

## Anjangsana as Cultural Infrastructure: Social Capital and Turath Literacy in Situbondo

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### Abstract

Anjangsana Ihya' in Situbondo constitutes a socio-cultural practice that sustains the continuity of community-based turath learning. This topic is important because studies of kitab kuning are often confined to institutional settings, whereas the mechanisms through which non-formal adult practices integrate ritual, social relations, and community governance remain underexplored. This study employs a qualitative ethnographic approach, drawing on participant observation, in-depth ethnographic interviews with key actors (shaikhs, qāri' [readers], mustami' [active listeners], technical organizers, hosts, and students), and documentation (schedules, field notes, and WhatsApp group communications). Data analysis follows Spradley's stages (domain, taxonomic, componential, and cultural theme analyses). The findings indicate that Anjangsana Ihya' operates as a rotating community event (homes, mosques, and public venues) with a stable format: ritual opening (tawassul and al-Fātiḥah), rotating readings, collective meaning negotiation, ritual closing (tahlil and supplication), and a social phase of hospitality. Continuity is maintained through a structured role ecology, ritual framing, layered hospitality, and WhatsApp-based hybrid governance that coordinates schedules and extends discussion beyond meetings. The practice contributes to social capital (trust, shared norms, and reciprocity) and cultural reproduction through turath literacy, cross-edition textual verification, and the reinforcement of values such as adab, khidmah, and intergenerational togetherness. Overall, the findings position Anjangsana Ihya' as "cultural infrastructure" that keeps turath learning alive while strengthening community cohesion.



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## A. Introduction

Reading classical Arabic texts (*turāth*) involves more than decoding linguistic structures (e.g., *nahw* and *sarf*). It also requires interpreting the moral, social, and historical layers of the text so that its message becomes meaningful and applicable in everyday life (PK et al., 2025; Yaseen, 2025). This challenge is particularly salient for adult learners, whose time is constrained by work, family, and social responsibilities, and whose motivation is typically driven not by credential attainment but by spiritual and ethical needs (Evans, 2025; Nannaparaju, 2025).

In Indonesia, the *kitab kuning* tradition constitutes a major pathway for transmitting Islamic scholarship and safeguarding *sanad* (chains of scholarly authority) (Abraar, 2025; Fauziyah et al., 2023; Nisa et al., 2022). Yet in many contexts, prevailing instructional practices remain teacher-centered and position learners primarily as recipients of explanation (Aakhirudin et al., 2024; Bruinessen, 1995). While such arrangements can effectively preserve interpretive authority, they often restrict dialogic engagement and reduce opportunities for adult participants to mobilize their life experience as a central learning resource.

For adult learners, the core issue is therefore not only the “difficulty of the language,” but also the mismatch between adult learning needs and instructional designs that overemphasize content transmission (HosseiniKhezri et al., 2025; None et al., 2025). Adult education scholarship highlights that adults learn more effectively when they recognize the relevance of what they are learning, assume responsibility for the learning process, and connect new knowledge to prior experience (Knowles, 1980). When classical texts are treated merely as technical exercises (for instance, with an exclusive focus on grammar), they can appear disconnected from contemporary social realities, which ultimately undermines sustained participation. For this reason, community-based and non-formal learning spaces warrant closer scholarly attention. Such spaces may provide supportive social environments in which learning is embedded within relational networks, moral obligations, and shared purposes. In these contexts, the durability of adult learning is often sustained less by formal curricula than by social systems that make participation feel consistently worthwhile.

This study highlights a distinctive practice in Situbondo, East Java: *Anjangsana* gatherings for reading and discussing al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*. These gatherings rotate across venues (homes, mosques, and community halls), bring together participants from diverse occupations and age groups, and function as a community routine rather than a formal class (Abdi et al., 2025; Anas et al., 2026). Empirically, the practice suggests that adult learning is more likely to endure when it is embedded in everyday social life. In Situbondo, *Anjangsana* involves not only textual reading but also elements that strengthen social bonds, including ritual openings and closings, coordinated scheduling and materials distribution, and hospitality that fosters familiarity and warmth. Learning is framed as worship and moral cultivation, rather than the mere accumulation of information. This framing matters because it shapes how participants understand attendance discipline, seriousness, and textual engagement.

Existing studies of *kitab kuning* learning have largely emphasized institutional contexts (e.g., *pesantren*) and teacher–student transmission patterns. Such scholarship is valuable for explaining the continuity of tradition, yet it remains

limited in accounting for how rotating, non-formal adult learning circles are sustained through social mechanisms such as governance, reciprocity, and shared norms. As a result, the social processes that underpin turāth literacy at the level of adult community learning remain insufficiently explained.

