



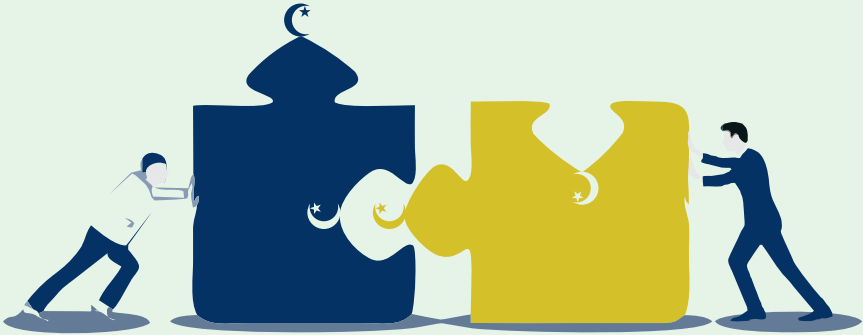
PPIM  
UIN JAKARTA



UIN SYARIF HIDAYATULLAH  
JAKARTA



CONVEY  
INDONESIA



peasanten

# COMMUNITY RESILIENCE AGAINST RADICALISM

• *Social Bonding* • *Social Bridging* • *Social Linking*

Editors:  
Irfan Abubakar  
Idris Hemay





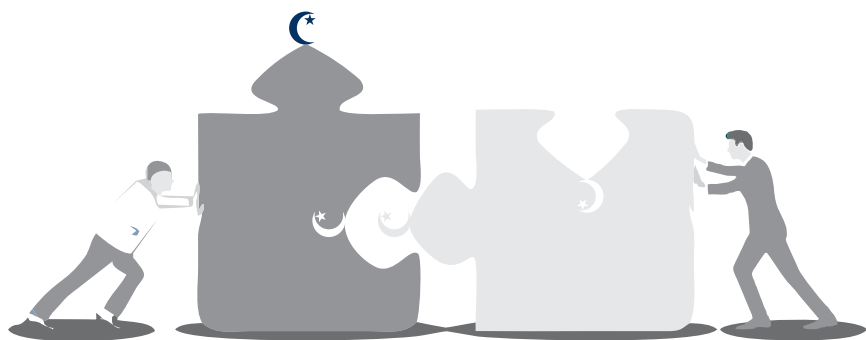
**PPIM**  
UIN JAKARTA



**CSRC**  
UIN SYARIF HIDAYATULLAH  
JAKARTA



**CONVEY**  
INDONESIA



*pesantren*

# **COMMUNITY RESILIENCE AGAINST RADICALISM**

*Social Bonding Social Bridging Social Linking*

2020

**Pesantren Community Resilience Against Radicalism**  
(Social Bonding, Social Bridging, Social Linking)

Translated from the book under the title of “*Resiliensi Komunitas Pesantren terhadap Radikalisme: Social Bonding, Social Bridging, Social Linking*” published by Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) UIN Jakarta, 2020.

**Authors:**

Irfan Abubakar, Idris Hemay, Junaidi Simun, Abdul Malik, Kamilia Hamidah, Siti Tarawiyah, Muchtadlirin, Muhajir Al Fairusy, Rita Pranawati, Jejen Musfah, and Ubed Abdilah Syarif

**Translator & Proofreader:**

Mohammad Fajar Mediyawan Gintings, Aziz Awaludin, Berli Arta, Lyon

**Layout & Cover:**

Hidayat *alfannanie*

**Publisher:**

Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta  
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5 Cirendeui, Ciputat Timur, Tangerang Selatan, Banten 15419

ISBN: 978-623-9503-2-9

## PROLOG

### FROM THE DIRECTOR OF CSRC UIN JAKARTA

The level of vulnerability and resistance of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) to radicalism is determined by the risk and protective factors found in a *pesantren* community itself. The greater the protective factor possessed by a *pesantren*, the smaller the vulnerability factor it has to radicalism. Conversely, the greater the risk factor (considering the protective factor is absent), the greater the vulnerability of a *pesantren* community will be towards radicalism.

Different *pesantrens* have different protective social capital factors. The social capital of traditional *pesantrens*, for instance, lies in the existence of *kiyai* (charismatic religious leaders) and traditional (yellow) book (*kitab kuning*). Meanwhile, the social capital of reformist *pesantren* is more varied. Pondok Gontor and its affiliates have social capital in the form of a boarding school value system abstracted in "Panca Jiwa" (sincerity, simplicity, *ukhuwah Islamiyah*

(Islamic brotherhood), independence, and freedom). Modernist Islamic boarding schools, such as Muhammadiyah and Persis, have social capital in their attachment to the Muhammadiyah and Persis organizations. Meanwhile, Salafi-style boarding schools are determined by their relationship to Wahhabi and Salafi theology, which is dominant in Saudi. Clearly, compared to traditional and modernist Islamic boarding schools, Salafi pesantrens are among the most distant, connected with the prevailing Islamic theological and cultural views in Indonesia so far, namely the *Ahlussunnah wal-Jama'ah* (Aswaja) of the Indonesian style.

In addition to social capital, there are four strategies in building pesantren resilience: *first*, preventing pesantren community from contacting radical movements and thoughts, *second*, delegitimizing radical ideologies, *third*, eliminating prejudice against hatred for different identities, and, *fourth*, overcoming issues of injustice among Muslim communities.

The explanations above are important findings from the research that forms the basis of this book's publication. The book you are holding was born from the results of the research report "**Qualitative Research on Pesantren Resilience against Radicalism.**" This study seeks to obtain understandings related to the level of resilience and vulnerability of pesantren of various typologies (traditionalist, modernist, and salafi) in Indonesia regarding radicalism and violent extremism. In addition, this study aims to review and produce knowledge about how the process of pesantren resilience-building when facing radicalism and violent extremism. This series of research activities were carried out for seven months (from July 2019 to January 2020) and fieldwork activities for three weeks. In generating an in-depth and accurate research, this study combined qualitative and quantitative approaches. This study involved 207 participants in 42 pesantrens of various typologies, either traditionalist, modernist, or salafi, across eight provinces, namely: Aceh, Banten, West Java, Central Java, East Java, South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, and West Nusa Tenggara.

This study included eight researchers assisted by eight research assistants when they did the fieldwork. The eight researchers were Muhajir Al Fairusy, M.Sc (Aceh), Rita Pranawati, MA (Banten), Dr. Jejen Musfah (West Java), Kamilia Hamidah, MA (Central Java), Muchtadlirin, MA (East Java) Siti Tarawiyah, M.Pd.I (South Kalimantan), Ubed Abdilah Syarif, MA (South Sulawesi), and Dr. Abdul Malik (West Nusa Tenggara). Researchers have worked hard to collect field data through in-depth interviews, survey interviews, data analysis, and research report writing developed into this book.

The main challenges encountered by the researchers during the process of writing this research report were: *first*, reading the interview data required time and speed in capturing ideas and facts from all sources; *second*, the access to authoritative sources and information on books related to this research, especially about pesantren's resilience to radicalism which is still relatively new in academic discourse; *third*, the limited-time process of report writing. With these challenges, this book can be published and can be read by many people.

It is important to note that this study was carried out with the cooperation of many CSRC individuals with other institutions, namely PPIM UIN Jakarta, with the support of PMU CONVEY. We want to thank various parties who have supported this book. Specifically, we would like to express our highest appreciation to researchers and research assistants who worked hard in several crucial stages of the research, starting from the research design, recruitment of speakers in accordance with specified pesantren criteria, data collection, abundant data analyses, to research report writing and development. We express our gratitude to the research consultant, Irfan Abubakar, MA., who helped us in directing the research design, reading and providing critical input to the research report draft, and editing the book document. Also, we would like to thank the research management team, especially the Program Secretary Junaidi Simun, EfridaYasni, Haula Sofiana, M. Nurhidayat, and Rheza. They worked hard tirelessly in supporting the research process until the publication of this book went successfully.

Another figure we need to acknowledge and give special appreciation is Prof. Dr. Hj. Amany Lubis, MA. (Chancellor of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta), who paid great attention to the success of writing and publishing this book. In particular, we would also like to express our highest appreciation and thanks to the PPIM UIN Jakarta team: Prof. Jamhari Makruf, Dr. Ismatu Ropi, Dr. Didin Syafruddin, Dr. Fuad Jabali, Abdallah Sy, and Fikri Fahrul Faiz. They not only supported this research financially but also provided constructive input from the planning, implementation, until the reporting of this study. Thanks also to PMU CONVEY, especially Mr. Syamsul Tarigan and Mr. Dani Jaya Mulyanto, who were actively involved in the whole process and stages of this research. Once again, thank you, PPIM and PMU CONVEY, for your trust and cooperation for the time being.

We have tried to do the best we could do, but this book did not escape from various weaknesses and shortcomings. Thus, we will accept any suggestions and constructive criticism for improving this book with an open mind and heart.

We present this work to the stakeholders; government officials, pesantrens, civil societies, academics, religious leaders, and media people. Hopefully, the presence of this book will contribute to the improvement and development of community resilience, especially the pesantren, in the face of radicalism and violent extremism with its capital.

*Happy reading!*

Ciputat, January 2020

**Idris Hemay**



## FOREWORD FROM THE EDITORS

**T**here have been two exciting events for pesantren communities in recent years. First, President Jokowi established "Hari Santri Nasional" (HSN), the National Santri Day, every October 22. This stipulation is outlined in Presidential Decree No. 22 of 2015. Until 2019, "sarungan" (pesantren) communities have commemorated the HSN for four times with quite lively. In the second event, the President passed Pesantren Law No. 18 of 2019. The presence of the Pesantren Law clearly exceeds the policy of integration plan of pesantren education into the national education system as stipulated in National Education System Law No. 20 of 2003. The Pesantren Law is more than just putting pesantren as educational institutions. This law has placed pesantren as social capital for strengthening national security. However, what makes us curious, this pro-pesantren policy actually comes in the middle of the spotlight that links a number of pesantren with radicalism and violent extremism.

From the perspective of resilience to social shocks, the various policies above cannot be considered as a gift from the government to pesantren. However, these events actually indicate the ability of pesantren in building a so-called "social linking," an ability of citizens to create a relationship with the government. In the community resilience discourse, social linking is the main protective source against the risk of being exposed to radicalism and violent extremism—in addition to other protective sources that come from social bonding and social bridging. Some experts define social bonding as a sense of being bound by community members with their community, whereas social bridging refers to the community's ability to build horizontal relations with other different identities (Ellis & Abdi, 2017, p. 290). In theory, the greater the ability of a community to build its identity, build social bridges with other identities, and create connectedness with government institutions, the stronger its resistance to the influence of radicalism and violent extremism (Ellis & Abdi 2017, p. 290).

The book you are holding is intentionally presented at the right time to participate in discussing pesantren and its resilience in the context of some social phenomena that shake our existence as a nation and state. This book originates from the research report on "The Resilience of Islamic Boarding Schools for Radicalism and Violent Extremism" conducted during 2019. The research was carried out in 8 provinces involving 42 Islamic boarding schools of various typologies, ranging from Traditional Islamic Boarding Schools, Modernist Islamic Boarding Schools, to Salafi Islamic Boarding Schools, with various variants of their derivatives. As stated in the above theme, this study aims at exploring the resilience of pesantrens in facing the challenges of radicalism and violent extremism. Using a community resilience framework that has been influential in recent years, this study tries to probe deeper into what and how the social capital possessed by every pesantren typology is capable of building resilience. In addition, considering that social capital is also vulnerable to depreciation, this study enquires how pesantrens maintain and even develop social capital in order to

eliminate the risks of vulnerability. Also, the social capital that is highlighted in this project is the position and role of women in pesantrens.

Until the end of the 80s, the pesantren's discourse was still characterized by the history of traditional pesantrens in preserving the tradition of classical (yellow) books teaching using the *sorogan* or *bandongan* method. After the 80s, thanks to the efforts of several LIPIA alumni, some Salafi-styled pesantrens began to emerge. These sorts of pesantren are branded by their puritan theological orientation, and they promote a lifestyle following the Prophet's *sunnah* (traditions). However, long before the Salafi pesantren emerged, modernist-style Islamic boarding schools had long been entrenched in Indonesia even though the number was still far below that of traditional Islamic boarding schools. Among the oldest are Pesantren Gontor Ponorogo, which was established in 1926, then, Pesantren Persis Bandung, first established in 1937, and Pesantren Persis Bangil founded in 1941. Even those pesantrens were established before Indonesia's independence. Muhammadiyah, known for its schools and universities, began to enliven the pesantren map in the country by establishing a Muhammadiyah-style boarding school called Pesantren Darul Arqam Garut in 1975. Until now, the number of pesantrens has reached 28,000, and some of them have been integrated into the national education system under the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.

This book is unique for several reasons. First, this book does not focus on discussing pesantren typologies. Still, it highlights various typologies of dominant pesantrens in contemporary Indonesia. Secondly, this book has also shifted research questions from why pesantrens are exposed to radicalism until why pesantrens are resilient to radicalism. Third, pesantrens are not seen merely as educational institutions, like schools or madrassas, but they are positioned as communities with unique identities. Pesantrens are considered to have social capitals that enable them to continue to survive in the midst of turmoil that hits the outside environment.

From the results of the study, it was found that all types of pesantrens have varying social capital according to the specificity of theological roots and socio-political understanding. Traditional Islamic boarding schools rely on the role of Kiyai and classic Islamic books (*kitab kuning*), which contain the Aswaja pillars as the primary antidote. Meanwhile, the Muhammadiyah and Persis pesantrens rely on the values of Muhammadiyah and its Persis-ness. Unlike other modernist pesantrens, Pesantren Gontor and its affiliates rely more on Panca Jiwa, the five basic values which inspire the boarding school. They are sincerity, simplicity, *ukhuwwah islamiyah*, independence, and freedom. All pesantrens use their respective social capitals to become the adhesive value of their identities. In addition, the same social capital is used to define relationships with other different groups and the government.

Among pesantrens which are the most vulnerable to radicalism and violent extremism are the Salafi-styled pesantrens. The only protective factor is the doctrine that forbids rebellion against the legitimate government (*bughat*). However, among Salafists themselves, this doctrine is not steady. From the perspective of the Salafi Puris Islamic boarding schools, *bughat* is not limited to only fighting against the government, demonstration movements such as the 212 Action in 2017, but those can be categorized - into prohibitions because they are considered to be at risk of *bughat* activities. For other Salafists, like Wahdah Islamiyyah (WI), demonstrations are not taboo. In fact, Ustaz Zaitun, who is the leader of Wahdah, took part in leading the 212 mass actions. Besides WI-linked pesantrens, Pesantren Salafi Haraki also considered the demonstration to be part of the *amar ma'ruf* and *nahi makruf* strategy to align the government, which was deemed deviant.

Other findings show that pesantrens build resilience through 4 strategies. The goal of resilience development is to strengthen the protective factors and eliminate the risk factors so that their resilience increases and lasts longer. The four strategies consist of, *first*, preventing the pesantren community from making contact with radical groups, *second*, delegitimizing radical ideology, *third*,

eliminating prejudice and hatred, and flourishing tolerance, and, *fourth*, addressing the issue of "Muslims being mistreated." Of the four strategies, the third one (eliminating prejudice and hatred, and flourishing tolerance) is considered the weakest strategy. Chapter 4 of this book explains the reasons why the third strategy is the weakest.

Traditional Islamic boarding schools develop contextualization of the classical (yellow) books to deal with *Khilafah* propaganda, *Jihad* propaganda, and other radical narratives. Muhammadiyah and Persis Islamic boarding schools are developing a unique strategy in de-legitimizing radical ideologies. The NKRI formulation of the Muhammadiyah style as *Darul' Ahdi wa Al-Syahadah* (a nation-state based on binding agreement and recognition) was only introduced at the Muhammadiyah Central Organization Conference in Makassar in 2015. It takes some time for Muhammadiyah-linked Islamic boarding schools to develop the discourse at the institutions. While Persis-based pesantrens and CSOs need to revitalize their Persis-ness identity in the increasingly strong Indonesian current flowing with Pancasila ideology, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the NKRI spirit, and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity).

After the integration of pesantren education into the national education system that began in 2003, pesantren's resilience to radicalism is largely determined by the improvement in their relationship with the government. For pesantrens that do not have a strong national vision, the government curriculum has helped to be a protective factor overcoming the limitations. Almost all pesantrens in this research teach Citizenship Education (PKn), including even Salafi pesantrens.

With the passing of Pesantren Law No. 18 of 2019, it is even more convincing that there is no basis for developing the rhetoric of "Muslims being mistreated by the state." It can mean that pesantrens, as a pillar of Muslims, have been in the same boat with the state. Whatever the issues involving Muslims and the nation are,

they can be discussed together in an open atmosphere and based on trust, reciprocity, equality, and the interests of achieving mutual benefits. It is the hope for pesantrens and the government as well. The reason is that social linking was never produced from the role of one party only. Instead, it is the result of cooperation and the will that involves both parties together. Hopefully!

Ciputat, January 2020

Irfan Abubakar & Idris Hemay

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Prolog from the Director of CSRC UIN Jakarta | *i*

Foreword from the Editors | *v*

## **CHAPTER 1: Introduction**

- A. Pesantren: Radicalism versus Moderatism | *1*
- B. Clarification of Concepts: Radicalism & Violent Extremism | *5*
- C. Community Resilience: A CVE Approach | *9*
- D. Some Notes about the Research | *19*

## **CHAPTER 2: Religious Socio-Political Discourse in Pesantren**

- A. Peace and Justice | *33*
- B. Nationality and State | *46*
- C. Diversity and Tolerance | *64*
- D. Social Justice, Global Justice, and Violence | *75*

## **CHAPTER 3: Social Capital of Pesantren Resilience Against Radicalism**

- A. Protective Sources: Social Bonding & Social Bridging | *83*
- B. Traditionalist Pesantrens: Kyai and Classic (Yellow) Book | *85*
- C. Panca Jiwa: The Values of Unity in Pondok Modern Gontor | *93*
- D. Social Capital of Muhamamadiyah and Persis Pesantrens | *104*
- E. Limited Social Capital in Salafi Pesantrens | *113*
- F. Social Linking: Connecting Pesantrens with Government | *126*

## **CHAPTER 4: Pesantren and Resilience Development**

- A. Development of Resilience in Pesantren Perspectives | 139
- B. Preventing Contact with Radical Groups | 142
- C. Delegitimizing Radical Ideologies | 155
- D. Eliminating Prejudice of Hatred | 171
- E. Addressing the Issue of Muslims being Mistreated | 180

## **CHAPTER 5: The Role of Women in Resilience Development in Pesantrens**

- A. Women's Pesantren in Historical Review | 189
- B. Pesantren and Gender Equality | 193
- C. *Bu Nyai, Ustazah*, and Pesantren Policies | 215
- D. Veils and Burqas in Pesantren | 220
- E. Relations of Male and Female Students at Pesantren | 230
- F. The Role of Women and Building Resilience Against Radicalism in Pesantren | 232
- F. Conclusion | 237

## **CHAPTER 6: Conclusion and Recommendations**

- A. Social Capital and Pesantren Endurance | 243
- B. Pesantren and Resilience Development Strategies | 253

References | 259

Editor and Author Profiles | 283

About CSRC UIN Jakarta | 291



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Pesantren: Radicalism vs. Moderatism

It must be admitted that several figures involved in terrorism in Indonesia have pesantren (Islamic boarding school) education backgrounds. For instance, the 2002 Bali Bombers, Amrozi, and his colleagues studied in Pesantren Al-Islam, Tenggulun, Lamongan; 2 Solo terrorist suspects shot dead in 2012, Farhan Mujahid and Muchsin Tsani, graduated from Pesantren Ngruki, Solo; and Aman Abdurrahman, a leader of Jamaah Ansharud Daulah (JAD), once attended Pesantren Darussalam in Ciamis. However, those mentioned above do not represent the overall profile of pesantren because most pesantrens are not exposed to religious radicalism. The total number of pesantrens reached 28 thousand, while based on BNPT in 2016, the number of pesantrens that were allegedly radical was just small.<sup>1</sup> The majority of pesantrens are still moderate, tolerant, and supporting democracy and the Republic of Indonesia.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, many pesantrens have educated many pioneering figures of Islamic moderation on the national and international stage—among other big names like KH Abdurrahman Wahid, Nurcholish Madjid, KH. Mustofa Bisri, and KH. Husein Muhammad.

Before the Bali Bombing (2002) incident, the public did not perceive that pesantrens were related to radicalism. Between

the 70s and 90s, pesantren discourse among academia generally highlighted the position and role of Islamic boarding schools in responding to transformation and modernity (Dhofier, 1983; Steenbrink, 1989; Raharjo, 1974; Ziemek, 1986; Kuntowijoyo, 1991; Mastuhu, 1991 & 1994). The studies generally question whether pesantrens have the potential to become agents of change or actually hinder development. It is due to the strong perception that pesantren education has the character of, borrowing the term Deliar Noer (1973), "old-fashioned Islam." The issue of religious radicalism versus moderatism at that time had not received a spotlight. However, some writings have implicitly alluded to a form of religious moderation. Bruinessen (1995) and Madjid (1997) described pesantrens as a part of Sufism—a religious culture that is passive to political interests but emphasizes purification of the heart, tranquility of the soul, and self-submission as close as possible to God.

In 2002, pesantrens began to be associated with radicalism, an issue that inevitably attracted the interest of socio-religious researchers. Studies showed that Islamic ideologies like Salafi and Ikhwani had influenced the formation and style of religious understanding of several pesantrens that were identified radical (Bruinessen, 2008; Qodir, 2003; Soepriyadi 2003; Al-Makassary & Gaus AF, 2010). Salafism occupies a decisive position in the last few decades. However, not all Salafists operating in Indonesia are radical. The mainstream Salafi is non-political and cooperative with the government, while several other variants are critical of the government (Wahid, 2012; Basri, 2017). On the other hand, Islamism in some pesantrens cannot be classified to be fully transnational. Bruinessen (2008) argued that there was an influence of the local ideology of Darul Islam (DI) in shifting the religious understanding of the Ngruki Islamic Boarding School in Solo.<sup>3</sup> That ideology later influenced the religious style of the pesantren, which was managed by its alumni (Basri, 2017).

As stated earlier, the number of pesantrens identified radicals is very insignificant. According to some pesantrens considered radical by BNPT, their management and leaders tended to reject that (radical) labeling, and they suspected that there were political motives behind the given assessment (Basri, 2017). Although the number of pesantrens considered radical is trivial, the impact they have on social security and political stability is enormous. Perhaps, many academic studies have been devoted to studying the issue of pesantren and radicalism. Therefore, exploring the issue of pesantren and religious moderatism is not considered as a priority. Do a few researchers try to answer why most pesantrens are not exposed to radicalism? Some preliminary research has been conducted to identify the characteristics of moderate pesantrens. In her study, Farida (2015) asserted that moderate pesantrens are characterized mainly by the ability to adopt changes while maintaining the Islamic characteristics inherently in their culture. In addition, moderate pesantrens are recognized for their ability to accommodate local culture—a capacity derived from the flexibility of the Syafi'iyah Mazhab (School) of traditional pesantrens. Moderate pesantrens are also categorized by Islamic learning methods that rely on literature or the Book of Muktabarah, a type of books believed to have a pedigree chain (scientific *sanad*) with previous scholars. The pesantrens believe that learning Muktabarah books is believed to prevent from the ideology of jihadism taught in non-Muktabarah books. Furthermore, some pesantrens are considered as moderate because they are open to progressive religious interpretations, accepting the compatibility of Islam with democracy, promoting the compatibility of Islam with human rights, and supporting gender equality in Islam (Farida, 2015). Based on the explanations above, we can conclude that a so-called moderate pesantren is represented by *salafiyah*/traditional-styled pesantrens. While pesantrens which tend to be radical are generally reformist and are not following a particular school

of thoughts (*mazhab*), and puritans (Bruinessen, 2008).

Along with the rapidly increasing number of pesantrens in the past two decades,<sup>4</sup> the style and form of pesantren education have also developed. From the perspective of education and teaching system, pesantrens can be divided into traditional, modern, and independent pesantrens (Jamhari, 2009). However, based on the religious understanding and political ideology viewpoint, pesantrens can be categorized into traditionalists, modernists, fundamentalists, and jihadists (Takeshi, 2009). Regardless of categorizations above, it is not clear yet how the map of religious moderation in the pesantrens is; and how it develops, progresses, and is maintained in various pesantrens. Put this question in a more specific context of how reformist and non-traditionalist pesantrens, such as Pesantren Gontor and its affiliations, Persis Pesantrens, and Muhammadiyah pesantrens, practice Islamic moderation and respond to the challenges of radicalism. Similar questions can be addressed to Salafist pesantrens, especially Puritan Salafists and Harafi Salafists (Wiktorowicz, 2006). How do pesantrens with both Salafi styles position themselves in the modern and democratic setting of Indonesian politics? Otherwise, how do they respond to ISIS, Al-Qaeda, JAT, JAD, and other Salafi Jihadist ideologies?

Integrating pesantren education into the national education system has had a significant impact on the vertical mobilization of pesantren alumni (Azra and colleagues, 2006). Moreover, according to Bruinessen (2008), the education integration policy has led to an increasing number of young Muslim intellectual groups with *santri* backgrounds. At this level, the national education integration policy has played a role in encouraging and developing religious moderation in the pesantren education system. At the time of this research (2019), the Ministry of Religious Affairs was intensifying the mainstreaming of religious moderation to prevent the growth

of intolerance and radicalism. Relevant to these efforts, the Government and the Parliament have passed the Pesantren Law No. 18 of 2019. It is expected that this Act will further strengthen the position and role of pesantrens in maintaining religious moderation among Muslims.

## **B. Clarification of Concepts: Radicalism & Violent Extremism**

What people perceive the notion "radicalism" seems ambiguous. Even in some Muslim circles, the term is understood differently. Some pesantren leaders consider radicalism to have been used to stigmatize devout Muslims. According to them, Muslims who diligently pray on time are labeled radical—they said Muslims are required to be disciplined in worshiping. If radicalism is identical with obedience, it means that a Muslim must be radical. Some equate Salafism/Wahhabism with radicalism, even though the Salafi has many variants as follows: (1) Puris Salafists who forbid rebellion against the legitimate government; (2) Haraki Salafists who fight for their aspirations through politics; (3) Jihadi Salafists who believe *jihadi* war is the only way to achieve political goals (Wiktorowicz, 2006). Experts have tried to define radicalism in such a way as to avoid the confusion of meaning even though it is not easy to reach a unanimous agreement. Some experts define "radicalism" as an ideology or movement that has a strong desire to completely change the existing socio-political system by using violence if necessary (Schmid, 2013, p. 10; Veldhuis & Staun, 2009, p. 4; Angus, 2016, p. 2). Thus, it is only prejudiced that worshiping diligently is part of radicalism. Similarly, radicalism is certainly not identical with Islam or any other religions, even though it can be sourced from religious teachings. Nonetheless, To understand radicalism, it is important to comprehend the close relationship between religion, politics, and radicalism itself. Radicalization (hardening) of religious understanding is certainly justified by certain religious interpretations. However, This doctrine

cannot be separated from political impetus (Angus, 2016, p. 3).

