Structure, Agency, and Historical Role: The West Java Regional Leadership of The Nahdlatul Ulama Female Students Association in Strengthening Nonformal Islamic Education (2016–2023)

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Abstract

This article examines the history of the founding of the Nahdlatul Ulama Female Students Association (IPPNU) and the role of its West Java Regional Leadership (PW) in strengthening nonformal Islamic education during 2016–2023. Studies of religious female student organizations at the regional level have rarely been addressed in NU organizational historiography, which has largely stopped at the local branch, district branch, or city level. Using the historical method—heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography—and drawing on organizational archives and secondary literature, this study shows that the strengthening of Islamic education by PW IPPNU West Java took place in four areas: developing students' understanding of Islam, building capacity and character through tiered cadre training, expanding access to higher education, and strengthening digital literacy. With the help of Anthony Giddens's structuration theory, the article shows that these roles arose from a reciprocal relationship between organizational structure—the values of Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah, the Basic Guidelines/Bylaws, and the national cadre training system—and the agency of regional officials, who reflectively translated that structure into programs responsive to the West Java context, including during the Covid-19 pandemic. These findings affirm that a religious female student organization acts as a nonformal educational institution that actively reproduces and renews its own structure, rather than merely carrying out central policies passively.

Keywords: IPPNU West Java, Islamic education, organizational history, structuration theory, cadre training

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Introduction

Islamic education plays an important part in shaping the character and moral values of the younger generation. It does not stop at religious rituals and teachings alone, but also instills honesty, responsibility, empathy, and acceptance of difference, qualities greatly needed in Indonesia's plural society.[1] In an increasingly complex social situation, the cultivation of religious ethical values has become an urgent need to prevent moral decline and division among young people.[2] Yet formal education in schools and madrasahs is often constrained by curricula and limited time, so the formation of young people's Islamic character requires other spaces for guidance beyond the classroom.[3]

In this context, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Indonesia's largest traditionalist Islamic organization, founded on 31 January 1926 by pesantren intellectuals, has from the outset emphasized the preservation of pesantren traditions and Islamic education in the Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah tradition, together with active involvement in social life.[4] From NU emerged a number of autonomous bodies according to their members' age and gender. One specifically serving female students is the Nahdlatul Ulama Female Students Association (Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama, IPPNU), established on 2 March 1955 at the initiative of Umroh Mahfudzoh and several other NU female students.[5] Since its founding, IPPNU has undertaken cadre formation, leadership training, and nonformal education—including regular study sessions, basic leadership training, and peer education—designed to instill a moderate Islamic identity while opening leadership space for female students, a group that at the time rarely had such opportunities in religious organizations.[6]

At the provincial level, the West Java Regional Leadership (PW) of IPPNU has also strengthened religious education through leadership training, religious seminars, regular study sessions, and various religious literacy activities relevant to young people today.[7] As a religious organization, PW IPPNU West Java bears a moral responsibility to develop female students who excel not only academically but also in character—as seen, for example, in the October 2023 orientation and leadership development program themed "Optimize Performance toward Students of Character,

[1] Subaidi, Pendidikan Islam Risalah Ahlussunnah Wal-Jama'ah An-Nahdiyyah (Jepara: Unisnu Press, 2019).

[2] Burhan Nudin, "Peran Budaya Organisasi IPNU-IPPNU dalam Pengembangan Pendidikan Agama Islam di Kabupaten Sleman," Jurnal Pendidikan Islam El-Tarbawi, vol. X, no. 1 (2017).

[3] Muhammad Tholhah Hasan, Ahlusunnah Wal-Jama'ah dalam Persepsi dan Tradisi NU (Jakarta Selatan: Lantabora Press, 2005).

[4] Ahmad Fathoni, "Sejarah Singkat Berdirinya Nahdlatul Ulama," NU Online, 2020, https://nu.or.id/fragmen/sejarah-singkat-berdirinya-nahdlatul-ulama-VpzA0.

[5] Agung Gumelar, "Sejarah Berdirinya IPPNU," Jabar NU Online, 2022, https://jabar.nu.or.id/sejarah/sejarah-berdirinya-ippnu-PR4ad.

[6] Agung Gumelar, "Sejarah Berdirinya IPPNU," Jabar NU Online, 2022, https://jabar.nu.or.id/sejarah/sejarah-berdirinya-ippnu-PR4ad, p. 6.

[7] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Laporan Program Kerja Departemen Pendidikan, Pengkaderan, dan Pengembangan SDM PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Masa Khidmat 2016–2023" (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023).

Independence, and Agency."[8] The chair of PW IPPNU West Java herself stressed that these programs should truly be internalized by members rather than become mere organizational routines, so that the regional leadership acts as an active agent in formulating the pillars of education and cadre guidance within a moderate and progressive Islamic framework.[9]

Research on IPNU-IPPNU is not new to academic literature, but most studies focus on the local branch, district branch, or city level, and on adolescent moral development in general, organizational culture, communication effectiveness, and strategies for maintaining a presence in the digital era. Anis Mahgfiroh (2023) examines the existence of PW IPPNU Bengkulu in 1993–2022 with an emphasis on adolescent moral development in general, without addressing the organization's role as a structured nonformal education system, and in Bengkulu's social and cultural context, which differs from West Java's. Burhan Nudin (2017) studies the role of IPNU-IPPNU organizational culture in developing Islamic religious education in Sleman Regency, but remains at the regency level and focuses on culture rather than the organization's historical and institutional role at the regional level. Agus Miftahus Surur and Aullia Rahmawati (2018) examine an organization outside school for character development at the local branch level in Kediri. Lailatus Sakdiyah (2022) studies the proselytizing activities of the IPNU-IPPNU subdistrict leadership in Sayung from the perspective of dakwah methods, rather than its institutional role as a nonformal educational institution. These studies do not reach the scale of regional institutions or connect organizational history to the strengthening of Islamic education at the provincial level.