Andragogy (adult education theory) provides useful concepts for interpreting this phenomenon, including learner autonomy, readiness to learn, problem-centered orientation, experience as a learning resource, and intrinsic motivation.<sup>2</sup> However, andragogy is also frequently criticized for its individualistic bias (Henschke, 2025), which can obscure strongly collectivist contexts in which learning is guided by sanad (scholarly lineage), the ethic of khidmah (service), and the pursuit of barakah (blessing). Accordingly, this study treats andragogy as an initial framework that must be contextualized and refined in culturally sensitive ways.

To explain why Anjangsana can endure over time while also generating social impact, this article draws on the concept of social capital. Social capital highlights how trust, reciprocity, and shared norms emerge through repeated relational networks, thereby facilitating coordination and cooperation (Putnam, 2000). In rotating learning circles, the “costs of participation” (time, travel distance, and preparation) can be offset by social support, moral recognition, and reciprocal obligations, which in turn stabilizes participation.

This analysis is further strengthened by situated learning and community-of-practice perspectives, which conceptualize learning as participation and identity formation rather than mere knowledge transfer (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In Anjangsana, learning does not end with the formal session; it extends into pre-session preparation, informal post-session conversations, and ongoing coordination and follow-up discussion through digital platforms (e.g., WhatsApp). Accordingly, Anjangsana can be understood as a living learning ecology in which roles, meanings, and knowledge circulate across multiple spaces and times.

On the basis of these theoretical foundations, the research gap becomes more specific: relatively few studies explain how rotating, non-formal adult learning circles integrate ritual framing, hospitality, a structured role ecology, and hybrid governance (including digital communication) to sustain turāth literacy while strengthening social cohesion. This study advances the proposition that when Anjangsana combines (a) a structured role ecology, (b) ritual framing, (c) rotating hospitality, and (d) hybrid governance, it functions as “cultural infrastructure” that generates social capital and supports community-based turāth literacy.

Accordingly, this study aims to (1) describe how Anjangsana Ihya’ operates as a socio-cultural practice rather than merely a learning forum; (2) identify the mechanisms that sustain participation and continuity (roles, ritual, hospitality, and governance); and (3) explain how the practice contributes to social capital formation and cultural reproduction in Situbondo. The novelty of this article lies in conceptualizing Anjangsana as “cultural infrastructure” and demonstrating how WhatsApp-based governance and cross-edition textual-variant verification operate as key mechanisms sustaining durability, cohesion, and critical turāth literacy.

## B. Method

This study adopts a qualitative approach using a descriptive ethnographic design (Rahardjo, 2017). A qualitative strategy was selected because the focus of

inquiry is Anjangsana Ihya' as a naturally occurring socio-cultural practice (without manipulation), requiring an in-depth understanding of the meanings, values, and interaction patterns constructed by community actors. Ethnography is employed not only to describe "what happens," but also to interpret the web of meanings underlying the rituals, governance arrangements, and learning practices that sustain Anjangsana as a cultural practice (Spradley, 2007).

The research site is Situbondo Regency, East Java, focusing on Anjangsana activities centered on the study of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*. Data collection was conducted from June to November 2024, following the rhythm of the community's routine gatherings. This site was purposively selected because Anjangsana Ihya' in Situbondo exhibits distinctive characteristics: non-formal adult learning that rotates across venues, is integrated with religious ritual, and is supported by strong social governance and hospitality.

The field population comprises all actors involved in the Anjangsana Ihya' ecosystem in Situbondo (regular participants, organizers, scholarly figures, and related community members). Informants were selected through purposive sampling to represent key roles within the practice: (1) mashayikh/ulama who provide scholarly legitimacy and regulate the gathering's rhythm; (2) qāri' (readers) who recite the text before the assembly; (3) mustami' (active listeners) who follow the text, take notes, ask questions, and participate in correction; (4) technical and scheduling coordinators responsible for announcements, reading-segment allocation, and venue coordination; (5) hosts (muḍīf) who provide space and hospitality; (6) pesantren students who participate as learners and serve as a pipeline of future readers; and (7) adult community members (working-age participants and elders) who sustain the practice through social and logistical support. Informants were selected based on direct involvement, intensity of participation, and their capacity to provide rich information on role structures, governance mechanisms, ritual practices, and the socio-cultural contributions of the activities.

