

The Erosion of Islamic Boarding School Values: A Case Study of Environmental and Digital Influences on the Behavior of Students at the Al Imtiyaz Putra Islamic Boarding School, Ngawi

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Abstract

Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) have historically functioned as comprehensive character-formation institutions. However, in the contemporary era, they face serious threats from the erosion of their core values due to external social pressures and the massive infiltration of digital technology. This study aims to describe and analyze the forms of value erosion among students (santri) at Pesantren Al-Imtiyaz Putra Ngawi, identify the contributing factors, and examine the institution's adaptive responses to this phenomenon. Employing a qualitative approach with a single case study design, data were collected through in-depth interviews with 14 informants, participatory observation, and document analysis over a period of six months (February–July 2025). Findings reveal five interrelated forms of value erosion: weakening of adab and ta'dzim toward religious authorities, declining commitment to religious practices, infiltration of popular culture and non-Islamic identity imitation, diminishing engagement with classical Islamic texts (kitab kuning), and growing individualism that erodes communal values. These forms of erosion are driven by two synergistic factors: external socio-environmental pressures and the pervasive impact of digitalization through FOMO, moral disengagement, and habitus dislocation. In response, the pesantren has developed four adaptive strategies: intensifying personal mentorship by the kiai, implementing an Islamic-based digital literacy curriculum, revitalizing the internal social ecosystem, and establishing peer-based monitoring by senior students. These findings contribute an integrative analytical framework drawing on Bourdieu's habitus theory, Bandura's moral disengagement, and social identity theory to understand value erosion as a simultaneous structural and agentic process.

Keywords: *value erosion; pesantren; digitalization; social environment; adaptive strategy*

Abtrack

Pondok pesantren secara historis berfungsi sebagai institusi pembentukan karakter yang komprehensif. Namun di era kontemporer, pesantren menghadapi ancaman serius berupa erosi nilai-nilai kepesantrenan akibat tekanan lingkungan sosial eksternal dan infiltrasi masif teknologi digital. Penelitian ini bertujuan mendeskripsikan dan menganalisis bentuk-bentuk erosi nilai santri di Pesantren Al-Imtiyaz Putra Ngawi, mengidentifikasi faktor-faktor kontributifnya, serta mengkaji respons adaptif pesantren terhadap fenomena tersebut. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain studi kasus tunggal, data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam terhadap 14 informan, observasi partisipatif, dan analisis dokumen selama enam bulan (Februari–Juli 2025). Temuan mengidentifikasi lima bentuk erosi nilai yang saling berkaitan: melemahnya adab dan ta'dzim kepada kiai dan ustadz, pergeseran komitmen ibadah, infiltrasi budaya populer dan imitasi identitas non-Islami, melemahnya etos belajar kitab kuning, serta meningkatnya individualisme yang menggerus nilai komunal pesantren. Erosi tersebut didorong oleh dua faktor yang bekerja secara sinergis: tekanan

lingkungan sosial eksternal dan dampak pervasif digitalisasi melalui mekanisme FOMO, moral disengagement, dan dislokasi habitus. Sebagai respons, pesantren mengembangkan empat strategi adaptif: penguatan keteladanan personal kiai, implementasi kurikulum literasi digital berbasis nilai Islam, revitalisasi ekosistem sosial internal, dan sistem pengawasan berbasis santri senior. Temuan ini berkontribusi pada kerangka analitik integratif yang memadukan teori habitus Bourdieu, moral disengagement Bandura, dan teori identitas sosial untuk memahami erosi nilai sebagai proses yang bersifat struktural sekaligus agensial.

