah as ro'an moves through the modernization of pesantren governance. Governance change is treated as the condition under which meaning is reconstructed, and generational difference is treated as a window onto that process rather than as the object of comparison. Informants are therefore grouped by how long they have taken part in ro'an, because length of participation determines whether a person experienced ro'an before or after it became a scheduled system, and so what that person holds as the baseline meaning of service. Reading ro'an this way moves the analysis from the function of ro'an to the santri's lived awareness while performing it, and offers a governance-sensitive account of how khidmah and adab are internalized.

Accordingly, this study aims to (1) describe how informants with different lengths of participation experience and interpret ro'an; (2) analyze how changes in ro'an governance affect the internalization and reconstruction of khidmah; and (3) distinguish the revitalization practices already carried out by the pesantren from the strategies the authors recommend for sustaining khidmah, adab, and responsibility. Theoretically, the study proposes that the sustainability of khidmah in modern pesantren depends on how governance mediates meaning-making. Practically, it offers a basis for managing ro'an in an educational, safe, and contextually relevant manner.

2. Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach. According to Creswell, qualitative research is an approach to exploring and understanding the meanings that individuals or groups attribute to social or human problems (Ishtiaq, 2019). This is in line with (Sugiyono, 2022), who states that qualitative research aims to understand events, behaviors, or interactions in depth through a naturalistic inquiry process. The design is phenomenological because the research question concerns the lived experience of khidmah: how people who have taken part

in ro'an for different lengths of time experience, understand, and reconstruct its meaning as its governance changed (Moustakas, 1994) . The study was conducted at Pondok Pesantren Roudlotut Tholibin Kademangan, Probolinggo City, which was purposively selected because it continues to preserve the ro'an tradition while its management of activities has become more structured.

Informants were selected purposively. Because a phenomenological study needs participants who have lived the phenomenon, the main criterion was length of participation in ro'an rather than status as an alumnus or current santri alone. Length of participation matters because it determines whether informants experienced ro'an before or after it became a scheduled and supervised system. Informants were therefore classified into three groups (Table 1). Within the groups, the pesantren leader, administrators, ustaz, and the ro'an coordinator provided accounts of how the system is shaped and evaluated, while santri and alumni provided accounts of carrying it out.

Table 1. Classification of informants by length of participation in ro'an

Group	Length of participation	Experience of ro'an governance	Informants	n
Long-tenure	more than 6 years	Experienced ro'an before or during its shift from spontaneous practice to a scheduled system	Pesantren leader (Nyai) (1), alumni (2), senior ustadz (2)	[5]
Intermediate -tenure	2 to 5 years	Experienced the scheduled system and know earlier practice only in part	Administrators (1), ro'an coordinator (3), senior santri (4)	[8]
Short-tenure	less than 1 years	Know ro'an only as a scheduled and supervised system	Junior active santri	[7]

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observation of daily, weekly, and major ro'an activities, and documentation of schedules and task lists. Interviews asked informants to describe concrete experiences of taking part in ro'an, what they felt and understood at the time, and how this changed. Secondary data came from pesantren documents, literature, and previous studies. Analysis followed phenomenological steps and was organized with the interactive model of (Miles et al., 2014). In data reduction, the researchers set aside their own assumptions about ro'an (bracketing) and identified significant statements about experience (horizonalization). In data display, statements were clustered into meaning units and themes, compared within and across the three tenure groups. In conclusion drawing, the researchers wrote textural descriptions (what was experienced), structural descriptions (the conditions, notably governance arrangements, under which it was experienced), and the essence of the experience. Because the groups differ in the governance they have lived through, comparing them shows how the meaning of khidmah changes with governance; the selection of informants, the interview questions, and the analysis therefore follow the same logic. Credibility was ensured through source, technique, and time triangulation, member checking, and persistent observation.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Results