Data were collected using three primary strategies (Bungin, 2007; Sugiyono, 2008): (1) participant observation to directly document the activity sequence (opening, reading, discussion, closing), interaction patterns across roles, spatial arrangements/seating positions, cultural symbols (e.g., adab and expressions of respect), and hospitality practices; (2) in-depth ethnographic interviews to explore participants' experiences, reasons for sustained participation, interpretations of ritual, learning practices, and perceptions of Anjangsana's contributions to social bonds; and (3) documentation, including activity schedules, attendance records (when available), distributed reading materials, and digital communication artifacts such as announcements and follow-up discussions in the WhatsApp group. Digital documentation was treated as part of the governance trace and learning ecology that extends learning activities beyond face-to-face sessions.

Research procedures followed Spradley's structured ethnographic principles, emphasizing staged fieldwork: building rapport, selecting key informants, conducting descriptive-structural-contrast interviews, deepening observation, and producing reflective field notes (Spradley, 2007). This procedure helped ensure that cultural categories (e.g., role terms, symbols, routines, and values) emerged from participants' emic perspectives rather than being imposed externally.

Data analysis employed Spradley's ethnographic analytic framework in an iterative manner: (1) domain analysis to identify broad categories of meaning (e.g., "roles," "ritual," "governance," "hospitality," "textual verification"); (2) taxonomic analysis to map the internal structure of each domain (e.g., classification of scientific, technical, and participatory roles); (3) componential analysis to examine functional contrasts among elements (e.g., differences in how qāri', mustami', and organizers contribute to continuity); and (4) cultural theme analysis to formulate deeper meanings that connect domains into an overarching conclusion regarding Anjangsana as cultural infrastructure. To strengthen analytic traceability, the process was supplemented with analytic memos and repeated organization of data across observations, interviews, and documents.

Trustworthiness was ensured through several strategies: (1) source and method triangulation by comparing information from mashayikh, organizers, qāri', mustami', students, and documentary/digital artifacts; (2) credibility through sufficient field engagement and participant observation so that observed patterns were not incidental; (3) dependability through the development of an audit trail (records of data-collection procedures, transcripts, interview summaries, and field notes); and (4) confirmability by clearly distinguishing field evidence from the researcher's interpretations, enabling findings to be traced back to empirical data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Ethically, the study prioritized informed consent, protected the confidentiality of sensitive information, and applied anonymization when necessary in publication—particularly for interview excerpts and digital communication artifacts that could identify individuals or the community.

### C. Findings and Discussion

#### **Anjangsana Ihya' as a socio-cultural practice**

The findings indicate that Anjangsana Ihya' in Situbondo operates as a socio-cultural practice that integrates turāth learning, religious ritual, and social relations into a coherent sequence of activities. Rather than functioning as a formal class governed by an institutional curriculum, it takes shape as a recurring community event embedded in everyday social life. A defining feature is its rotating meeting pattern—moving across private homes, mosques/educational institutions, and public halls or other communal venues—which makes the practice open, adaptive, and accessible to participants from diverse social backgrounds.

As a cultural practice, Anjangsana Ihya' relies on the familiar mechanism of rotating visits and "fills" this structure with the collective reading and discussion of al-Ghazālī's Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn. In this way, turāth learning is not positioned as an activity separate from social life; instead, it becomes part of the community's relational rhythm. Any participant may serve as host, and when no host is available, the gathering does not cease but is relocated to a public venue. This pattern demonstrates that Anjangsana functions not only as a "learning space," but also as a community strategy for maintaining continuity of meetings, togetherness, and social networks.

Operationally, Anjangsana Ihya' follows a relatively stable sequence that participants recognize as an established "event format." Field observations show a typical order consisting of: (1) a ritual opening (tawassul and al-Fātiḥah), (2) rotating readings by multiple qāri', (3) collective meaning negotiation through discussion

(Q&A, clarification, and correction), (4) a ritual closing (tahlil and supplication), and (5) a social phase involving hospitality and informal interaction. This sequence is significant because it distinguishes Anjangsana Ihya' from ordinary learning forums: learning is consistently embedded within a ritual frame and concludes with a social frame that reinforces community bonds.

The ritual opening (tawassul and al-Fātihah) functions not merely as tradition but as an atmosphere-setting device that repositions learning from a purely intellectual activity to one endowed with devotional value. Field notes indicate that before the reading begins, a key figure typically delivers a brief introduction reaffirming the gathering's purpose and strengthening participants' intentions. This opening also signals that the meeting is not an individual endeavor, but part of a broader value network: respect for scholars, recognition of scholarly lineage (sanad), and attachment to local religious tradition.