Keywords: erosi nilai; pesantren; digitalisasi; lingkungan sosial; strategi adaptif

I. Introduction

Pesantren have historically been known as traditional Islamic educational institutions that have a comprehensive and integral character development system for 24 hours. Through the system of example of kiai, worship habits, and intensive supervision in a relatively closed environment, pesantren acts as a fortress for the transmission of noble values as well as the formation of the morals of the students. However, in this contemporary era, the physical and symbolic boundaries of pesantren are increasingly under serious pressure due to the massive infiltration of digital technology and the dynamics of the social environment that continue to change. This condition gives rise to what in this study is called the **Erosion of pesantren values**, namely the process of weakening, shifting, and even bleaching the moral values, manners, and religious ethics that have been the typical identity of students. due to the pressure of external factors that take place gradually and cumulatively. (Fadli & Dwiningrum, 2021)

At the Al-Imtiyaz Putra Ngawi Islamic Boarding School, this challenge is evident through the dynamics of the interaction of the all-male students with the social reality around them, as well as their exposure to the unfiltered flow of information from digital devices. As a men's Islamic boarding school, social patterns, communication styles, and accessibility to digital content have their own characteristics that have the potential to accelerate the process of value erosion. Although the pesantren curriculum is maintained, the influence of popular culture and virtual communication patterns often clash with the moral values of karimah taught in the classroom and in the cottage environment. The symptoms of this behavioral shift are not just a matter of discipline, but a reflection of the complexity of education in the transition era that demands an adaptive response from the pesantren institution itself.

Theoretically, the phenomenon of value erosion can be understood through the perspective of Bourdieu's (1977) habitus theory, which explains how a person's value disposition can undergo reconfiguration when an individual is exposed to a new social field that is different from his or her home environment. In the context of pesantren, digital infiltration creates a "virtual terrain" that competes with the traditional terrain of pesantren, so that the habitus of students has the potential to experience a dislocation of values. In addition, the concept of moral disengagement from Bandura (2002) is also relevant to explain how students can develop cognitive

justification mechanisms for behavior that is actually contrary to pesantren norms. Various previous studies generally emphasized the success of Islamic boarding schools in forming moral character through a system of exemplary, habituation, and intensive supervision. However, studies that integrate external environmental pressures and digital disruption on the potential for value erosion in Islamic boarding schools are still relatively limited. (Habibi & Sholikha, 2025) (Hasan et al., 2023; Kawakip & Sulanam, 2023) (Air & Rohwiyono, 2026)

Several previous studies have examined the transformation of values in Islamic boarding schools due to the changing times. Mundiri and Nawiro (2019) reveal the existence of a dialectic of orthodoxy and heterodoxy of pesantren values in the digital era, where ta'dzim behavior towards kiai and solidarity still persists, but there are symptoms of popular culture imitation (K-Pop), declining ability to read the yellow book, and the transformation of religious authority due to the dominance of digital learning resources. While these findings are relevant, the study focuses more on categorization of behaviors without integrating analysis of the local social environment as a contributory variable to value shifts (Mundiri & Naviro, 2019).

Putra, Risnawati, and Yeli (2025) through the *Two Way* ANOVA quantitative approach found that a conducive social environment and the habituation of religious activities simultaneously have a significant effect on the formation of the character of student discipline. However, the study is affirmative on the effectiveness of the pesantren system in stable conditions, and does not examine how digitalization has the potential to disrupt the character development system in the midst of external pressures. Meanwhile, Anwar and Muhajir (2021) in their study on the impact of social media on adolescent behavior in Islamic boarding schools found a tendency to change social interaction patterns and weaken students' self-control due to exposure to uncurated digital content. The three studies make important contributions, but each stands at different poles of analysis and has not integrated the two comprehensively. (Putra et al., 2025)

Based on the literature review above, there is a significant research gap in the absence of empirical studies that integratively analyze the interaction between external social environmental pressures and digital technology infiltration in encouraging the erosion of pesantren values, especially in the context of local community-based male pesantren. Previous studies have tended to separate these two variables, so they have not been able to capture the complexity of the dynamics that occur simultaneously in the field. This research is here to fill this gap by presenting a contextual and empirical reality-based analysis at the Al-Imtiyaz Putra Ngawi Islamic Boarding School. (Triyono et al., 2023)

Based on this, this study formulates three main questions: (1) What are the forms of value erosion that occur in the behavior of students at Al-Imtiyaz Putra

Ngawi Islamic Boarding School? (2) To what extent do external social environmental factors and digitalization contribute to the erosion of these values? (3) What is the adaptive strategy of the Al-Imtiyaz Putra Ngawi Islamic Boarding School in responding to the threat of value erosion in the contemporary era?