Meaning of Ro'an from the Pesantren's Perspective

The interview results show that the ro'an tradition at Pondok Pesantren Roudlotut Tholibin Kademangan is understood by the caregivers and administrators of the pesantren as an integral part of the santri education process. Ro'an is not positioned merely as an activity to maintain environmental cleanliness, but as a character education medium that takes place through daily life practices. Nyai explained that the values contained in the ro'an tradition include responsibility, work ethic, solidarity, cooperation, environmental awareness, devotion to the pesantren, and sincerity. These values are formed through the direct involvement of santri in collective activities that require awareness, discipline, and a sense of belonging toward the pesantren. Thus, ro'an becomes a non-formal educational space that complements the learning process through religious studies and formal education, as santri learn through real experiences in carrying out social and spiritual responsibilities.

From the pesantren perspective, ro'an is closely related to the concept of khidmah or devotion. Based on the interview results, the pesantren caregiver stated that, "Ro'an has an important role in instilling the values of khidmah, adab, discipline, and responsibility among santri. Through this activity, santri are taught that the process of seeking knowledge is not only limited to classroom learning or religious studies, but also includes devotion to teachers, fellow santri, and the pesantren as a place to gain knowledge" (pesantren caregiver). Nyai explained that the process of seeking knowledge does not only take place through academic activities such as studying classical Islamic books or attending religious studies, but also through the willingness of santri to serve teachers, fellow santri, and the pesantren environment. The division of tasks in ro'an becomes a means of practicing responsibility because santri are entrusted with duties that must be carried out with discipline. In addition, cleaning the pesantren environment teaches adab in maintaining the place of learning and shared living spaces. This interpretation shows that ro'an has a strong spiritual dimension because the physical work carried out by santri is not only assessed based on the cleanliness results but also based on inner attitudes such as sincerity, humility, and awareness that maintaining the pesantren is part of the process of seeking the blessing of knowledge.

Santri's Lived Experience: From Instruction to Awareness

Although the pesantren positions ro'an as a medium for internalizing the values of khidmah and character formation, the results of interviews with active santri show variations in the level of understanding and awareness regarding the meaning of the activity. Some santri still understand ro'an as a formal obligation carried out because of rules, schedules, supervision, or reprimands from administrators. One santri, for example, explained that at first he viewed ro'an as a mandatory activity that had to be carried out because of the boarding school rules. However, after participating in the activity repeatedly, he began to understand that ro'an also contains educational values such as discipline and obedience to responsibilities. This condition shows that the process of value internalization does not always occur directly but develops through experience and habituation. "At first, I thought ro'an was only a cleaning activity because what was visible was indeed cleaning the pesantren environment. However, after participating frequently, I began to understand that ro'an also trains santri to be disciplined and obey the rules. So, even though I participated because of instructions, there

is actually an educational value in it." At the initial stage, santri may act because of external factors, then gradually begin to understand the values contained in the activity.

A more developed understanding can be seen among some santri who have begun to view ro'an as a space for social learning. Another santri viewed ro'an not only as an activity to clean the environment but also as an activity that teaches cooperation, mutual assistance, and concern for the shared living environment. Although he has not fully understood the concept of khidmah terminologically, he has already grasped the moral values contained in the activity. In contrast, another santri who is considered a junior showed that there are still some santri who have not been able to optimally internalize the values of ro'an because they still perceive it as an additional and tiring task. He admitted that he sometimes chooses lighter tasks or waits for friends to work first. "Sometimes I feel lazy and less enthusiastic, especially when the task is difficult. I prefer when I get a lighter assignment. But when I see my friends working, sometimes I feel uncomfortable if I just stay silent. Even so, I still need to be accustomed to becoming more responsible" (junior santri). These various responses indicate that character formation through ro'an is a gradual process because the success of value internalization is influenced by personal experiences, social environment, role models among administrators, and the intensity of guidance provided by the pesantren.