Together, these earlier studies confirm that IPNU-IPPNU has indeed been widely studied, but in terms of dakwah methods, organizational culture, communication effectiveness, or city-level history; none specifically reads the institutional role of the Regional Leadership as a distinct historical and organizational unit in West Java. This survey found no study devoted to the historical role of PW IPPNU West Java—as a provincial organizational unit overseeing dozens of district and subdistrict branches—in strengthening Islamic education among female students. This absence is the research gap addressed by the article. Unlike previous studies that generally stop at descriptions of activities or organizational culture, this article places the dynamics of regional leadership within the relationship between structure and agency. IPPNU West Java's role is thus understood not merely as implementing central programs, but as a social process produced through continuing interaction between organizational structure and the reflective actions of its officials. The novelty of this study lies in combining a historical and institutional perspective at the regional level with Anthony Giddens's structuration theory to examine how Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah values and IPPNU's cadre training structure are reproduced and renewed

[8] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Laporan Program Kerja Departemen Pendidikan, Pengkaderan, dan Pengembangan SDM PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Masa Khidmat 2016–2023" (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023).

[9] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Laporan Program Kerja Departemen Pendidikan, Pengkaderan, dan Pengembangan SDM PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Masa Khidmat 2016–2023" (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023).

through the concrete practices of cadres in West Java, including during the digital transition brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic.

On that basis, the article poses two research questions: first, what is the history of the establishment of the Nahdlatul Ulama Female Students Association up to the formation of its leadership in West Java; and second, what role did PW IPPNU West Java play in strengthening Islamic education in West Java from 2016 to 2023? The study is limited to 2016–2023 because 2016 marks the point when PW IPPNU West Java began systematically collecting organizational archives and documents again, while 2023 marks the end of the leadership term preceding the succeeding leadership term that began in 2023.

Method

This research uses the historical method, a scholarly way to test and analyze remains of the past in order to produce historically grounded knowledge that can be defended academically,[10] or, as Louis Gottschalk formulates it, "a set of principles and rules intended to help assess evidence and explain reliable findings about history or the past."[11] Following Kuntowijoyo, this method proceeds through four stages: heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography.[12]

At the heuristic stage, sources are gathered and classified as primary and secondary. Primary sources include organizational archives—among them the Work Program Report of the Education, Cadre Training, and Human Resource Development Department of PW IPPNU West Java for the 2016–2023 term, the accountability reports of PW IPPNU West Java for the 2016–2019 and 2020–2023 terms, minutes of PW IPPNU West Java meetings, and reports on the outcomes of PP IPPNU Major Conferences and Congresses. Contemporary organizational news and online writings are used only when they document events within the study period. Secondary sources in the form of books and journals are used to strengthen the historical context and analysis.[13][14]

Source criticism consists of external and internal criticism. External criticism examines the physical authenticity of a written source—who created it, when and where it was made, and whether its physical form fits its period of production. The Work Program document of PW IPPNU West Java's Education, Cadre Training, and Human Resource Development Department, for example, is considered authentic because it was officially issued by the regional secretariat and prepared by officials serving in the relevant period. Internal criticism then assesses the credibility of a source's contents—according to Gottschalk, the extent to which its information is trustworthy and free of bias, and according to Kuntowijoyo, it "tests inner truth" by considering who produced the document, in what context, and for what purpose.

[10] Helius Sjamsuddin, *Metodologi Sejarah*, (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2007), p. 86.
[11] Louis Gottschalk, *Mengerti Sejarah: Pengantar Metode Sejarah*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1975), p. 32.
[12] Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah: Edisi Kedua*, (Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana Yogya, 2003), pp. 84-85.
[13] Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah: Edisi Kedua*, (Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana Yogya, 2003), p. 73.
[14] Helius Sjamsuddin, *Metodologi Sejarah*, (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2007), p. 109.

Although PW IPPNU West Java's work-program documents may present programs ideally in the organization's internal interest, they are judged usable because their information is systematic and consistent with other archival and contemporary sources.[151617]

At the interpretation stage, verified facts are understood in their causal relationships, structural contexts, and surrounding social dynamics.[18] This follows Sartono Kartodirdjo's view that historical events always emerge from social relations, structures of power, and changes in society, requiring historians to explain not only their sequence but also the processes and causes behind them.[19] To analyze and synthesize data on IPPNU's role in strengthening Islamic education in West Java, this study uses Anthony Giddens's *structuration theory* as its main theoretical framework.[20] Giddens emphasizes the duality of structure: structure is not merely an external constraint, but also the medium and outcome of social action, so structure and individual agency are mutually related.[21] In an organization, structure operates through rules, values, and the distribution of power that shape behavior, while individuals and groups retain the reflective capacity to enact or alter it through deliberate action.[22] A number of Indonesian studies affirm the relevance of this theory for reading social and religious organizations, since it can explain how values, rules, and traditions are reproduced through the practices of cadres and officials in particular contexts.[23] Through this framework, IPPNU's organizational structure—its Articles of Association and Bylaws, Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah values, cadre training system, and NU organizational network—provides a normative frame for Islamic education. Yet this structure gains meaning only when enacted through the concrete actions of officials and cadres, who in turn act as agents adapting and renewing programs to meet the needs of the times.

The final stage, historiography, is the writing of research findings with attention to the chronology of events[24] and accessible scholarly language, so that history becomes not simply a collection of data but also a reflection on human struggles in the past.