This study aims to describe and analyze forms of erosion of student values, identify the contribution of environmental and digital factors, and examine the adaptive response of pesantren to these phenomena. Methodologically, this study uses a qualitative case study approach (Yin, 2018) with the Al-Imtiyaz Putra Ngawi Islamic Boarding School as a single case that was analyzed in depth. This approach was chosen because it is able to capture the complexity of social phenomena in real and specific contexts, while generating a rich and contextual understanding of the dynamics of value erosion that takes place at the research site.

II. Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with a *single case study* design as developed by Yin (2018). This approach was chosen because of (Baxter & Jack, 2015) its ability to capture the complexity of social phenomena in a deep, holistic, and contextual manner within specific case boundaries. A single case study is considered appropriate for this study considering that the Al-Imtiyaz Putra Ngawi Islamic Boarding School is a unique and *representative case* in the context of a local community-based male boarding school that is facing simultaneous modernization and digitalization pressures.

This research is descriptive-analytical, which is not only describing the phenomenon of value erosion that occurs, but also analyzing the contributing factors and adaptive mechanisms developed by Islamic boarding schools in responding to these phenomena. The paradigm used is the interpretivist-constructivist paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), which places social reality as a construct shaped by the experiences, perceptions, and interactions of research subjects in the context of daily life in the pesantren environment. (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999)

This research was carried out at the Al-Imtiyaz Putra Islamic Boarding School, Ngawi, East Java. The selection of the location is carried out purposively by considering several criteria: (1) the pesantren is a male pesantren that has an adequate number of mukim students for the purpose of analysis; (2) Islamic boarding schools are located in semi-urban areas which makes them vulnerable to foreign cultural infiltration and digital access; and (3) the openness and willingness of the pesantren to participate in the research process. In addition, the researcher has prior *access* to the location which allows for the establishment of trust (*rapport*) with the research subject.

The research was carried out for six months, from February to July 2025. The data collection process took place in stages: access orientation and negotiation stage (February 2025), intensive data collection through observation and interviews (March–May 2025), and data triangulation and validation (June–July 2025). This long duration allows researchers to conduct in-depth participatory observations while gaining an understanding of the behavior patterns of students that are repetitive and consistent.

The data sources in this study are divided into two categories: primary data and secondary data. Primary data was obtained directly from informants through *in-depth interviews* and from direct observations in the field. Secondary data includes official documents of the pesantren (rules, curriculum, records of student violations), archives of activities, and academic literature relevant to the research topic. The determination of informants was carried out using purposive sampling techniques with strictly set criteria. The research informants consisted of four main groups. First, the caregiver or kiai of the pesantren as the highest authority who best understands the dynamics of value change in the cottage environment. Second, the ustadz and the management of the boarding school are directly involved in the daily development of students. Third, senior students who have lived for more than two years and have adequate reflective capacity. Fourth, junior students who have just joined in the last one year so that they can provide a comparative perspective on the differences in norms inside and outside the pesantren. Overall, this study involved 14 informants consisting of: 1 caregiver kiai, 2 senior ustaz, 2 boarding school administrators (pondok village head and secretary), 4 senior students (grades III – VI), and 5 junior students (grades I – II). The number of informants is not determined a priori, but follows the principle of data saturation, which is that data collection is stopped when new information obtained no longer produces a different theme or analysis category than before. (Guest et al., 2006)

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Forms of Erosion of Student Values at Al-Imtiyaz Putra Ngawi Islamic Boarding School

The findings of the study show that the erosion of values that takes place at the Al-Imtiyaz Putra Ngawi Islamic Boarding School is gradual, multidimensional, and not always visible to the naked eye. Based on the results of participatory observation, in-depth interviews with 14 informants, and document analysis during the period March-May 2025, five main forms of value erosion were found that interact dynamically with each other.