Read across the accounts of active santri, the experience of ro'an appears as a sequence rather than a fixed attitude. Ro'an was first met as a visible and required task, cleaning done because of rules, schedules, or reprimands. With repeated participation, the santri began to notice what the task trained in them: discipline and obedience to responsibility. A different trigger appears in the junior santri's account. Although he preferred lighter tasks and waited for friends to start, he felt uncomfortable staying silent while others worked. This discomfort was produced neither by a rule nor by an explanation but by the presence of peers, and it appeared when he began to see himself as someone who needs to become more responsible. Another santri had not yet learned khidmah as a concept but already described its moral content, namely cooperation, mutual assistance, and concern for the shared environment. In these accounts the practice comes before the concept: khidmah is lived before it is named.

Earlier and Current Generations: Differences in Interpretation

Interpretations of ro'an differed by tenure and by role (Table 1). Long-tenure informants, namely the Nyai and alumni, described ro'an as khidmah: respect for teachers, love for the pesantren, training in humility, and a way to obtain the blessing of knowledge. They recalled that in their time ro'an grew from spontaneous awareness and did not depend on formal regulation, and Nyai observed that some current santri see ro'an as an additional obligation that competes with other activities. Administrators and the ro'an coordinator, who are responsible for running the activity, spoke mainly about its educational and organizational side: discipline, cooperation, environmental awareness, scheduling, task distribution, supervision, and evaluation, while stating that its main purpose is not cleanliness alone. Some active santri described ro'an as a cleaning obligation that becomes burdensome when tasks are heavy, while others described cooperation, care, and togetherness. Three patterns of meaning therefore emerge: spiritual (khidmah and devotion), educational-organizational (character formation and management), and functional (a cleaning duty). The more an informant's participation dates from the period when ro'an was spontaneous, the more ro'an is described as devotion; the more it is mediated by schedules and assigned tasks, the more it is described as a duty or a managed program.

Ro'an as Collective Practice

In addition to shaping individual character, the ro'an tradition also has a social function in building togetherness and solidarity among santri. The pesantren administrators explained that ro'an has become part of the pesantren culture because santri do not only learn through books and religious studies but also through daily activities such as cleaning rooms, yards, mosques, classrooms, bathrooms, and other pesantren facilities. These activities bring together santri with various characters and backgrounds within a shared responsibility. Through this process, santri learn to communicate, cooperate, divide tasks, and understand that maintaining the cleanliness of the pesantren is not only the responsibility of certain individuals but is an obligation of all members of the pesantren community. Thus, ro'an not only produces a clean environment but also builds a collective culture that strengthens brotherhood and social awareness.

Governance Change and the Internalization of Khidmah

The research findings also show changes in the pattern of implementing the ro'an tradition from previous periods toward a more structured form. The ro'an coordinator explained that currently ro'an activities are carried out through daily, weekly, and major ro'an schedules with the division of groups and specific work areas. Santri are given responsibilities based on areas such as rooms, yards, bathrooms, prayer rooms, halls, kitchens, and the surroundings of the pesantren. This system makes the implementation of ro'an more organized, evenly distributed, and easier to evaluate. This change represents the pesantren's adaptation to the development of the number of santri and the increasing complexity of institutional management. However, this systematic change also brings its own challenges because some santri have begun to perceive ro'an as a routine activity that is administrative in nature. Pesantren alumni consider that in the past ro'an grew more from spontaneous awareness as a form of khidmah, whereas today it operates more through schedules and regulations. Therefore, systematic management needs to be accompanied by strengthening its meaning so that the value of devotion does not become narrowed.

For khidmah, the shift in governance had two consequences that informants described. First, the system made participation more even and easier to evaluate, and participation no longer waited for personal initiative. The account of a santri who began out of instruction but later recognized its educational value shows that this entry point can lead to awareness. Second, alumni and Nyai noted that the basis of participation moved from awareness of service toward schedules and regulations, and that some santri now treat ro'an as an administrative routine. The same arrangement therefore opens a path to khidmah for some santri and narrows it for others.