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[15] Helius Sjamsuddin, *Metodologi Sejarah*, (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2007), p. 103.
[16] Sulasman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah*, (Bandung: CV. Pustaka Setia, 2014), pp. 102-103.
[17] Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah: Edisi Kedua*, (Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana Yogya, 2003), p. 85.
[18] Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah: Edisi Kedua*, (Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana Yogya, 2003), p. 92.
[19] Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pendekatan Ilmu Sosial dalam Metodologi Sejarah*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1992), p. 89.
[20] Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, (Polity Press, 1984), p. 126.
[21] Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, (Polity Press, 1984), p. 136.
[22] Ahmad Zainal Abidin, "Anatomy of Structuration Theory and Ideology of the Third Way of Anthony Giddens," *Jurnal Translitera*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2020), pp. 57-58.
[23] Ahmad Zainal Abidin, "Anatomy of Structuration Theory and Ideology of the Third Way of Anthony Giddens," *Jurnal Translitera*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2020), p. 62.
[24] Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*, (Yogyakarta: Bentang Pustaka, 2005), p. 85.

Results

From Taswirul Afkar to the Founding of IPPNU

The birth of IPPNU cannot be separated from NU's long history as a social and religious movement. Its roots lie in the Taswirul Afkar discussion forum initiated by KH. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah after returning from Mecca in 1914, as a place where young kiai could exchange ideas in response to the strong current of reform brought by reformists.[25] The forum also gave rise to Nahdlatul Wathan (1916), active in education, and Nahdlatut Tujjar, which supported the economic independence of pesantren communities.[26] Tensions with the Wahhabi movement in the Hijaz following the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924 prompted KH. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah to bring together pesantren ulama from Java and Madura. On 31 January 1926/16 Rajab 1344 AH, they agreed to establish the Hijaz Committee and Nahdlatul Ulama, with KH. M. Hasyim Asy'ari as Rais Akbar.[27] NU adopted Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah—following Ash'ariyah/Maturidiyah in theology, one of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence, and the Sufism of al-Junaid al-Baghdadi and al-Ghazali—as a religious identity moderate and adaptable to local contexts.[28]

Before independence, Aswaja-oriented student organizations had already grown in various regions, including Tsamrotul Mustafidin (Surabaya, 1936) and Persatoean Santri NO (Surabaya, 1939), but they remained local and separate.[29] The idea of uniting them arose at the Ma'arif NU Education Institute's Major Conference in Semarang in February 1954. On 24 February 1954, Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama (IPNU) was founded, with M. Tolchah Mansoer as its first general chair.[30] The twentieth NU Congress in Surabaya (9–14 September 1954), however, determined that IPNU was intended only for male students, so female students needed their own organization.[31] In response, several NU female students in Surakarta—Nihayah, Umroh Machfudzoh, Atikah Murtadlo, Lathifah Hasyim, Romlah, and Basyiroh Saimuri—proposed a separate organization. After consultation with PB Ma'arif NU and PP Muslimat NU, its establishment apart from IPNU was agreed.[32] The date 2

[25] Nur Khalik Ridwan, *Ikhtisar Sejarah NU 1344/1926 M*, (Jakarta Pusat: LTN NU Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, 2023), pp. 1-3.

[26] Nur Khalik Ridwan, *Ikhtisar Sejarah NU 1344/1926 M*, (Jakarta Pusat: LTN NU Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, 2023), pp. 6-11; Hery Noer Aly, "Nahdlatul Wathan," Ensiklopedia Islam, 2022, https://ensiklopediaislam.id/nahdlatul-wathan/.

[27] Nur Khalik Ridwan, *Ikhtisar Sejarah NU 1344/1926 M*, (Jakarta Pusat: LTN NU Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, 2023), pp. 15-20, 28-31; M. Ali Haidar, *Nahdlatul Ulama dan Pendekatan Fikih dalam Politik*, (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1994), pp. 51-54.

[28] M. Ali Haidar, *Nahdlatul Ulama dan Pendekatan Fikih dalam Politik*, (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1994), pp. 4-5.

[29] Burhan Nudin, "Peran Budaya Organisasi IPNU-IPPNU dalam Pengembangan Pendidikan Agama Islam di Kabupaten Sleman," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam El-Tarbawi*, vol. X, No. 1 (2017), p. 97; Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), p. 5.

[30] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), pp. 7-9.

[31] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), p. 9.

[32] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), pp. 11-12; Agung Gumelar, "Sejarah Berdirinya IPPNU," Jabar NU Online, 2022, https://jabar.nu.or.id/sejarah/sejarah-berdirinya-ippnu-PR4ad.

March 1955/8 Rajab 1374 AH was set as the founding day of IPNU Putri, with Umroh Mahfudzoh as chair and Syamsiyah Muthalib as secretary, based in Surakarta; its name was subsequently changed to IPPNU with PB Ma'arif NU's approval.[33]

Branch expansion was difficult because formal education rates for women were low at the time and female students lacked confidence in taking leadership roles. There was even discussion of making IPPNU merely a department under IPNU.[34] IPPNU's First Congress/Major Conference in Surakarta (18–21 January 1956) affirmed the organization's independence and formulated important educational resolutions, including a demand that Islamic religious education become a compulsory subject with adequate hours in state schools.[35] The Second Congress in Yogyakarta marked the organization's rapid growth beyond Java, supported by Muslimat NU, Fatayat NU, and IPNU.[36] Subsequent developments carried IPPNU through periods of national political turbulence—including tensions after the G30S/PKI events, which led to IPNU-IPPNU being fully recognized as NU autonomous bodies at the Fifth Congress (Surabaya, 1966)[37]—and to the Seventh Congress in Jakarta (1976), which confirmed Ida Mawaddah as general chair of PP IPPNU.[38]

National political dynamics also colored the organization's path in the 1960s. IPPNU's Third Congress in Malang took place shortly after PMII was founded on 17 April 1960,[39] followed by the NU Student and University Student Week in Ponorogo (1962) and the Fourth Congress in Purwokerto (1963), which confirmed Farida Mawardi as PP IPPNU general chair.[40] Political tensions caused by the PKI's "Unilateral Actions" in 1964 prompted the Pekalongan Doctrine (28 October 1964), expressing IPNU-IPPNU's firm position against the threat of communism. It led, among other things, to the Corps Brigade Pembangunan (CBP) as a vehicle for cadre preparedness, with training at the Cebongan Training Center in 1965.[41] After G30S/PKI, IPPNU's Fifth Congress in Surabaya (1966) was a pivotal moment: IPNU-IPPNU were fully confirmed as NU autonomous bodies, the organization's