During the reading stage, what unfolds is not simply textual recitation but a social process involving multiple actors. A qāri' recites the text while other participants follow along in their own copies, annotate key points, and prepare responses when difficult passages arise. This produces a distinctive learning atmosphere—marked by scholarly seriousness yet sustained within a familiar social setting, given the rotating venues and long-standing relationships among participants. In practice, the reading is frequently accompanied by meaning clarification, and some sessions employ the languages most accessible to participants (local languages and/or Indonesian), enabling turāth discourse to “descend” into the community's interpretive space.

Collective meaning negotiation (musyawarah makna) constitutes a particularly salient socio-cultural moment. Discussion does not merely resolve linguistic issues; it often expands into linking Ihya' values to participants' lived situations. In this setting, the text is not treated as a neutral reading object, but as a source of moral reflection that admonishes, guides, and provides an evaluative framework for social realities. Accordingly, deliberation may involve both lexical clarification and ethical interpretation of everyday phenomena. This indicates that Anjangsana Ihya' does not only aim to improve reading competence, but also facilitates the formation of shared attitudes and a collective moral orientation.

The ritual closing (tahlil and supplication) further underscores the socio-cultural character of the practice. Rather than serving as a mere formal ending, it reinforces the idea that learning should return to participants' lives as virtuous practice and blessing. The closing also functions as a means of maintaining spiritual ties among members, since tahlil and supplication are understood as collective moments to pray for scholars, ancestors, and fellow participants. Socially, this ritual generates a sense of emotional togetherness: participants conclude the session not as “finished learning,” but as “having completed worship together.”

Finally, the social phase following the formal session—hospitality and informal interaction—confirms that Anjangsana Ihya' operates as a cultural practice rather than merely a learning forum. In this phase, participants share meals, converse informally, renew social ties, and continue light conversation that may lead to further discussion. Hospitality is not simply consumption, but a symbol of social acceptance, respect, and togetherness. Field findings show that hospitality may take three forms: light refreshments during the session, a shared meal after the

formal program, and small take-home gifts—each reinforcing the local host–guest ethic that is sustained through the gathering.

Another important finding concerns how hosts interpret the act of organizing the gathering. Many hosts do not merely “provide a venue”; rather, they understand hosting as a means of seeking barakah (blessing) and dedicating spiritual merit to ancestors/family members as well as to teachers. Accordingly, the motivation to host is not purely social (offering hospitality), but also moral and spiritual—reinforcing ties to family, ancestors, and scholarly networks. This orientation directly links the learning activity to family ethics and local social tradition, rendering Anjangsana Ihya’ an “embedded” practice rather than one that can be easily abandoned.

Taken together, these patterns indicate that Anjangsana Ihya’ can be understood as a site of collective meaning-making. Participants attend not only to obtain information, but to take part in a practice that integrates worship, adab, social relations, and turāth learning. The findings underscore that the strength of Anjangsana Ihya’ lies in its capacity to transform the study of Ihya’ into a community experience—one that simultaneously educates, binds participants together, and reproduces Situbondo’s religious-cultural values in everyday life.

For clarity, the key mechanisms identified in this section are summarized in Table 1 below:

**Table 1. Mechanisms of Anjangsana Ihya’**

<b>Concluding Aspect</b>	<b>Summary of Findings</b>	<b>Main Interpretation/Conclusion</b>
Activity status	Not a formal class or institutionally prescribed curriculum; conducted as a recurring community event	Anjangsana Ihya’ constitutes a socio-cultural practice rather than merely a learning forum
Spatial pattern & mobility	Rotating venues (private homes, mosques/educational institutions, public halls/venues); adaptive when no host is available	Venue mobility sustains openness, adaptability, and continuity of participation
Core cultural mechanism	A familiar “rotating-visit” tradition filled with the collective reading and discussion of Ihya’	<i>Turāth</i> learning is embedded in the rhythm of community relations and social networks
Stable operational format	Fixed sequence: ritual opening → rotating readings → collective meaning negotiation → ritual closing → social phase	The stable event format distinguishes Anjangsana Ihya’ from ordinary learning settings
Ritual opening	<i>Tawassul</i> and al-Fātiḥah; brief introductory remarks by a key figure; emphasis on <i>adab</i> , respect for scholars, and <i>sanad</i>	Reframes learning as worship and aligns participants’ moral orientation
Text-reading stage	A <i>qāri</i> ’ reads; others follow in their own copies, annotate, and prepare responses; local/Indonesian languages used for comprehension	Reading functions as a collective social process that situates <i>turāth</i> within the community’s interpretive space
Meaning	Discussion includes term	The text becomes a source of