The term radicalism lately is often interchangeable with violent extremism because the two have a lot in common, despite their differences. Like radicalism, extremism is also very eager to encourage total change (*kaffah*) to the social, cultural, political, and even everyday living systems. However, the difference lies in how to deal with violent extremism believes that this total change can only be realized by extreme means, including coercion, violence, and even terrorism. Violent extremism ignores the importance of peaceful coexistence (Schmid, 2013, p. 11; Angus, 2016, p. 2; Bertelsen, 2016, p. 1; UNESCO, 2016, p. 11). In short, extremism justifies various ways of violence to achieve its ideological goals, whereas radicalism does not always require the use of violence. Another difference lies in the acceptance of rationality. Radicalism is still open to arguments and debates, while violent extremism completely shuts off from rational arguments (Schmid, 2013, p. 10; Angus, 2016, p. 2; Veldhuis and Staun, 2009, p. 4). Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is an example of a radical movement that does not use violent methods, and they like to be involved in discussions and debates. Although in many Muslim countries, including European countries, Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) has been convicted as a banned organization. The British government initially allowed HT to operate, but later banned it because it was accused to have radicalized many young Muslims there (Azzam, 2007, p. 127). Whereas, cases of contemporary violent extremist movements are Neo-Nazis, Ku Klux Klan, ISIS, and Boko Haram.

Experts have identified five characteristics of radicalism and violent extremism. The first characteristic is the tendency to justify the use of violence to achieve political goals. Even extremists may think that violence is not just a method of attaining ideological objectives, but also cleansing sins, liberating, and submitting closer to God (Veldhuis & Staun, 2009, p. 4; Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2013, p. 5). The second

characteristic is the attitude that rejects the state constitution, prefers uniformity, and does not accept diversity. In history, Fascism and Communism are two extremist ideologies that reject diversity in society. The third characteristic is to prioritize collective goals and sacrifice individual rights and freedoms. The fourth characteristic is being fanatical, intolerant, and rigid thinking (in black and white). The fifth characteristic is that the extremists emphasize the absolutism of their own belief rather than dialogues and democracy (Schmid, 2013, pp. 8-9; Veldhuis and Staun, 2009, p. 4; Angus, 2016, p.3).

### *Jihadi War and Takfir*

In the Islamist radicalism discourse, it is important to underline several concepts that are often promoted by radical movements or violent extremism. First, *jihad* is interpreted as a war in defending territories in a certain Islamic kingdom regime—upholding the Islamic state or Islamic Sharia in the government system. Second, *takfir* is an action of declaring fellow Muslims as a non-believer, especially the government, because the government refuses to uphold Islamic Sharia in their government systems and policies. In regards to the two notions above, it is not easy to comprehend why people should join the *jihadi* war and why a Muslim can be judged as a disbeliever. The reason is that the discourse of the *jihadi* war and *takfir* does not emerge from a static context. That discourse emerged in the context of the political conflicts in Muslim countries.

Even radical ideologists understand these concepts in a political context. Abdullah Azam (1979) issued a fatwa that *jihad* in the legal war was *wajib 'ain* ( compulsory for every Muslim) when he witnessed that Muslim lands in Afghanistan had been controlled by infidel states. According to him, in such a situation, young people and women do not need the permission of their parents and their husbands to go on *jihad*. Abdullah

Azam himself was involved in the *jihadi* war in Afghanistan during the 70s (Abdullah Azam, 1979). After the end of the armed conflict in Afghanistan, the discourse of Muslim land occupied by the infidels has been no longer firmly restricted. Every time a political conflict between a Muslim state and non-Muslim countries arises, the issue of colonialism by the infidels immediately raises the justification for the call of *jihad*. Likewise, with the *takfir* discourse, there are unclear criteria on how a particular government is classified as an infidel. This confusion makes it difficult for us to understand the patterns of the *jihadi* discourse on why the government is accused of being infidels, and why not. For example, this extremist group accused the Saudi Regime of being infidels, although Saudi Arabia applies the Sharia Law. This extreme group did that because they considered Saudi Arabia still keeping *riba* in its banking practices. Moreover, those who are not explicitly implementing the Islamic government system are certainly convicted of infidels (Wiktorowicz, 2006). Jemaah Islamiyah and ISIS do not believe in Muslim governments that implement a democratic system because they think those Muslim governments do not explicitly make Islam and Islamic law the basis of the states and their legal foundations (Wiktorowicz, 2006; Al-Ibrahim, 2015; Badar, et al. 2017; Firro, 2013).

### *Factors of Radicalism and Violent Extremism*

Some experts classify the factors that cause violent radicalism into internal factors (inner motivation of themselves) and external factors (environmental influence). In other words, the first factors can be called the push factors, while the second ones care about the pull factors. Based on various sources, Nash, Nesterova et al. (2017, pp. 91-92) summarized the push factors consisting of the surrounding personal situations, social environments, and structural conditions (macro) where an individual lives. These factors encompass feeling isolated and oppressed by the dominant political forces. These feelings are



triggered by how an individual perceives an objective or situation—these perceptions can be objective, subjective, or merely imaginative. Pull factors come from the propaganda and invitations of radical and extremist groups that try to offer answers to various grievances encountered by people themselves, the social environment, the state, and even the global environment. (See table 1)

**Table 1**  
Factors of Radicalism and Violent Extremism

Push Factors	Pull Factors
1. Identity crisis	1. Sense of identity and sense of belonging offered by extremist groups
2. Feeling excluded in economy and politic	2. Economic and political benefit offered by extremist groups
3. Perception of not having security and basic needs from government	3. Security and basic need offered by extremist groups
4. Discrimination and exclusion in social level	4. Networks, acceptance, and comports offered by extremist groups
5. Perception of the existing leadership failure	5. Hopes of empowerment, heroism, and leadership from extremist groups
6. Perception of tyranny, corruption, and oppression by government	6. Revenge opportunities

So far, various counter-radicalism agendas have basically tried to overcome the push and pull factors. The efforts of Law enforcement (hard approaches) only emphasize eliminating the pull factors of terrorists and those involved in radical networks, whereas the radicalization-preventing strategy should respond to the factors that encourage young people to join radical groups. Then, these young people may attract their friends to join too. The program of Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) basically aims to overcome the various fundamental factors above.

### **C. Community Resilience: A CVE Approach**

Resilience as an approach to tackling violent extremism is relatively novel. Borrowing the term from Cardozo (2015, p. 1), resilience is becoming "the new kid on the block" in the CVE discourse. However, this approach is not completely new

because it has already been used in other fields, such as natural disaster management, climate change, global shocks, and other risk factors. Because the rising problems are related to each other (interconnected), a more collaborative and coordinative approach is needed. Resilience can be a strategic offer (Cardozo, 2015, p. 1). What exactly does resilience mean? In dictionaries, resilience comes from the Latin verb *resilire*, meaning "bouncing" (Macmillan Dictionary). Later, this word was adopted into English as "resilience," which has several interrelated notions: elasticity, and flexibility or ability to quickly become healthy, happy or strong again after an illness, disappointment or other problem; and being resistant or not susceptible to something (Macmillan Dictionary).

The concept of resilience has been used in a number of social science disciplines, such as psychology, ecology, public health, development, and disaster management. In psychology, resilience is defined as the capacity of a person to endure events that shake his or her soul without experiencing significant difficulties. Likewise, in ecology, resilience is interpreted as the capacity of a system to deal with shocks and to recover while undergoing changes in order to maintain the same function, structure, identity, and feedback (Kinzig, AP, et al, 2006). In disaster management, resilience is defined as the capacity of individuals, communities, and systems to survive, adapt, grow, and change various pressures and shocks (the Royal Society, 2014). In short, resilience is the ability of something or someone facing difficulties, and to recover back to normal conditions after encountering extraordinary, frightening, and often unpredictable threats. Resilience also means the ability and willingness to adapt all the time to changes and threatening environments (Carpenter, 2014, p. 65; Masten, Best, & Garmezy, 1990, p. 426). From these various definitions, it can be concluded that resilience applies to an individual, institutional, community, and broader community scale. In addition, resilience requires awareness, warnings, communication,

responsiveness, and recovery—a situation that is basically confronted by everyone in daily struggles and becomes the basic instinct for survival.

In disaster preparedness studies, the concept of resilience is no longer seen as an individual matter, as in post-traumatic individual psychological studies. Given the complexity of the problems faced, "community resilience" is a more suitable concept to be developed. Pfefferbaum et al. (2015), as cited in Quilliam (2017), found the main components in disaster preparedness are related to what the community has, in the form of social connections, social groups, and social networks. Norris and colleagues (2008) refer to social capital and community capacities as major components in community resilience, in addition to two other components: "economic development," and "information" and "communication." This model is considered to be very successfully implemented in public safety promotion run by the United States government because it involves community participation (Weine & Horgan, 2014). Considering the complexity of the problem caused by violent extremism and radicalism, CVE experts began to adjust the concept of community resilience to their studies (Norris and colleagues, 2008; Carpenter, 2014; Ellis and Abdi, 2017; Patel et al., 2017; Quilliam, 2017; Sherrieb et al., 2010;).

In addition to the aforementioned reasons, the community resilience approach has also been adopted because of the relatively strong skepticism of many experts on the effectiveness of the law enforcement approach (hard approach) to overcome long-term violent extremism. Aly Jetha, a CEO and Founder of Big Bad Boo Studios in the UK, emphasized the urgency of resilience in combating extremism:

"We have to deal with the fact that extremism is going to be with us for a very long time and in our opinion, the most effective long-term solution is looking upstream and changing the ethos of people to make sure they are

more tolerant, more inclusive and more diverse as a preventive measure." (British Council, 2018, p. 35)

There is no single definition of what is meant by community resilience. However, some definitions can be put forward here. For example, Ellis and Abdi (2017), in their literature study, define community resilience as assets the community's assets that can contribute to preventing young people from accepting violent extremism. Van Meter (2014, p. 81), chose to use the term "capacity" rather than "assets." According to him, community resilience is certain abilities shared by the community, the state, and broader communities. With these capacities, the community is able to adopt new processes, norms, and strategies to live a new life and social relations, in response to violence: prevention, mitigation, or recovery. John Paul Lederach, a leading peacebuilder and practitioner, as quoted by Carpenter (2014, p. 81), argued that these capacities serve to forge solidarity, to live a life, and to maintain life expectancy. Besides, they need to adapt and negotiate challenges in creative ways. Referring to the definition above, this study, pesantren, and resilience are more focused on the concept of resilience as a prevention capacity (Ellis, 2017, p. 291) rather than resilience as a post-violence recovery capacity. However, given violent extremism and radicalism have befallen Indonesian society in the broadest sense, directly and indirectly, pesantren communities also feel the impacts. Therefore, the ability of pesantrens to "move on" and make adaptations after the shocks of violent extremism is naturally inherent in this analysis. What and how are the assets or capacities that the community has so that they can be resilient to violent extremism?

Community resilience requires a number of social capitals and community competencies. So far, several experts in sociology, politics, and culture interpret social capital as a set of values and norms (Putnam, 1993; Fukuyama, 1999; Portes, 1998;

Bourdieu, 1986).<sup>5</sup> Hence, it is pivotal to quote the definition from Norris and colleagues (2008) formulating 3 key dimensions of social capital, namely: the sense of community, sense of attachment to place (whether with village or city), and civic participation. Meanwhile, "community competence" refers more to the ability of communities to work together and collaborate effectively in achieving the common goals. Thus, community competence is very close to the concept of social linking; for example, the existence of trust and connectivity between the community and the state institutions (Norris et al., 2008).

Ellis and Abdi (2017) asserted that "social capital" and "community competence" are parallel with the social connections model described in three levels. The first is an ability that can function as a protection against the issue of the social identity crisis. This level is called social bonding, which is a sense of belonging and attachment to people of the same identity (Ellis & Abdi 2017, p. 290). The second level is horizontal social bridging, i.e., the ability to build cross-identity connectivity. This competency is useful in dealing with the issue of social marginalization. The third is the level of vertical social linking, i.e., the capacity to build links with government institutions. This ability is used to respond to the grievances of injustice and social gaps to access economic and political resources (Ellis & Abdi, 2017, p. 290). Using this framework of "social connections," in recent years some researchers have proven the vital role of social capital and community competence in shaping the resilience of Muslim communities to prevent violent extremism in several countries, such as in Baghdad and Iraq (Carpenter, 2014); in Kenya (Van Meter, 2016); in Denmark (Dalgaard-Nielsen and Schack, 2016); and in the United States (Weine, 2013, 2014).

### *Protective and Risk Factors*

In the concept of community resilience, the existence of social bonding, social bridging, and social linking in a community is recognized as the social capital (values and norms) and community competence. These two are the protective factors for dealing with the unexpected influence of violent extremism and radicalism (Ellis & Abdi, 2017). In development studies, Glantz and Johnson (2002) define protective factors as individual and environmental characteristics that reflect the factors increasing resistance to adverse effects from stresses or shocks besides showing the absence of risk factors. Otherwise, risk factors are individual and environmental characteristics that reflect the growing vulnerability to the adverse effects of a shocking event (the Royal Society, 2014, p. 22). Based on this concept, we can conclude that communities resilient to violent extremism and radicalism are those who have protective factors that are greater than risk factors to produce high immunity. In contrast, vulnerable communities have greater risk factors than protective factors, and the risk factors can weaken their immune power.

Evidently, the protective factors in the community are multiplied and interrelated. Weine and Horgan (2014) mentioned protective factors could basically be taken from family, community, and government. The existence of a strong identity in certain communities can be a protective factor for community members from the risk of an identity crisis (Sonn & Fisher, 1998). However, just having a sense of identity is not enough to strengthen resilience. Communities need to be shielded with another protective factor, which is a sense of being connected with a greater identity, like national identity. Furthermore, we also need the social capital bridging community members with different identities. This social bridging can help minimize a risk factor that triggers a vulnerability to extremist and radical ideologies (Ellis & Abdi,

2017, p. 294). In a study conducted by Schanzer and colleagues (2010) in the US, it was found that the assertion of Muslims in the US whose distinctive identity as "American Muslims" was one of the key protective factors from being exposed to violent radicalism. In addition, another protective factor is their understanding that the identity as American Muslims is in harmony with other identities like being "Americans" themselves (Ellis & Abdi, 2017, p. 293).

### *Community Resilience and Pesantren Resilience Studies*

Studies on resilience as an approach to prevent radicalism in Indonesia, especially in relation to pesantrens, are not yet popular. However, Woodward and colleagues' (2010) study on Islamic education and counter-radicalization strategies in Indonesia has alluded to the idea of resilience in which they claim pesantrens have succeeded in making Muslim societies immune to the influence of radicalism (Woodward et al., 2010, p. 32). In their study, Woodward et al. rejected the notion that Islamic boarding schools created radicalism and even terrorism. On the other hand, pesantrens of any theological style are one of the best defenses that Indonesia has today (Woodward et al., 2010, pp. 20, 29). Ethnographic research has provided an initial picture of the existence of pesantren resistance to radicalism. However, deeper and more analytical explanations are needed to answer how and why pesantrens can be a bulwark against violent extremism.

By using the framework of "community resilience," as described above, this research aims to enrich the pesantren and resilience discourse to radicalism, which is still relatively new. The concept of community resilience was adopted based on the assumption that pesantrens are a collective entity or a community. As a community, pesantrens are characterized by a group of people who come from different backgrounds but live together in a place. These people are bound by a common perspective, and they are involved in the efforts to achieve their

common goals (Allman, 2015). In spite of being monolithic in religion, i.e., Islam, the members of the pesantren community remain diverse in terms of ethnicities, social backgrounds. To a certain degree, a pesantren community is also characterized by the diversity of religious schools and religious groups of their citizens. On the contrary, this study is not intended to test the individual resilience of pesantren members because the initial assumption is that they actually belong to pesantrens as a stronghold without any extremism producer. Studies exploring individual characteristics that have a vulnerability to radical ideology are usually conducted in intelligence circles of the typical CVE approach (Monahan, 2015; Smith, 2018).

In examining the resilience of pesantren communities in the perspective of social capital and community competence, indeed, it is essential to consider the nature and other unique characteristics of the communities, specifically their characteristics as an Islamic educational institution. Unlike other communities, such as "villages," "cities," or "clubs," whose sense of belonging and sense of attachment refers more to specific geographical areas, the sense of belonging to pesantrens is not merely limited to a geographical area. Pesantren is a community in which most of its members, *santri* (students), will not stay in the pesantren forever. After completing their study for 4, 6, to 10 years (in the past, students could even learn in Pesantrens for a dozen years) from pesantrens, most of them will return to their homes where they might subsequently settle down. Nonetheless, a sense of attachment to the alma mater will encourage them to visit their pesantren, both for friendship with the clerics and teachers, taking their children to study there, or just reminiscing. Conversely, pesantren is not like another education institution where students are coming to school only during class hours, and they return go homes after the class hours. At pesantrens, students generally study and stay in the boarding school—with a few exceptions; they are called "santri kalong" who choose to



only come at the pesantren for studying but not boarding because they come from the neighborhood around the pesantren. Therefore, the sense of community concept in pesantren cannot only be seen from the perspective of a sense of belonging and being geographically bound but also a sense of psychological belonging to the pesantren community.

Psycho-social experts call this concept "relational attachment," which is a connection based on the existence of similarity in characteristics regarding ethnicity, religion, religious views, political views, and others (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Sarason, 1974; Ellis & Abdi, 2017, p. 291). In contrast to Carpenter's study (2014), which included attachment to places in testing the resilience of Muslim communities in the city of Baghdad, this study refers more to the relational concept to explain how pesantren members are connected with their communities.

In addition, pesantren is also seen as a medium for the character building of young Muslim children to conform to the guidance of Islamic teachings. When applying the theory of community resilience in pesantren, it inevitably must consider pedagogical aspects that are typical of this institution. Various studies on pesantren and counter-radicalism so far indeed emphasize the relationship between the pedagogic dimension and its psychological influence on the religious attitudes of *santri* or pesantren members in general (Woodward, 2010, p. 42; Pohl, 2006; Muin, 2007, pp. 141-256; Moesa, 1999, pp. 66; Wahid, Marzuki, 2004, pp. 45-47; Haryani et al., 2018; Farida, 2015). While paying attention to aspects of pedagogy, this study further highlights how the pesantren pedagogy system links with social capital and pesantren competencies in dealing with the influence of radicalism and violent extremism. Does it strengthen or weaken? The pesantren pedagogical system is not only limited to the curriculum (books and teaching methods), but also the position and role of the leaders, ie, management, teachers, extracurricular activities, and the culture of the pesantren (school) itself.

It is important to pay special attention to the role and position of the leaders (Kiyai) because the figure is so central in determining the culture of the pesantren (Dhofier, 1979; Turmudi, 2006; Fauzi, 2012; Farida, 2015). In fact, in many cases, a pesantren is a reflection of the personality of the leaders who founded it— citing Nurcholish Madjid's expression, "pesantren is the personal enterprise" of a Kiyai (Madjid, 1999). In the context of traditional pesantren, the existence of Kiyai (*Ajengan* in Sundanese), *Abuya* in Aceh, or *Tuan Guru* in Lombok), transcends the pesantren itself. Kiyai also acts as a leader for the Muslim community who live around and outside the pesantren, where they position the Kiyai as a reference and role model in responding to religious issues. In some cases, Kiyai is asked to solve various social, political, and cultural problems faced by the surrounding community. From a resilience perspective, the socio-religious role of Kiyai influences the resilience of the Muslim community in a broader sense.

The diversity of pesantren styles cannot be ignored because, after all, community resilience is not congruent with one community rather with more general pesantren communities that have the same characteristics. At this point, it is relevant to bear in mind that the experts believe that the community resilience approach in CVE cannot be treated in the same way. According to Weine (2013, p. 82), this approach needs to consider what resilience means for the communities of this study and how resilience relates to the history, cultural features, and socio-political context of the communities. There has been an increasing trend in that the pesantren discourse becomes less monolithic though the largest number of pesantrens is still traditionally run, particularly in terms of theological thought dimensions and teaching methods. Until the early 2000s, studies on pesantren were still largely focused on pesantren in the "Salafiyyah" category (different from *Salafists*), which were theologically, ideologically, and

politically close to Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), the largest Islamic mass organization in Indonesia. However, after the Bali Bombing in 2002, much research has started to highlight the existence of Salafi pesantrens, which was relatively new in the configuration of Islamic education in Indonesia (Bruinessen, 2004; Woodward, 2010, p. 42; Basri, 2017; Kovacks, 2014). However, the studies about reformist pesantren had been conducted earlier before the research of two typologies of the pesantrens above was done.

In this study, reformist pesantrens differ from Salafi pesantrens, although, Salafi is also theologically reformist-oriented. A reformist pesantren is more known with modernist pesantren, which is mainly characterized by the prominence of modernization in the learning methodology and the theological preference closer to Muhammad Abduh's modernism than the puritanism of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, founder of the Wahhabi sect. This category of pesantrens comprises Pesantren Modern Gontor and Gontor-affiliated pesantrens, and other modernist pesantrens of Persis and Muhammadiyah. Interestingly, Muhammadiyah mass organization has recently begun to concern with the pesantren sector after focusing more on public schools and universities.<sup>6</sup> In short, studies of the pesantren community resilience to extremism and violent radicalism need to consider the relationship between each pesantren typology and a greater socio-religious identity that determines the characteristics of pesantrens through their developments.

#### **D. Some Notes about the Research**

The study of "Pesantren and Resilience to Radicalism and Violent Extremism" was conducted in the second half of 2019. This research aims to create knowledge related to the level of resilience and vulnerability of various pesantren typologies (Traditionalist, Modernist, and Salafi) when they encounter radicalism and violent extremism. As described in the

conceptual framework above, this study specifically explores what kinds of social capital are being exploited by pesantren as protective factors when encountering radicalism and violent extremism. Besides, this study also examines more deeply how resilience-building is pursued by pesantren to eliminate risk factors. To develop resilience can be done by strengthening the protective factors taken from this nation, including a sense of nationality and commitment to the pillars of life (Pancasila, the Constitution, the NKRI [nationalism], Bhinneka Tunggal Ika [the Unity in Diversity] Principles). Finally, this research scrutinized specifically the issue of gender equality in pesantren regarding resilience development. In achieving these objectives, in-depth interviews were conducted with 42 pesantren communities of the three typologies (Traditionalist, Modernist, and Salafi). Then, Salafi would be divided into three variants—Purist Salafi, Tanzimi Salafi, and Haraki Salafi. This research was conducted in 8 provinces in Indonesia.

### ***Methodology***

This research mainly used qualitative methods in data collection. However, this research also employed an opinion survey on 207 respondents to obtain a general picture of pesantrens' perceptions and attitudes on issues of this research. The combination of these two types of data collection is intended to generate a comprehensive study by presenting a percentage trend in some graphics based on the results of the survey. Then, they were used as a comparison and complement of the in-depth analysis of qualitative data. The In-depth interviews and field observations were conducted on 42 pesantrens in 8 provinces, which are Aceh, Banten, West Java, Central Java, East Java, South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, and West Nusa Tenggara. In analyzing data, the study used the Interpretive Phenomenology (IP) approach. The objective was to understand, analyze, and explore what and how pesantren stakeholders utilize social capitals (social bonding, social

bridging, and social linking) in maintaining and building their resilience to radicalism and violent extremism.

The sample respondents of the survey were selected purposively, and they were also participants of the in-depth interview. The survey results did not represent the views of pesantren in the whole province or nation because the sample is not proportional. However, the findings only presented information on the views of informants regarding the research topic. A written questionnaire was used face-to-face interviews sequentially. In other words, data collection was done through a structured interview. The survey was conducted by the researchers before conducting in-depth interviews.

### ***Pesantren Typologies***

This study classified pesantrens based on the inherent characteristics of religious views and political ideologies. As stated above, this study divided the pesantren into three typologies. The first is Traditional Islamic boarding schools. The second is Modernist Islamic boarding schools, and the third is Salafi Islamic boarding schools. This categorization was made to facilitate data analysis and to map the similarities and differences among these three typologies. However, it needs to clarify that each pesantren typology is not rigid. It means that there are always possible similarities from one another.

#### *Traditional Pesantrens*

Traditional Islamic boarding schools, also called Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools, are characterized by the religious understanding of *Ahlussunah wal Jama'ah* (Aswaja). Although all the pesantrens of this research have claimed to be included in *Ahlussunah wal Jama'ah*, Traditional pesantrens have a unique understanding of Aswaja. That is the theology based on a combination of Shafi'i Fiqh, Ash'ariyah Theology, and Imam Al-Ghazali Sufism. These three discourses are adopted from the classic literature known as Islamic classic books. In addition to

loyalty to Aswaja and the Islamic classic books, Traditional pesantrens are also branded by obedience to the Kiyai. Also, embracing Sufism, the traditional pesantren community is also accustomed to ritual practices such as *Tahlilan*, *Manakiban*, *Maulidan*, *Nujuh Bulanan*, and many else. In terms of Islamic teaching methods, Traditional Islamic boarding schools faithfully run the Islamic classic book recitation methods such as *Sorogan* and *Bandongan*. Ideologically, traditional pesantrens can generally accept Pancasila as a scholar consensus (*ijma'*). The characteristics of this traditional pesantren are represented by Pesantren Salafiyah affiliated with Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), Nahdhatul Wathan (NW) Lombok, and Dayah in Aceh.

#### *Modernist Pesantrens*

Unlike the traditional ones, Modernist Islamic boarding schools do not really emphasize the views of religious *madhab* scholars. Instead, they emphasize the claim of returning to the Qur'an and the Hadith in terms of worship and faith. They also lack sympathy for Sufism and to a certain degree and tend to be critical towards it. Furthermore, the Modernist pesantrens tend to doubt or neglect rituals of a certain local culture because they are considered heresy. In terms of teaching methods, some of them accept modern methods of western educations as long as they do not interfere with faith. In terms of ideology, some accept Pancasila as part of the consensus, but the others reject it because they do not think Pancasila is in line with the Qur'an and the Hadith. Actually, there are many types of modernist boarding schools.

The first is Pesantren Gontor and its affiliations. Pesantren Gontor basically has a reformist tendency, but it appreciates Islamic Turats (Islamic classic books) even though it does not discuss the books as deeply as the Traditional pesantrens do. Pesantren Gontor also tends to adapt to NU traditions in rituals of worship, such as reciting Qunut prayer and doing *wirid*

(remembering Allah) after prayers. Nevertheless, these attitudes were taken not as part of a strict theological commitment, but rather as an effort of social adaptation to the dominant religious culture. The alumni can be different in terms of religious rituals depending on their dominant interaction with the Islamic communities they choose. The second ones are Muhammadiyah and Persis pesantrens. Islamic boarding schools under Islamic Modernist Organizations are more assertive in their reformism style compared to Pesantren Gontor, which tends to be flexible. In short, these Islamic boarding schools are characterized by religious purity, modern institutionalism, and lack of familiarity with, Tasawwuf and traditional rituals.