[33] Ajie Najmuddin, "Kongres Perdana, Dibuka Presiden Soekarno, Dihadiri 30 Cabang," NU Online, 2015, https://nu.or.id/fragmen/kongres-perdana-dibuka-presiden-soekarno-dihadiri-30-cabang-TLU8w; Agung Gumelar, "Sejarah Berdirinya IPPNU," Jabar NU Online, 2022, https://jabar.nu.or.id/sejarah/sejarah-berdirinya-ippnu-PR4ad, p. 2; Yahya Cholil Staquf, *PBNU Perjuangan Besar Nahdlatul Ulama*, (Jawa Tengah: PP LP Ma'arif NU, 2020), p. 101.

[34] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), p. 16.

[35] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955–2000 (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), p. 16.

[36] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), p. 19; Muhammad Tholhah Hasan, *Ahlusunnah Wal-Jama'ah dalam Persepsi dan Tradisi NU*, (Jakarta Selatan: Lantabora Press, 2005), pp. 349-351.

[37] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), p. 50; Subaidi, *Pendidikan Islam Risalah Ahlussunnah Wal-Jama'ah An-Nahdiyyah*, (Jepara: Unisnu Press, 2019), p. 241.

[38] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), pp. 51-52.

[39] Fragmen, "Sejarah Lahirnya PMII," NU Online, 2016, https://nu.or.id/fragmen/sejarah-lahirnya-pmii-q8TLb.

[40] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955–2000 (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), p. 19.

[41] Chotibul Umam et al., Nahdlatul Ulama Ideologi Garis Politik dan Cita-Cita Pembentukan Umat (Yogyakarta: PP LP Ma'arif NU, 2004), p. 106.

headquarters moved to Jakarta, and IPPNU's leadership passed to Machsanah (Umi Hasanah), who was also involved in the KAPPI federation.[42] The Sixth Congress then affirmed NU's Three Awarenesses—awareness of one's own principles, the principles of others, and the situation and conditions—as the basis for the organization's Collective Leadership model.[43] This series of congresses formed the structural and ideological foundation later inherited by regional leaderships, including West Java, in subsequent decades.

IPPNU and Nahdlatul Ulama's Roots in West Java

West Java, a province of about 48 million people, 97.22 percent of whom are Muslim,[44] has strong historical NU roots dating to the organization's beginnings. KH. Abdul Halim Leuwimunding of Majalengka attended NU's inauguration in Surabaya in 1926 and was appointed Katib Tsani (Second Secretary) alongside KH. Wahab Hasbullah as Katib Awwal.[45] At NU's Third Congress (1928), KH. Bisri Syansuri and KH. Abdul Halim Leuwimunding were tasked with developing NU in West Java. This later produced an influential figure from Tasikmalaya, KH. Moh. Ilyas Ruhiat, who strengthened NU's network through Pondok Pesantren Cipasung and later served as Rais Aam of PBNU (1994–1999) following the NU Congress in Cipasung.[46] These strong pesantren roots in Tasikmalaya and its surroundings became one basis for the growth of NU autonomous bodies, including IPPNU, in West Java.

Shortly after IPPNU's founding in 1955, Umroh Mahfudzoh, chair of its Daily Council, entrusted Zuhara Arifin with establishing branches in West Java and DKI Jakarta.[47] West Java's involvement became more evident during the 1976–1980 PP IPPNU leadership, when central delegates actively attended the Regional Conference and Intermediate Training organized by PW IPPNU West Java.[48] The West Java organization became still more prominent when the province hosted the national congress twice: the Eighth Congress in Cirebon (20–24 June 1981), which, among other things, changed Article 2 of the Basic Guidelines from a foundation in the Jakarta Charter to Pancasila in response to New Order government pressure over the

[42] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955–2000 (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), pp. 46–50.

[43] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), p. 46; Chotibul Umam et al., *Nahdlatul Ulama Ideologi Garis Politik dan Cita-Cita Pembentukan Umat*, (Yogyakarta: PP LP Ma'arif NU, 2004), p. 106.

[44] Darta Aceng, "KH Abdul Chalim Leuwimunding: Pendidikan dan Kiprahnya di NU dan Masyarakat," NU Online, 2023, https://nu.or.id/tokoh/kh-abdul-chalim-leuwimunding-pendidikan-dan-kiprahnya-di-nu-dan-masyarakat-60VAm.

[45] Muhammad Rizky Fauzi, "26 Juni 1887, KH Abdul Halim Leuwimunding Lahir," Jabar NU Online, 2022, https://jabar.nu.or.id/tokoh/26-juni-1887-kh-abdul-halim-leuwimunding-lahir-8OHWn.

[46] Darta Aceng, "KH Abdul Chalim Leuwimunding: Pendidikan dan Kiprahnya di NU dan Masyarakat," NU Online, 2023, https://nu.or.id/tokoh/kh-abdul-chalim-leuwimunding-pendidikan-dan-kiprahnya-di-nu-dan-masyarakat-60VAm.

[47] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), p. 15.