Revitalization: Implemented Practices and Recommendations

Revitalization is read at two levels. The practices already carried out by the pesantren, as explained by the ro'an coordinator and administrators, are daily, weekly, and major ro'an schedules; group and zone-based task allocation; supervision, including reprimands for santri who do not take part; and the explanation of ro'an as khidmah by Nyai and administrators, anchored in the principle al-khidmatu miftāḥ al-barakah. Informants also reported challenges that these practices have not resolved: weaker understanding of khidmah among some santri, ro'an perceived as routine, laziness and unequal participation, limited cleaning facilities, dense academic activities, and social media views on ngalap barokah that may affect how santri understand service. Beyond what is already practiced, the authors' analysis leads to

recommendations that are not yet reported as systematic practice (Table 2).

Table 2. Revitalization of ro'an: practices already implemented and the authors' recommendations

Aspect	Already implemented by the pesantren	Authors' recommendations
Scheduling and task allocation	Daily, weekly, and major ro'an; group and zone-based task allocation	Learning-friendly scheduling; fair distribution that considers age, physical capacity, study time, safety, and equipment
Meaning of khidmah	Explanation of ro'an as khidmah by Nyai and administrators; principle al-khidmatu miftāḥ al-barakah	Continuous, contextual explanation in accessible language, including a response to ngalap barokah discourse on social media
Role modeling	Administrators supervise and assign tasks	Direct involvement of administrators in the work so that responsibility and care are learned through example
Evaluation	Supervision and reprimand for non-participation	Educational evaluation that stresses reflection and correction rather than punishment alone
Facilities	Limited cleaning facilities reported	Adequate equipment and safety measures for ro'an tasks

3.2. Discussion

The findings show not only that ro'an changed but how the change reaches the meaning of khidmah. In the pesantren tradition, khidmah is relational: service is offered to teachers and the pesantren, and its reward is the blessing of knowledge. In the earlier pattern recalled by alumni and Nyai, the reason to take part in ro'an came from this relationship, so the act and its meaning arrived together. When ro'an is run through schedules, zones, and supervision, part of the reason to take part is supplied by the system. A santri can be present, complete a task, and avoid reprimand without engaging the relationship that gives the task its meaning. This is why the same activity is read as devotion by long-tenure informants, as character education and management by those who run it, and as a duty by some santri: each group stands at a different distance from the relational source of khidmah. The difference between groups is therefore not a difference in what ro'an is for, but in what carries its meaning, the relationship with teachers in one case and the system in the other.

Governance does not only erode meaning. The accounts of santri show that structured participation can be an entry to khidmah: a santri who began out of instruction later recognized discipline and obedience to responsibility. Compliance is thus a possible starting point but not yet internalization, since it still depends on external control. Internalization appears when santri accept the purpose of the activity and act without waiting for instruction. The Results suggest that what moves santri from the first condition to the second is not the schedule itself but the conditions around it: repeated experience, the presence of peers, administrators who model the work, and explanations of meaning. This extends the view that character education works through habituation and experience (Al Faozi et al., 2025) by identifying governance as the condition that decides whether habituation leads to awareness or stays at compliance.

Turning to what santri experience while doing ro'an, three features stand out. First, awareness of meaning arrives late: the santri who first saw only cleaning recognized its educational value after repeated participation, so the awareness reported is formed through doing and is recognized in retrospect. Second, the most vivid moment of moral awareness in the data was not an instruction but a social discomfort, feeling uneasy about staying silent while friends work. This is a form of conscience mediated by peers, and it suggests that collective work gives santri something individual explanation cannot: a felt stake in the shared space. Third, one santri expressed the moral content of khidmah without the term, which suggests that khidmah can be lived tacitly. If so, the absence of the concept in santri vocabulary does not necessarily mean the absence of the value in practice, and the task for the pesantren is to connect what santri already feel with the language of khidmah rather than assume that it is missing. Laziness, choosing lighter tasks, and waiting for friends are likewise not simply failures; they show the tension between the collective values of the pesantren and personal inclination, in which santri can recognize their shortcomings and accept correction (Al Hamid, 2024).