The weakening of Adab and Ta'dzim to Kiai and Ustadz

The most prominent indicator of the erosion of values at the Al-Imtiyaz Islamic Boarding School is the weakening of the attitude of deep respect which is the core of the student-kiai relationship in the Islamic boarding school tradition. In the perspective of the pesantren tradition (Dhofier, 1982), ta'dzim is not just a formal politeness, but an expression of epistemological appreciation that kiai is the inheritor of knowledge and blessings (barakah). (Dhofier, 1982)

Field data shows significant changes. Junior students tend to greet ustadz in a more informal way, there are even cases of the use of non-formal language in WhatsApp messages sent to the boarding school administrators. The caretaker of the pesantren, Kiai Ahmad (not his real name), said:

"In the past, when the student met the kiai, he immediately kissed his hand without being asked, and the road bowed. Now there are those who pass by while

playing cellphones, some even reply to ustadz chats using emojis. It's not about the cellphone, it's about the loss of awareness of the meaning of respect itself."
(Interview, March 15, 2025)

This phenomenon can be analyzed through Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) theory of habitus. Habitus santri—a disposition of values that is internalized through the process of socialization in the pesantren environment—is dislocated when dealing with a 'virtual field' that brings different logic and norms of interaction. Digital platforms reproduce an egalitarian communication culture that is structurally opposed to the hierarchy of manners in the pesantren's tradition. (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017)

Table 1. Indicators of Erosion of Adab and Ta'dzim at Al-Imtiyaz Putra Ngawi Islamic Boarding School

Indicator	Previous Condition (±5 years ago)	Current Condition (2025)
How to greet kiai/ustadz	Kiss hands, bow down, greet respectfully	Often pass without greetings; Digital communication through emojis
Posture when meeting kiai	Bowing, not turning his back to the kiai	More upright, occasionally crossing paths without special interaction
Response to ustadz's reprimand	Received with patience and respect	There is a defensive tendency, especially in junior students
Active participation in halaqah	Enthusiastic, ask directly	Passive, more often referring to digital sources

Source: Results of observations and researcher interviews, 2025

Shifting Commitment to Worship and Religious Activities

Pesantren have historically used the ritual of congregational prayer, reciting the Qur'an, and studying the yellow book—as the backbone of character formation (Mastuhu, 1994). The findings of this study identify a serious shift in students' commitment to these practices.

The village head of the boarding school, Ustadz RS, noted that the attendance rate for congregational Fajr prayers has decreased by an average of 18% compared to the previous two years based on the recapitulation of mosque attendance for the January-April 2025 period. More significantly, the number of students caught using hidden mobile phones at prayer time tripled compared to 2022.

This symptom can be understood through the concept of moral disengagement Bandura (2002), which is a cognitive mechanism that allows individuals to break free from internal moral standards without feeling guilty. Students develop a pattern of justification such as: 'it's okay to open your cellphone for a while', or 'the study can be listened to via YouTube at any time'. This gradually desacralizes worship from something transcendental to a mere routine that can be compromised. (Bandura, 2002)

"At dawn, someone comes to the mosque with a sarong to cover the cellphone. When the imam read Al-Fatihah, his hands were still moving behind the sarong. It clearly shows that something has shifted from within him." (Interview with The Associated Press, March 22, 2025)

Infiltration of Popular Culture and the Imitation of Non-Islamic Identities

The third erosion of value is related to the phenomenon of identity imitation that originates from digital popular culture consumption. Students are exposed to entertainment, music, lifestyle, and global cultural idioms, especially K-Pop culture and social media content creators—which carry different values from the identity of students. (Xu et al., 2023)

Within the framework of Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory, this infiltration creates an identity crisis in which students are in tension between two reference groups: the pesantren community and the digital community. Students who are more vulnerable to peer pressure tend to adopt identity symbols from digital groups as a strategy to maintain social relevance. (Nuriman et al., 2024)

Concrete manifestations found in the field include: the use of digital slang that mixes foreign terms inappropriately in the context of learning; fashionably modified dress styles when in unsupervised areas; and preference to discuss entertainment topics over Islamic studies in everyday conversation.

The Weakening of the Learning Ethos and Orientation of the Yellow Book

The ability to read and understand the yellow book (a classic book in Arabic without harakat) is the main marker of the student's scholarship as well as the epistemic identity of the pesantren. The research data revealed a serious decline in this learning ethic.