### *Salafi Pesantrens*

The Salafi category is deliberately distinguished from Modernist pesantrens, although in some aspects, its puritanism orientation is intertwined between the two, especially with Muhammadiyah and Persis. Woodward et al. (2010) observed that the pattern of puritanism of Muhammadiyah was no longer as thick as in the early days. Nowadays, Muhammadiyah puritanism has undergone a process of adaptation to local culture. Whereas, the Salafi community still shows a strong commitment to the mission of purifying Islam. In its conservative form, Salafism tends to counter local culture with a rigid commitment to the Islamic understanding of Salaf al-Salih of the 7<sup>th</sup> Century AD. Anti-traditionalism, at an extreme level, Salafism shows radicalism in political understandings and attitudes even though other variants tend to reject the idea against the legitimate government. Salafi pesantren is divided into three types: 1) Purists Salafi (not politicized and accepting government as long as Muslims); 2) Haraki Salafi (political and active in criticizing government with Salafist values); and 3) Jihadi Salafi (viewing that it is time to strive to uphold the Islamic system according to Salafi teachings) (Wiktorowicz, 2006).

It is important to note that Purist Salafi is different from Tanafii Purist Salafi. The first one is not totally affiliated with any organization despite its mission of *da'wah* (proliferation). While the second uses mass organizations to accelerate the mission of *da'wah*. Wahdah Islamiyyah mass organizations can be categorized into Tanzimi Salafists. Whereas, in this study, there is only one Haraki Salafi, viz. Pesantren As-Salam Bima, whose officials are members of the Jamaah Anshar Shari'ah (JAS). Unlike Jihadi Salafi, this organization struggles for the implementation of Islamic Sharia without using any violent means.

### *Research Participants*

Participants of this study reached 207 people selected from 42 pesantrens in 8 provinces, namely: Aceh, Banten, West Java, Central Java, East Java, South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, and West Nusa Tenggara. They were selected using intensity purposed sampling. This technique aimed at selecting research participants in such a way as to reflect the characteristics of the group being investigated, and it aimed at making it easy to conduct a comparative analysis of their views, behaviors, and attitudes towards the issues of the research. The participants were 25 people in each province (5 in each pesantren).

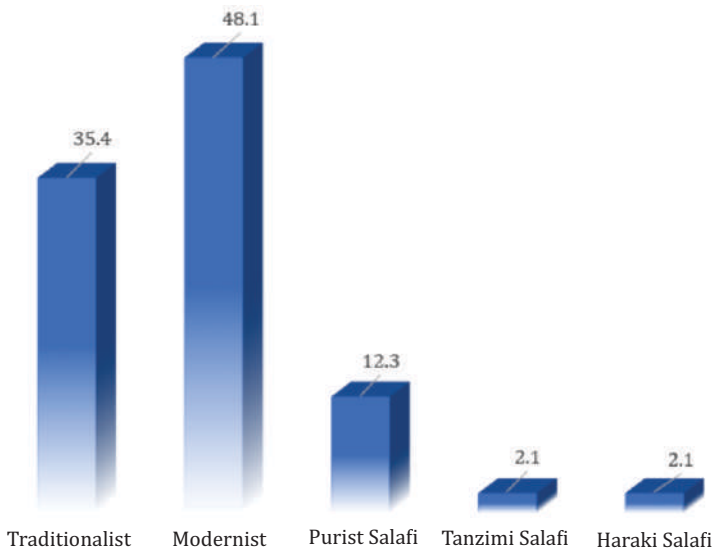
In-depth interviews and surveys involved boarding school leaders, administrators, junior and senior teachers, and administrators of *santri* organizations. The interviews were successfully done at NU-affiliated pesantrens, Dayah, Gontor, and Gontor-affiliated Pesantren, Muhammadiyah, Persis, Hidayatullah, Nahdhatul Wathan, and Salafi. The graph and table below are the descriptions of the participants based on pesantren typologies, positions at pesantren, gender, religious organizations, education, socioeconomic status, and age.

This study involved 207 participants recruited from several pesantrens in 8 provinces of Indonesia. Based on the pesantren



typologies, the interviewees of Modernist pesantrens were 48.1% of the total participants, followed by Traditionalist pesantrens at 35.4%, Purist Salafi at 12.3%, Tanafii Salafi at 2.1%, and Haraki Salafi at 2.1%. This composition is quite ideal since the number of pesantrens in the eight provinces labeled as Traditionalist and Modernist (Gontor, Muhammadiyah, Persis, and others) are indeed quite dominant. (See Chart 1)

**Chart 1**  
Distribution of Research Participants in 8 Provinces Based on Pesantren Typologies

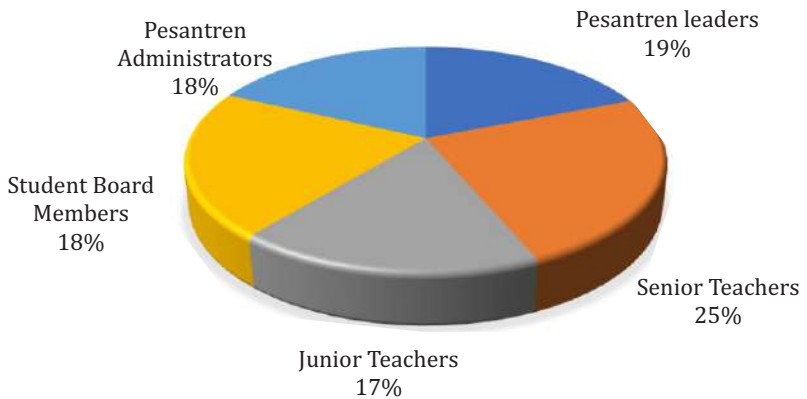


The research participants were selected from influential circles of the pesantrens.--They were those whose deeds and behavior might be followed by people around them. Among them, there were educators, administrators, and pesantren leaders. The detail was as follows; senior boarding school teachers were 25% of the total participants; junior boarding school teachers were at 17%; boarding school administrators were at 21%;

student board organization members were at 18%, and boarding school leaders were at 19%. (See Chart 2)

**Graph 2**

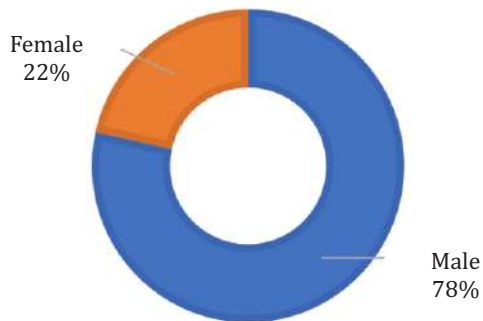
Distribution of Resource Persons in 8 Provinces Based on Position in Islamic Boarding Schools



Regarding the gender category, the number of female interviewees reached 22%. This percentage is the minimum proportion of women interviewees, as indicated in the design of this study. The male interviewees were at 78%. (See Chart 3)

**Chart 3**

Distribution of Resource Persons in 8 Provinces Based on Gender



Meanwhile, regarding religious organizations, it is found that the majority (87.8%) of the participants claimed to have affiliations with certain religious organizations. Among them, most were with Nahdlatul Ulama (36%), Muhammadiyah (23.3%), and Persis (5.8%) organizations. Whilst those claiming not to be affiliated with any religious organizations were only 12.2% of the total participants. The details can be seen in Table 2 below.

**Table 2**

The Distribution of Research Participants in 8 Provinces Based on Their Religious Organizations

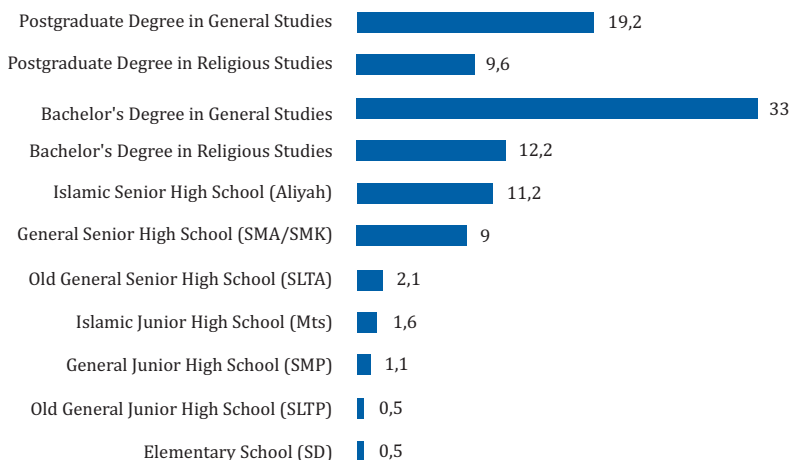
<b>No.</b>	<b>Religious Mass Organization</b>	<b>Frequency%</b>
1.	NU(Nahdlatul Ulama)	62362
2.	Muhammadiyah	4023.3
3.	Persis	105.84
4.	Hizbut Tahrir	10.65
5.	Lembaga Dakwah Islam (LDII)	10.66
6.	Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah (DDI)	10.67
7.	Hidayatullah	42.38
8.	Nahdhatul Wathon (NW)	42.39
9.	PERTI	31.710
10.	Wahdah Islamiyah (WI)	31.711
11.	Ikhwanul Muslimin	10.612
12.	Jamaah Ansharus Syariat (JAS)	31.713
13.	No affiliation	2112.214
14.	Others	1810.5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>172100</b>

In terms of the educational background, participants with a bachelor's degree (S1) of Religious Studies have the highest percentage by 33% followed by those with a postgraduate degree in Religious Studies as the second with 19.2%. While 11.2% of participants graduating from Islamic senior high school (Aliyah) slightly lower than those with a bachelor's degree in General Studies at 12.2%. However, those graduating

from general senior high school (SMA/SMK) were at 9%, and the rest with other education levels were below 3%. (See Chart 4)

**Chart 4**

The Distribution of Research Participants in 8 Provinces Based on Their Education Background



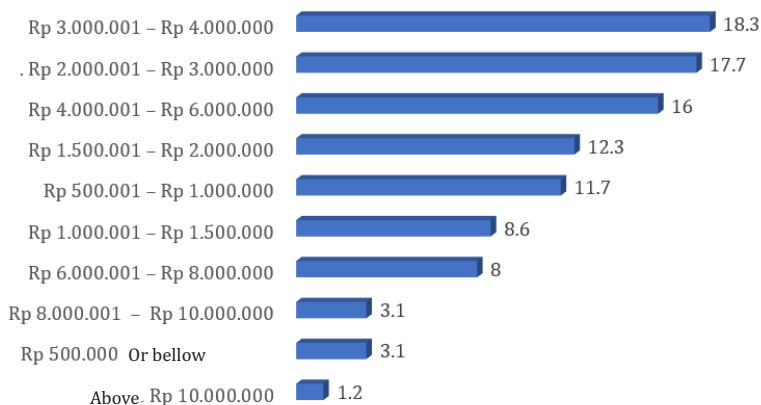
Furthermore, it is important to consider socioeconomic status based on the participants' monthly expenses. In general, most of the participants can earn monthly income ranging IDR three-four million (18.3%), IDR two-three million (17.7%), and IDR four-4 million. 12.3% and 11.7% of participants can only earn IDR 1.5-2 million and IDR 500,000, while 8.6% of them have IDR 1-1.5 million. In contrast, only 1.2% of participants can earn over IDR 10 million, and 3.1% have IDR 8-10 million.

These data were the total household expenditure. To classify them into class categories based on the level of welfare, then the income must be divided among each capita in a family. It means if the average member in a family consisted of four people, and the expenditure per month was 3 million, then the expenditure per capita would be IDR 750,000. Having that expenditure, this class category or level of welfare was still classified as "the

middle class." People who belong to this class are not categorized as poor nor vulnerable but have not yet been economically secure. According to World Bank measures, people with economic security (middle class) spend their money at between IDR 1.2 million to IDR 6 million per capita per month. Additionally, the most prosperous (upper class) people spend more than IDR 6 million per capita per month. Thus, it means that the majority of the participants in this research were classified as "the middle class" and "vulnerable" (spending IDR. 354,000 - 532,000 per person per month). (See Chart 5)

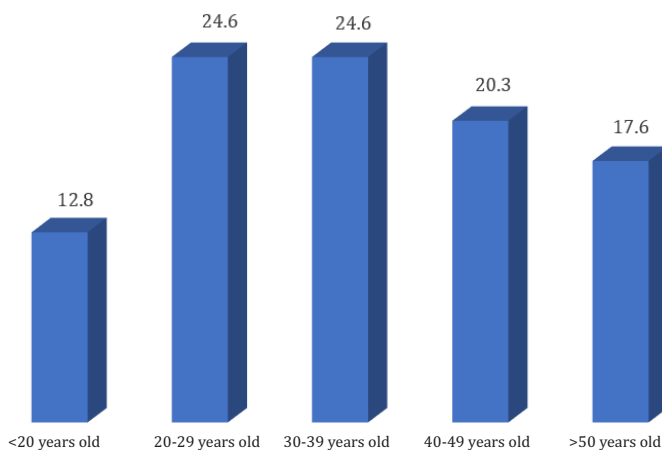
**Graph 5**

The Distribution of Research Participants in 8 Provinces Based on Their Socioeconomic Status (Monthly Expenditures)



Based on age groups, informants were between 20 and 39 years old. In more detail, the grouping system includes: under 20 years old (12.8%), 20-28 years old (24.6%), 30-39 years old (24.6%), 40-49 years (20.3%), and over 50 years (17.6%). (See graph 6)

**Graph 6**  
The Distribution of Research Participants in 8 Provinces  
Based on Age



### ***Data Analysis and Report Writing***

After data were collected, recorded, and transcribed appropriately, the thematic data analysis was performed, aiming at investigating the whole information and identifying the same main issues and ideas. The objective of this data analysis was to interpret the information obtained through in-depth interviews and observations and to categorize that information regarding the objectives and conceptual framework of the study, and research questions as guidelines. Moreover, eventually, it was to find similar and different patterns and concepts that could further explain the level of pesantren's resilience and vulnerability to today's radicalism and violent extremism.

As explained in the initial stage, this study aimed to explore the pesantren's resilience and vulnerability to radicalism and violent extremism. To answer the questions above, the first step

of the data analysis was to code data (pieces of information/datum). Data coding and categorization were conducted by creating categories based on participant responses. Similar responses were grouped in the same category. Thus, the same and different perspectives were obtained from one participant to another. Data coding was needed to reduce abundant data to provide bricks for buildings or data analysis frameworks (Charmaz, 2006).

After coding the data, the next step is writing a report by every researcher in accordance with the themes and tasks agreed in the research finding workshop. Important findings from every province were presented and discussed in a workshop to be used as the material in formulating and structuring research reports. Finally, the writing of this book went through a multi-layered process, starting data analysis in each province, critical discussion of important findings, reorganization of reports, and national data analysis taking into account the theoretical framework.

## Endnote

- <sup>1</sup> “BNPT: 19 Pesantren Terindikasi Ajarkan Radikalisme (19 Islamic Boarding Schools Indicated to Teach Radicalism),” accessed on May 27, 2019, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20160203201841-20-108711/bnpt-19-pesantren-terindikasi-ajarkan-radikalisme>.
- <sup>2</sup> Even al-Mukmin Ngruki Islamic Boarding School in Solo, which is already labeled as a radical pesantren, could produce a person like Noor Huda Ismail who is well-known to actively campaign for peace. In an interview, Noor Huda Ismail claimed to have lived in a room with the 2002 Bali Bomb suspect, Fadlullah Hasan, while studying at Ngruki, Solo. Since 2008, Noor Huda, through the “Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian” (Peace Inscription Foundation), has involved in the efforts to deradicalize terrorist prisoners. See “My Life: Noor Huda Ismail,” *South China Morning Post*, August 23, 2014, <https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/article/1578415/mylife-noor-huda-ismail>.
- <sup>3</sup> In addition to Ngruki, the establishment of Al-Zaytun and Hidayatullah Islamic Boarding School was inspired by the ideology of Darul Islam. See Martin van

Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia," in *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Circle*, edited by Farish A. Noor, Yoginder Sikand, and Martin van Bruinessen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

- <sup>4</sup> In the last two decades, pesantrens have experienced massive growth. According to data from the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, the number of pesantrens has increased from 14,798 in 2015 to 28,194 in 2016. <https://ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id/web/> (diakses 22 Oktober 2019).
- <sup>5</sup> Putnam emphasized social capital as the values and norms of "cooperation, trust, reciprocity, civic engagement, and mutual benefit." See RD Putnam, "Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy," pp. 177–181, Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993. While Fukuyama emphasized traditional values such as "honesty, keeping promises, carrying out tasks reliably, reciprocity, etc. See Francis Fukuyama, "Social capital and civil society," in *The Institute of Public Policy at George Mason University*, 1999. Likewise, Portes (1998) characterized social capital as "trust, reciprocity, joint action, and participation." Without specifying any of these values, Bourdieu defined it as "the totality of both actual and potential resources associated with having a strong network of relationships." See P. Bourdieu, "The forms of capital," in *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*, edited by John G. Richardson, 241–258, New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.
- <sup>6</sup> "Benarkah Muhammadiyah Tidak Memiliki Pondok Pesantren" (Is it true that Muhammadiyah does not have Islamic boarding school?), see <https://muhammadiyahgl.com/muhammadiyah-pondok-pesantren/> (accessed on October 12, 2019); "Rakornas Ponpes Muhammadiyah Bahas Standarisasi Nasional Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta" (National Coordination Meeting of Muhammadiyah Islamic Boarding Schools Discussing National Standardization | Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta," see <http://www.umy.ac.id/rakornas-ponpes-muhammadiyah-bahasstandarisasi-nasional.html> (accessed on November 15, 2019).



## CHAPTER 2

# RELIGIOUS SOCIO-POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN PESANTREN

### A. Peace and Justice

Almost all pesantrens in this study agreed that peace and justice are absolutely necessary for being members of the nation and community and society. Therefore, every element of society has obligations and responsibility for keeping peace and justice. The pesantrens had various reasons for building their arguments on peace and justice issues.

In general, pesantrens' arguments related to peace and justice were built based on two things. First, the argument was built based on the perspective of Islam. Second, the argument was built from the perspective of statehood. Peace and justice based on the religious perspective were further divided specifically according to the characteristics of religious understanding based on the affiliations of the *da'wah* organizations developed by each pesantren.

In the specific differences emerging from each pesantren in regards to arguments the peace and justice, there are several religious messages that are consistently related to building religious arguments. Firstly, the Islamic teaching remind us that Islam is a religion of peace, *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (peace for the

entire universe). Secondly, Islam is a moderate religion (*tasamuh*). Although the concept of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* seems to be very normative, pesantren always refer to and use these arguments as the basic support for a strong and convincing argument for Muslims entirely associated with the praxis of peace and justice.

In this investigation, almost all pesantrens believed that Islam is a religion supporting universal peace and justice based on the basic nature of Islam that is *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. Even though in reality this concept of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (peace for the universe) is still very abstract, this concept is considered as an Islamic idea actively socialized by every Islamic group in every discourse of peace, justice, and even violence in the name of religion.

Ustadz Garibaldin Abdollah from Al-Ikhlâs Islamic Boarding School affiliated with Muhammadiyah stated that:

“The concept of peace that we do and teach here is to provide an understanding of Islam that is *rahmatan lil 'alamin*. This means that the Islamic concept is very universal. Moreover, Muhammadiyah needs to take a position in the middle. In a sense, we only must respond to something important. We must take of the crucial issues like those concerning the *aqidah* (faith) issues.”<sup>1</sup>

The above argument shows that the concepts of justice and peace refer to the nature of Islam as a religion that spreads justice and peace universally (*rahmatan lil 'alamin*). The logical consequence of this assumption is that the pesantrens can understand that diversities of religions, ethnicities, races, and ideologies, are not regarded as a source of problems but they all must be accepted and preserved.

Although the pesantrens understood the universality of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* values, at the level of praxis, some pesantrens affiliated with Muhammadiyah, like Pesantren Al-

Ikhlas, are very careful and resolute in putting boundaries related to certain matters such as the *aqidah* issue. Unlike *muamalah* issues, the notion of peace and justice must be truly realized in relation to groups of different religions and races.

The peace-supporting argument which refers to the concept of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* is also found in another pesantren, like Pesantren Persis. Ustaz Su'ud Hasanudin said that:

“In our opinion, peace is derived from the Qur'an, so every one of every religion, ethnicity, and culture cannot force their own will on others.”<sup>2</sup>

The ustadz's perspective on peace refers to the concept of the Qur'an and it is not much different from the previous pesantrens' argument. In terms of religions, ethnicities, and cultures, people must prioritize to respect each other. Therefore, people cannot force their others to follow their own wills.

Therefore, according to Hasyim Muzadi, in upholding Islam which brings mercy to the universe (*rahmatan lil 'alamin*), Muslims should rely on two things. First, Muslims must prioritize a dialogical approach to resolve global conflicts. Second, the implementation of Islam must be built based on intelligence and piety in the sense that religion should be positioned in a proportional dimension of humanity. Thus, it will later shape individual and social piety.. These two things must complement and strengthen each other.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, talking about the implementation of Islamic law regarding the context of peace and justice, Ustaz Su'ud Hasanudin (Public Relations personnel of Pesantren Persis) said that it was impossible for anyone to force the implementation of Islamic law as long as there are people who disagree with this idea. The reason is that it requires explanation and understanding to generate mutual understanding and benefits from it.

Based on that argument, the concept of *rahmatan lil 'amin* understood by Pesantren Persis does not only explore the spirit of the Islamic law formalization but also considers the acceptance of other people towards the concept of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* as a part of the universality.<sup>4</sup>

In that case, according to Kyai Hasyim the concept of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* is in line with the universal principles of Islamic law (*Maqashid al-Sharia*). These universal principles must be a benchmark in one's religious attitudes and perspectives. In the *maqashid* approach, people must consider not only its contents or packaging but its form and purpose.<sup>5</sup>

To realize the norms of moderate Islam and *rahmatan lil 'alamin* pesantren leaders, administrators and managers believe that the core of this concept is to uphold justice in society by taking various paths and systems. Therefore, in upholding justice some pesantrens do not agree to use any violent methods.

As stated by Ustaz Abdul Basit, Head of Madrasah Tsanawiyah of Pesantren Al Falah, the core of Islam is justice. Therefore, Islamic law does not need to clash with the existing state system for Indonesia whose religions and races are diverse. He argued that everyone must appreciate that because peace and justice have been going well and realized based on national values.<sup>6</sup>

This argument shows that peace and justice can be realized through a democratic system because it is considered to have represented the values of Islam itself. Thus, the pesantren leader has rejected groups who are willing to replace Pancasila, the constitution of the state in violent and destructive ways.

Some senior students at Pesantren An-Nizhomiyyah admitted that the understanding of justice is obtained when studying the civics subject. So far, the subject affects the way the students view on justice in which they rejected the way of upholding justice by violence. However, the students agreed to the 212

demonstrations as long as it was run without any violence—the 212 demonstrations against Ahok has been suspected by many as likely to trigger violence.<sup>7</sup>

Second, regarding the message of Islam as a moderate religion (*tasamuh*), the pesantrens upholding peace and justice also referred to the message. The view that Islam is a moderate religion quite effectively leads the pesantrens understanding to better interpret and practice peace and justice. One of the implications of this moderate understanding is that the pesantrens strongly rejected anarchist behavior in the name of religion.

The understanding of religious moderation regarding the concepts of peace and justice becomes urgent to be presented in the praxis of relations between inter- and intra-religious communities. In addition, the condition of Indonesian society which is naturally very plural requires moderate religious practices to respond to the challenges in the religion itself. Diversity is not to be avoided but to be regulated so that it can be productive in the existing social order.

Diversity is believed to be a destiny. This diversity is a gift from God the Creator so it is objectionable. Having many kinds of diversities such as ethnicities, cultures, languages, and religions, Indonesia can be considered as a country full of diversities in the world. In addition to the six religions most widely embraced by the community, there are hundreds or even thousands of tribes, languages, and regional scripts, as well as local beliefs in Indonesia (Balitbang and Diklat Kemenag, 2019, p. 2).

To acknowledge the factual conditions of the plural society, grounding the concept of religious moderation becomes an urgent matter to do. Understanding the diversity enable a religious adherent to take the middle position (moderate) when a chosen available interpretation of religious teachings is

impossible to implement. Extreme attitudes will usually arise when a religious adherent does not know of any alternative interpretative truths that he or she can take. In this context, religious moderation becomes very important to be used as a perspective in practicing religion.

At the praxis level, the challenge is that moderation and *rahmatan lil 'alamin* concept are interpreted by the pesantrens in many different ways. This is reflected in that the role of pesantrens in justice and peace issues has many variants. For example, when talking about the actions of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (encouraging good deeds, and prevent the wrongdoings) in which the followers may cause destruction disturbing the peace of other people (just like what has been done by FPI, for example), KH. Dr. Musyaffa, the leader of Pesantren Assalafi Al-Fithrah Surabaya which is affiliated to NU, said:

“As stated in the book *Al-Gunniyah*, the *sulthonul auliya* (Sheikh Abdul Qadir) explains the hadith that the concept of *amar ma'ruf* (encouraging good deeds) is done by the concept of “yughayyir bil yad” (changing by hand). According to his interpretation, those who are responsible for encouraging good deeds by hands (powers) are legitimate governments. For example, an organization was assigned by the government for a certain task but it breaks the limitation made by the government. This kind of organization does not belong to the groups Sheikh Abdul Qadir has explained to us (bear in mind that we take Sheikh words as a guide). Regarding *bil lisan* (by tongue/verbal reminder), Islamic scholars have guided us to give advice in a good way. However, when it comes to *bil qalb* (by heart), we were guided to use hands if people start to deny (*amar ma'ruf*). Then, Yai Asrori added that hating the wrongdoing (*inkar qalb*) is not enough for us, indeed, we need to feel bitter and must really beg to God to make the wrongdoing gone, by reciting *surah al-fatihah* as we pray. Therefore, the Kiyai

prays after reciting *surah al-fatihah* in the prayer. We know there is a saying which states “*man ahsana ilaina wa man asa'a Alaina.*” *Man asa'a alaina* is dedicated to *al-khidmah*, to *al-fithroh* (this prayer means that may Allah forgive all the female and male Muslims and guide them to repentance) Because it is part of his mission as well as his teacher's and *murshid's* (guide), Sheikh Muhammad Uthman al-Ishaqi, Fathu Babit Taubah, it is not quite right to apply such methods.”<sup>8</sup>

Based on KH. Dr. Musyaffa's arguments in which he referred to the idea of *The sulthonul auliya* as stated in the book *al-Gunniyah*, those who are legitimate do *amar ma'ruf* are groups of people appointed officially by the government to implement their *da'wah* (preaching) in the ways of *amar ma'ruf* (encouraging good deeds and preventing wrongdoings). Thus, he did not agree when certain groups of people, whoever they are, do injustice, and threaten people to eliminate peace. These methods were considered inappropriate.