[48] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), p. 59.

potential for political radicalism;[49] and the Eleventh Congress at Pondok Pesantren Al-Musaddadiyah in Garut, opened for the first time directly by Vice President Try Sutrisno at the Vice Presidential Palace in Jakarta before delegates traveled to Garut.[50]

Regarding the earlier periods in greater detail, the surviving archival record is less complete before 2016 than during the 2016–2023 term. What can be established is that PW IPPNU West Java grew as part of the national IPPNU movement, developing from the formation of regional leadership and the strengthening of district branches into a student organization with a strategic role in guiding NU's younger generation. Its tiered structure runs from villages and educational institutions through subdistricts and regencies/cities to the provincial level. Along the way, it has also faced vacancies in several branches due to weak succession, to which PW IPPNU West Java responded by consolidating and reactivating branches that had become inactive.[515253]

Developing Students' Understanding of Islam (2016–2023)

In this study, strengthening Islamic education means improving religious understanding, forming Islamic character, instilling Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah values, and sharpening students' critical thinking through formal and nonformal educational activities. One of PW IPPNU West Java's flagship programs in this area is Pekan Edukasi Siswa-Siswi (PERKUSI), part of the Masa Kesetiaan Anggota (MAKESTA) series and aimed specifically at students of state Islamic senior high schools (MAN) across West Java.[54] The 2018 PERKUSI cohort brought together 426 students from 78 MAN schools for two days (2–3 March 2018) at the Bekasi Hajj Embarkation Dormitory. Its theme was "High-Achieving Madrasah Students Who Love the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia," and it had the support of the West Java Provincial Ministry of Religious Affairs.[55] The chair of PW IPNU West Java, Ziyad Ahmad, stressed that this activity was a step by PW IPNU to strengthen its role in Islamic education that shapes student character.[56] Its materials integrated three aspects: Islamic values, national awareness, and leadership.[57]

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[49] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), pp. 71-73; Patoni, "Peran NU Meluruskan Isi Piagam Jakarta 22 Juni 1945," NU Online, 2020, https://nu.or.id/fragmen/peran-nu-meluruskan-isi-piagam-jakarta-22-juni-1945-ucdHM.

[50] Muhammad Romahurmuzy et al., *Sejarah Perjalanan IPPNU 1955-2000*, (Jakarta: PP IPPNU, 2000), pp. 105-106.

[51] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Lembar Pertanggungjawaban PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Masa Khidmat 2020–2023" (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023).

[52] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Lembar Pertanggungjawaban PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Masa Khidmat 2020–2023" (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023).

[53] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Lembar Pertanggungjawaban PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Masa Khidmat 2020–2023" (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023).

[54] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Lembar Pertanggungjawaban PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Masa Khidmat 2016–2019" (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2019), pp. 5–7.

[55] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Lembar Pertanggungjawaban Periode 2016-2019," (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2019), pp. 7-8; PW IPNU Jabar, "Pekan Edukasi Siswa-Siswi (Perkusi) Madrasah Aliyah Negeri (MAN) se-Jawa Barat," Facebook, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/ipnujabar/832905370250218/.

[56] Syaifullah Ibnu Nawawi, "Perkusi, Cara PW IPNU Jabar Cegah Kenakalan Remaja," NU Online, 2018, https://nu.or.id/nasional/perkusi-cara-pw-ipnu-jabar-cegah-kenakalan-remaja-Fvo6o.

[57] Syaifullah Ibnu Nawawi, "Perkusi, Cara PW IPNU Jabar Cegah Kenakalan Remaja," NU Online, 2018, https://nu.or.id/nasional/perkusi-cara-pw-ipnu-jabar-cegah-kenakalan-remaja-Fvo6o, p. 3.

Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah values are instilled gradually and in context, not only through theoretical explanations in cadre training forums but also through habituation in distinctive NU practices such as tahlilan and istighasah.[58] Aswaja's four pillars—tawasuth (moderation), tawazun (balance), tasamuh (tolerance), and i'tidal (justice/uprightness)—are compulsory material at each level of cadre development.[59] In the area of national awareness, the West Java Regional Coordination Council of the Female Student Corps (DKW KPP) held a National Awareness Seminar on "Preventing the Threat of Radicalization among Students" on 30 January 2021, in a hybrid in-person and online format, featuring the head of Indonesia's National Counterterrorism Agency, Inspector General Boy Rafli Amar, and the chair of PWNU West Java, KH Hasan Nuri Hidayatullah.[60] On that occasion, PW IPPNU West Java chair Siti Latifah affirmed the commitment of some 240,000 West Java IPPNU members to prevent views contrary to Indonesian values, while opening cooperation with the BNPT and the West Java Regional Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.[61]

Contemporary Islamic issues have also received attention, as reflected in two webinars on Maturing the Age of Marriage (PUP) organized by the Education, Cadre Training, and Human Resource Development Department—on 23 February 2021 and 22 August 2021, the latter with the theme "The Meaning of Indonesian Independence and Children's Freedom to Determine the Age of Marriage."[62] PW IPPNU West Java chair Siti Latifah stressed that marriage below age 20 risks hindering adolescents' education and future, so physical, mental, and intellectual readiness should take priority before marriage.[63] Read through structuration theory, these religious programs reveal the connection between structure and agency: Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah values and cadre training rules serve as structural guides, while officials and cadres act as agents who disseminate them through concrete religious teaching and learning practices.

Building Capacity and Character through Tiered Cadre Training

IPPNU's formal cadre training system proceeds from Masa Kesetiaan Anggota (MAKESTA) to Latihan Kader Muda (LAKMUD) and Latihan Kader Utama (LAKUT), all of which include Islamic material as an integral part of cadre formation.[64] MAKESTA, the first level, is intended for Muslim students aged at least 12, with a maximum of 30 participants per forum. It aims to instill conviction in Ahlussunnah

[58] PW IPPNU Jabar, "Progres Report IPPNU Jabar," Sekretariat Pimpinan Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama Jawa Barat, Bandung, 2021.

[59] A. Khoirul Anam, "Karakter Tawassuth, Tawazun, I'tidal, dan Tasamuh dalam Aswaja," NU Online, 2009, https://islam.nu.or.id/syariah/karakter-tawassuth-tawazun-i039tidal-dan-tasamuh-dalam-aswaja-nApNg.