Ustadz MN, a teacher of the book ABY, stated that the ability of third grade students to read and interpret Arabic texts has regressed compared to the class three years ago. Students often rely on digital translations or applications of the Qur'an

rather than honing their ability to read original texts. In Bourdieu's perspective, *the cultural capital* that has been the pride of Islamic boarding school students – namely the ability to read the yellow book – is gradually being disrupted by digital capital that is considered more practical and socially relevant.

"Open Google Translate is faster than opening Munawwir's dictionary. That's what they say. Even though the process of opening the dictionary itself is part of learning – learning patiently, studying carefully. If it is passed, the knowledge will not be imputed." (Ustadz MN, Interview, April 5, 2025)

Desolidarity and Individualism in Communal Life

The pesantren is built on the foundation of communal life (*jamaah*) that upholds the values of *ukhuwwah* (brotherhood), *ta'awun* (mutual help), and deliberation. Field findings show that these communal values are also under pressure due to individualism facilitated by digital technology.

The researchers' observations over two months show that students' free time, which was previously filled with discussions, playing together, or repeating lessons together (deliberations), is now spent individually in front of the screen. Senior students admitted that they felt 'easier' to interact virtually than *face-to-face*, a symptom that in the digital psychology literature is referred to as *phubbing*, the neglect of real social interaction in favor of digital screens. (Chotpitayasunondh & Douglas, 2018)

Factors Contributing to Value Erosion

The erosion of the values identified above does not occur in a vacuum. This study identifies two main groups of factors that work synergistically and reinforce each other: external social environmental factors and digitalization factors.

External Social Environmental Factors

Al-Imtiyaz Islamic Boarding School is located in the semi-urban area of Ngawi which in the last decade has experienced significant sociodemographic changes. The growth of new settlements, the intensification of economic activities, and increased social mobility have changed the character of the environment around the pesantren from a relatively value-homogeneous one to a more plural and open one.

First, the influence of the surrounding community (*communal field effect*). Students who come from urban or semi-urban families bring different social habits from students from rural backgrounds. This difference creates internal dynamics where the norms of the pesantren negotiate constantly with norms brought from the outside. Second, peer pressure across institutions. Students who have relatives or friends in public schools are often exposed to different standards of behavior through communication that cannot be completely controlled by the pesantren. Third, changes in family expectations. Some parents today send their children to Islamic boarding schools not only for in-depth religious education, but to get a 'plus value' for Islamic

boarding school certificates as well as access to formal schools. This shift in motivation has an impact on the commitment and orientation of the students themselves.

Table 2. External Social Environmental Factors and Their Impact on Value Erosion

External Factors	Mechanism of Influence	Impact on the Value of Islamic Boarding Schools
Changes in the character of semi-urban environments	Exposure to more plural and permissive social norms	Value relativism; Weakening of the Authority of Islamic Boarding School Norms
Cross-institutional peer pressure	Conformity to the standard of behavior of non-pesantren friends	Imitation of lifestyle; The weakening of the identity of the santri
Shifting family expectations	Certificate/formal oriented parental motivation	Declining students' commitment to the intrinsic value of pesantren
Local economic dynamics	Exposure to a consumptive lifestyle through interaction with the surrounding community	Materialism; Reduced Humidity

Source: Researcher's analysis based on field data, 2025

Factors of Digitalization and Technology Infiltration

Digitalization is the second factor identified in this study, but it has a much more pervasive effect because it operates within the walls of the Islamic boarding school. Although the Al-Imtiyaz Islamic Boarding School officially implements a policy restricting the use of *gadgets*, field findings show that there is a wide gap between formal regulations and actual implementation.

Based on interviews with the management of the boarding school, it is estimated that around 60-70% of students have access to smartphones – both officially allowed and hidden. This access mainly occurs through: (a) giving parents who do not fully understand the consequences of regulation; (b) daycare at a friend whose house is near the Islamic boarding school; and (c) clandestine joint use.