Similarly, related to Shiite issues, even though the pesantren did not accept that group, the pesantren leader avoided violent methods and prioritized a subtle approach for behaving with Shiite groups. The following excerpts from KH. Dr. Musyaffa responding to some religious schools considered heretical, like Ahmadiya and Shiite groups:

“Actually, that (Shiite issues) cannot be separated from political issues. We must be cautious to avoid being dragged into politics, right? Usually, (when encountering that group) the first step we should do is to coordinate with government officials, with certain (legitimate) people who have the authority. For example, Kiayi sent Prof. Sofyan Tsauri, who was close to the government because he was the head of LIPI, to deal with that issue. Communication in such a way enabled the messages to the government to be conveyed smoothly. Another example is his response to Ahmadiya in which he

disagreed because this group has claimed to have their own prophet. Even though, there are two groups within Ahmadiyah. One recognizes Mirza as a prophet and the other one does not. However, in terms of *amar ma'ruf*, it is more subtle.”<sup>9</sup>

Referring to the interview above, although contradicting with the Shiite view on Islam, the pesantrens affiliated with NU, at the praxis level, still prioritized peaceful ways to deal with those differences. Besides that, KH. Dr. Musyaffa solves sensitive issues like the Shiite case constitutionally.

Therefore, to realize the implementation of peace and justice, Pesantren Assalafi Al-Fithrah Surabaya, chose to follow existing government policies. Hence, the peaceful approaches that were used often by getting involved in programs conducted by the government despite passive involvement. Similarly, Wahabiyah Salafi pesantrens, such as Pesantren Abu Hurairah, tended to be more proactive even though they had been often considered exclusive.

Regarding peace, minority rights, justice, and equality, the head of Pesantren Abu Hurairah, Ustaz Sidiq said:

“Regarding peace, this pesantren is very supportive of that issue. Meaning, we are supporting the scholars who suggested avoiding the 212 activities. Even though the demonstration was meant to be peaceful, no one knows the action could cause rebellion and threaten this country. In fact, the Islamic scholars also said that no matter how evil our leaders are, we pray for their good. It's not a matter of peace anymore. The demonstration is not rubbed by the majority (of Muslims in Indonesia). It is indeed a matter of faith (*aqidah*) that is taught, according to Abu Hurairah. If we are faithful, we must obey our leader. We are obliged to follow the leader and that is often conveyed as the basic principle of *aqidah*. In one of Abu Hurairah's books of *ahlusunah waljama'ah*, the principle of *aqidah* is to obey leaders. Furthermore,



rebelling with the sword (physically), even we are prohibited to verbally denounce the leader and that is the most highly forbidden thing to do.”<sup>10</sup>

Referring to the above interview, Pesantren Abu Hurairah not only supported the government but also proactively socialized to its community the obligation to conform to the legitimate government. This shows that Salafi wahabiyah-based pesantrens have actively suggested its followers obey the government through Islamic *halaqa* (discussion) with the established argument that obedience is part of the *aqidah*.

One of the evidence that the pesantrens supported the government is that they not only rejected the rebellion against the legitimate administration but also strictly rejected any demonstration activities that had the potential to damage existing peace—for example, the 212 demonstrations conducted by some groups of people. The demonstration activities by certain Islamic groups are very contrary to the true values of Islam. On the other hand, the religious groups affiliated with the Wahhabi Salafists have tended to be suspected of puritanical religious views and even anti-pluralism.

The indications have been expressed by many Islamic scholars that the ideas of puritan Muslims who are theologically-ideologically affiliated with the nuance of Salafism-Wahhabism increasingly trigger anxiety. Their rivalry in the public sphere not only have worried non-Muslim communities but also the Muslims themselves (Fawaizul Umam, 2011, pp. 6-7).

Among the Islamic groups that often experience tension with the Salafi-Wahabi groups so do NU and Muhammadiyah. Although the tension is not on a large-scale, the tension between the groups is often found in the community. However, some pesantrens, such as Pesantren Al-Falah, consider that diversities are something normal. Moreover, Ustadz Abdul

Basit, the leader of the Madrasah Tsanawiyah stated that the differences and frictions in Islam were common. The most important thing was not a division and let alone peace was maintained.

Ustaz Abdul Basit said:

“I think it is not a division, though. The difference among people is normal, just like the disagreement among Siti Aisyah, Sayyidina Ustman, and Sayyidina Ali. So, in my opinion, it's not a division, it's just different opinions. Politics is a democracy. Having two choices is natural. Therefore, it is not a division, but a difference. everyone can have their aspirations as long as we can keep the peace.”<sup>11</sup>

Difference or *ikhtilaf* among Muslim groups commonly starts from different interpretations of verses and hadith that are used as a source of reference. Based on the above argument, *ikhtilaf* is considered natural. When the difference is managed properly it will result in constructive benefits since Islam considers difference as a blessing. Because it is related to the mission of building peace, it is necessary to develop an inclusive interpretation. In fact, this should be the basis for realizing peacebuilding in society.

The difference becomes negative if it starts with an exclusive interpretation which contains one truth claim only on one side and judges other groups wrong on the other side although we must claim that our religion is the true one. However, the truth claim on certain religious interpretations and judging others as misguided interpretations can be the starting point for the tension and against peace.

The pesantrens' arguments related to peace and justice can also be seen at the praxis level. At this level, the majority of pesantrens inclined to see peace and justice as the top-down process from the government to the community. This means

that the sole pioneer of peace and justice is the government. This perspective then influenced the level of active participation of pesantrens to vigorously promote peace and justice.

Referring to the resilience development model, the pesantrens' arguments related to peace and justice are at two levels.

On the first level, pesantrens do nothing (business as usual) about peace and justice development. There are several indicators related to that attitude at this level. The first is that pesantrens did not realize the need to be actively involved in building peace and justice, in the micro, and macro scopes of environments. At this level, the issue of peace and justice is dependent on the government, so pesantrens do not realize the necessity to carry out any policies related to peace and justice. The second is that pesantren conduct education, teaching process, and extra-curricular activities as usual. The third is that pesantren do not control teachers' and students' perceptions and attitudes on diversity. The fourth is that pesantren ignore government policies related to the obligations of citizens to create peace and justice.

The second level is the surviving pesantrens. At this level, the indicator is that pesantrens realize that peace and justice are important, but they do nothing to build peace and realize justice actively because they feel that their roles have been appropriate (to realize the two issues). Thus, it can be understood that there are two types of pesantren attitudes related to peace and justice, namely business as usual and surviving. These two attitudes certainly represent the arguments of them previously built.

Referring to the theory of peace, there are at least two terms of peace that can be used as references in peacebuilding. First, peace means the absence and or reduction of all types of violence. Second, it means the transformation of non-violent

creative conflicts. Based on these two terms, of the way peace works is to reduce violence by peaceful means. Hence, the peace study investigates the way the peace works (Johan Galtung, 1996, pp. 21-22).

Based on the above terminology, pesantrens as a culture-based educational institution and genuine tradition have been existing with a unique message of peace for a long time. Pesantrens have worked a lot for peace through education and teaching by instilling universal Islamic basic values in society. For example, they are supporting social behavior and upholding the values of tolerance, diversity, and humanity.

One of the pesantrens' social capital in its role as peacebuilders is their strong social cohesion with the community—not only with the community where they are located but also with communities far from them. The social cohesion then creates high trust for the pesantrens so that it encouraged the community acceptance to their moral-peace messages.

Referring to the research findings, the majority of the pesantrens have almost the same arguments related to peace and justice issues. Although the arguments were not disclosed in detail, it could be understood through observations and direct interviews with the participants that the pesantrens inclined to be passive in responding to the issues of peace and justice. One of the reasons why pesantren tended to be passive because pesantren communities believe that peace and justice issues were the government's responsibility only.

However, the pesantrens argued their support for the government and the need to obey the legitimate government. Whereas, at the praxis level, most pesantrens had not yet demonstrated the initiation (active action) in the form of programs leading to responses to peace and justice issues. Even if some were active, it was still particular and modest in a limited scope. For example, Pesantren Abu Hurairah, the Salafi

Wahabiyah-affiliated,<sup>12</sup> tried to actively socialize about the need to obey the legitimate government, but the socialization was carried out only among their own community.

Besides that, the praxis of peace and justice was implemented by Pesantren Abu Hurairah in particular relations. One Salafi Wahabiyah-based boarding school leader claimed that "Pesantrens respect the existence of a minority around them, and even give them compensation. They live in harmony and do not interfere with each other's business."<sup>13</sup> Another Ustaz said, "views on peace and minorities, like non-Islam issues. For example, in the neighborhood of the pesantren there lived a Hindu community who never acted undesirably along with the pesantren (since I was just a student until I have become a teacher there). Even the pesantren leader has been maintaining peace very intensely so one Hindu brother sold his land for the needs of our pesantren construction."<sup>14</sup>

Based on the explanation above, it can be understood that pesantren social activities which were in direct contact with peacebuilding and justice actually affect minority groups like the Hindu community around Pesantren Abu Hurairah. Even though social activities reflecting peace were still in the form of *mu'amalah* (social) relations, the peace messages in the relations showed active awareness from both parties.

However, only some pesantrens had the same attitude towards peace and justice initiatives. For example, Pesantren As-Salam affiliated with Jihadi Salafi inclined to be more passive and even anti-government due to the injustices in which they were suspected of being terrorists. In fact, this injustice had been often shown when handling suspected terrorist cases. This situation then influenced the attitude of the pesantren, especially related to the perspective and actions of peace and justice.

In other words, the closer and harmonious the pesantrens' relationship with the government is, the more possible the

pesantren will be active in praxis and programs related to peace and justice. Otherwise, the more distant the relationship between pesantrens and the government is, the less possible the pesantren will be active in peace and justice issues. To realize peace and justice is actually not conditional.

Theoretically speaking, many terms are containing the meaning of peace found in Islam. Various terminologies of peace in the Qur'an that can be revealed in this holy book, such as the word *salam*, *rahmah*, *islah*, and so forth. These words indicate that the Qur'an (Islamic teachings) has a serious concern for issues of peace and living in harmony among society (Ainurrofiq, 2012, pp. 86-87). However, there is a tendency among pesantrens that at the level of implementation the values of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* and other peace values are often not well enacted.

## **B. Nationality and State**

One of the issues that arise concerning nationalism and statehood is a state's fundamental principles issue (Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution) to confirm the relationship among nationalism, statehood, and religion, as well as a relationship between majority and minority in the context of nationalism and statehood. In this research, more *pesantren's* (Islamic boarding school) arguments about the existence of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in the context of nationality and statehood are revealed.

Therefore, all research sources in the 8 provinces that became the location of the study quickly accepted and recognized Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the state's fundamental principles as well as a source of law in the nationalism and statehood life. However, each *pesantren* has various arguments regarding their support and acceptance of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the state's fundamental principles.

It can be concluded that pesantren supporting the government such as pesantren affiliated with NU, NW, and Muhammadiyah argue that Islam does not contradict the pillars of nationalism and statehood life. Islamic values have been included in the principles of Pancasila, therefore there is nothing to contradict between Islam and Pancasila. Thus, Pancasila has been considered as an ideal concept as the state's fundamental principle.

The appropriateness of Pancasila as the fundamental principle according to Ustadz (religion teacher) Abdul Aziz, junior *Ustadz* of Sidogiri Pasuruan Pesantren, if Pancasila concept is considered ideal to be the fundamental principle, then it does not need to be replaced.<sup>15</sup> A logical consequence of accepting Pancasila as the state principle is that the majority of observed *pesantren* rejects the presence of alternative ideologies such as the Islamic Caliphate issues carried by several transnational Islamic groups lately, such as HTI and others.

Personally, Ustadz A. Hasan, a management officer of Darul Arqom Garut Pesantren, considered that the caliphate government system does not need to be implemented in Indonesia.<sup>16</sup> Although his argument does not represent the whole pesantren's view, the argument reflects a direct rejection. The argument of this rejection is generally because there are no commands which are verbatim mentioned directly by the Qur'an and Sunnah regarding the model and concept of caliphate.

According to Ahmad Syafii Maarif, doctrinally Islam does not designate and confirm any forms regarding the Islamic state theory which must be used by Muslims. H.A.R. Gibb, as cited by Buya Ahmad Syafii Maarif, explained that both the Qur'an and Sunnah do not provide explicit instructions about the government form and other political institutions as a way for Muslims to maintain their unity. Buya Syafii Maarif's argument comes from the assumption that Islam is more than just moral

ideas and religious advice that just fades. Islam requires historical means to realize its moral ideas which include all aspects of life. Referring to this concept, Buya Ahmad Syafii Maarif rejects the view that desires to separate Islam and the state of Indonesia (Ahmad Syafii, 2009, p. 1)

Similar to the thought above, some Islamic organizations in Indonesia such as Muhammadiyah, NU, and NW as religious organizations that oversee many *pesantren*, claim that the concept of nationalism and statehood is now complete. Therefore, other concepts don't have to be put forward to replace the existing concepts of nationalism and statehood. In addition, several observed *pesantren*'s managers encouraged all parties to maintain the integrity of NKRI (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia) by rejecting all forms of caliphate propaganda advocated by some groups lately.

One of the *pesantren*'s participation as a manifestation in supporting the NKRI (Archipelagic State of The Indonesian Republic) is that *pesantren* are actively involved in government programs, such as collaboration in seminar activities and general studies. As explained by KH. Oddi Rosyihuddin, manager of the Darul Qolam Pesantren, this *pesantren* often conducts seminars and general studies by inviting the government as a speaker or vice versa. Among the materials discussed in the activities are related to problems of the four pillars of nationality or others.<sup>18</sup>

The *pesantren* arguments above represent the real conditions of the majority of observed *pesantren*, however, this does not mean that these conditions can muffle the discourse of the religion-and-state relationship. The relationship between religion and the state in the context of nationalism and statehood is an old fact that continues to be presented in the political realities of Islam and Indonesian spirit/statehood.

Along with the development factors driving Islamic activism,



the narrative of religion and the state relationship keeps rolling until it reaches a political context which enlarges the polarization of some pro-caliphate groups and pro-NKRI groups. Some of the narratives that arise in the research findings related to nationalism and statehood issues encompass narratives of the Islamic Caliphate, Islamic Sharia, and *Jihad Fisabilillah*.

First, the Islamic Caliphate

Islamic Caliphate or *dawlah Islamiyah*, is a group of people (state) who are under the caliphate system. The caliphate system is led by a Khalifa (leader) based on the Qur'an and Hadith (Islamic law) as a law of governance. During this time, talk about the Islamic Caliphate has always been identified as something radical groups always fight for. However, these assumptions are not all true because not all radical Islamic groups were formed solely to create the Islamic Caliphate. Some were established to fight for independence over colonialism or injustice. On the contrary, not all Islamic groups that think of the Islamic Caliphate tend to become terrorists. This can be seen from the interview results conducted on one of the pesantren's managers in East Java who said that:

“So the caliphate indeed will be included in our teachings, in the future. However, it is only limited to theories, and not clear enough. Thus caliphate is still unclear for those who support this idea. We are in between supporting it or not and whether it should be now or later. Supporting in this case, indeed our teaching does have a caliphate, but supporting the caliphate does not mean it is obligatory to be upheld. However, in our teaching, the caliphate will surely come. It will be firstly marked by the arrival of a person called Imam Mahdi. When Imam Mahdi arrives, it will be therefore mandatory to establish an Islamic state, but in the meantime Imam Mahdi is unknown, so we cannot support”.<sup>18</sup>

Referring to the interview, although the pesantren's religious view does not agree with or contradict the idea of the Islamic Caliphate, personally, some teachers in some pesantrens have different views from the pesantren's institution about the Islamic Caliphate concept. Besides, the interview reveals that in a pesantren, it is not a problem when there are different opinions of the caliphate among the teachers, as long as it does not become an action or a movement.

Besides, there are also pesantren which explicitly reject the caliphate both in the form of ideas and practice. As stated by Kiyai Agus Khotibul Umam, a manager in An-Nizhomiyah Pesantren Pandeglang;

"In my opinion, internally, we convey to *santri* (*pesantren* student) that the caliphate is contradictory with our ideology including HTI. There is a sharia FPI NKRI who rejects it. In the third grade, we tell we want to reject the ideology of Pancasila. Caliphate should be erased from Islamic story in *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), please kindly check in the *fiqh* book for the third grade. Even though it is published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, it also spreads the virus of Caliphate and perhaps the teacher justifies it".<sup>19</sup>

The Kiyai's view does not only show rejection of the caliphate concept directly and its supporting organizations such as HTI but also the threat to the ideology of Pancasila. Consequently, his pesantren proposes to erase some curriculum contents that contain caliphate lessons, such as in *fiqh* and Islamic history grade III subjects.

In the Indonesian context, the idea of the caliphate is largely broadcast by puritanical Islamic groups. There are at least three main characteristics of this puritan Islamic group movement. First, they tend to promote "Islamic textual civilization". This "textual civilization" is a paradigm that is understood based on the text entirely only as it is. That method then leads to exclusive,

rigid, and intolerant attitudes towards differences. Second, oriented to “Sharia-minded”, so that this group continues urging a formalization of sharia at the state level with the aim of establishing an Islamic state or it is called the global Islamic caliphate. Third, this group movement tends to popularize the anti-pluralism agenda which leads to negative exclusivity where everyone who is considered different and deviate from their beliefs will be labeled as heretics and infidels (Fawaizul Umam, 2015, pp.8-9).

Therefore, several Islamic teachers who support the concept of the Islamic Caliphate in several observed pesantrens are indicated to have characteristics as mentioned above. The driving factors of these characteristics' formation are various. One of them is caused by the access and freedom of information about the Islamic Caliphate before and after the Government Regulation in lieu of Law (PERPPU) concerning certain organizations ban some time ago.

At first, the discourse about Islamic Caliphate in Indonesia was very transparent and gained a place in the community despite the controversy. Groups that are concerned about extending the Islamic Caliphate such as HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia) and MMI (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia) were invited as participants during the Islamic Conference in Yogyakarta in 2015 although the two organizations are suspected as radical Islamic groups. This shows that even in society there are clear differences in perspective about the Islamic Caliphate both at the level of conceptual and its application. The basic view about caliphate refers to the argument of the *Khilafah ala minhaji al-nubuwwah* quoted from the Hadith of the Prophet SAW as follows:

"The prophethood period is among you all, in the will of Allah, then Allah appoints him as He is willing to. Then it is the time of the caliphate which follows in the footsteps of Prophethood (*khilafah ala minhaji al-nubuwwah*), the existence of Allah's will. Then Allah appoints or stops him

if He wants to. Then it is the time of the Biting Kingdom (Mulkan 'Adhan), the existence of Allah's will. Then Allah appoints him if He wants to. Then it is the Arrogant Kingdom (*Mulkan Jabariyah*), the existence of Allah's will. Then Allah appoints him if He wants to. Then it is the caliphate who followed in the footsteps of the Prophethood (*Khilafah ala minhaji al-nubuwwah*). Then he (the Prophet) is silent".<sup>21</sup>

The above hadith is one of the references used as a basis by groups who fight for and uphold the caliphate, even though the hadith is considered weak by some people. According to Nadirsyah Hosen, a lecturer in Islamic Law at Monash University Australia (Hidayat, 2014), he assesses that the hadith is weak because one of the narrators of the hadith named Habib bin Salim is quite "problematic". In addition, according to him, from the nine main books (*kutubu al-ti'sah*) only Musnad Ahmad narrated the hadith.

Assessing the validity of a hadith requires the involvement of knowledge related to the Hadith narration so that each group (pros and cons do not politicize the hadiths or verses according to their respective feelings and interests. In addition to the above Hadith, there are also *hujjah* (proof) and references in the Qur'an and Hadith which are used as a basis for groups fighting for the Caliphate, including the Medina Charter, leadership concept, discussion, *shura*, politics, economics, and Islamic laws (sharia).

The concept of Medina charter becomes an inspiration in initiating the issue of caliphate. Therefore, the Medina charter becomes a role model for the idea of establishing an Islamic state in the political calculations of Islamic groups. The purpose of this charter is to realize people's internal strengths which can sustain and drive a new society in harmony.

The spirit of the Medina charter concept until now continues to trigger debates and narration both related to issues of the

caliphate and the relationship between religion and the state. This has been sticking out since Indonesia's independence. As in the following interview excerpt. In terms of the nationalism and statehood vision, the managers and teachers of the pesantren agree with the vision of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. However, in the discourse of Islamic sharia and caliphate establishment, there are serious differences of opinion such as the view of a high school principal in Darul Arqom.

Ustadz Haeruddin reveals that the government should not have covered the issue of Islamic sharia and caliphate establishment as a discourse. According to him, the ideas and views on this matter are in a debate (*ikhtilaf*) of Islamic discourse. Haeruddin, the one who claimed to be a former activist for the Sharia Islamic Enforcement Preparatory Committee (KPPSI) in South Sulawesi, claimed that there was a movement and desire component of the Islamic Ummah in South Sulawesi to uphold Islamic Sharia, as well as caliphate until now.<sup>22</sup>

The statement above shows that in several observed pesantrens, there are some ustadz (teachers) who agree with the ideas of the caliphate system, with various reasons and arguments. According to Ustadz Haeruddin, if caliphate issues are still at the stage of discourse, it should not be a problem. Apparently, the caliphate matter itself in the context of nationalism, and statehood has been only an issue, thus it does not need to be worried about.

Similarly, a Wahdah activist and a lecturer at STIBA, Ustadz Fachrurazi stated that the struggle to uphold Islamic Sharia can be conducted through the democratic process in Indonesia.<sup>23</sup> The above expression implicitly explains that the ustadz agrees with the implementation of sharia. Based on this information, sharia implementation does not have to be preceded by an Islamic caliphate but even it can be implemented through a democratic system Islamic sharia can be upheld.

The interview above shows pesantren have various perspectives related to the issue of religion and state relationships, which then specifically affect their perspectives on the concept and implementation of Islamic Caliphate and Islamic sharia. While the moderate Islamic groups, like NU, believes that there is no single verse of the Qur'an clearly requiring the establishment of the Caliphate, especially in the hadith. This is reflected in the results of the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) organizational decision in the Alim Ulama National Conference which was held on 1-2 November 2014 (Hidayat, 2014, p. 150), as an organization that metamorphosed into a modern organization, addressing the Caliphate matter as follows:

First, it is impossible for Islam as a comprehensive religion (*din syamil kamil*) to miss the issues of the state and government from the discussion agenda. Although it is not in the full concept, it is in the form of basic values and principles (*mabadi asasiyyah*). Islam has provided sufficient guidance for its people. Second, appointing a leader (*nashb al-imam*) is obligatory because human life will be chaotic without a leader. This is in line with Imam al-Ghazali's view that religion and state power are twin brothers. Religion is a foundation, while state power is its guard. Something that does not have a foundation will collapse, while something that does not have a guard will be wasted. This view is supported by Ibn Taimiyyah's statement that the task of regulating and managing people's affairs (in a government and state) is part of the greatest religious obligations. That is because religion can't stand firm without the state's support.

Third, Islam does not determine or even oblige a particular form of state and government system for its adherents. The people are given their own authority to regulate and design government systems based on the needs of the era and places. The most important thing is that a government must be able to protect and guarantee

its citizens to practice and apply the teachings of their religions and to maintain a conducive place for prosperity, welfare, and justice of the people. Fourth, one of the government systems is a historical fact that was once practiced by Khulafaur Rasyidin. Khulafaur Rasyidin was an appropriate model at that time when people's life was not under the nation-state. When people are under a nation-state, the Caliphate is less relevant and even reviving the idea of Caliphate at the present time is a utopia (Hidayat, 2014, p. 150).

While the religious understanding of puritan Islamic groups considered it as God's command to build a comprehensively Islamic system (*kaffah*) in various aspects of life that are framed in the state and community system. Therefore, this view claimed that it is mandatory for Muslims to implement Islamic sharia completely. The sharia implementation will be optimally carried out through a formal, established, and legal organization which is also known as the Islamic Caliphate according to the Islamic State (*Dawlah Islamiyah*) (Jamhari & Jajang Jahroni (eds.) 2004, p. 4).

Second, Narration of Islamic Sharia (Islamic Law)

Basically, the form of Islamic law (Islamic Sharia) taught in *pesantren* is the same as that learned in Islamic education institutions in general. The law (Sharia) in Islam generally refers to the understanding of Islam developed in the *Ahlussunah walJama'ah* tradition by embracing the teachings of one of the four existing madhhabs. According to Dofier, the basic formulation of Islamic law rests on the ash-Shafi'i's book ar-Risalah. Kiyai leads a *pesantren*, besides obeying the legal theory in ar-Risalah they also have the guidance of al-Umm Imam Shafi'i. This indicates that the Islamic Sharia learned in *pesantren*, in general, is *tasamuh* (upholding the value of tolerance). Many traditional *pesantren* (*salaf*) that teach Islamic sharia only about the *fiqh* of worship and *muamalah* needs (Dhofier, 2011, p.3).

The Islamic sharia teaching model for *pesantren* is considered adequate, therefore when there are some groups of Muslims interpret it in the political context of formalizing sharia, *pesantren*'s responses tend to be passive and withdraw from the group's view.

Regarding the existence of movements for an Islamic state establishment, Ustadz H. Mushadiq, stated that it is only a one-sided decision of a group, and the *pesantren* is not involved. Personally to Ustadz H. Mushadiq, Islamic Caliphate is not appropriate in this era in. If they want to make their own country, do not let them make it here in Indonesia. This is house of people with the administrator. Thus, Indonesia does not need it. In Indonesia, we have MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council), many Islamic mass organizations, and also the Ministry of Religion in the government. Those all are enough, even though the Muslim population is majority.<sup>24</sup>

According to the *pesantren*, there is no urgent reason to change the principles of this country to an Islamic state. Therefore, the *pesantren* views that:

"During this time, we can practice Islam without any obstacles from the state. Even there is no prohibition from the government on wearing a veil. Practicing religious teaching is protected by law. The laws and regulations are already good. If there is a problem, usually the problem must be the people".<sup>25</sup>

However, some other Salafi *pesantrens* such as *pesantren* in this study, do not only teach Islamic *fiqh* issues in terms of *halal* (lawful), *mubah* (permissible), *makruh* (less lawful), and *haram* (forbidden) but also cover a broader scope. Islamic sharia is understood as a practical guide, even in social life, religion, culture, economy, and the social system. For example, a tolerance model in the sense of militant Islamic groups is different from tolerance in the general sense. It is in line with what is written by Budi Prasetyo in the article on the Tolerance



of the Indonesian Mujahidin Council in Diversity, Social, Cultural, and Political Professions. In his article, Budi Prasetyo confirms that the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI) understands and applies tolerance without following the Western perspective that is used by most people today.