[60] PW IPPNU Jabar, "Progres Report IPPNU Jabar," Sekretariat Pimpinan Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama Jawa Barat, Bandung, 2021, pp. 5-6.

[61] Muhammad Rizqy Fauz, "IPPNU Jawa Barat Bahas Ancaman Radikalisme di Kalangan Pelajar," Jabar NU Online, 2021, https://jabar.nu.or.id/nasional/ippnu-jawa-barat-bahas-ancaman-radikalisme-di-kalangan-pelajar-0qiLo.

[62] PW IPPNU Jabar, "Progres Report IPPNU Jabar," Sekretariat Pimpinan Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama Jawa Barat, Bandung, 2021, pp. 6-7.

[63] Renita, "IPPNU Jawa Barat Bahas Pentingnya Pendewasaan Usia Perkawinan," Jabar NU Online, 2021, https://jabar.nu.or.id/nasional/ippnu-jawa-barat-bahas-pentingnya-pendewasaan-usia-perkawinan-LRWAC.

[64] Sri Nur Ainingsih et al., *Pedoman Kaderisasi IPPNU 2018-2021*, (Jakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama, 2021), p. 41.

wal Jama'ah An-Nahdliyah while introducing the organization's structure and aims.[65] It is organized not only at the regional level but also by district and subdistrict leaderships in various places, such as the MAKESTA and Student Basic Leadership Training (LDKS) held by the IPNU-IPPNU Jatinunggal subdistrict leadership in Sumedang, attended by 60 participants.[66]

LAKMUD, the second level, is intended for MAKESTA-certified cadres aged at least 16. Its curriculum includes Aswaja Studies II, NU Studies II, Indonesian Studies II, IPPNU Studies II, Gender Studies II, Conflict Management, and Organizational Management.[67] PW IPPNU West Java actively monitors LAKMUD at the district level, including through the participation of its regional cadre training team in initiation ceremonies. One example is the LAKMUD held by the Ciamis Regency PC IPNU-IPPNU on 10–13 July 2023, themed "Reinterpreting the Movement in Building Committed Cadres," with 33 students from various subdistrict branches in Ciamis, Indramayu, and Cirebon.[68] LAKUT, the highest level, requires participants to be aged 19–25 and to pass a multistage selection process (administration, essay, interview, and pre-LAKUT). Its advanced curriculum covers Aswaja III, NU Studies III, public policy advocacy, program management, and social movement analysis, with the aim of producing cadres able to lead and manage organizations professionally.[69]

Expanding Cadres' Access to Higher Education

As a strategy to widen access to education, PW IPPNU West Java signed a memorandum of understanding with Universitas Islam Nusantara (UNINUS) on 20 July 2020 to provide scholarships for IPPNU cadres and members pursuing studies there.[70] UNINUS allocated a total of Rp3 billion in scholarships to officials and members of various NU institutions and autonomous bodies throughout West Java during 2020–2022. There were 432 beneficiaries from bachelor's through doctoral levels, with support delivered as 20–50 percent reductions in education fees (SPP) under merit-based and institutional recommendation schemes.[71] Beyond individual support, UNINUS also provided Rp568,974,150 in institutional assistance to NU autonomous bodies across West Java during the same period.[72] Program evaluation

[65] Sri Nur Ainingsih et al., *Pedoman Kaderisasi IPPNU 2018-2021*, (Jakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama, 2021), p. 43.

[66] Sri Nur Ainingsih et al., Pedoman Kaderisasi IPPNU 2018–2021 (Jakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama, 2021).

[67] Sri Nur Ainingsih et al., *Pedoman Kaderisasi IPPNU 2018-2021*, (Jakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama, 2021), pp. 46-47.

[68] Shohibul, "PW IPNU Jawa Barat Baiat 33 Peserta LAKMUD Ciamis, Cetak Kader Militan dan Adaptif Zaman," IPNU.or.id, 2023, https://ipnu.or.id/pw-ipnu-jawa-barat-baiat-33-peserta-lakmud-ciamis-cetak-kader-militan-dan-adaptif-zaman/.

[69] Sri Nur Ainingsih et al., Pedoman Kaderisasi IPPNU 2018–2021 (Jakarta: Pimpinan Pusat Ikatan Pelajar Putri Nahdlatul Ulama, 2021), p. 52.

[70] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Lembar Pertanggungjawaban PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Periode 2020-2023," (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023), p. 30.

[71] Syamsul Arifin, "Uninus Bandung Berikan Beasiswa Rp3 Miliar kepada Nahdliyin di Jabar," NU Online, 2023, https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/uninus-bandung-berikan-beasiswa-rp3-miliar-kepada-nahdliyin-di-jabar-acato; PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Lembar Pertanggungjawaban PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Periode 2020-2023," (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023), p. 30.

[72] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Lembar Pertanggungjawaban PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Periode 2020-2023," (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023), p. 34.

and stronger partnerships were discussed at a meeting of the UNINUS Foundation and representatives of NU institutions and autonomous bodies receiving scholarships in the UNINUS Multimedia Hall, Bandung City, on 7 March 2023. Representatives of PC IPNU Bandung City, PW IPPNU West Java, PW GP Ansor West Java, Rabithah Ma'ahid Islamiyah PWNU West Java, PW Pergunu West Java, PW ISNU West Java, and PCNU Bandung City attended, showing that the scholarship program reached many segments of NU institutions, not IPPNU alone.[73] The program confirms that PW IPPNU West Java was not merely a passive beneficiary but an active partner promoting its cadres' higher education through institutional means.