The difference between earlier and current generations should be read as reconstruction rather than decline. Alumni accounts are retrospective, and retrospective accounts may smooth earlier experience, so past santri should not be assumed to have had perfect awareness. What changed is the setting: a larger santri population, expanded facilities, a denser academic schedule, and, as Nyai noted, online discourse on ngalap barokah that places the meaning of service in competition with other sources. In this setting khidmah is reconstructed from devotion to the kiai and the pesantren toward a wider value that also includes responsibility for a shared living space, discipline, and life skills. This wider, functional understanding has value in itself because it links ro'an with ecological and health concerns (Anjani & Mangunjaya, 2024; Listiyani & Taufiqurrahman, 2026; Ruslana & Mulyono, 2022; Suryanto, 2020). The challenge is to connect it with adab, sincerity, and the blessing of knowledge so that the wider meaning does not replace the spiritual one.

These findings contribute to pesantren character education in three ways. First, they move the explanation of ro'an from what it does (its function) to how its governance conditions what santri experience and internalize. Second, they propose khidmah reconstruction as an analytic concept: under modernization, khidmah is neither simply preserved nor lost, but re-formed as its carrier changes from relationship to system. Third, they separate compliance, habituation, and internalization as distinct moments, with governance, peers, and explanation as the conditions that move santri between them. Practically, a structured ro'an is not a problem in itself; the risk lies in a structure that delivers tasks without meaning.

The distinction in Table 2 clarifies where revitalization is needed. The pesantren already has the structural elements, namely schedules, zones, and supervision, as well as an established account of khidmah. What the data do not describe as systematic is the connection between the two: administrators who join the work, explanations of meaning that continue beyond statements by the Nyai, evaluation that corrects rather than only reprimands, and task allocation that considers age, physical capacity, study time, safety, and equipment. These are the authors' recommendations rather than reported practice, and they follow from the analysis above: if governance carries the meaning, then governance has to be where the meaning is shown.