negotiation ( <i>musyawarah</i> )	clarification, correction, and linking Ihya' values to real-life issues	moral reflection and the formation of a shared ethical orientation
Ritual closing	<i>Tahlīl</i> and supplication; prayers for scholars, ancestors, and fellow participants; reinforcement of merit and <i>barakah</i>	Concludes the session as “worship together,” strengthening spiritual–emotional bonds
Social phase (post-session)	Hospitality and informal interaction; renewal of relationships; continued conversation; layered hospitality (refreshments, shared meal, take-home gifts)	Reinforces host–guest ethics and strengthens social togetherness
Meaning of hosting (hosts)	Hosting is understood as seeking <i>barakah</i> and dedicating merit to ancestors/family/teachers	Social–spiritual motivation makes the practice deeply rooted and not easily abandoned
Primary cultural output	Learning integrates worship, <i>adab</i> , social relations, and <i>turāth</i> literacy	Anjangsana Ihya' operates as a site of collective meaning-making
Final conclusion	Ihya' study is transformed into a community experience that educates, binds participants, and reproduces local religious-cultural values	Anjangsana Ihya' strengthens Situbondo's community culture as a socio-cultural practice

### Mechanisms sustaining participation and continuity

The findings indicate that participation and continuity in Anjangsana Ihya' do not occur by chance; rather, they are maintained through interlocking mechanisms operating simultaneously at structural, symbolic, social, and managerial levels. These four mechanisms—roles, ritual, hospitality, and governance—form a system that enables the activities to continue on a regular basis, despite adult participants' busy schedules, varying travel distances, and differences in their ability to read and comprehend *turāth* texts.

First, in terms of role structure, the practice does not depend on a single actor. Mashayikh provide scholarly legitimacy and regulate the rhythm of the gathering; *qāri'* conduct the text reading; *mustami'* function as active listeners who follow the text and participate in clarification; technical coordinators manage scheduling and venue readiness; and hosts provide space and hospitality. Pesantren students are also involved as a pipeline of future readers to support regeneration. Second, ritual openings and closings reinforce the atmosphere of worship, *adab*, and seriousness. Third, layered hospitality fosters a sense of welcome and reduces the burdens of participation. Fourth, governance—through coordination of schedule, venue, and assigned reading segments (*muqarrā'*), supported by WhatsApp—reduces uncertainty and extends the learning ecology beyond the face-to-face meeting. To help readers grasp the relationship between each mechanism, its empirical manifestations, and its function for sustainability, the findings are summarized in the following table.



**Table 2. Mechanisms Sustaining Participation and Continuity in Anjangsana Ihya’**

Mechanism	Empirical manifestation	Function for participation and continuity
Roles	<i>Mashayikh, qāri’, mustami’,</i> technical coordinators, hosts, students/reader cadres	Distributes responsibility; safeguards scholarly authority; enables broad participation and regeneration
Ritual	<i>Tawassul–al-Fātiḥah; tahlil–supplication; adab</i> norms within the gathering	Anchors attendance as worship; maintains norms of seriousness and respect
Hospitality	Light refreshments, shared meals, take-home gifts; rotating hosts	Lowers participation costs; strengthens a family-like atmosphere; sustains attachment to the group
Governance	Regular schedules and assigned reading segments ( <i>muqarrā’</i> ); venue coordination; WhatsApp for announcements and discussion	Improves coordination efficiency; reduces uncertainty; extends the learning ecology beyond meetings

Beyond the core mechanisms, the study also identified conditions that may disrupt continuity, including the absence of a host, reader (*qāri’*) unavailability, variation in participants’ competencies, differences across printed editions of the text, and constraints related to weather and travel distance. However, the community exhibits relatively consistent adaptive patterns, such that these disruptions rarely lead to a complete of activities. To clarify the relationship between these “vulnerability points” and the community’s adaptive responses, the findings are summarized in the following table.