Adaptation and Strengthening Digital Literacy

The Covid-19 pandemic became a turning point that forced PW IPPNU West Java to move almost all its activities online, from the virtual inauguration of the 2020–2023 leadership to digital discussion and cadre training forums. Unexpectedly, this broadened participation across regencies and cities without the obstacles of distance and cost.[74] In an early response to social restrictions, PW IPPNU West Java's Education Department organized "Ngobrol Dari Rumah" (4–26 April 2020), bringing together speakers from various professions online.[75] Its Female Student Counseling Institute then launched RuangDialog.com on 20 June 2020, providing online counseling through a peer tutor scheme for school students, santri, university students, and members of the public facing psychological or academic pressure from distance learning.[76] PW IPPNU West Java chair Siti Nur Latifah stressed that the platform arose from an urgent need for accessible services amid students' learning and mental health difficulties during the pandemic.[77] The organization also launched the "Kuy Diajar" learning support program through adrahi.id and the Digital Kartini Webinar to strengthen female students' literacy and position in the digital era.[78]

These innovations received external recognition in the form of a 2021 award from West Java ICT Volunteers (RTIK West Java) for PW IPPNU West Java's contribution as a digital literacy education partner.[79] Digital literacy efforts continued with a Journalism School (24–30 September 2021), attended by 54 selected participants from 27 regencies/cities. It produced a permanent contributor team for Kutub.id,

[73] Syamsul Arifin, "Uninus Bandung Berikan Beasiswa Rp3 Miliar kepada Nahdliyin di Jabar," NU Online, 2023, https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/uninus-bandung-berikan-beasiswa-rp3-miliar-kepada-nahdliyin-di-jabar-acato, p. 2; Redaktur NU, "Pergunu Berikan Beasiswa S1-S3, Berikut Syarat-Syaratnya," NU Demak, 2023, https://nu-demak.or.id/2023/07/11/pergunu-berikan-beasiswa-s1-s3-pergunu-berikut-syarat-syaratnya/.

[74] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Lembar Pertanggungjawaban PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Masa Khidmat 2020–2023" (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023).

[75] PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Lembar Pertanggungjawaban PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Masa Khidmat 2020–2023" (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023).

[76] PW IPPNU Jabar, "Progres Report IPPNU Jabar 2020-2023," Sekretariat Pimpinan Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama Jawa Barat, Bandung, 2021, pp. 2-3; A. Rachmi Fauziah, "Ruang Dialog, Inovasi Baru IPPNU Jabar di Tengah Pandemi Covid-19," NU Online, 2020, https://www.nu.or.id/daerah/ruang-dialog-inovasi-baru-ippnu-jabar-di-tengah-pandemi-covid-19-NyFIP.

[77] PW IPPNU Jabar, "Progres Report IPPNU Jabar," Sekretariat Pimpinan Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama Jawa Barat, Bandung, 2021.

[78] PW IPPNU Jabar, "Progres Report IPPNU Jabar 2020-2023," Sekretariat Pimpinan Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama Jawa Barat, Bandung, 2021, p. 3.

[79] Nuriel Shiami Indiraphasa, "IPPNU Jabar Raih Juara di Ajang Ormas Day 2021," NU Online, 2021, https://www.nu.or.id/daerah/ippnu-jabar-raih-juara-di-ajang-ormas-day-2021-DbSSN.

using digital media for dakwah and education.[80] On 25 July 2022, PW IPPNU West Java also held a Public Discussion on Digital Literacy with the Ministry of Communication and Informatics and the Office of the Vice President's Secretariat, themed "Deepening Students' Digital Potential as Implementation of the G20 Mandate in Accelerating Indonesia's Multimedia Transformation," with Vice Presidential spokesperson Masduki Baidlowi as keynote speaker.[81] Taken together, the achievements of 2016–2023 affirm that PW IPPNU West Java developed into a nonformal educational institution that strengthened not only female students' religious understanding and leadership character but also their ability to adapt to social and technological change.[82]

Discussion

Read through Anthony Giddens's structuration theory, the findings above show that PW IPPNU West Java's role in strengthening Islamic education was not merely the mechanical execution of programs from the Central Leadership, but the outcome of an ongoing duality of structure.[83] Organizational structure—the Basic Guidelines/Bylaws, Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah values, and the tiered MAKESTA–LAKMUD–LAKUT cadre training system inherited from the reformulations at the Seventh (1976) and Eighth (1981) Congresses—provides a normative framework binding all leadership levels, including the West Java PW. But that structure does not work automatically; it "lives" only when reproduced through concrete actions by regional officials, such as organizing PERKUSI, instilling Aswaja's four pillars, or initiating LAKMUD cadres at the district level. At the same time, officials act as reflective agents who do not simply enact the structure but also modify it to meet the needs of the times. This was most evident in the digital transformation during the Covid-19 pandemic, when PW IPPNU West Java created new programs and platforms (RuangDialog.com, Ngobrol Dari Rumah, Kuy Diajar) not explicitly prescribed in the organization's Basic Guidelines but still grounded in NU values. Strengthening Islamic education in West Java is thus a product of continuing interaction between a structure that both constrains and enables, and the agency of cadres actively negotiating that structure with local circumstances.

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[80] PW IPPNU Jabar, "Progres Report IPPNU Jabar," Sekretariat Pimpinan Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama Jawa Barat, Bandung, 2021; Agung Gumelar, "Gandeng Medcen PWNU, Sekolah Jurnalistik IPPNU Jabar Resmi Dimulai," Jabar NU Online, 2021, https://jabar.nu.or.id/daerah/gandeng-medcen-pwnu-sekolah-jurnalistik-ippnu-jabar-resmi-dimulai-wrxtz.