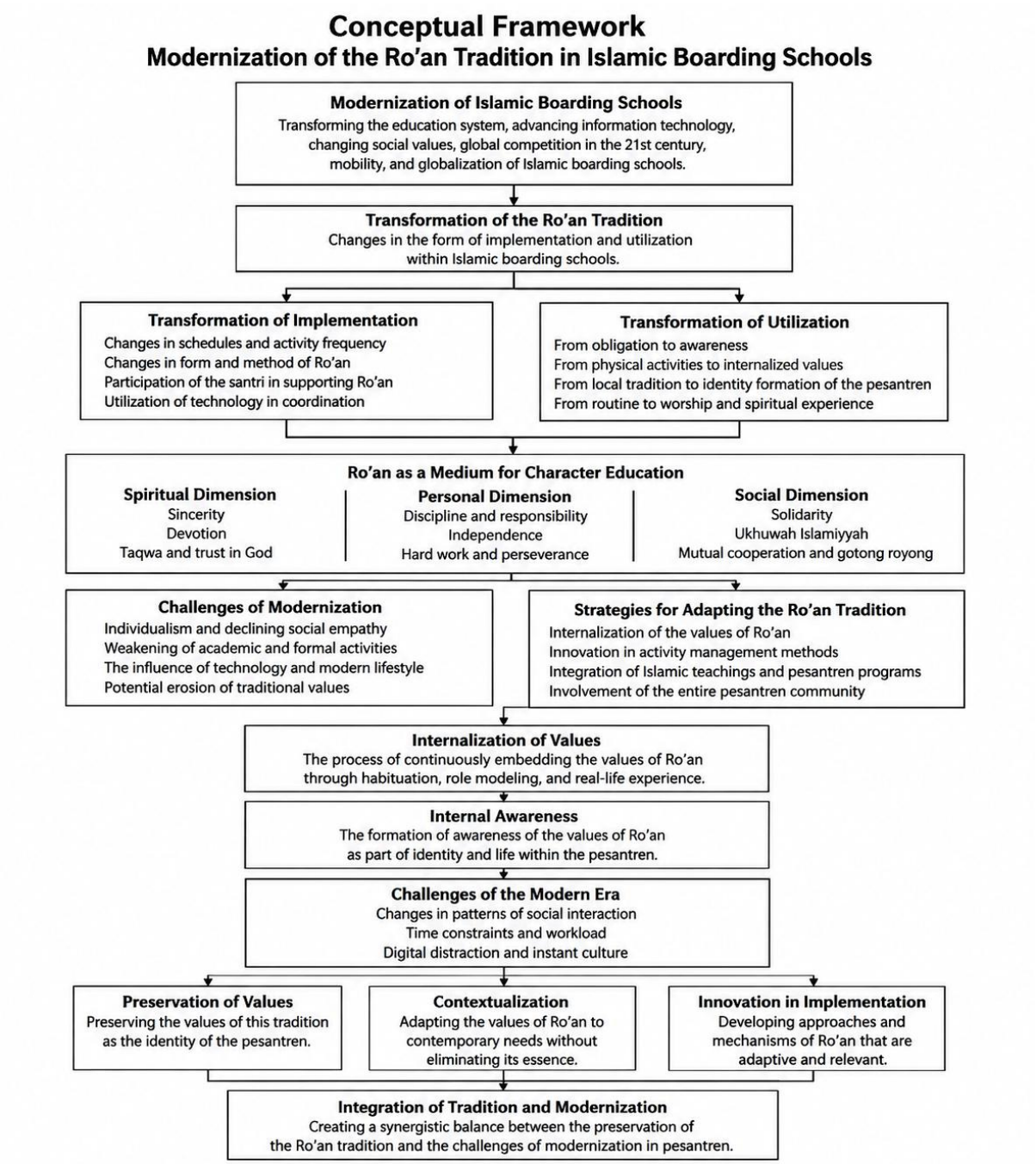


Figure 1. Conceptual framework of the modernization of the ro'an tradition in Islamic boarding schools

Figure 1 presents a conceptual framework that positions modernization as the context in which the implementation and use of ro'an are transformed. Read together with the argument above, its route from transformation, through ro'an as a medium of character education, to internalization and internal awareness corresponds to the pathway along which governance and meaning interact, and its three strategies, preservation of values, contextualization, and innovation in implementation, correspond to the revitalization recommendations in Table 2. The framework is offered as a synthesis of the findings and the literature, not as a tested model.

This study has limits. It was conducted in one pesantren, alumni accounts are retrospective, and the grouping by length of participation reflects the informants available.

Future studies should examine how governance mediates khidmah internalization across pesantren with different institutional and cultural characteristics, and should test the recommendations in Table 2.

4. Conclusions

This study examined how santri with different lengths of participation experience ro'an, how changes in ro'an governance affect the internalization of khidmah, and which revitalization practices the pesantren already carries out compared with those the authors recommend. At Roudlotut Tholibin, khidmah is reconstructed rather than lost: the carrier of its meaning shifts from the relationship with teachers to the governance system itself. Informants who knew ro'an before it was scheduled described it as devotion, those who run it described character education and management, and some current santri described a duty. Structured governance thus works both as an entry point, where compliance can develop into awareness through repeated participation, peer presence, and explanation of meaning, and as a risk when ro'an is reduced to administrative routine. The study contributes by showing that the sustainability of khidmah depends on how governance mediates meaning-making, with compliance, habituation, and internalization as distinct moments. A structured ro'an is therefore not a problem in itself; the risk lies in structure that delivers tasks without meaning. The pesantren already has schedules, zones, supervision, and an explanation of khidmah, so what remains is to connect them, through the authors' recommendations: administrators who join the work, continuing explanation of meaning, corrective evaluation, and fair task allocation. Because the study was conducted in a single pesantren and relies partly on retrospective alumni accounts, these recommendations should be tested, and future research should examine how governance mediates khidmah internalization across pesantren with different institutional and cultural characteristics.

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