**Table 3. Vulnerability points, potential impacts, and community responses**

Vulnerability point	Potential impact	Community response/adaptation
No host available	Activities may be suspended	Relocate to a mosque/public venue; maintain venue flexibility
Reader ( <i>qāri’</i> ) unavailable	Reading flow is disrupted	Rotate readers; train pesantren students as reader cadres; strengthen organizer coordination
Variation in participants’ competencies	Discussion becomes uneven	Collective correction; clarification by <i>mashayikh</i> ; encourage <i>muthāla’ah</i> (pre-reading preparation)
Variation across printed editions	Reference confusion	Cross-edition verification; refer to a designated edition/ <i>ta’līq</i> ; continue discussion as needed
Distance/weather constraints	Attendance decreases	Collective commitment; technical adjustments at the venue; early coordination and information sharing

On the basis of these two tables, it can be affirmed that the continuity of Anjangsana Ihya' is the product of a systemic configuration: the role structure ensures the distribution of responsibilities and supports regeneration; ritual safeguards shared meanings and norms; hospitality sustains comfort and group attachment; and governance secures regularity, coordination, and the continuity of discussion. The community's adaptive responses to identified vulnerability points further indicate that the practice possesses internal flexibility, enabling it to withstand changing field conditions without losing its core features.

### **The contribution of practices to the formation of social capital and cultural reproduction in Situbondo communities**

The findings indicate that Anjangsana Ihya' makes a tangible contribution to both social capital formation and cultural reproduction in Situbondo through mechanisms that are recurrent and effectively institutionalized in practice. Its social-capital contributions are evident in the development of trust among community members, shared norms that regulate adab and the seriousness of the gathering, and reciprocity maintained through rotating hosts and hospitality. Trust grows because participants interact regularly within a consistent event format, cultivating a sense of safety, recognition as part of the community, and durable attachment. Shared norms are reinforced through ritual framing (tawassul-al-Fātiḥah and tahlīl-supplication), respect for scholars and the text, and informal rules concerning discussion focus and correction etiquette. Reciprocity is built through rotating hospitality and logistical support, enabling participants to experience both mutual obligation and practical solidarity.

At the same time, the practice contributes to cultural reproduction by sustaining turāth literacy within the community's social space, rather than confining it to formal institutions. Meaning annotation, term clarification, collective correction, and deliberative interpretation strengthen turāth learning as a community habitus. A particularly salient finding is cross-edition textual-variant verification: differences among printed editions are not treated merely as obstacles, but are converted into opportunities to cultivate scholarly habits—comparing readings, testing semantic fit, and consulting mashayikh explanations or relevant commentaries. This practice establishes a shared epistemic norm: textual understanding should be safeguarded through careful scrutiny rather than passive acceptance.

Cultural contributions are also visible in the role of Ihya' as a living ethical reference. Discussions of themes such as intention, ostentation (riyā'), asceticism (zuhd), and critiques of social behavior (e.g., corruption/rishwah or consumerist lifestyles) position the gathering as a space of collective reflection that shapes the community's moral orientation. Accordingly, Anjangsana Ihya' not only preserves turāth knowledge but also reproduces local socio-religious values such as adab, khidmah, respect for scholars, and intergenerational togetherness.

To clarify these contributions, the following table summarizes the outcomes of social capital formation and cultural reproduction, together with their empirical indicators.

**Table 4. Anjangsana Ihya's contributions to social capital and community cultural reproduction**

Contribution dimension	Form of contribution	Empirical indicators in the field
Social capital: Trust	Increased sense of safety and attachment among members	Regular meetings; stable role structure; <i>mashayikh</i> presence as guarantors of authority; corrections conducted without humiliation
Social capital: Shared norms	Formation of collectively observed social-religious norms	Ritual framing; <i>adab</i> norms within the gathering; respect for the text and scholars; regulation of rhythm and reader rotation
Social capital: Reciprocity	Mutual exchange and practical solidarity	Rotating hosts; layered hospitality; logistical support; venue flexibility to prevent activity disruption
Cultural reproduction: Turāth literacy	Habitual reading, annotating, and discussing turāth in social space	Meaning/symbol annotation; collective meaning negotiation; Q&A; discussion of terminology and contextual interpretation
Cultural reproduction: Epistemic norms	A tradition of carefulness and interpretive responsibility	Cross-edition textual-variant verification; consultation of commentaries and <i>mashayikh</i> explanations; justification of interpretive choices
Cultural reproduction: Collective identity	Strengthening a local religious identity and intergenerational togetherness	Ritual and <i>barakah</i> orientation; <i>khidmah</i> practices; involvement of students and elders; the gathering as a “community event”
Cultural reproduction: Social ethics	Strengthening moral orientation in everyday life	<i>Ihya'</i> as a reflective ethical reference (intention, <i>riyā'</i> , <i>zuhd</i> ); critique of social behavior (e.g., <i>rishwah</i> /corruption, consumerism)