In the perspective of the theory of *Uses and Gratifications* (Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch, 1974), students use digital media not just for information, but to meet psychological needs: entertainment, identity, social integration, and reality supervision. When pesantren fails to meet some of these needs, especially

entertainment and self-expression, digital media becomes an attractive and disruptive substitution.

"Cellphones are like a window to the outside world. During the lesson, my friends out there have watched this, played it, listened to that song. If we don't know, we are left behind. That's what makes it difficult to focus on the cottage."

(Santri Yuniur, Interview, April 14, 2025)

The concept of FOMO (*Fear of Missing Out*) put forward by Przybylski et al. (2013) is very relevant to understanding this dynamic. Students not only consume digital content because they want to but also because they are afraid of being isolated from the social context of their peers who live in the digital ecosystem. It is a psychological distress that cannot be solved solely with a hard prohibition, but rather requires a more holistic approach. (Ali Al-Abyadh, 2025; Dam et al., 2023; Sommantico et al., 2023) (Przybylski et al., 2013)

Adaptive Strategies of Al-Imtiyaz Islamic Boarding School in Responding to Value Erosion

In the face of the pressure of multi-layered value erosion, the Al-Imtiyaz Islamic Boarding School is not defensive-passive. The findings of the study identify a number of adaptive strategies that have been and are being developed, reflecting what Fealy and White (2008) call 'selective modernization' – that is, the process of adapting to modernity without sacrificing the essence of identity.

Strengthening Kiai's Example through an Intensive Personal Approach

The first strategy identified is the reactualization of the kiai model (*uswatun hasanah*) through a more personal and contextual approach. Kiai caregivers increase the frequency of direct interaction with students outside of formal recitation sessions – such as eating together, exercising in the morning, and casual chats on the terrace – as a medium of internalizing values that do not seem instructive. (Dian et al., 2024)

This approach is in line with the perspective of critical pedagogy Paulo Freire (1970) who emphasized dialogue as a more effective transformative instrument than monological indoctrination. When students feel cared for personally and engage in authentic dialogue with the kiai, resistance to pesantren norms tends to decrease.

Implementation of Islamic Value-Based Digital Literacy Curriculum

Instead of viewing digital technology as the enemy, pesantren developed a more creative response: integrating digital literacy into the Islamic boarding school curriculum with an Islamic value framework. This program includes group discussions on social media ethics from the perspective of the Qur'an and Hadith, a study on the impact of FOMO and how to overcome it in an Islamic way, as well as training on the production of digital da'wah content that gives students an active role as producers and not just consumers of digital content.

"Instead of prohibiting it continuously but ineffectively, it is better for us to teach them how to use cellphones correctly according to Islam. Technology is like a knife – it depends on who is holding it and what the intention is." (Kiai Ahmad, Interview, March 10, 2025)

This approach is in line with the concept of '*Islamic Digital Citizenship*' developed by Nisa (2018), which emphasizes that Muslims in the digital era need to be equipped not only with religious understanding, but also critical capacity for the digital information ecosystem.

Revitalization of the Internal Social Environment: Value Community Program

The third strategy focuses on reconstructing the internal social ecosystem of the pesantren as a counterforce to external influences. Pesantren develops interest-based community programs (*club system*) that provide space for students' creative expression within the framework of Islamic values: calligraphy clubs, modern hadroh groups, religious debate teams, and student literacy programs.

In the perspective of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) developmental ecological theory, a socially rich and personally meaningful microsystem environment is the strongest protective factor against the influence of the wider ecosystem. When students find satisfaction, identity, and recognition within the pesantren community, the attractiveness of the external digital ecosystem automatically decreases.

Strengthening the Senior Santri Community-Based Supervision System

The fourth strategy involves reconfiguring the supervision system from a *top-down* model to a *peer-based monitoring* that involves senior students as agents of change. Class V and VI students are involved as companions (*muraqib*) for junior students, not in a police capacity, but as value mentors who provide examples and personal assistance.

This approach utilizes the *social learning* mechanism of Bandura (1977) which states that the most effective value learning occurs through observation and imitation of socially relevant models. Senior students of the same age are easier to be a reference model for junior students than authority figures who are too far away hierarchically.