[81] PW IPPNU Jabar, "Progres Report IPPNU Jabar 2020-2023," Sekretariat Pimpinan Wilayah Nahdlatul Ulama Jawa Barat, Bandung, 2021, p. 8; Rizal Budi Santoso and Achmad Alfaron Alamsyah, "Digital Economy Working Group G20 pada Masa Presidensi Indonesia Tahun 2022," *Jurnal Perdagangan Internasional*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2023, p. 26; Boyke Rudy Purnomo et al., *G20 di Tengah Perubahan Besar: Momentum Kepemimpinan Global Indonesia?*, (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2023), pp. 16-18; Abdul Manap, "Jadi Keynote Speech Literasi Digital IPPNU Jabar, Jubir Wapres RI Ungkap Tiga Tema Besar G20," Jabar NU Online, 2022, https://jabar.nu.or.id/nasional/jadi-keynote-speech-literasi-digital-ippnu-jabar-jubir-wapres-ri-ungkap-tiga-tema-besar-g20-zqQI6.

[82] Compiled from PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, "Laporan Program Kerja Departemen Pendidikan, Pengkaderan, dan Pengembangan SDM PW IPPNU Jawa Barat Masa Khidmat 2016-2023," (Bandung: Sekretariat PW IPPNU Jawa Barat, 2023).

[83] Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, (Polity Press, 1984), pp. 126-136.

The historical dimension of these findings also reveals a distinctive pattern of continuity and change in organizational history. There is strong continuity at the level of values: from IPPNU's first formulation of its aims at the Sixth Congress to PW West Java's programs in 2016–2023, instilling Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah and building the leadership character of female students remained central to the organization's mission. Yet there was significant change in methods and orientation. Whereas in 1976–1996 IPPNU West Java's growing presence was marked largely by hosting national congresses (Cirebon 1981 and Garut 1996)—asserting its presence through national forums—in 2016–2023 it shifted toward educational programs based on local needs and adapted to digital technology, moving from a ceremonial-organizational to a programmatic-substantive orientation. Historical causality is clear in two moments: New Order government pressure that prompted the change of principle from the Jakarta Charter to Pancasila at the Eighth Congress (1981), and the Covid-19 pandemic that accelerated the digitalization of organizational governance in 2020–2021. Both show that religious student organizations do not develop in a vacuum but continually respond to the social and political context of their time.

Compared with earlier studies, these findings enrich and extend what has been established. Where Burhan Nudin (2017) shows that IPNU-IPPNU organizational culture in Sleman encouraged religious education activities at the regency level, this study shows that a similar pattern operated more systematically and in tiers at the regional level, with formal cadre training explicitly setting a curriculum and participant age targets at each level. Where Anis Mahgfiroh (2023) considers PW IPPNU Bengkulu's existence in terms of adolescent moral development in general, this article shows that in West Java such development was institutionalized as a more systematic nonformal education system whose stages can be mapped. The article therefore complements and broadens IPNU-IPPNU historiography, hitherto concentrated at the local branch, district branch, or city level, toward structural and historical study at the regional level that shows how an NU autonomous body bridges central policies and grassroots needs in Islamic education.

The study's methodological position concerning the limited sources for PW IPPNU West Java's earliest period also needs to be emphasized. The reconstruction of 1955–1976 rests chiefly on official PP IPPNU historiography and NU media articles because the surviving local archives for that period are fragmentary. This limitation is consistent with the principles of historical source criticism: the absence of a continuous local archive for events more than six decades old is a normal methodological condition, not a research weakness, provided that the secondary sources come from identifiable organizational publications and have undergone external and internal criticism as described in the method section. The scarcity of local archives regarding PW IPPNU West Java prior to 2016—which necessitated limiting the study to the period following that year—constitutes a significant finding within the historiographical study itself. It indicates a general pattern among regional NU autonomous bodies, which tend to document themselves more systematically only after a belated awareness of archival practice, a phenomenon worth pursuing in future histories of religious organizations.

These findings also open the way to comparison with other regional religious autonomous bodies with similar organizational structures, such as the West Java Regional Leadership of Fatayat NU or Muslimat NU. Such comparison could test whether the structure-agency relationship found in PW IPPNU West Java is a general characteristic of NU autonomous bodies organized by age and gender at the provincial level, or a specific feature arising from youth and student membership. Questions of this kind matter for enriching our understanding of the diverse strategies of student-based religious organizations in responding to demands for Islamic education amid social and technological change. They also affirm that the historiography of NU autonomous bodies at the regional level still contains many gaps for future research to fill.

Conclusion

This study shows that the Nahdlatul Ulama Female Students Association was founded in Surakarta on 2 March 1955 in response to NU female students' need for their own organization for guidance, after NU's Twentieth Congress designated IPNU for male students. In West Java, IPPNU's presence cannot be separated from NU's strong historical roots since 1926 through figures such as KH. Abdul Halim Leuwimunding and KH. Moh. Ilyas Ruhiat. These roots subsequently supported the growth of regional leadership, from Zuhara Arifin's pioneering efforts in 1955 to West Java's selection twice to host national congresses in 1981 and 1996.

During 2016–2023, PW IPPNU West Java played a significant role in strengthening Islamic education across four connected areas: developing Islamic understanding through programs such as PERKUSI and the four Aswaja pillars; building capacity and character through the tiered MAKESTA–LAKMUD–LAKUT cadre training system; expanding access to higher education through its scholarship partnership with UNINUS; and strengthening digital literacy, accelerated by the Covid-19 pandemic, from RuangDialog.com to the Journalism School. Read through Anthony Giddens's structuration theory, these roles resulted from a reciprocal relationship between organizational structure—Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah values, the Basic Guidelines, and the national cadre training system—and the reflective agency of regional officials, who not only reproduced that structure but also renewed it to remain relevant to West Java and the demands of the times.

The article contributes to filling a gap in IPNU-IPPNU historiography at the Regional Leadership level, where studies have mostly stopped at the local branch, district branch, or city scale. The novelty of the study lies in using a structuration framework to read a religious female student organization not as a static entity carrying out central policies, but as a historical actor actively reproducing and renewing its own structure. These findings affirm that regional religious autonomous bodies make an important contribution to developing a generation of Muslim women who are knowledgeable, of good character, and adaptable to change without losing their Islamic and NU roots.

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