On the basis of the findings summarized in the table, it can be affirmed that Anjangsana Ihya's contributions extend beyond individual learning outcomes to the community level. The practice generates social capital that strengthens cohesion and supports cultural reproduction through sustained turāth literacy, shared epistemic norms of carefulness and interpretive responsibility, and the internalization of ethical values discussed in Ihya'. In other words, Anjangsana Ihya' functions as a socio-cultural mechanism that keeps the tradition of turāth learning alive while simultaneously reinforcing communal togetherness and Situbondo's religious identity.

The findings affirm that Anjangsana Ihya' cannot be adequately understood if it is framed merely as a learning forum for reading turāth. Its operation as a rotating community event—ritually framed and concluded with a social phase—indicates that it functions as a socio-cultural practice that produces both a meaning order and

a social order. In other words, learning in Anjangsana is not an “additional” activity outside social life; it is embedded in the established rhythm of community relations through the rotating-visit tradition. This insight matters because it addresses a key question in adult education: why certain turāth learning practices can be sustained over time without an institutional curriculum and without formal incentives.

Within the study’s proposition, the identification of a stable event format (ritual opening → rotating readings → collective meaning negotiation → ritual closing → social phase) confirms that Anjangsana’s continuity is not accidental, but the outcome of a socially maintained design. This stable format generates a “reassuring predictability” for adult participants: they know when the activity begins, what sequence of actions will unfold, when discussion occurs, and how the gathering will conclude. Such predictability reduces uncertainty—a factor that often weakens participation among adults living with dense schedules—thereby making participation more stable and planful.

At the level of mechanisms, the role ecology shows how Anjangsana sustains a balance between scholarly authority and participation. Mashayikh safeguard rhythm, explanatory standards, and scholarly legitimacy; qāri’ lead the reading; mustami’ respond actively through annotations, questions, and corrections; organizers secure schedules, venues, and assigned reading segments (muqarrā’); and hosts provide space and social support. This role structure prevents dependence on a single actor and enables regeneration, including through the involvement of students as a pipeline of future readers. Theoretically, this helps explain why participation remains robust: responsibility is carried collectively rather than being concentrated in “the teacher” in a narrow sense.

Findings on ritual framing further strengthen the argument that the durability of the learning practice is grounded not only in cognitive relevance but also in moral–spiritual relevance (Mumtaazah & Qamariah, 2024; Taubaeva et al., 2020). The opening with tawassul and al-Fātiḥah and the closing with tahlīl and supplication function as “synchronizing mechanisms” that position learning as worship, reinforce adab, and affirm lineage consciousness (sanad). At this point, adult learning motivation is no longer simply “wanting to understand the material,” but “wanting to participate in a meaningful collective act.” This extends conventional readings of andragogy: the intrinsic motivation discussed by Knowles does not stop at self-actualization needs (Knowles, 1980), but in the Situbondo context is intertwined with barakah, khidmah, and loyalty to tradition.

Findings on layered hospitality (light refreshments, shared meals, and take-home gifts) carry a dual significance. First, hospitality lowers the burden of participation and enhances comfort, such that adult participants do not experience attendance as socially exhausting. Second, hospitality operates as a symbol of acceptance, respect, and togetherness that strengthens emotional bonds. From a social capital perspective, such reciprocity practices increase the likelihood of community persistence because members experience sustained, fair, and warm mutual exchange over time (Dawson, 2022). Moreover, the finding that hosts interpret hosting as a pursuit of barakah and as a means of dedicating merit to ancestors/family members and teachers indicates that hospitality is not merely “food provision,” but a moral–spiritual expression that deepens the cultural rootedness of the practice.

Next, findings on WhatsApp-based hybrid governance demonstrate that Anjangsana's continuity depends not only on face-to-face interaction but also on the community's capacity to build a cross-temporal and cross-spatial "learning ecology." WhatsApp functions as a coordination infrastructure (schedules, venues, assigned reading segments/*muqarrā'*) and as an extension of scholarly discussion when issues are not resolved during the gathering. This confirms that adult learning practices can be sustained when communities reduce informational uncertainty, maintain coordination discipline, and provide follow-up spaces for clarification (Wenger, 1999). The findings also reinforce the learning ecology perspective that adult learning often occurs as a distributed sequence of activities (before, during, and after meetings), rather than as a single event contained within a classroom (Al-Kadi, 2020; Peters & Carbonell, 2019).