The Mujahidin Council understands the concept of tolerance from the perspective of sharia, as stated in the Qur'an and the hadith of the Prophet, and the examples of the Companions. The tolerance is a soft attitude, and fair in a matter of *mu'amalah* (social), but not in terms of *aqidah* and ritual worship.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, Islamic sharia using such a perspective is considered by some people as an effort to formalize Islamic sharia.

Haedar Nasir said that Islamic sharia is God's law which is revealed to regulate human entire life. This view is often claimed by certain Islamic groups to justify a movement. The implication of this is that Islam becomes completely legal-formal according to the principle of *al-Ahkam al-Khamsah* (five principles of Islamic law) (Nashir, 2007, p. 130).

According to a sociological point of view, it is seen that the Islamic sharia movement is a religious movement that is systematically organized and synergized through the top-down and bottom-up processes. Although it is a small group, their high militancy power causes the movement to get a room in Muslims' lives in Indonesia, more specifically Islamic groups that are considered radical. The militancy power is formed from a world view that is combined with situational aspects. This is reminiscent of the dynamic problems of Islamization and Islamic ideologization in Indonesia since the beginning of the national awakening until the reform era marked by the struggle of Islamic groups in the national political arena.

The relationship between Islam and Islamic ideologization dynamics in the context of nationality and statehood keeps going on and strengthening nowadays. Although the Islamic

ideologization is strengthened by the only small group, it is enough to trigger rejection force from majority Islamic groups in Indonesia. As stated by senior *santri* of Fakhruzi, Daar El-Qolam Pesantren, that:

"The state is a republic since the beginning. Just like in the past, PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) wanted to form a community, but there had been already Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In this case, they want to change Indonesia with the Caliphate. It is not possible to spreading Islamic religion in that way".<sup>27</sup>

Implicitly, the *santri* strongly rejected some people who want to change Pancasila with Islamic Sharia or the republic into a caliphate. For him, the desire to change the established is impossible. Nevertheless, the *santri* still agreed to anyone who wanted to practice the religion of Islam without having an agenda to formalize Islamic law.

Based on the issue above, some reviewing pesantrens in this research think and teach the Islamic sharia implementation as the mainstream of political interests, but for some pesantren believe that Islamic sharia is an obligation for every Muslim. Even in the view of As-Asalam Pesantren which has been pro-Islamic sharia implementation, it is assumed that to uphold Islamic values such as social justice in people's lives, Islamic sharia needs to be implemented in *kaffah* first.

Ustadz Muhajir, the Head of As-Salam Pesantren, said:

" If they come to convey the caliphate ideology, who will reject it will be Muhammadiyah. All of them must have the caliphate ideology if they are Muslims. Implicitly if they reject the caliphate ideology, it means that they reject the Islamic ideology exemplified by Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman, even at IAIN campuses, they also learn about the matters".<sup>28</sup>

Although Salam Pesantren claims that now their religious understanding has changed by recognizing Pancasila is in line with Islamic values, they still believe that sharia is still better. So far, some people have been antipathetic, frightened, prejudicial, and even rejecting the issue of Islamic sharia implementation without understanding and knowing deeply about its benefits, goals, and values. Moreover, the sharia implementation is only highlighted from the sides that are considered negative, for example, the issue of cutting off hands, flogging, stoning, and others, whereas there are many positive things in it.

Therefore, to reduce tension as well as to unify the harmony of fellow followers of both groups that support and reject Islamic Sharia It is necessary to provide a discussion room on this issue so that all parties will prejudice to each other.

Conveyed by Ustadz Haeruddin, The Principal of Darul Arqom Boarding Senior High School, as follows:

"The enforcement of Islamic Sharia actually does not interfere with diversity. If people understand, that's why I always say that we want to provide a public discourse on enforcement of the Sharia. That actually does not interfere with diversity. For example, when Islamic Sharia is enforced, will we force non-Muslims to convert? We won't because normatively in the Qur'an it is clear *laa iqraha fiddin* (someone must not be forced to embrace Islam), another verse says, *walaa syaa'allahu ummatan wahida walakin yablukum fiima atakum fastabiqul khairat*, meaning that if Allah wanted us to be one people, but it was not. Allah made us diverse so that we can compete in goodness. Thus, it is fine for Muslims to say that this is the best law. In fact, only Islam is the religion that has a government system, while other religions are about only theological guidelines in the regulatory aspects."<sup>29</sup>

According to the ustadz's arguments above, although it seems very ideal, it is hardly found in reality. So far, the discourse of

Islamic Sharia implementation is often politically associated with how the formalization of Islamic law is used as a substitute for an existing state foundation. The formalization of Islamic Sharia is an effort aimed not only at the implementation of the Sharia itself but also making the Sharia as a law source for all applicable laws through political decisions. The spirit of Islamic Sharia formalization is based on the belief that Islamic Sharia is a perfect rule of law, especially for Islamic groups that are considered radical so far. Therefore, for puritan Islamic groups such as Salafi Jihadi, they feel that Islamic Sharia is worth fighting for.

Referring to the group's view, in this study Islamic Sharia is one of the fundamental teachings in Islam that continues to be attached to the image of radical and puritan groups. While for puritan Islamic groups, implementation of Islamic Sharia is not only seen as political interests, but it is also the duty of every believer to be carried out as a form of human obedience and submission to Allah's commands.

Third, the Narrative of Jihad Fi Sabilillah

The issue associated with nationality and statehood is the *jihad fi sabilillah* issue. Related to this issue, some Islamic groups also differ in their opinions on the concept of jihad. The concept of jihad is closely related to the problem of national and state life because there are several issues debated by several Islamic groups, including the definition of jihad concept, the scope, and timing of jihad.

First, regarding the definition and concept of jihad, Jihad is one of many fundamental teaching of Islam as well as the most popular political view related to the issue of religious radicalism and terrorism. Even the other name or term of Al-Qaeda group as a global terrorist is a global jihad group. In terms of concept and practice, Jihad is something familiar for Muslims

In al-Qur'an and Hadith, jihad is one of the important pillars in Islamic teaching. Therefore, the term jihad is often delivered in the form of *fi'il amri* or the command. Therefore jihad is included in some terms that are repeatedly mentioned by al-Qur'an and Hadith in a variety of contexts and purposes. Although the concept of jihad is very clear in Islam, it does not mean that everyone can implement jihad by bombing here and there.

As stated by Ustadz H. Mushaddiq, Head of PP. Hidayatullah, as follows:

"In Islam, there is a topic about jihad, there is *fiqhul jihad* book. *Jihad* according to what the Prophet taught is not like that. There are many stages. The history records that the Prophet had many wars. However, these wars were because of defensive purposes or self-defense to protect the country, territory, or supremacy. The Prophet fought in a war when he was in Medina and the other one was when the Prophet conquered Mecca. However, there was no bloodshed at that time. So if you follow the Prophet, you will not find any teaching about suicide bombing. There were manners. The Prophet forbade destroying buildings, forbade cutting plants. Women and children should be first. So there are stages".<sup>30</sup>

Based on the argument above, that the concept and practice of jihad have strict Islamic rules. There are many stages that must be considered when jihad will be carried out. All the conditions of jihad are very clear in Islamic guidance, therefore the Islamic boarding school does not agree with violent jihads, such as suicide bombings or violent sweeping, etc. without the appropriate principle of jihad and the proper context for jihad. Moreover, there are still many choices besides jihad to achieve the ideals of Islam.

In theory, jihad in Islam is included in the basic teachings which have a very high value and position among other Islamic

teachings. The term jihad in Islam has many meanings and interpretations. Therefore, the concept of jihad becomes a crucial topic and at the same time invites a polemic for Muslims if it is associated with the current discourse of radicalism. The debate and controversy over the concept of jihad are not much different from the concept of *Khilafah*.

Second, furthermore, the jihad controversy is more related to the issue of time, and the context (locus) of jihad. Moreover, people view the era and context of jihad depending very much on the interests of the defining group.

Regarding the fact above, Ustadz Abdul Aziz, a new teacher of PP al-Salafi Sidogiri Pasuruan, said that the implementation of jihad is not always related to war. Therefore, the practice of jihad must pay attention to the situation and conditions. For example, the conditions of war do not seem urgent to do so, so we don't have to fight by declaring war. Writing can also be considered jihad by opposing the works of people who don't follow the ideology of *ahlussunah wal jamaah*, especially jihad implemented as suicide bombing. We strongly reject it.<sup>31</sup>

The majority of jihad practices carried out by militant groups so far, allegedly refer to the interpretation of extreme jihad group such as *Khawarij*. Jihad in the view of *khawarij* group is an obligation of the "holy war" and is placed as the sixth pillar in Islam. The group believes that jihad has an important role in Islam development.

Most of the meaning of jihad is strictly defined by some radical Islamic groups such as Abdullah Azzam, the pioneer of international jihadists in the book "*Tarbiyyah Jihadiyah*" (Jihad Education), saying that jihad has a position above hajj, fasting, and prayer. This means that when the time comes for jihad, all these obligations can be suspended (Tariq Ali, 2004, pp. 42-43). Based on this fact, in the current context, the term jihad has become so attached to radical Islamic groups. Furthermore, the

conception of jihad changes along with radical and terrorist events are carried out by jihadists. The command and meaning of holy jihad merged into new connotations and vocabularies such as "suicide", "war", "bomb", and "sword or weapon".

According to Ibn Qayyim, jihad in a broad sense is reflected in the journey of life and preaching of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH during his lifetime. Here was stated by Ibn Qayyim:

"The Prophet Muhammad, PBUH was at the peak of his mastery of jihad. He mastered all kinds of jihad. He practiced jihad in the path of Allah with all his heart and physique, through *da'wah* and enlightenment, as well as with swords and spears. His lifetime was all dedicated to jihad, with his feelings, speeches, and actions. He is the best creation of Allah and has the noblest position on His side".

Referring to the above definition, jihad is an obligation for Muslims as a way to obey Allah. Therefore, Muslims must see, understand, and place jihad in a proportional way, in which awareness of the context, purpose, and priorities of jihad is needed. This needs to be done so that jihad pursued is in line with the demands of al-Qur'an and Hadith as an obligation of worship as well as a test for those who believe. Besides that, jihad must be carried out solely as obedience to the commands of Allah, without being trapped in the behaviour of religious extremism.

In addition to the issue of *Khilafah* Islamiyah and jihad above, there are still many fundamental Islamic teachings which are then widely misunderstood and given erroneous definitions and even taken out of context. For example, the concept of leadership (*imamah*), *ukhuwah Islamiyah*, and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, however these are not the main focus of this research and are therefore not discussed in detail and in-depth. The fundamental Islamic teaching in this research is limited to the issue of *Khilafah*, jihad, and Islamic Sharia in terms of the

problem of tawhid and *fiqh*.

The second point is about the scope and timing of Jihad in which some Islamic groups express a different view regarding the regions or counties which should be the field of Jihad. The issue of the region used as a field for jihad, ulama divided the region into two parts. The first part is called *darul harb* or the land of war, and the second is called *darul salam* (peaceful land). Ulama *jumhur* agreed that jihad in the sense of war can only be applied if it fulfills the conditions of war or *darul harb*.

Thus jihad will not be obligatory to be carried out if the country is peaceful because jihad (war) in a peaceful country for any reason will contradict existing Islamic rules. In the context of Indonesia, until now Indonesia is still categorized as a safe country. Therefore, what is done by terrorist groups is not counted as jihad they claimed because it is not based on religious guidance and does not qualify as an act of jihad.

To overcome the confusion of the jihad practices, some Kyai or Ustadz were interviewed such as KH. Makin Shoumuri (Teacher) at Roudlatut Thalibin Islamic Boarding School. He chose to remain guided by the Prophet's preaching that the greatest jihad is jihad on ourselves the *bin nafsi* (controlling our desires) for it can be interpreted as *qital* jihad. *Qital* means killing lust. Indeed, we do not currently have enemies to fight that requires us to implement jihad.<sup>32</sup>

### C. Diversity and Tolerance

It is a historical fact that humans live in diversity, both naturally (sex and race), as well as social structures, values, and religious traditions. This plurality of life does not only occur in - and is characteristic of - modern society, but also in society at the earliest stages of history or in prehistoric times. Thus, diversity is given from genuine life.

Diversity itself in nature requires a willingness to be tolerant



and understanding so that diversity does not become disastrous but instead becomes a blessing for humans. Islam itself places diversity as a vehicle to see who serves the good in this life without having to look at human backgrounds.

The presence of diversity in human existence at the same time also presents the potential for a sense of tolerance from the very beginning of every human being. Therefore, the tolerance, signs, and practice principle are clearly and firmly explained in Islam. As stated by Ustadz Umar Fanani, Head of Persis Islamic Boarding School Foundation that:

"Islamic tolerance is clear, because the concept came from Allah, in the 18th-century *aqidah* was given when idolatry worshipers wanted to form a unity, for the sake of unity, O Muhammad we are willing to worship your God, Allah, but at the same time at another time you have to be also willing to worship our god, say you go to the mosque on Friday, we go to church on Sunday, or we pray together on Eid Al-Fitr, we will be together on Christmas day as well. We think so, this has been said long ago, so if Indonesia wants tolerance, it has been so outdated. Tolerance according to its origin, when it teaches *kul ya ayyuhal kafirun* we explain how tolerance is. If we refer to Al-Qur'an and the Sunnah, the problem is solved.<sup>33</sup>

Then, Ustadz Umar Fanani continued that which religion teaches such tolerance besides Islam? Who has the principle of *lakum dinukum waliyadin*? The country must guarantee *la ikroha fiddin* (no force on embracing religion) If there are Muslims who insist their Islam on others, they just do not know Islam. Jihad is not forcing Muslims, Jihad is defending the truth. The hijra (migration) is one proof. When the Messenger of Allah was surrounded, he preferred moving to Madina rather than forcing people.<sup>34</sup>

Based on the arguments above, diversity and tolerance in an Islamic perspective are conceptually considered to have been

completed. Everyone can accept inter-faith relations such as Islamic and Christian. However, people can respond differently when it relates to particular relations with minority inter-groups such as Islam and Ahmadiyya, Islam and Shi'a, or Sunni Islam and Salafi Wahhabi. To date, the relation between several groups has not found a solution sociologically acceptable to the warring parties.

For example, the intolerance phenomenon in a small part of the NU community in the case of heresy and attacks on Shia Sampang, Madura—an island which is the basis of NU. Some parties are believed to be NU members of FPI (Djafar, 2018, p. 37). This means that NU as a moderate Islamic organization also has a diverse religious style and the local context also influences the practice of tolerance.

The diversity of life for Indonesian people is an ongoing process of prehistoric megalithic traditions. This diversity, archaeologically, is reflected in three aspects of life, namely technology, organization, and religion (Wahid, 2016, p. 31). In terms of technology, megalithic traditions have produced stone tools of various shapes. In the social aspect, among others, marked by the division of work, then the emergence of functional groups as well as vertical and horizontal social relations. Likewise in the case of religion, there is a diversity of ritual patterns that are based on the belief in ancestral spirits. This religious element is the most dominant and very influential aspect of people's lives at that time.

In traditional life, people of different backgrounds of ethnicity, races, or religions live in a different community. The community was homogeneous in which, each community consisted of only one religion, one race, and one tradition. Whereas in modern life with modernization and technology that lead to globalization. People can no longer live in a single community but in heterogeneous ones. In modern society, a community consists of various kinds of cultural configuration and human

backgrounds. This configuration forms a variety of lifestyles with various problems. In such a way of this modern life that it is almost no area free from diverse life.

Nowadays, the diverse life atmosphere is not only an undeniable reality but also an avoidable problem. This becomes an important issue as the various demands of a community in the society or ethnic culture, especially minority groups to exist and be recognized within the framework of diversity. However, in practice, diversity does not always present problems.

This can be found in social interactions practiced by several Islamic boarding schools. As stated by Ustadz M. Ridwan, Principal of Darul Arqam-Gombara Islamic Boarding Junior High School in Makassar, South Sulawesi:

"A priest came to the school and the relationship is good until now, such as sending greetings of Eid al-Fitr. Every Sunday the school facilitates the surrounding society to sell at the school in the spots provided by the school They are free of charge".<sup>35</sup>

Based on the excerpt from the interview with Ustadz Ridwan above, it can be seen that the practice of tolerance in diversity has become a part of daily life in an Islamic boarding school. What is experienced by the Islamic boarding school is a diversity of experience that reflects the existence of active tolerance action owned by both parties. Active tolerance is the highest meeting point of awareness of diversity.

Active tolerance also requires everyone to be ready to accept and treat differences as social capital that can be the basis for activating peace actions that benefit fellow human beings. Ustadz Ridwan described the miniature of diversity and tolerance practices that exist in Makassar city has recently developed into one of the metropolia in Eastern Indonesia so that the diversity of its population is increasingly visible. The majority of Muslims come from various tribes/ethnicities in

Sulawesi, namely Bugis, Makassar, while some other tribes come from other Eastern Indonesia regions: Papua, Maluku, Flores, and others. The Islamic boarding school staffs, normatively have a moderate attitude both towards other religious groups and to the flow as well as religious ideology in Islamic madhab/ school of thoughts. The general perception is that other religious groups or different madhabs including Shia or Ahmadiyya must be respected as long as they do not interfere with each other. Their rights as citizens must still be protected. People may not be bothered by different views as long as there is no attempt/mission to invite any other groups to convert to.

The tolerance practiced above shows that the diversity of life has two sides that co-exist. Functionally, on the one hand, diversity is a "blessing", namely the socio-cultural treasures that have certain roles considered positive for the society. With the diversity of life, humans can share with each other. They can also foster values and civilization to achieve an ideal life with a conscious framework of understanding differences together. Even though there is the possibility of a clash in it, but the clash is strived not to damage the order, and therefore the people who live in it must be equipped with an ethos (model) of loyalty, solidarity, and tolerance.<sup>36</sup>

On the other hand, diversity is a challenge and a problem that at some point haunts society, such as the Ahmadiyya and Shia cases in several places. Here and there diversity is often a "pre-condition" if not a source of instability, conflict, and social disintegration, violence, and even mass murder. However, in the perspective of conflict theory adherents, the condition that accompanies diversity is nothing but a social process. If forced, it has to be done by humans for certain achievements in their lives.

Because of this, some Islamic boarding school members respect differences in organizations, beliefs, political parties, and religions, and they can live together. However, others do not

accept the presence of Ahmadiyya and Shia living in their neighborhoods and do not agree that there are other houses of worship in the majority Muslim population. Therefore, awareness of the reality of plural society does not necessarily make society react wisely to it. The wise attitude towards these two sides of diversity is sometimes confusing at the practice level. This is thought to be caused by several things. First, people do not know exactly the negative-positive side of this phenomenon so that they cannot determine when and for what to use it, as well as when and how to avoid it. Second, this phenomenon is the external factor in the form of interests of a party to take advantage of the social condition for certain political achievements.

Regardless of the complexity in attaining diversity at the practice level, the tolerance action by some Islamic boarding schools in non-Muslim groups and other organizations shows a proactive attitude that leads to transformative tolerance. As acknowledged by K.H Roja, Head of Darul Muttaqin Parung Islamic boarding school that:

"This school has provided compensation to non-Muslims, because they are simply also human beings, just with different faiths, so that even poor people should be helped. Because of that, our *santris* are used to go to non-Muslim communities, even in sociology subjects the *santris* are assigned to research other organizations, such as Shi'a, HTI, or Christian, and some also go to the localization site. They are not obligated to go to Persis, because we avoid a clash of *aqidah* (faith) or we focus only on the social. But in reality, there is a few that leads to it, and that is only insight for the *santris*".<sup>37</sup>

Referring to the Islamic boarding school's factual conditions above, the Islamic boarding school thinks that they have no obstacles in building tolerance actions with different groups. Even the active tolerance model developed by the Islamic boarding school is transformed into not only tolerant

knowledge but also tolerant behavior of students. The highest level of the established attitude of tolerance in society is not only the transformation of tolerance but also the changes of action of tolerance to an attitude of daily life that naturally manifests without any prior constructed conditions.

Therefore, harmony is supposed to be a prerequisite condition in people's daily lives and this is a natural process that cannot be forced (Djafar, 2014, p. 41) so that tolerance activities occur not only as a reaction or anti-thesis against intolerant attitudes, but tolerant activities must be considered as part of the social process itself. Likewise, the problem of diversity should not be suspected as the source of division and conflict, but it must be seen as God's gift which certainly contains a lot of good for the benefit of humans.

According to Ustadz Mukhlis, Director of Al-Ikhlis Islamic Boarding School, diversity is recognized as *sunnatullah* which must be accepted as it is. Because it has been confirmed by the Islamic religion about living as communities and nations for a long time.<sup>3838</sup> Although diversity is understood normatively, it is important and needed, as long as it is addressed wisely, it can reduce the tension of diversity as inherent reality to human presence. According to him:

"As for the diversity of religious and cultural life, it is mandatory to exist and it has become a sunnah from the beginning of mankind's existence on this earth."  
"Muhammadiyah's tolerance in the concept of diversity or different Islamic practices does not overly overestimate it. For example, when celebrating our Islamic holidays, we do it differently from the others and it has become a common thing because each mass organization has different madhab and different thoughts. For example in Muhammadiyah's view, NU, tends to be more Classical Islam or Cultural Islam. While Muhammadiyah is more modern in the sense of adjusting Islam to the time progress. Muhammadiyah also

emphasizes the purity of Islam contained in Muhammadiyah's own goal, in upholding the true religion of Islam in the sense of purity. But still keeping up with the time ".<sup>39</sup>

Meanwhile, Ustadz Mukhlis has his perspectives on Ahmadiyya and Shia. He views them as perverse sects toward the true Islam teachings. Their teachings are contradicted with the existing Islamic teachings.<sup>40</sup> These differences, however, do not mean that the Muhammadiyah-affiliated pesantrens allowed anarchy actions. But it has passive potential to understanding each other (Verstehen), especially to develop active tolerance. These are dwindling to do. This hypothesis provides sufficient reason if we observe from the argumentation on *pesantren* above. The arguments are started by the prejudice which judges people to be right or wrong based on a group's choice. In its progress to build active tolerance, this fact is going to be a challenge.

Moreover, Ustadz Sidik, the leader of Abu Hurairah Pondok Pesantren has his own perspectives. He has more restrictive views on the two Islamic minority groups. He said that Shia and Ahmadiyya are neither sects nor *madhabs* since there are only four sects or *madhabs* acknowledged by the Ulama. So, *madhab* refers to the way and method of religious practices. For example, we follow Syafi'i madhab. This means our religious practices follow Imam Syafi'i. However, the Shia followers are out of the existing Islam corridors.<sup>41</sup> Abu Hurairah purports against some sects mentioned before as long as they are out of Al-Qur'an and Sunnah. This is why Shia was included in his project. He aimed to get the Shia to follow Al-Qur'an and Sunnah by providing enlightenment for them. Thus, the *pondok pesantren* refused to Shia and Ahmadiyya ideology even though they perform it in peaceful ways.

Whereas, the Abu Hurairah Pesantren has a very different perspective on non-Muslims and on Shia and Ahmadiyya than before. According to Ustadz Sidik, for example in having leaders,

the *pesantren* accepts and obeys if they are led by a non-Muslim. Here is the excerpt of the interview:

“Non-Muslim leadership. That's written in Al-Qur'an. It says, “Do not take the unbelievers as your leaders”. This is from Al-Qur'an and a tenet at this Abu Huraira. But, when we have them (non-Muslims) as leaders, for example in Lombok, and I hope we won't. And we have Christian and Hindu leaders, so we will obey them. We keep obeying them. But, if we find them (non-Muslim leaders) to ban us, not to do this, or not to do that, we will consider the elements the *pondok pesantren* have. And about Ahok, even though he pressed the people, the Islam activities kept going on. Basically, it is under the leaders' control.”<sup>42</sup>

The statement above shows us various colors in the polemics of leadership. Generally, the majority of Muslims refuse non-Muslim leadership. This, at least, has been polemic for non-Muslim leaders among Muslim-majority. Meanwhile, Abu Hurairah Pondok Pesantren, based on the above argumentation, strictly and openly states and that they accept and obey to the non-Muslim leaders, even though they are aware that Al-Qur'an proscribes to take people of different faiths to be their leaders.

This polemic on non-Muslim leadership basically emerges from two perspectives. First, the perspective of a group that refers to the paragraphs of the national constitution as the principles for their arguments. Second, the perspective of a group that refers to the holy paragraphs as the principles for their arguments. In fact, both the principles of arguments are not parallel for debate. This is because both concepts have different orientations since its beginning, even though we can establish and find solutions for the different arguments.

Ustadz Mukhlis has a contrary view. As recorded, he said, “We keep being tolerant and will put tolerance as our priority. We do not differentiate people. We will allow worship buildings of



other religions built next to Muhammadiyah's Pondok Pesantren as long as they have legal permits. The same also applies in greeting and congratulating Christmas to the non-Muslims. It goes back to everybody's intentions. To be frank, Muhammadiyah, in its organizational history, has cooperated with non-Muslims. It (greet and congratulating Christmas) doesn't matter if it can create harmony in national and interreligious lives. Hindu or anything else is okay. We don't have problems with that because what they do is *lakum dinukum waliyadin* (For you is your religion, and for me is my religion). Most importantly, they must not annoy others. This is the principle of *Rasullulah*." This was because *Rasullulah* was leading his community under Islamic Leadership while accomodating Jews. They and their religions (Jewish and the Jews) were not disrupted as long as they asked for protection.

There are some findings in the fields, both at Al-Ikhlhas pesantren which is Muhammadiyah-affiliated, and Abu Hurairah Pesantren which is Salafi Wahabiyah-affiliated. The findings show that diversity by differences of *madhabs* and religions can be understood and accepted. This diversity even makes us easier in developing active tolerance than internal differences with opaque indication or distortion. The internal difference, however, can easily cause prejudice and social tension at the same time.

This has the potential to be an obstacle in establishing active tolerance, which is not only to understand difference each other but also to serve the difference as a way to socially and productively reach harmony. Thus, diversity in religions can also be easily understood and accepted. Also, it can more easily create active tolerance compared by diversity on particular differences with truth claims in them.

Diversity on religions, which can be understood, accepted. It can establish active tolerance. But it becomes more difficult when there are demands toward specific tolerance. For

example, the tolerance related to greet or congratulate Christmas. In the interviews, the informants were found to have different opinions. Ustadz Adi Aliansyah (Senior Teacher at Islahudiny Ponpes), for example, said it is not a problem to greet and congratulate Christmas to the non-Muslims.