Integrative Analysis: The Dynamics of Value Erosion in a Theoretical Perspective

Bringing together all of the above findings, this study offers an integrative analytical model that describes the mechanism of value erosion in pesantren as a non-linear and multifactorial process.

First, from the perspective of Bourdieu (1977), value erosion can be understood as an inter-field contestation: the religious *field* that prioritizes spiritual capital, manners, and religious science versus the digital *field* that prioritizes visual capital, cuteness, and popularity. Students who are socially ambitious tend to diversify their habitus investments into terrain that provides faster social returns.

Second, from the perspective of Bandura (2002), the process of moral *disengagement* that takes place is not deliberative, students do not consciously decide to 'abandon the value of the pesantren but rather occur through the accumulation of small justifications that are repeated to form a structured pattern of behavior. The implication is that effective interventions must touch the level of cognition and justification mechanisms, not just the level of external behavior. (Bussey et al., 2024)

Third, from the perspective of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the erosion of values is accelerated by the ambiguity of identity boundaries. Students who do not have a strong internalization of values will be more easily swayed between student identity and digital identity. This is where the role of the strategy for the formation of the collective identity of the pesantren becomes crucial. (Suyuthi et al., 2025)

Overall, the erosion of values that occurred at the Al-Imtiyaz Islamic Boarding School is not a systemic failure, but an adaptive challenge that requires a proportionate, contextual, and in-depth understanding response to the socio-digital dynamics that take place.

IV. CONCLUSION

This research produces three main conclusions that answer the research questions that have been formulated.

First, the erosion of the value of students at the Al-Imtiyaz Putra Ngawi Islamic Boarding School is manifested in five interrelated forms: (1) the weakening of *adab* and *ta'dzim* to *kiai* and *ustadz*; (2) shifting in worship and religious activities; (3) the infiltration of popular culture and the imitation of non-Islamic identities; (4) weakening of the ethic of learning the yellow book; and (5) increasing individualism that erodes the communal value of Islamic boarding schools. These five forms of erosion take place gradually, non-linearly, and often unnoticed by the perpetrators themselves a characteristic that makes them more dangerous than explicit value violations.

Second, the erosion of values is the product of a synergistic interaction between two groups of factors: external social environmental factors including changes in semi-urban character, peer pressure across institutions, and shifts in family expectations and digitalization factors that work through the mechanisms of FOMO, moral disengagement, and *habitus* dislocation due to contestation between the Islamic boarding school and the digital field. These two factors do not work independently, but rather reinforce each other in a complex disruptive cycle.

Third, Al-Imtiyaz Islamic Boarding School responds to the challenge of value erosion with four adaptive strategies: strengthening personal *kiai* examples, implementing a digital literacy curriculum based on Islamic values, revitalizing the internal social ecosystem through a community club system, and peer-based monitoring by senior students. These strategies reflect a more nuanced approach than just prohibition, which is to integrate modernity into the logic of pesantren values instead of treating them as a threat to be rejected.

Theoretically, this research contributes by integrating the perspective of Bourdieu (*habitus and field*), Bandura (*moral disengagement and social learning*), and social identity theory to understand the phenomenon of value erosion in pesantren as a structural and institutional process. Unlike previous research that tends to separate environmental and digital analysis, this study shows that these two factors can only be understood in their entirety in an integrative framework.

The practical implications of this study confirm that an effective response to the erosion of pesantren values in the digital era does not rely enough on strengthening supervision and prohibition alone. A strategy that works at three levels at once is needed: the cognitive level (reconstruction of the moral justification of students), the identity level (strengthening the collective identity of the pesantren community), and the structural level (the transformation of the social and curricular ecosystem of the pesantren to be psychologically competitive with the digital ecosystem).

This study has limitations in terms of generalizability because it uses a single case study design. Further research is recommended to conduct a comparative study across Islamic boarding schools with different typologies (urban vs. rural, male vs. female, salafiyah vs. modern) in order to produce a more comprehensive map of the dynamics of value erosion in the contemporary Indonesian pesantren ecosystem.

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