The most distinctive contribution emerging from the findings is the practice of cross-edition textual-variant verification. On the one hand, variation across print editions can hinder learning by creating reference confusion. On the other hand, the study shows that the community transforms this challenge into a corrective practice (*tashih*) that strengthens critical *turāth* literacy: comparing readings, testing semantic fit, and consulting *mashayikh* explanations and/or commentaries. This produces shared epistemic norms in which textual understanding must be grounded in careful scrutiny and justification rather than passive acceptance. From the standpoint of scholarly discussion, this finding is significant because it demonstrates that "traditional" *turāth* literacy is not necessarily synonymous with passivity; it can develop into a living communal tradition of rigor and carefulness (Bashori et al., 2022; Zulfikar, 2026).

When linked to the third objective, the findings show that Anjangsana *lhya'* contributes to social capital through three primary forms: trust, shared norms, and reciprocity. Trust is generated through regular meetings and a stable role structure; shared norms are upheld through ritual framing, *adab*, and correction ethics; and reciprocity is maintained through rotating hosts and logistical support. Within Putnam's framework, these features constitute social capital that enables coordination and cooperation to endure within a community. Beyond social capital, the practice also produces cultural reproduction: it sustains *turāth* literacy, *adab* as a lived ethic, *khidmah* (service), respect for scholars, and intergenerational togetherness. In other words, Anjangsana does not merely "teach the content of the book"; it transmits a way of life and a collective ethical orientation that forms part of Situbondo's local religious identity.

The findings further reinforce that learning in Anjangsana is situated and participation-based. Discussions that connect *lhya'* values to real-world issues (e.g., *rishwah*/corruption, consumerism, and broader social problems) indicate that classical texts are used as a "lens for reading reality," not merely as objects of reading. This aligns with the view of learning as participation within a community of practice: the identity of a "turāth learner" is formed through repeated engagement, increasingly active roles, and social recognition within the community. Accordingly, Anjangsana's durability is better explained as the continuity of a shared practice rather than the continuity of instructional content alone.

Taken together, this discussion confirms the study's proposition: when Anjangsana integrates role ecology, ritual framing, hospitality, and hybrid

governance, it functions as cultural infrastructure that generates social capital while sustaining community-based turāth literacy. The findings also yield practical implications: strengthening adult turāth learning cannot rely solely on improving instructional materials; it also requires protecting the social mechanisms that sustain participation (ritual, reciprocity, and governance). From a development perspective, vulnerability points—such as dependence on particular qāri’, variation in participant competencies, and differences across printed editions—can be managed through reader cadre formation, mentoring support for newcomers, and agreement on a primary reference edition while preserving space for verification.

As a critical note, this study is situated in a single local context; statistical generalization is therefore not the aim. However, the strength of ethnography lies in its capacity to explain mechanisms and socio-cultural logics that can serve as analytical references for other settings with similar characteristics. In this sense, the contribution of the study is not only to describe Anjangsana Ihya’ as a phenomenon, but to explain why and how it operates as a social system that sustains adult learning, strengthens cohesion, and reproduces community culture.

#### D. Conclusion

Based on the study’s findings, it can be concluded that Anjangsana Ihya’ in Situbondo operates as a socio-cultural practice that integrates turāth learning, religious ritual, and social relations within a stable, rotating event format. Consequently, the study of al-Ghazālī’s Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn does not function as a formal learning forum, but rather as a community event embedded in the local social sphere. The continuity of this practice is sustained through mutually reinforcing mechanisms: a structured role ecology (mashayikh–qāri’–mustami’–organizers–hosts–students), ritual framing (tawassul–al-Fātiḥah and tahlīl–supplication) that affirms adab and positions learning as worship, layered hospitality that fosters a family-like atmosphere while reducing participation burdens, and organized governance—including WhatsApp support—that coordinates schedules and assigned reading segments (muqarrā’) and extends discussion beyond the gathering. Through this combination of mechanisms, Anjangsana Ihya’ contributes to social capital formation (trust, shared norms, and reciprocity) as well as the cultural reproduction of the Situbondo community, particularly by sustaining turāth literacy through collective meaning negotiation, cultivating habits of rigor via cross-edition textual-variant verification, and reinforcing local socio-religious values such as adab, khidmah, respect for scholars, and intergenerational togetherness.

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