“Talking about greet and congratulate Christmas, we have to know that we have to live as flexible as possible. But what we do and say must be based on principles. It is legitimate to greet and congratulate Christmas to our Christian friends, but it is important not to join the religious ceremony. Greeting and congratulating are for respecting them as friends.”<sup>44</sup>

The argumentation of Islahudiny Pesantren above implies that there are restrictions to hold even though we agree to greet and congratulate Christmas. This means we are required to understand the restrictions for more specific tolerance. On the other hand, Salafi Jihadi-affiliated *pesantren* states that greeting and congratulating Christmas is not permissible because it is not in line with Islam faith. Meanwhile, in *muamalah* (social relations between human beings based on Islamic laws) aspect, it is strongly suggested. It, however, becomes a problem when it comes to *aqidah* (faith). We must be cautious and put some effort. This is because someday a Jew greeted *Rasululah* by “*Assalamu'alaikum*”, but *Rasulullah* answered by saying 'Sir, *Wa'alaikumsalam*'. This means that for Him, salvation specifically belongs to the Muslims. What we are afraid of, when they celebrate Christmas, we join them in the church. But, for the neighborhood, we don't have problems when it comes to *muamalah* or other aspects”.<sup>45</sup> The statements from the two different informants giving opinions on the same topic reveal the complexity in religion and tolerance when they come into action.

In fact, of much diversity, diversity in religions is the most vulnerable aspect of social disharmony. This cannot be

separated from the multi-functions of religions. Religion can act as social cohesion in which the followers can find peace and happiness, both individual and in society. On the other hand, religions can also be factors of conflicts and disintegration. Religions can also blow up a social revolution within violence and intolerance (Wahid, 2015:16) when religions are only understood exclusively, textually, and rigidly.

#### **D. Social Justice, Global Justice, and Violence**

As the sub-culture of society, the existence of *pesantren* cannot be separated from social, political, and religious issues, either directly or indirectly. As a sub-culture with its authenticity, *pesantren* has existed with high, unique, and specific autonomy as its tradition. This peculiarity has been social guidance which really influences the journey of *pesantren* from time to time. Autonomy and authority have been the social guidance that color *pesantren* characteristics.

Autonomy and authority of *pesantren* have made it not easy to be influenced by external factors, such as social condition, political situation, and global justice. This includes power. These conditions have survived for so long in the tradition of *pesantren*. From the ethnographical-anthropological aspects, *pesantrens* always choose their locations to be far away from condition and environment which are crowded by social and politics. That is why since its early topography, *pesantrens* are always found in the suburban areas or far-from-crowded places.

However, these conditions have changed a lot. In some cases, some *pesantrens* are actively involved in politics, both nationally and regionally. This is one of the changes. The involvement or being involved in practical politics is the beginning of *pesantren* contiguity with the “outside world”. This contiguity later puts *pesantrens* into politics, either directly or indirectly. It responds to the social-politic phenomenon

growing recently. As examples are the involvement of *pesantrens* in radicalism, the involvement of *pesantrens* in the 212 movement, the responses of *pesantrens* on global political situations, and issues on the polarization of religious groups such as HTI, JAD, JAS, and JAT.

KH. Oddi Rosyihudin, the principal of Darul Qolam Pesantren, has views on the emergence of Islamic groups such as Jamaah Ansharud Daulah and Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid. He thinks that they emerged because they are not satisfied with the people controlling this nation. "If they run this nation properly, I'm sure nobody will protest!"<sup>46</sup>

Of course, the dissatisfaction may refer to various aspects. But if we refer to the driving cause, one of the factors of their emergence is dissatisfaction with justice. Based on the Wahid Foundation survey on intolerance and radicalism on social religion, it is mentioned that 72.1% of the Indonesian Muslim majority felt that they had not been treated fairly by other groups (Djafar, 2014:112). We can see here that the feeling of being alienated in Muslims is still high enough.

The feeling of being alienated because of injustice has more potential to trigger extreme actions than the feeling of being alienated because of the economy and other factors. This is like injustice experienced by some Islam communities all over the world, Islamic groups in Palestine, Rohingya, Syria, Uighur, Xinjiang, etc. In certain scales, global injustice can transform into local injustice.

The simple indicator for transformation mentioned above is the emergence of global emphatic and global jihad, which manifested by demonstrations to support Palestine or demonstrations to spine Israeli. This is what some of Indonesia's Muslims did. The long-and-high-intensity dissatisfaction has encouraged some groups to conduct violence such as; sweeping, persecution, closing the worship

buildings. The example of the group is the hard-line *Ormas* (mass organization) FPI.

Discourses on global narrations related to the sects or extreme schools of thought of religion such as ISIS and their backgrounds have not become either issues or discourses discussed by *ustadz*s and *santri*. Thus, global injustice may not become the dominant factors for *pesantrens* to take actions or confronting reactions

On other sides, injustice issues both on national and on global scale encourage some *ustadz*s at Pesantren As-Salam Bima (Salafi Jihadi-affiliated), such as Ustadz Muhajir and Ustadz Abu Zabir to intensively criticize and speak up for social injustice and government failure. At the same time, these *ustadz*s offer Islamic Sharia as a solution for failed law enforcement. These were openly spoken up in mosques' pulpits and in Qur'an reading groups, either inside or outside *maktabs* (Quranic Elementary School). The suppression of Muslims by the disbeliever (*kafir*) has dominantly been highlighted by them. These include what happened overseas such as in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Africa, The Philippine, Burma, or what happened at home such as the cases of SARA (ethnicity, religion, and race)

As Ustadz Zabir of Assalam dan Al-Madinah Pesantren, Bima explained:

“Nowadays Muslims are suppressed everywhere. The infidels and denial people arrest oppress the Muslims just because they speak up about Islamic Sharia. We will not have justice enforced because the laws are made on the infidels' sides. This nation has been further from Allah's religion. Thus, they apply denial laws. In fact, this nation is still implementing the Laws that the Dutch enacted.”<sup>47</sup>

The feeling of global injustice later, at a certain level and moment, both directly and indirectly, engenders empathy for their Muslim fellows. Whether we are aware or not, empathy triggers a movement that is the Global Islamic Brotherhood Movement. This movement gains its spirit legally and theologically from Islam Commandments, which say that Muslims are sisters and brothers. They are just like our body systems; if a part gets hurt, another part does too. These are the reasons for the emergence of Islamic group waves who are involved in conflicting areas. We can see what Al-Qaeda and other global jihadist groups did as examples of the conflicts that happened in Afghanistan in the past few years.

In the national context, the emergences of radical and destructive attitudes in Islamic military groups are reactions or responses toward social and political conditions at home and all over the world. These conditions have two sides; the injustice laws and the dissatisfaction over law orders at home; and the great desire for the military groups to enforce truth based on their understanding of Islam. Those conditions often trigger internal social frustrations for the military groups, which lead them to extreme actions. Ustadz Zabir of As-Salam Pesantren-Bima has his views on these conditions. He said:

“Muslims have wanted changes since the reformation era. Because of democratic freedom after the reformation, most of Muslims would like to have Islamic Sharia, such as Aceh and Solo. This is a progressive step, and the government opens its eyes. The first Bali Bombings drove the government started to issue Anti-Terror Laws. Since this time, the government realized that their own enemies have been the Muslims themselves. Then the government starts oppressing the Muslim. Democratic freedom encourages Muslims to implement Islamic Sharia. First, the Laws enforced by the government belong to The Netherland’s legacy and they cannot solve various problems. Second, although

Muslims are the majority, they are oppressed and killed. They are arrested several times and these arrests spread everywhere. These are unfair. These bring up vengeance”.<sup>48</sup>

*Ustadzs* at As-Salam Pesantren, Bima, tends to see and understand these problems emotionally. Thus, those phenomena implicitly grow radical religious perspectives and attitudes as ways to resist the existing reality. At As-Salam Pesantren, the educational patterns are often built by the *ustadz*s who suffer from psychological and social disharmony. The disharmony refers to the disparities in what the *Ustadzs* encounter and what realities they are facing. These conditions vulnerably give rise to reactive, subjective, emotional, and even extreme attitudes.

To conclude, the *ustadz*s at As-Salam Pesantren have critical views and opinions on social and political conditions. Their views and opinions are also shared by Ustadz Muhajir, the Principal of As-Salam Pesantren. He says, “These *ustadz*s think Indonesia, in every aspect (social, culture, politics, economy), is fragile and corrupt. The leaders and the national systems cannot prevent or eradicate corruption and other cases. These all happen because Indonesia does not implement Islamic Laws”.

The statement of Principal of As-Salam Pesantren (Bima) reveals that there are strong desires from some of his teachers to offer an alternative ideology whose truth they believe in, that is Islam.

The conclusions generally can be divided into two hypotheses based on the eight researched pesantrens on their arguments on social justice, global injustice, and violence issues. First, the pesantrens which politically are close with the government tend to be unconcerned on these issues. For example, they are, NU, NW, and Salafi Wahabiyah-affiliated pesantrens. This view may not

represent all pesantrens as educational institutions. In fact, teachers of the same pesantren even have different arguments for issues. Secondly, there are pesantrens that since their beginnings have been contrary to the government. For examples are Salafi Jihadi and Hidayatullah-affiliated pesantrens. They are precisely proactive in addressing issues on social justice, global injustice, and violence. This is why these groups have strongly spoken up issues on injustice.<sup>49</sup>

### Endnotes:

- <sup>1</sup> Interview with Ustadz Garibaldi Abdollah, Senior teacher at Al-Ihkla Pesantren, Bima (4 September 2019).
- <sup>2</sup> Interview with Su'ud Hasanudin, Public Relation of PERSIS Pesantren (4 August 2019).
- <sup>3</sup> "Membumikan Ajaran Islam Rahmatan Lil-'alamin ala KH. Hasyim Muzadi" [Grounding Islamic Teachings Rahmatan Lil-'alamin of KH. Hasyim Muzadi], <https://islami.co/membumikan-ajaran-islam-rahmatan-lil-alamin-dari-kh-hasyim-muzadi/> (accessed on 26 November 2019).
- <sup>4</sup> Interview with Su'ud Hasanudin (Public Relation of PERSIS Pesantren) (Sunday, 4 August 2019).
- <sup>5</sup> Islami.co, "Membumikan Ajaran Islam Rahmatan Lil-'alamin ala KH. Hasyim Muzadi" [Grounding Islamic Teachings Rahmatan Lil-'alamin of KH. Hasyim Muzadi], <https://islami.co/membumikan-ajaran-islam-rahmatan-lil-alamin-dari-kh-hasyim-muzadi/> (accessed on 26 November 2019).
- <sup>6</sup> Interview with Ustadz Abdul Basit Principal of Madrasah Tsanawiyah PP. Al Falah (5 August 2019).
- <sup>7</sup> Interview with Agung Mulayana, Senior Santri at An-Nizhomyah Pesantren. (2 August 2019)
- <sup>8</sup> Interview with KH. Dr. Musyaffa', Principal of Assalafi Al-Fithrah Pesantren. (14 August 2019)
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>10</sup> Interview with Ustadz Sidik, Principal of Abu Hurairah Pesantren, Mataram. (5 August 2019)
- <sup>11</sup> Interview with Ustadz Abdul Basit, Principal of Madrasah Tsanawiyah PP Al Falah, 5 August 2019.
- <sup>12</sup> Interview with Ustadz Sidik, Principal of Abu Hurairah Pesantren, Mataram. (5



- August 2019).
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>14</sup> Interview with Ustadz Arif Rahman, Senior teacher at Abu Hurairah Pesantren, Mataram. (17 August 2019)
- <sup>15</sup> Interview with Ustadz Muhajir, Principal of As-Salam Pesantren. (Sunday, 28 July 2019).
- <sup>16</sup> Interview with Ust Abdul Aziz (Junior Ustadz) Sidogiri Pesantren, Pasuruan 6 August 2019).
- <sup>17</sup> Interview with Ust. A. Hasan Board Member of Ponpes Darul Arqom Pesantren, Garut, 26 August 2019.
- <sup>18</sup> Interview with, KH. Oddi Rosyihuddin, Principal of Darul Qolam Pesantren. (19 August 2019).
- <sup>19</sup> Interview with Ustadz Abdul Aziz, Teacher at Sidogiri Pesantren, Pasuruan. (6 August 2019)
- <sup>20</sup> Interview with KiaiKiyai Agus Khotibul Umam, Principal of An-Nizhomiyah Pesantren, Pandeglang. (2 August 2019)
- <sup>21</sup> Hadith Musnad Ahmad: IV/273.
- <sup>22</sup> Chronologically, the idea to enforce Islam Sharia was born on Kongres I Umat Islam (Congress I of MoslemMuslims) in South Sulawesi. It declared its will to enforce Islamic Sharia in South Sulawesi. This had been inspired by the enforcement of Islamic Syariah in Aceh and by the era of Islamic kingdoms in South Sulawesi.
- <sup>23</sup> Interview with Moh. Fachrurozi, Senior teacher at Wahdah Islamiyah Pesantren, Makassar. (9 August 2019)
- <sup>24</sup> Interview with Ustadz H. Mushaddiq, Leader of Hidayatullah Pesantren, Banjar Baru. (6 August 2019)
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>26</sup> Muhammad, "Pendidikan Islam Egaliter" [Egalitarian Islam Education], "Journal" Studi Islam Vol. 14, No. 1. E
- <sup>27</sup> Interview with Ustadz Fakhruzi Syakirin, Senior Santri at Daar El-Qolam Pesantren, Tangerang. (18 August 2019)
- <sup>28</sup> Interview with Ustadz Muhajir, Principal of Jihadi As-Salam Pesantren. (28 July 2019)
- <sup>29</sup> Interview with Ustadz Haeruddin Headmaster of Senior High School of Pesantren Darul Arqom. (08 August 2019)
- <sup>30</sup> Interview with Ustadz H. Mushaddiq, Principal of Hidayatullah Pesantren. (Selasa, 6 August 2019)
- <sup>31</sup> Interview with Ustadz Abdul Aziz, Junior Ustadz at Sidogiri Pasuruan Pesantren. (6 August 2019).

- <sup>32</sup> Interview with KH. Makin Shoumuri, Teacher at Roudlatut Thalibin Pesantren, Rembang. (5 August 2019)
- <sup>33</sup> Interview with Ustadz Umar Fanani Ketua Yayasan Pesantren Persis. (5 August 2019)
- <sup>34</sup> Interview with Ustadz Umar Fanani, Chairman of Yayasan Pesantren Persis. (5 August 2019)
- <sup>35</sup> Interview with Ustadz M. Ridwan, Headmaster of Junior High School of Pesantren Darul Arqam-Gombara, Makassar. (3 August 2019)
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>37</sup> Interview with K.H Roja, Principal of Darul Muttaqin Pesantren, Parung. (Friday, 26 July 2019)
- <sup>38</sup> Interview with Ustadz Mukhlis, Director/Senior Teacher at Al Ikhlas Pesantren, Bima. (26 August 2019).
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>41</sup> Interview with Ustadz Sidik, Principal of Abu HurairahPesantren, Mataram. (5 August 2019)
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>43</sup> Interview with Ustadz Mukhlis, Director/Senior Teacher at Al Ikhlas Pesantren, Bima. (26 August 2019)
- <sup>44</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>45</sup> Interview with Ustadz Adi Aliansyah, Senior teacher at Islahudiny Pesantren, Lombok Barat. (18 September 2019)
- <sup>46</sup> Interview with Ustadz Abu Zabir, Board/Management Member of As-Salam Pesantren, Bima. (27 July 2019)
- <sup>47</sup> Interview with KH. Oddi Rosyihuddin, Principal of Darul Qolam Pesantren, Tangerang. (19 August 2019)
- <sup>48</sup> Interview with Ustadz Adi Aliansyah, Senior teacher at Islahudiny Pesantren, Lombok Barat. (18 September 2019)
- <sup>49</sup> Interview with Ustadz Kaharuddin, Principal/Director of Al-Ikhlas Pesantren, Bima. (28 August 2019)

## CHAPTER 3

### SOCIAL CAPITAL OF PESANTREN RESILIENCE AGAINST RADICALISM

#### **A. Protective Sources: Social Bonding & Social Bridging**

Pesantren's social capital is a set of values, norms that are believed and practiced by pesantren communities, and this capital is used to maintain a sense of belonging and connection among members of pesantren (social bonding). However, at the same time, this social capital is also empowered in defining relationships with other different communities (social bridging). By utilizing this social capital, the members of the pesantren community are able to survive and even thrive in struggles for facing various threats to the existence of pesantren in the social, political, and religious aspects. With the same social capital, the pesantren communities can defend themselves against the threat of radicalism and violent extremism.

These binding and bridging values are typical characteristics of pesantren. Those values can emerge by a long process of experience and practices which have been done by pesantren communities since the beginning of their establishment, and those values keep going along with the ongoing development of pesantren. The main elements of these binding values are acceptance, absorption, and attachment of pesantren to theological and socio-religious views that develop outside of their environments. Theological views and religious-social beliefs can influence pesantren cultural style which is preserved

and maintained by the community. Pesantren communities then make it as a shared identity, which serves to strengthen their solidarity, sense of belonging, and connection to the pesantren. However, at the same time, these values also form the way they interpret their relationship with groups of different identity beside their vertical connection with the government structure (social linking).

In a wider scope, pesantren communities are bound by the same Islamic values under Sunni theology. However, on a smaller scale, a specific social capital of each pesantren will be seen based on its particular characteristics, although the existing binding values may always overlap each other. This study reveals that Kiyai and *kitab kuning* (lit: classical Islamic book) are the prominent social capitals of traditional pesantren. This characteristic raises not only among pesantren affiliated with NU in Java but also among dayah (Islamic boarding schools) in Aceh. Meanwhile, the social capital of reformist pesantren is more varied. Gontor and Gontor-affiliated pesantren utilize social capital in the form of a pesantren value system abstracted in "Panca Jiwa" (sincerity, simplicity, Islamic brotherhood, independence, and freedom). This Panca Jiwa (Five Souls) has become a tradition in Gontor and Gontor-affiliates. These values were originally chosen and synthesized from various views and values that were considered ideal, but from time to time it has been transformed into a special characteristic of Gontor.

Modernist pesantren, such as Muhammadiyah and Persis, have social capital that does not appear as thick and genuine as the social capitals of the two types of pesantren above. Their social capitals are their attachments to puritanical religious views typical of Muhammadiyah and Persis becomes. Finally, Salafi pesantren are the latest type of pesantren in Indonesia. In contrast to social capital in the modernist pesantren of Muhammadiyah and Persis, a typical characteristic Salafi pesantren is determined by their adoption of Wahhabi and Salafi

theology which is dominant in Saudi Arabia. Woodward, et al (2010) assess the puritanism of Muhammadiyah, although its origin is inspired by Wahhabi teachings, has experienced domestication with Indonesian culture. However, the Salafi pesantren are different. As far as observed, Salafi pesantren still tries to be bound and loyal to the Wahhabi or Salafi ideas practiced in Saudi Arabia. It is clear, compared to traditional and modernist pesantren, Salafi pesantren are the most different from the dominant Islamic theological and cultural views in Indonesia which is the Indonesian-style *Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah* (Aswaja).

## **B. Traditionalist Pesantrens: Kyai and Classic (Yellow) Book**

Pesantren experts (Dhofier, 1994; Prasojo, 1978; Arifin, 1993; Mastuhu, 1994) mentioned among the characteristics of pesantren, beside the existence of santri (students), mosques, and dormitories, it is the central figure of the Kiyai and the classical Islamic book. We still find those descriptions, especially among traditional pesantren. Compared to other types of pesantren, traditional pesantren (NU, Aswaja) are the most aware that Kiyai and the classical Islamic book as pesantren's main protective factors from religious radicalism. In typical traditional pesantren, the existence of charismatic Kiyai cannot be separated from the classical Islamic books. The reason is that in the pesantren standard, a person can only hold the title of Kiyai after demonstrating his skills in reading the classical Islamic book. The ability of Kiyai to master the classical Islamic book does not only show his level of religious understanding but also presents a charismatic character known as "*barakah Kiyai*" (blessing of Kiyai) (Bruinessen, 1994; Dhofier, 1998; Madjid, 1999; Lukens-Bull, 1997; Woodward, 2010). The community of traditional pesantren is known for their ethics of respect and obedience to the Kiyai. This attitude of respect and obedience is believed to lead to goodness and benefit of living in the world and the afterlife (Madjid, 1999; Bruinessen, 2004; Woodward,

2010, p. 34).

Even though the era may change, a charismatic Kiyai continues to play a role in constructing a Muslim societies' identity along with the globalization changes (Lukens-Bull, 1997; Fauzi, 2012). According to the traditional pesantren community, Kiyais are examples of religious values, morals, and ideal Islamic behaviors. Even the example extends to the socio-political fields. "Ahlussunnah follows the way of Kiyai by obeying Kiyai. When the Kiyais are joining PKB (the National Awakening Party), the pesantren communities will just follow them. In the past, the period of Gus Dur many pesantren communities followed Gus Dur, right ... "explained Nyai Maftuhah Minan, a manager of Tahfizul Qur'an Pesantren, Pati, Central Java.<sup>1</sup> are Some studies show how important the influence of Kiyai leadership in social and political life in Indonesia is, especially in the village areas (Turmudi, 2006; Dhofier, 1998; Lukens-Bull, 1997; and Fauzi; 2102).

to respond to religious radicalism, traditional pesantren communities need to imitate and behave like Kiyai's attitudes. Kiyai Mustafa Bisri is one example. As a manager of Raudhatul Thalibin Pesantren, Rembang, Gus Mus (commonly called), is widely known not only as a charismatic ulama (scholar) but also as a humanist figure. According to Raudhatul Thalibin Pesantren's managers, Gus Mus is a guarantee of pesantren resilience to radical or extreme religious ideas. Kiyai Makin, a manager of Roudhatul Thalibin Pesantren, Rembang, emphasized that "this is what we see the figure of Gus Mus as the most ideal example for santri here. Thus, the students are taught not to act anarchically towards others who are not the same as us."<sup>2</sup>

The daily behavior of traditional pesantren Kiyai is a manifestation of the values contained in the classical Islamic books. Kiyai is seen as the ideal embodiment of the classical Islamic book teaching which is basically a textual normative

reference to the Aswaja Theology. It is known that Aswaja's norms are formed from Syafi'iyah Fiqh, Asy'ariyah Aqidah, and al-Ghazali Tasawuf ethics (Bruinessen, 2004).<sup>3</sup> In traditional pesantren community members' view, the classical Islamic books can provide proper responses to religious moral problems in the middle of a changing world. They believe that the classical Islamic books, even though it was composed of salaf (classical) scholars, is still relevant to use in modern eras. Take a look at the answers of pesantren managers, teachers, and traditional pesantren students in East Java and Aceh, who expressed their confidence in the reliability of the classical Islamic book as a capital of pesantren resilience:

“... We have manteq, philosophy of science, and Islamic philosophy. We still teach these sciences. Kiyais allow university students to learn not only philosophy but also the Communists of Karl Max. We are not afraid because the fortress for Ahlussunnah has begun from *ibtida* (basic level) to *ulya* (advanced level) (KH. Dr. Musyaffa', Leader PP al-Salafiyah al-Fitrah, Surabaya).”<sup>4</sup>

So, to teach in this dayah, the ustadz must be able to teach the turrets books (classical books, sic), we have our own curriculum which is then taught based on the grades of the students. For example, the first grade for Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) uses the *Matan Takrib* Book (Worship, *Muamalat*, *Munakahat*, *Jinayat*) then the development of this book is *Bajuri* Book. In this book, the explanation of the previous book is deeper elaborated and it is added with the contents of *Siyasah* (politics). The point is that this dayah still refers to classical books. Thus, in my opinion, radical ideas will not infiltrate this institution because the teaching staff who serve here are well selected (Ust Aria, a teacher at Mahyal Ulum Al-iziAziziyah Dayah, Aceh Besar).”<sup>5</sup>

“Because all dayah in Aceh teach *Shafi'iyah* ideology but we do not teach our students to accuse people as heresy

and infidel. In dayah, there are also no lessons about violence and suicide-bombings. Moreover, the books in the dayah are selected based on the needs of the Acehnese people. Learning these books, we consider it enough to fight radicalism and terrorism (Rahmi Yati, a female student at Darul Muta'allimin Dayah, West Aceh)."<sup>6</sup>

Besides the good models and the classical Islamic books, a Kiyai carries out his binding function through the practice of traditional Islamic rituals. These rituals are believed to be the difference between Aswaja Islamic culture and non-Aswaja culture, or between NU culture and non-NU culture. This characteristic does not only apply in Java but also outside Java. A manager of An-Nahdhah Pesantren, a NU affiliated pesantren in Makassar, South Sulawesi, Ustadz Firdaus, tells how the founders and Kiyai in An-Nahdhah Pesantren have preserved Islamic rituals such as Taraweeh prayer of 23 rakaat, *tahlilan*, *takziyah*, *maulidan*, *barzanji* and other typical NU rituals for a long time. According to him, this pesantren was established to maintain and preserve the religious tradition. Furthermore, the traditional ritual practices have formed a resilience of pesantren and surrounding communities towards the penetration of other religious cultures that are considered strange and can threaten social cohesion between them.<sup>7</sup>

A Kiyai with the classical Islamic books and its religious rituals does not only serve to maintain and strengthen internal identities of the traditional pesantren community but also build a social bridge with non-Muslim communities. In some traditional pesantren in Java, the relationship or attitudes of respecting differences between traditional pesantren and non-Muslim communities is conducted through having passive tolerance, or the avoiding to disturb each other, to (esteem) (Raz, 1988, pp. 155-175). A strong social bridging with non-Muslims is built because the Kiyai and his pesantren communities practice the value of reciprocity or taking-and-



giving relationship, in which the pesantren community does not only accept but also give what they have to non-Muslims, and vice versa. In Raudatul Thalibin Pesantren Rembang, the Kiyai utilizes the social capital of “Manaqiban” ritual to create and maintain cohesive relations between pesantren members with Christians and Chinese ethnic.

“Alhamdulillah, the santri and the Chinese Ethnic have a good, and normal relationship here. Regarding Catholics, even the next-door neighbors are Catholics. The Kiyai, it is Catholic Kiyai... But he passed away. We had a good relationship. Excuse me, even when, a Golkar (*Golongan Karya* party) candidate joined a general election to be a parliament member, his wife invited santri to do *Manaqiban* ... And every the harvest moon of mango, they also send the mangoes taken from their three mango trees too. Mbah Mus (KH Mustafa Bisri, sic) himself gave an example of a relationship with the Chinese Ethnics and it influenced his students. A Chinese doctor treated the sick students for free.”<sup>8</sup>

The construction of social bridging in traditional pesantren does depend on the charismatic Kiyai. In some places, social bridging with different identities appears thicker than in other places. Even in certain cases, this role leads to protecting the existence of minority groups. To a certain degree, a Kiyai does not only has good relations with a minority group but also defends their rights. KH Agus Khatibul Umam, a manager of An-Nizhomiyah Pesantren, Pandeglang, tells the story of his father's role, the founder of An-Nizhomiyah Pesantren, in protecting the rights and religious freedom of a person who is considered heretical by MUI and ordinary people. According to him, Abah (father), a nickname of the Kiyai, often did that. One of example, when Abah defended the rights of Kiyai Juned, a manager of a pesantren in Cimanuk. Kiyai Juned was labeled heretical by MUI and other influential scholar figures in Banten because he was no longer practicing sharia. However, Abah

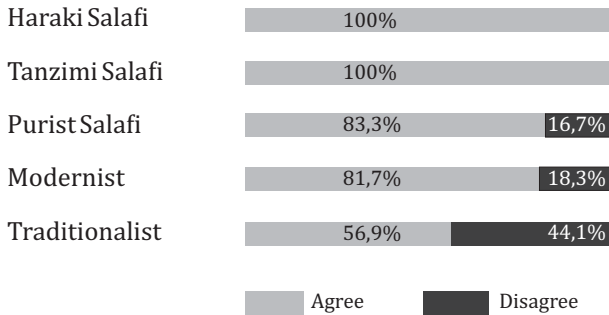
continued to defend him all his life until he died. After Abah's death, Kiyai Juned was invited by the scholars in Banten who considered him to be an apostate from Islam. He was asked to repent by repeating the shahada. Although it was not in the during the period of the late Abah, his son, KH Agus Khatibul Umam, tries to play a role as a social relationship with non-Muslims, especially with the Catholic community, even he is at the risk of receiving resistance from the surrounding environment.

Perhaps because of thinking about the surrounding community's resistance, some few Kiyai and managers of traditional pesantren interpret social bridging with non-Muslims to be on a good relationship (*tasamuh*) in social relations without interfering each other. They generally consider that interacting with non-Muslims is not a problem as long as a heeded limitation. One limitation that is often highlighted is maintaining the Islamic faith. Associating with non-Muslims is not prohibited as long as it does not confuse their belief (*aqeedah*). For example, by acknowledging other religions' truths or saying Merry Christmas to Christians. In Aceh, the limit is even stricter, in which they ask non-Muslims to be able to adjust the way they dress up like the way the Muslims dress in Aceh.<sup>10</sup>

Regarding merry Christmas wish to Christians, the perception of informants based on pesantren typology shows that saying merry Christmas to Christians is a problem in almost all pesantren typology, especially in Salafi pesantren (Jihadi and Haraki), Salafi Puris, modernists and almost half of traditionalist pesantren. The following graphic data shows that The disagreement of Muslims with the wish of Merry Christmas to Christian friends is based on the typology of the pesantren. Salafi Haraki, and Tanzimi show 100% disagreement while Salafi Puris shows 83.3. Regarding modernist and traditionalist, they have 81.7% and 56.9% for each. (See Graph 7)

**Graph 7.**

The Correlation between the Pesantren Typology and the Consent of Muslims Not to Congratulate Merry Christmas

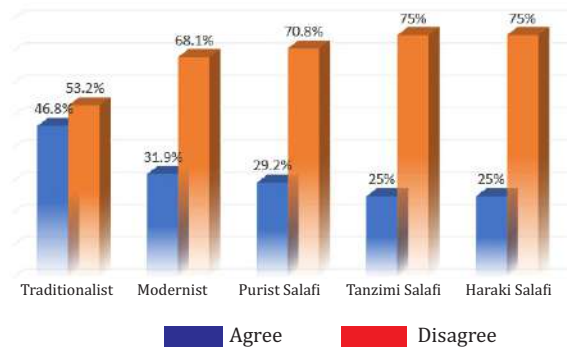


Tolerance towards non-Muslims as described earlier is in line with the results of research conducted by Jeremy Menchik (2015, p. 154) towards organizers of NU, Muhammadiyah, and Persis civil organizations. According to Menchik, 82% of the above organizations' organizers claimed to have no objections to have neighbors of different religions. The 82% figure for peaceful coexistence for communalistic societies such as Indonesia is quite large, which shows a positive trend. In some liberal democratic countries, the number of “tolerance for coexistence” is slightly above Indonesia: the US (87%), the United Kingdom (86%), the Netherlands (86%), and Sweden (85%) (2015, p. 154). Tolerance experts such as Rawls (1987, p. 11) and Fletcher (1996), argue that people with different religious, racial, and ethnic backgrounds can generally apply “tolerance of coexistence”. This is possible because the concept of coexistence builds horizontal social relations. However, society is not always able to maintain its coexistence when social relations turn into vertical linking, in other words, top-down relations between the majority (top) and minority (bottom).

Inconsistent tolerance of coexistence is also found in pesantren's perception in general. In responding to the issue of establishing non-Muslim houses of worship in Muslim areas, their attitude generally shows objection, although it does not always mean coercion. Likewise, generally, the observed traditional pesantren managers cannot accept the Shia and the Ahmadiyya minority. Although the percentage of traditional pesantren is better than other pesantren typologies in terms of tolerance to Shia and Ahmadiyya, their attitudes are generally more negative towards these two groups (See the following Table). According to Jeremy Menchik, this attitude is caused by the community's strong desire to care for their religious identity when confronted with conflicting theology. The presence of Shia and Ahmadiyya religious sects that conflict with orthodoxy is considered to be able to threaten cohesion among the traditional pesantren communities (Menchik, 2016).

**Graph 8.**

Correlation between Pesantren Typology and Respondents' Perceptions of the Fulfillment of Religious Rights for Ahmadiyya and Shia



The challenge for traditional pesantren in the future is how Kiyai's leadership can balance the social bonding function with the social bridging function. This is not solely Kiyai's personal responsibility but also the collective responsibility of the Kiyai at the level of the NU's civil organization (*jam'iyah*). Traditional pesantren are politically relatively independent, although they are culturally bound to NU. Therefore, NU cannot always intervene in the pesantren communities' choice of political attitudes and policies. However, the social mechanism at NU can facilitate pesantren Kiyai to raise this issue as a socio-political discourse on the role of Kiyai regarding nationalism. Moreover, governmental institutions can also increase their role in strengthening the function of Kiyai's social bridging through their involvement in religious harmony development programs. This strategy has been implemented by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. One of them is the Forum for Religious Harmony (FKUB), a social mechanism that brings together diverse religious communities. However, this role needs to be continuously optimized to further strengthen nationality connection among religious communities.

### **C. Panca Jiwa: The Values of Unity in Pondok Modern Gontor**

As a part of their struggle with various socio-religious and socio-political issues in Indonesia, during the early 20th century, three founders of Modern Gontor Pesantren, KH Ahmad Sahal, KH Imam Zarkasyi, and KH Zainuddin Fannani, known as *Trimurti* (Triumvirate), they formulated the basic values that live within Pondok Modern Gontor (PMG). These values are crystallized into 5 values or commonly called Panca Jiwa (The Five Souls): Sincerity, Simplicity, Islamic Brotherhood, Freedom, and Independence/self-reliance. In the long struggle of the pesantren which in 2020 is 94 years old, they realize that they could rely on this "Panca Jiwa" as a pesantren's protective factor from radicalism and violent extremism.

"Panca Jiwa" is a set of the binding values of Gontor pesantren members (the term Gontor pesantren hereinafter will be exchanged with Pondok Gontor, Gontor, or PMG)<sup>11</sup> with their alma mater even after they have left their campus for a long time. Panca Jiwa is also applied by dozens of Gontor Branches and hundreds of alumni Gontor scattered in various regions. Until now at least 360 pesantren units of alumni Gontor have been established throughout Indonesia. Those alumni pesantren develop themselves by building branches so that the Pondok Gontor education system is widespread and reproductive. Among the alumni's pesantren that have been popular: Darunnajah Pesantren, Ulujami, South Jakarta; Darul Qolam Pesantren, Gintung, Balaraja, Banten, Pabelan Pesantren, Muntilan, Central Java, and Al-Amin Pesantren, Perinduan, Madura. Whereas alumni pesantrens newly established by Gontor alumni they have been growing rapidly, and some of them are included in this study which are Tazakka Modern Pesantren, Batang, Central Java; and Darul Hijrah Putri Pesantren, Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan. According to these pesantren residents, "Panca Jiwa" has succeeded in becoming a collective awareness and binding them with the community. These values have been instilled through various learning strategies and media that were deliberately designed and developed in such a way by the managers of this pesantren since its inception until now. In the followings are some of the Gontor alumni's acknowledgment regarding Panca Jiwa as a binding factor to their identity and therefore a source of resilience to radicalism and violent extremism:

"Talking about pesantren's resilience, there are some concepts we have in this pesantren. The first is *atssawabit* (fixed the things, sic). The second is *almughayyiroh* (things that change, sic). The third is *atssawabit* called Panca Jiwa. Panca Jiwa includes sincerity, simplicity, independence, Islamic Brotherhood, and freedom," (Ust Muhammad Bisri and Ust Ferry

Hidayat, the teaching staff at Tazakka Modern Pesantren, Batang, Central Java).<sup>12</sup>

"Referring to Kiyai Rifai's message (Founder of Darul Qolam Pesantren, Gintung), you can be anything. But don't forget that you are Santri. You want to be anything. Please, but don't forget you're Santri. You want to be an engineer, you want to be the head of government, you want to be an employee, you want to build a company or a president or you want to be anything else, don't forget your santri status. It means that you have values which are the values of the Panca Jiwa Modern Pesantren. There is philosophy. Don't forget that, "(KH Oddi Rosyihuddin, Manager of Darul Qolam Pesantren, Gintung, Balaraja, Banten).<sup>13</sup>

The basic values which must be possessed by all santri and alumni are sincerity, simplicity, Islamic Brotherhood, independence, and freedom (Ustadz Nur Ali, Teacher of Darunnajah Pesantren 9, South Tangerang).<sup>14</sup>

The binding values of the Pondok Gontor community above are basically not genuine from Gontor Pesantren. In fact, traditional pesantren have held these values for a long time, especially "sincerity" and "simplicity". Like "brotherhood among Muslims" and "self-reliance" values, both have actually been known among traditional pesantren (Wahid, 1999, pp. 140-141; Arifin, 1993, p. 48; Solichin, 2012, pp. 65- 66). This fact is not denied by the founders of Pondok Gontor and instead, this confirms that these values are adapted from pesantren's souls in Indonesia.<sup>15</sup> However, Pondok Gontor's founders contextualized these values based on Pondok Gontor's vision and mission in building a modern Islamic education with pesantren souls. As a consequence, this strategy leads to the synthesis between pesantren's traditional values and modernity values in various physical and non-physical manifestations in forms of buildings, organizations, and management, in various business ventures, daily discipline

habits, and even dress codes (suit, tie and *kopiah*). It may seem like a paradox between the simplicity soul and the appearance of classy school buildings and dormitories on many Gontor campuses. This fact does not indicate paradox, but reflects the concept of simplicity value which is interpreted specifically; “being simple does not mean being poor, but being simple is the fulfillment of needs without being excessive.”<sup>16</sup> Having the sincerity, simplicity, and independence values, Pondok Gontor already has enormous economic assets more than the average pesantrens do, perhaps Pondok Gontor is the largest Islamic boarding school in Indonesia (Abubakar, 2005, p.230).

Interestingly, the value of freedom is considered as the most typical value of Pondok Gontor, at least compared to values in traditional pesantren. Freedom is perhaps the strongest value in expressing a modernity perspective. Therefore, the freedom is included in the Pondok Gontor Motto which illustrates the ideal model of community members' personality: “healthy body”, “virtuous character”, “broad-minded”, and “free-thinking”. In the historical document Pondok Gontor, “free-thinking” is defined as “honest-thinking, not limited by vested interests, objectives, and non-partisans.”<sup>7</sup> the Pondok Motto “broad-minded” functions to define free-thinking so that the results become more objective, comprehensive, and comparative. In the socio-political fields, free-thinking is manifested in a non-partisan political attitude. The motto “Gontor stands above and for All Groups” reflects this stance. This value strengthens another value, which is “*ukhuwwah Islamiyyah*”, a brotherhood of fellow Muslims regardless of their ideologies or fiqh madhabs.

High tensions and even polarization in Islamic societies in the early 20th century became the reason for establishing the Gontor. This conflict situation involved mainly followers of the NU traditionalist civil organizations and activists of the Muhammadiyah movement who carried the idea of renewal



Islamic community's life. Appearing to bring unity spirit among the people, the founders of Pondok Gontor tried to get out of the group fanaticism trap at that time and offer a fresh idea, which is to embrace and bind. These values have a dual function as the bond among the internal members of Pondok Gontor itself, as well as the relationship (bridging) between Pondok Gontor with other Muslim communities, especially from among NU and Muhammadiyah. This awareness as people's bonding is practiced in the daily lives of Pondok Gontor members in their alma mater. This attitude is also implemented in various branches and Gontor alumni-established pesantrens. The head of Pondok Gontor revealed the success of "social bridging" concept between different Muslim groups:

"We are all close. Mr. Hasan (the current head of Gontor) is NU. He is one of Gontor alumni. Din Syamsuddin who serves in Muhammadiyah is one of Gontor alumni as well. So, it's up to them wherever Gontor alumni want to go. However, the students learning in this pesantren are not allowed. This is one of the phenomena among the alumni. all alumni will become one if they meet their fellow alumni."<sup>18</sup>

In its development, Gontor prepares alumni who are active as actuators and leaders in existing Islamic civil organizations in Indonesia, especially NU and Muhammadiyah. In the early 2000s, the two largest Islamic civil organizations in Indonesia were led by two Gontor alumni. NU was led by KH. Hasyim Muzadi while Muhammadiyah was led by Prof. Din Syamsuddin. Both religious institutions are known as the main supports of Islamic moderation in Indonesia. In Gontor, the social capital taught to its santri becomes a kind of normative guide for them to take part in society. It can be said that social capital contributes to the development of social capital in the wider Muslim communities.

The Gontor stakeholders consciously instill these values through the learning process in the classroom. In the pedagogy at Gontor, instilling values seems to be more important than mastering learning materials. For example, Comparative of Fiqh Madhhabs is given in Grade 4/5 (equivalent to grade 10/11 in high school). The literature used is the Book of Bidayatul Mujtahid by Ibn Rusyd, a thinker of Maliki Madhhab, who lived in the 12th century AD in Spain. The book is taught in only a few sections, and the santri do not read it thoroughly as generally santri study the classical Islamic books in traditional pesantren. In the perspectives of some Gontor santri, the book is not easy to understand. "It is also difficult, and the book is thick, So it is difficult to understand," complained Sri Rahma, a female santri in Darul Hijrah Putri Pesantren, Banjar, South Kalimantan.<sup>19</sup> However, what is important here is not the mastery of *muqaran fiqh* arguments (comparison) in detail, it is rather instilling an awareness of the essence of diversity in fiqh madhhabs. In addition, reading Maliki Madhhab's literature does not necessarily make Pondok Gontor oriented toward Maliki Fiqh (the science of Islamic law). In fact, in terms of ritual worship, a common practice is closer to the Shafi'i Madhhab. This attitude again reflects a commitment to social cohesion among Muslims, as conveyed by the head of one of the Gontor Alumni Pesantren:

"Well, we also learn the book of Bidayatul Mujtahid by Ibn Rusyd. It is taught in high school grade XI. It talks about the fiqh. Well, this is our passion for tolerance and moderation. Well, there's a lot of discussions when the students learn. Although we uphold differences with the concept of "Bidayah", This book becomes one of the scientific disciplines and it plays an important role as well. We still perform worship like "old people" [Nahdliyin], using dhikr, or long dhikr together. We apply the principle *Khilaful 'adah' adawah* (If we exclude or differ from customs, there will be hostility) to avoid desynchronization with the environment. (Ustadz Abdullah Husin, Darul Hijrah Putri Pesantren manager,

Gontor Affiliation, 15 August 2019).”<sup>20</sup>

The binding values of Muslims are not only instilled in the classroom, but also in various activities outside the classroom. Since all pesantren members stay together for 24 hours, the education process of values is easier to implement in all available space and time like in the classroom, outside the classroom, in the dormitory, in organizational activities, scout activities, and arts and sports activities. In short, the process of instilling these values is supported by the school cultures. Managers at Pondok Gontor refer to this pedagogy with a hidden curriculum, that “What is seen, heard and felt is education.”<sup>21</sup> As an illustration, a written motto on the banner “Gontor Stands Above and for All Groups” in large and striking letters displayed on one of the walls in the Pondok Gontor Ponorogo complex. That way is intended to remind students and make them have a commitment to carrying it out. “If we have already admitted by Gontor, our background is Gontor regardless of their family backgrounds. My family background is Muhammadiyah. As Gontor santri, we are supposed to be the binding of Muslims” said Ustadz Agus Budiman, one of the teachers at Modern Gontor Ponorogo, showing his commitment to the above motto.<sup>22</sup>

Being free from group exclusivity is also instilled in pesantren policies related to the use of symbols. Not only the exclusivity of madhhabs and ideology is prohibited but also the exclusivity of ethnocentrism is prohibited. The Pondok Gontor managers consider the prominence of ethnic symbols can create gaps and discrimination that can hinder the education process at pesantren and their process of being members of the community. This view is conveyed by Ust. Adib Fuadi Nuriz, one of the teachers at Pondok Modern Gontor, Ponorogo.

“Here, santri cannot wear foreign sports club jersey like Real Madrid, it's prohibited. There can be racial divisions when there are social gaps between one another. So, we

have a motto “Gontor is above and for all groups”, meaning that I can't wear my local clothes here. For example, I am from Ciamis, so I am wearing any clothes with Ciamis writing... I am not allowed to only gather with Ciamis people. It will cause a spark of social inequality friction. So everyone is all equal. If the students are not allowed, the teachers will not be allowed either. If students go to Ponorogo, they must wear shirts, so ustadz when going out must wear shirts or *koko* (Muslim-related) shirts.”<sup>23</sup>

However, this freedom of orientation to take a role in society has consequences in which Gontor is not considered successful by some groups in proving its resilience to radicalism. One indication is the phenomenon of Abubakar Ba'asyir, the main figure and role model of radical groups and jihadists in Indonesia. Because Ba'asyir studied at Pondok Gontor, some people speculate about the possible influence of education in Pondok Gontor with Ba'asyir's radical orientation. In addition, throughout the mass media coverage, Pondok Gontor leaders did not firmly condemn or at least blame Ba'asyir's actions with his radical ideology. Responding to the perceptions and speculations above, Gontor leaders refuse to take responsibility for Ba'asyir's radicalism. They also do not worry about the negative views of some people about Gontor's indecisiveness in dealing with the phenomenon of Ba'asyir radicalism. Gontor's leaders view that Ba'asyir became radical not because of Gontor's educational results, but because of the influence of his social environment after becoming an alumnus. another Gontor alumnus, a culture expert, Emha Ainun Najib seems to be considered presenting an ideal profile for Gontor alumni. At least the following is the meaning that can be read from the statements of Gontor managers:

“Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is Gontor, but Gontor is not Abubakar Ba'asyir. Even though the alumni have left Gontor and they go anywhere, they are still considered as alumni

from Gontor. They always instill what their teachers do here, like sincerity, or the ideology that still exists. When visiting Gontor before he was married, Cak Nun (Emha Ainun Najib) said that I could be like this because of Gontor. I was taught with discipline and religion, nobleness values.”<sup>24</sup>

The emphasis of education through examples and practice is also implemented in instilling nationalism values. In Pondok Gontor, Civic Education is not taught, but some Gontor Alumni-established pesantrens teach civic education as long as the pesantren follows the national curriculum.<sup>25</sup> However, nationalism awareness is instilled through various ceremonial and symbolic activities, such as joining flag ceremonies, singing Indonesian Raya anthem, and performing regional dance performances which are regularly held. Santri from certain tribes is asked to perform arts from other tribes. For example, santri from Bengkulu will perform a culture of Reog from Ponorogo, while santri from Jakarta dance the Kecak Dance from Bali. In addition, nationalism values are also instilled through Scout activities which are a compulsory extracurricular subject for all santri. A teacher at Pondok Gontor acknowledges that theoretically, Gontor santri cannot answer the questions regarding citizenship, but practically they fully comprehend nationalism values through these practices.<sup>26</sup> The nationalism instilled here includes respecting ethnic diversity, appreciating cultural diversity, and comprehending the meaning of national unity, and self-esteem as a great sovereign nation.

Unlike the value of social bridging between different tribes, relations with non-Muslims are less emphasized in daily practice and experience. However, Pondok Gontor prepares its santri with a framework for thinking about religious diversity. The policy introduces insights into comparative religion while simultaneously reflecting a commitment to carry out the motto “broad-minded”. The lessons are given in Grade V or Grade XI in

high school. The literature used is al-Adyan Book, a book compiled in Arabic by Ustadz Mahmud Yunus, an Islamic education figure from West Sumatra. The book contains information about the history of major religions quite objectively, including about Confucianism. In Ustadz M. Anshari's view, a manager at a Gontor Alumni Pesantren, the book "Not to compare whether this one religion is right, but as knowledge, this is the history of the people. Therefore, the context of santri religious knowledge has been formed in facing differences."<sup>27</sup>

Education in Pondok Gontor stands on the noble values of Pondok's Panca Jiwa. These values are instilled and nurtured through various institutional strategies, pedagogy, curriculum, and hidden curriculum. With such strategy, Pondok Gontor has succeeded in directing its alumni to various religious madhab or different political orientations, while still maintaining solidarity. As acknowledged by Woodward (2010, p. 33) it is impossible to link Pondok Gontor with a particular political orientation. Nevertheless, Pondok Gontor and its alumni will continue to face the challenges of consistently running the Panca Jiwa. Commitment to instill the value of freedom will certainly prepare the alumni who are objective and free to take part anywhere and try to promote that value in society. At the same time, commitment to broaden knowledge will educate figures who love science, feel always motivated to expand the horizon of thinking, and promote these values in society. If the education process is effective, it will ideally prepare individuals who are resilient to extremism and radicalism in various forms of manifestation. Wherever they work or live, they will keep an objective, and scientific way of thinking so that they can avoid bias but they rather encourage non-partisan or promote fraternity, simplicity, selfless, and independent attitudes. Thus it will be psychological protective factors

from the possibility of being involved or even exposed to radicalism. The reason is simply the tendency to be extremist and radical by definition cannot be in line with the values mentioned above.

In the national political arena that often carries religious identity, Pondok Gontor and its alumni cannot completely avoid the influence of political dynamics that take place outside the Pondok. Political contestation in the Jakarta governor election (2017) and the presidential election (2019) are considered to have created socio-religious impacts in the form of polarization among Muslims based on their political choices. How do Pondok Gontor's leaders address the issue of political polarization which also involves alumni? A teacher at Pondok Gontor tried to describe how Pondok institutionally remained committed to non-partisan attitudes in the polarization of Indonesian people on one side and the temptation to take a side on the other:

"Gontor never explains it, because it's tiring, it's up to them whatever they want to say. Institutionally, yes, we never directed alumni between two or more at all... The split is not about to happen, but it has already happened. In this Pesantren it is allowed to watch television, they understand not to have electronic devices. Sometimes Kiyai shows himself walking around and reminds his students that the weather is cold. If you ride a motorcycle, you must then wear a thick jacket because it is windy. On the occasion of *munasabah*, for example, when there is an annual ceremony at the beginning of the year, Kiyai will give a speech and some reminders although they are not really specific."<sup>28</sup>

#### **D. Capital of Muhammadiyah and Persis Pesantrens**

Social capital in terms of the sense of community of Muhammadiyah and Persis (Islamic Unity) Pesantrens cannot be separated from their connection with the shared identity that binds each of those Islamic mass organizations. Unlike the traditional Pesantrens and Gontor model Pesantren, Persis and Muhammadiyah Pesantrens were not established by individuals, but by the community and authorized by their respective parent organizations. In the historical context, Persis Pesantren is much older than Muhammadiyah Pesantren. The first Persis Pesantren was established in Bandung in 1936, and the second one was built in Bangil, in 1940. The first Muhammadiyah Pesantren was established in 1975 in Garut, West Java, and was named Darul Arqam Pesantren.<sup>29</sup> Persis and Muhammadiyah Pesantrens were indeed founded to regenerate ulama and muballigh (preachers) who will preach Islam in their respective regions according to the understanding of the two organizations.<sup>30</sup> According to Muhibb Abdul Wahab, Secretary of Pesantren Development Institute (LP2) Muhammadiyah Central Head, by 2018 there were 325 Pesantrens managed by Muhammadiyah or also called Muhammadiyah Pesantren (MBS) and around 100 units were culturally affiliated with Muhammadiyah.<sup>31</sup> Meanwhile, the number of Persis Pesantrens is around 230, spread in various regions in Indonesia.

As everyone knows that Muhammadiyah Association was established on November 18, 1912, by KH Ahmad Dahlan in Yogyakarta to spread pure Islamic teachings and advance social life and education of Muslims based on the Qur'an and Hadith values. Meanwhile, the Islamic Union (Persis) Mass Organization was established in Bandung on September 12, 1923, by a number of Muslim figures (Wildan, 1997, p. 7). Persis showed its identity as an organization that carried out the Islamic purification mission after the main figure of Persis,



A Hassan joined this organization, around 1926 (Khaeruman, 2010, pp. 47-49). Both mass organizations were influenced by Islamic reform movements that took place in the Middle East in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The founders of the two mass organizations were much in touch with the thoughts of reformers, such as Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Rashid Rida, and Muhammad Abdul Wahhab. Advocates in both organizations were known to carry the motto "back to the Qur'an and Hadith", a mission that from the beginning has distinguished them from the community identity in traditional Pesantren. While Muhammadiyah Association emphasizes the promotion of Islamic educational and social institutions, Persis mass organizations seem to focus more on strengthening puritan theological discourse through the practice of discussion and debate (Federspiel, 2001; Bruinessen, 2004, pp. 10-11; Bachtiar, 2012, p. 47-48).<sup>32</sup>

The adhesive value is instilled and maintained in the Pesantren community of Muhammadiyah and Persis through a pedagogical system and, of course, their relationship with the structural parent organization. However, the consolidation of the identity of each mass organization influenced the development of the Pesantren identity. In the early days, in the era of independence until the beginning of the New Order, Persis Pesantren had a strong identity with the leadership of the main figures in the political and social national religious stage. As shown by the work of Muhammad Natsir and A Hassan, two key Persis figures, in influencing Islamic discourse in public. However, the identity consolidation has recently begun to decline with the lack of involvement of organizations and the key figures who represent Persis identity in the national scope. After that, between Persis and Muhammadiyah, the differences of identity did not emerge so much. As a result, it raised the issue of indecision of identity in the Persis community. This identity issue can be seen in the expression of a teacher at Persis Bangil Pesantren below:

"Indeed, Persis is unclear regarding the issue of organization, as well as in education, it is not prominent. We prefer Muhammadiyah because Muhammadiyah has quite similar pathways of fiqh to Persis. However, a long time ago people should get married to a descendant of Turkish, Indian, and Habib (the descents of Prophet Muhammad), so you could be considered *kufu* (equivalent). Habib is the title of Allah... There is a similarity between Persis and Muhammadiyah. Unlike Muhammadiyah and Al-Irsyad, Persis does not have any mosque. Now India with its Shi'a theology has entered Indonesia but I warn the staffs who are mostly my santri about this threat."<sup>33</sup>

Muhammadiyah mass organization is increasingly showing its organizational progress at the national and regional levels. This is marked by the rapid development in various fields of business charity, ranging from universities, schools, hospitals, to Amil Zakat Institute (LAZ). Although Muhammadiyah Pesantren has been established for more than 4 decades, the attention of Muhammadiyah Community Organization to the promotion of Pesantren institution has only been shown in recent years. One of them is the establishment of the Pesantren Development Institute (LP2), a special organ in Muhammadiyah Pesantren that is mandated to advance Muhammadiyah Pesantren. This special division of this pesantren will have an impact on the attachment of Muhammadiyah Pesantren to its parent organization and will, therefore, influence the consolidation of the Pesantren identity going forward. The attachment and connection of Muhammadiyah Pesantren with Muhammadiyah mass organization influence their interest in things that can threaten Muhammadiyah's identity, including radicalism and violent extremism threats. However, Muhammadiyah Pesantren cannot freely determine their religious and political attitudes without the direction of their parent organization. This also

applies to address political issues in which Muhammadiyah Pesantren shows its loyalty to the instruction of the central office of Muhammadiyah. "In this case, we follow to the central office. Moreover, it is very taboo for pesantren to lead santri to political interests. The central office may say that we are free. However, it means to not be affiliated with any political organization," said Ust Ahmad Hidayat, Darul Arqam teacher in Garut, West Java, explaining the attachment of his Pesantren to the central organization.

On the other hand Attachment and connection with the central organization requires Pesantren to maintain the positive image of their central organization while maintaining their acceptance and positive image in the society. This organic relationship becomes a protective factor for Muhammadiyah Pesantren against radicalism although, at a certain level, some staffs may agree with the aspirations and views perceived as radicals. This fact can be found in the response of Al-Ikhlas Pesantren leaders, a Pesantren affiliated with Muhammadiyah, in Bima, West Nusa Tenggara.

"Criticizing santri and society involved in radical actions and extremism is our duty. As we always emphasize when there is such a thing, we really avoid it. Moreover, we try to avoid public perceptions against Al-Ikhlas Muhammadiyah Bima Pesantren itself. You can look around. There is no female santri wearing a niqab here. We really understand about niqabs, but we are more restrictive. At least, students can practice other Islamic values."<sup>35</sup>

According to Persis Pesantren, the relation with the central organization is not the same between Persis Pesantren in Bangil and Persis Pesantren in West Java. According to Ust Nur Adi Septanto, a teacher at Persis Bangil Pesantren, Persis Pesantren in West Java are generally more hierarchically related to the mass organization at the central organization. On

the other hand, the relationship of Persis Bangil Pesantren with the Center are more cultural because Persis Bangil Pesantren is under a different foundation that is not structurally related to the central organization. However, some Persis Bangil Pesantren teachers become staffs at the central office, especially at Hisbat Institute or Persis Tarjih Council. Ust Nur Ade Septanto himself admitted that he had been a member of Persis Branch office for one year in Bangil, but due to the lack of activities, he decided to quit.<sup>36</sup>

One thing should be notified regarding the process of forming adhesive values in Muhammadiyah Pesantren. Muhammadiyah Pesantren Council Tarjih plays an important role in the formation of Muhammadiyah Pesantren's identity through the distribution of Tarjih decision set to Pesantren institutions. The compliance with Tarjih's decision is urgent to strengthen the identity of Muhammadiyah Pesantren, especially for newly established Pesantrens, such as Darul Arqam Serang, which is not even 10 years old. Facing various religious issues, the leader of Darul Arqam Serang Pesantren made Tarjih's decision as to the benchmark. when asked how educators convey the issue of radicalism to their santri one of the leaders expressed that "that is true that Muhammadiyah Tarjih is the way we strengthen our students' faith. We introduce Imam Samudra, NII, LDII, Wahhabi to them. If we don't inform the children about this issue from an early age, it will be dangerous," said lip Saepudin, leader of Darul Arqam Pesantren in Serang.<sup>37</sup> The importance of Tarjih decision for the formation of Muhammadiyah Pesantren identity is also recognized by Ust Arsyad, Deputy Director of Darul Arqam Pesantren, Gombara, Makassar:

"... This is what distinguishes us, what distinguishes us from schools out there. Yes, we also have guidance, namely Muhammadiyah Tarjih Decision. We cannot refer a fatwa from anyone even if he is a Muhammadiyah member or supports Muhammadiyah. His fatwa cannot be used as a reference in Muhammadiyah... because we

are directed to refer to Tarjih Muhammadiyah Decision only... If all of this has been deliberated... This is a valid proposition when this is only to say that this is a Muhammadiyah decision... But if I only read a hadith, for example, *innamal a'malu binniyyat*... Now, this is required, legitimate yes, not wrong, but it cannot be stated that it is a Fatwa of Muhammadiyah because it does not come from this... The *Tarjih* decision has an identification number..., number ..."<sup>38</sup>

In terms of social bridges, Muhammadiyah's perspective will define the understanding of Muhammadiyah Pesantren regarding the relations with non-Muslims or adherents of different beliefs. Unity in national diversity has not really been believed to be the basis of binding relations between Pesantren citizens and non-Muslims. Diversity as a fact is accepted as destiny. However, true solidarity must be built based on the belief of equality, which is Tawhid, not the equality of ethnicity or nation. Even so, the Tawhid principle does not then encourage enmity with non-Muslims. Social relations with them are not prohibited as long as they do not influence the Islamic belief. However, to what extent the Tawhid principle promotes a mutual relationship with non-Muslims on the basis of belief in shared values, is not very clear. Muhammadiyah has a concern to fight injustice in the economic and political structure. However, it is unclear whether the commitment to the principle of social justice has been empowered as a basis for building cooperation with non-Muslims to achieve mutual benefit Or is the principle used only for internal Muslim solidarity? This indecisiveness impression can be seen from the expression of Ust Haeruddin, Leader of Darul Arqam Pesantren in Gombara, Makassar, as follows:

"... Muhammadiyah understands that plurality is different from pluralism... yes and that is often conveyed by Muhammadiyah Regional Head, Prof. Ambo... so plurality is *sunnatullah*--it's what is understood by

Muhammadiyah. It is indeed inevitable that we have different tribes and ethnicity... But that is not our binding factor. We should, not be proud of the tribe or, the nation... the goal is that we understand that in thabi'i (natural) human beings do not belong to one clan, one group... and Allah also explains that what binds us is the belief, so that whatever nation he belongs to, whatever his tribe is, if he is Muslim, he will be our brother... That is in the context of tawhid... but in a social context that does not mean that g, we are enemies, because when we have different Tawheed or a different thin. nope... It is fine for you to mingle with people whose eyes are slanted maybe because you need to borrow something from them the right... the Qur'an also does not tell us that mingling has to be with Muslims only. No... we are also fighting against the modern imperialism... in the form of hegemonizing natural resources through capitalist policy packages... and Muhammadiyah has that principle... well that's what we fight"

The obvious spirit of tawhid strengthens the sense of community engagement with the Pesantren and with the Muhammadiyah community on a larger scale. However, the principle of tawhid does not become an obstacle for santri to increase understanding of different communities. This was at least demonstrated by the santri at Darul Arqam Pesantren in Garut, West Java. According to one of the teachers, students are allowed to visit the church for a study tour. In Sociology subject, santri are given a kind of assignment to conduct research in non-Muslim communities. Based on the teacher's statement, it can be understood that interaction with non-Muslims is solely carried out for academic purposes, not to the extent of encouraging respect for differences. "Because indeed the direction is not to belief, only to the social aspect," said Ust Ahmad Syauqie, a teacher at Darul Arqam Pesantren in Garut. However, being open to interacting with different groups will more or less affect insights and therefore it is potentially

preventing religious prejudice.<sup>39</sup>

Activities that can bridge santri with non-Muslim communities are not always the same in all Muhammadiyah Pesantrens. Perhaps only in Darul Arqam Pesantren in Garut where learning activities can be about non-Muslims. In other Muhammadiyah Pesantrens, these kinds of activities were not found. The same activity was also not found in Persis Pesantren, both in Bandung and in Bangil. Even there is no effort found in terms of building a social bridge. A leader from Persis Bangil Pesantren admitted that the meetings with non-Muslims have decreased compared to the previous period, in the 70s, when Persis Pesantren was led by Ustadz Kadir. The leader complained about the absence of interfaith dialogue in Bangil today, even for religious polemic purposes:

"in the 1970s , this pesantren once accepted Christian santri in the Ustadz Kadir era. That is who Ustadz Kadir is. The point is if you want to learn, then go ahead... this Christian santri just had a conversation with Ustadz Kadir. Then, a book called "santri versus priest" was launched. In the past, when discussing the issue of *Ulumul Qur'an* and revelation and so on, if the santri wanted the Gospel, they would just have to come to church, and the gospel would be then given to them. The Church locate here sometimes is told to ask for help from the church there... In Bangil recently, it is very quiet from interactions, while in the past it was very open. In general, it is now quiet from interactions."<sup>40</sup>

Unlike attitudes towards non-Muslims, attitudes towards minority groups in Islam, such as Shia and Ahmadiyya, are characterized by mistrust and frequent rejection. The reason is that their beliefs deviate from Islamic teachings. Although it is not followed by a kind of hatred and animosity, it is clear that there is no support and defense of their rights and freedoms. "I think they (Ahmadiyya) have a wrong understanding, the government should just dissolve it," stressed one of Darul

Arqam Garut Pesantren teachers.<sup>41</sup> In some Muhammadiyah Pesantrens, the leader's response to Shia and Ahmadiyya is marked by efforts to strengthen the mistrust of the Shi'a theology among the santri.<sup>42</sup> According to a teacher in Persis Bangil Pesantren, the presence of Shia in Pasuruan actually increased the bonding between Muhammadiyah Community and NU there. "NU is now building its office in front of YAPI (Islamic Education Foundation, affiliation to Shia), but YAPI considers that Muhammadiyah and NU are in agreement," said Ust Faiz Abdur Razak, a teacher at Persis Bangil Pesantren.<sup>43</sup> The a firm attitude of Muhammadiyah and Persis Pesantrens towards the Shia and Ahmadiyya minorities suggests that the two school communities are building a kind of resilience to the Shia and Ahmadiyya influences.

Clearly, Muhammadiyah and Persis Pesantrens at different levels keep and will keep facing challenges to strengthen social bonding with their central organizations. Moreover, this challenge is relevant for Persis Bangil Pesantren which indeed has relatively no hierarchical relationship with the central organization. Engagement with the central organization is useful to strengthen a broader sense of community, without losing the basic independence to utilize pesantren assets. To the relatively new Muhammadiyah Pesantren, the strengthening of attachment to the central organization was established as a separate requirement. This is a reciprocal responsibility between pesantren and the respective mass organization in order to increase mutual relations. The second challenge is how social bonding among pesantren can be balanced with the development of social bridging with non-Muslim communities to increase social cohesion on the basis of trust, cooperation, reciprocity, and mutual benefit. Increasing understanding of differences can be an important opening step. Muhammadiyah PP emphasized its loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia by issuing a Congressional Decree in Makassar in 2015 that the Republic of Indonesia was a country that stood on the basis of



the agreement and commitment of all generations of the nation ("Darul Ahdi wa al-Sahadah"). The challenge going forward is how the concept of "Darul Ahdi wa al-Sahadah" was developed as a discourse in the Muhammadiyah pesantren community so that the national principle as the social bonding can be bridged with the national principle as the social bridging. The third challenge is how pesantren can build a dialogue with the minority Ahmadiyya and Shia on the basis of maintaining the benefits of nationality, peace (anti-violence), and humanity to prevent discrimination or communal conflict.

#### **E. Limited Social Capital in Salafi Pesantren**

Salafi pesantren community is bound by religious understanding that emphasizes the application of pure Tauhid teachings and ways to follow Sunnah of the Prophet, including in matters of physical appearances, such as maintaining a beard, wearing Isbal pants (above the ankles) for men, and wearing a veil and niqab for women. Salafi itself means the followers of al-Salaf al-Salih (pious predecessors), namely the first two generations who lived during the period of the Prophet: generation of the Companions and the next generation and those who will come after them.<sup>44</sup> Although they are united by the belief purification and emphasis on the Sunnah, Salafi Pesantren community generally disagrees to apply Salafi teachings by political strategy. This difference also makes Salafi divided into three broad categories. Salafi experts call categorization with different names. The first is the Salafi Puris (Purists) category, or it is also called Salafi Quietest or Pacifist. Its main characteristic is refusing to do politics and focuses on pure Islamic dawah and education. The second is Salafi Politics is also called Salafi Activists or Salafi Haraki with characteristics involved in official political mechanisms to change the socio-political order according to Salafi values. the third is Salafi Jihadi, a group that considers doing jihad with violence to fight for Salafi teachings if necessary by

overthrowing a legitimate government (Wiktorowicz, 2006, p. 208; Rabil, 2014; Wagemakers, 2016).<sup>45</sup>

Salafi pesantren in Indonesia generally have Puri's characteristics even if there are more differences in perspective in viewing politics or assessing jihad and violence. Using strict indicators is not easy to point clearly which one the Salafi Pesantren is Haraki and which one is Jihadi. Some pesantren identified as Jihadi, such as Umar bin Khattab Ponpes in Bima, West Nusa Tenggara, has been banned by the government. Meanwhile, Salafi that fight for their vision and missions through the movement of political parties like in Tunisia, are not found in Indonesia nor is it easy to refer to Islamic organizations such as Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), Jama'ah Anshar Tauhid (JAT), and Jama'ah Ansharud Daulah (JAD) as Salafi Haraki because they tend to reject legitimate governments and advocate jihad. They are more suitable to be called Salafi who tend to be Jihadists rather than Haraki even though they are not fully carrying out acts of terror in the name of jihad. However, the relationship of Salafi Jihadi with the other two typologies is not well-protected because members of the Salafi Jihadi may have come from Salafi Haraki community or had been part of the Salafi Puris.

In this study, 3 categories of Salafi Puris pesantren were found. First, Salafi Puris pesantren is apolitical and not affiliated with mass organizations. Second, the Salafi Puris do not intoxicate politics and act on organizations (also called Salafi Tanzimi). Third, the Salafi Puris are close to Salafi Jihadi social militant. The Abu Hurairah pesantren in Mataram, Al-Furqan Al-Islami in Gresik, and Jajar Mosque in Surakarta belong to the first category. While Ponpes under Wahdah Islamiyah Mass Organization is in the second category. As-Salam PP, Bima, belongs to the last category. The Salafi Puris pesantren organizes Islamic religious education to strengthen the faith of Muslims to be in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet

and salaf scholars. However, it must be emphasized here that the salaf scholars are not religious scholars in the terminology of Nahdhiyyin. the term salaf refers to the companions of the Prophet Muhammad who lived in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD or called al-Salaf al-Salih. Salafi Puris are not bound by the fatwa of NU ulama or the Muhammadiyah Tarjih decision. They are also not affiliated with any organization or movement. Below are a few citations from speakers at Salafi Puris pesantren recorded in this study:

"... Abu Hurairah fixes it from below. So these children must be corrected because these children will be the leaders tomorrow. If we have given people understanding like the understanding of Abu Hurairah, everyone will know that first, understanding of the Qur'an and Hadith, and second, understanding of the Companions because the understanding of the companions must be emphasized. And the companions are divided into three generations: first, companions of the Prophet, Tabi'un (the followers of the companions) then Tabi'ut Tabi'in (The people following the followers of the companions) (Ust. M. Sidik, Leader of the Abu Hurairah Ponpes, Mataram, NTB)."<sup>46</sup>

"Our vision and missions are not grandiose. We want to prepare tough generations in terms of good belief, enthusiasm in worship, and good characters. That is our focus in education, then how will this santri practice, how to preach it to others. The point is there, how to prepare our generation of santri who are strong in terms of belief, good faith, good worship, and good morals (Abu Ubaidah Yusuf, Al-Furqan Pesantren, Gresik)."

Muslims, in general, do not exaggerate the issue of whether someone has truly followed Sunnah of the Prophet or not because they think that every Muslim should follow the teachings of the Prophet. According to Salafi followers, Muslims are truly said to follow the Sunnah if they rely directly on the

Qur'an and Hadith without passing through interpretation because interpretation risks confusing the absoluteness of revelation with relative human lust (Wiktorowicz, 2006). That is the reason Salafi followers do not refer to the opinion of Syafi'iyah scholars or the four ulama madhab. However, in practice, Salafi Pesantren does not ask santri to learn directly from the Qur'an or Hadith. However, they taught the books compiled by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, founder of the Wahhabi sect, and other Salafi religious books. At the Jajar Mosque Pesantren, Surakarta, for example, Books of Fathul Majid, Ushul Tsalatsah, and Lum'atul I'tiqad Ibn Qudama al-Maqdisi are taught, in the field of tauhid. Whereas in the field of Fiqh, Books of Umdatul Ahkam and Fiqh Muyassar by Syekh Fauzan, Islamic legal literature taken directly from hadiths of the Prophet, or can be called Fiqh-Hadith.<sup>47</sup> Although written by scholars who lived long after the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, these books are believed to represent a pure understanding of Islam.

In addition, Salafi Puris pesantren refuses to do politics, and this is especially what distinguishes them from Salafi Haraki and Salafi Jihadi. Ustadz Arif Rahman, a teacher at Abu Hurairah Pesantren, Mataram, emphasized that Abu Hurairah Pesantren "does not have an organizational structure and is not affiliated with politics."<sup>48</sup> According to Wiktorowicz (2006, p. 220) and Wagemakers (2016) Salafi Puris reject Salafi Haraki and Salafi Jihadi strategies and consider both of them as the main threat to the purification of true Islam. Their main purpose is simply to maintain the purity of Islam from the influence of bid' ah (heresy) in religion (Wiktorowicz, 2006, p. 218). In their opinion, political movements, parties, or organizations remain bid' ah (heresy) because these practices do not originate from Ijma' of Companions of the Prophet, but these practices are adopted from the Western model. Political or partying a bid' ah is dangerous because it can encourage its activists to change the goal of maintaining the purity of tawhid with the interests of parties and worldly power. This danger can be exacerbated by

the nature of political parties and open organizations so that it can be penetrated by the misguided and even kufr understandings which can, therefore, damage the principle of purity of tawhid (Wiktorowicz, 2006, p. 220).

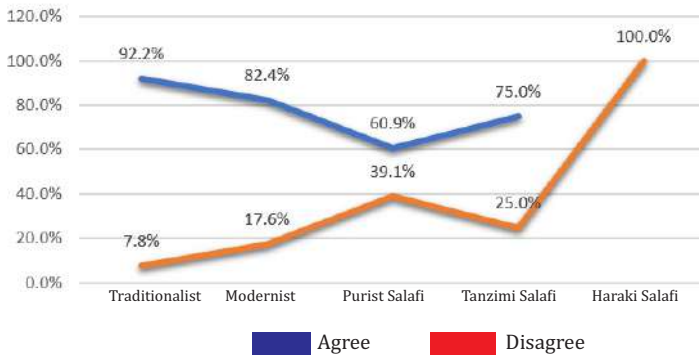
In addition to non-partisans, the leaders of Salafi Puris Pesantren tend to distrust the democratic system. according to them, democracy is a system that is not in accordance with Islamic law (Sunnah). "This democracy is not from Islamic law but the West," said Ustadz M. Sidik, Head of Abu Hurairah Ponpes, Mataram.<sup>49</sup> Islamic and democratic incompatibility, according to Ustadz Lis Mujiono, teacher of Al-Furqan Al-Islamy Pesantren, Gresik, East Java, because in the democratic system the voice of ulama is equivalent to the voice of ordinary people:

"In my opinion, democracy is basically not adopted from Islam because the system most visible from the mistakes of democracy is the election system. Elections take the most votes. Islam itself differentiates between the voice of ulama and the voice of bad people such as drunken people or drug users. Their voice can't be equated. While in the election system it equates everything--one voice. Smart people have the same right to voice with ignorant people (Ustadz Lis Mujiono, a teacher of Al-Furqan Al-Islamy Ponpes, Gresik, East Java)."<sup>50</sup>

The survey results illustrate that the typology of traditional pesantren of 92.2% and modernists of 82.4% agree that Democracy is the best system for Indonesia. Although non-partisan Salafi Puris pesantren compared to Salafi Tanzimi and Salafi Haraki, the approval of Salafi Puris Pesantren towards the Democracy system tend to agree (60.9%) compared to Salafi Tanzimi (75%). While Salafi Haraki's position strongly disagrees 100% that democracy is the best system for Indonesia. The survey results can be seen in the graph below.

**Graph 9.**

**Correlation between Pesantren Typology and Democracy Agreement as the Best System for Indonesia**



From the perspective of resilience to radicalism, the understanding above can be a kind of risk factor that can increase vulnerability to violent extremism. The reason is the attitude of pesantren members who reject democracy can encourage them to change the system and replace it with a more Islamic one. With such an attitude, they will be more easily influenced by the invitation of extremist or radical ideologists to strive to radically change the existing political system, if necessary by force. Paradoxically, despite not accepting democracy, Salafi Puris refuses to use violence to change it. This is simply because they believe in the prohibition of *bughat* or prohibition to rebel against a legitimate government, even if the government is elected in a democratic system. This means that anti-*bughat* doctrine functions as their protective factor against the radicalization of violence. The doctrine is based on the verses of the Qur'an which read: "*Athi'ullah wa ati'urrasul wa ulil amri minkum* (Obey Allah, obey the Prophet, and Government)."<sup>51</sup> From the perspective of Salafi Puris Pesantren leaders, the peaceful 212 demonstrations are still prohibited,

not to mention a war because the correct way to criticize the government is by giving direct advice, not by protesting on the streets.<sup>52</sup> Ustadz M. Sidik from the Head of Abu Hurairah Ponpes, Mataram, explained the anti-*bughat* doctrine in Salafi understanding:

"People power is the same as treason, and that is forbidden by Abu Hurairah (pesantren) because our government is legitimate. Even it is mentioned in the books of Aqidah, whoever rebels against the legal government then he dies like an ignorant person. Moreover, they go out to the street for the people's power. Whereas the concept of jihad exists in these books, for example, jihad which refers to a war is no longer relevant at this moment. However, it is different from the concept of jihad interpreted by Jama'ah Islamiyah followers. They consider that the government, the police, the army are *thaghut* and they are obliged to kill those people in those institutions. In contrast, the members of Abu Hurairah must obey the police. We should obey all rules including the traffic lights. The basic principle is that we must obey a leader. In the Qur'an, "*Yaa ayyuhallazina amanu ati'ullah wa ati'urrasul wa ulil amri minkum.*" "*Wa Ulil Amri Minkum*" We obey the government, including the police (Ust. M. Sidik, Caretaker of Abu Hurairah Ponpes, Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara)."<sup>53</sup>

In terms of addressing a legitimate government, Salafi Haraki is not different from Salafi Puris but they are different in dealing with politics and democracy. Salafi Haraki does not deny political parties (Hizbiyyah) and does not reject democracy just like Salafi Puris in general. Salafi Haraki is famous for his tolerance towards political parties, groups, and figures of the Islamic movement and philanthropic organizations such as Ihya At-Turast, Ash-Shafwah, and Haramain (Mudjahid, 2012, p. 196; Basri, 2017, p152). In this case, the Wahdah Islamiyah (WI) Pesantren represents the Salafi Haraki attitude. However,

regarding their programs, they are more accurately called Salafi Puris who carry out their preaching through organizations or called Salafi Puris Tanzimi. Ust Mohammad Fachrurozi, one of the teachers at Wahdah Islamiyyah Pesantren, Makassar, said that he accepted democracy because through democracy the interests of Muslims could be saved and struggled for. "We follow the process until there is a chance that these Muslims will win, and uphold Islamic Sharia," he emphasized.<sup>54</sup>

The WI mass organization was founded on June 18, 1988, and was originally a movement pioneered by Muhammadiyah activists who participated in the Islamic discussion of KH Fathul Mu'in Daeng Mangading, a Muhammadiyah leader in Makassar (Jurdi, 2007, p. 131). Until now, WI activists still feel close to Muhammadiyah Community Organizations. As Ustadz Ahmad, the WI Ponpes leader, admitted, "Wahdah Islamiyah generally is very close to Muhammadiyah, because indeed it is the branch of Muhammadiyah."<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, WI began to strengthen the loyalty of his Salaf after Muhammad Zaitun Rasmin (Ust Zaitun), the current leader of WI, completed his studies in 1995 from the Islamic University of Madinah (al-Djufri, 2010). The characteristics of the Salafi WI are evident in its attitude of rejecting Sufism and the tendency of its followers to wear the Sunnah-style clothing. WI has a women's organization called Muslimah Institution (LM) and the cadres wear a veil (Nisa, 2012).

WI Pesantren is different from most Salafi Puris pesantren. It relies on identity-bonding with *Ormas Wahdah Islamiyyah* (Mass Organization of Wahdah Islamiyyah). In this case, WI Pesantren has the same protecting factor as Muhammadiyah Pesantren, which is the bonding factor with its origin mass organization. WI Pesantren is legally under Yayasan Pesantren Wahdah Islamiyah (YPWI/Wahdah Islamiyah Pesantren Foundation), which was established on May 25<sup>th</sup>, 2000. YPWI even had legally existed before WI Mass Organization, which



was legally validated on 14 April 2002. YPWI has two pesantren units, comprising the levels of *Tsanawiyah* (middle school) and *Aliyah* (high school), and *Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Islam dan Bahasa Arab* (STIBA - Academy of Islamic and Arabic Science) (Nisa, 2012).<sup>56</sup> As a mass organization, WI has grown and become one of the most successful Salafi movements to attract non-Salafi, especially the young generation (Basri, 2017: 152). Until 2017, WI has 120 branches spreading all over Indonesia (Chaplin, 2017).<sup>57</sup> Their record in politics can be seen in the role of Ustadz Zaitun, the Wahdah Principal, in its participation as leader of Muslim mass. He joined the demonstration on 12 December 2017, which is known as 212 Rally. The rally was held at Monas area, Jakarta, and aimed to sue Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) on criminal law. Ahok, who was still the Governor of Jakarta, was presumed on religion blasphemy. As everyone knows, Ahok was sentenced 2 years by the North Jakarta District Court. Syarifudin Jurni (2007: 128) states that WI leaders, since its establishment, have had the ability to learn political situations and to strengthen WI's influence in changing political situations.

The insight on Salafi was embedded to the WI's santri by teaching Books of Tenets written by Salafi ulema, they are Al-Thahawiyah Book for *santri* of STIBA and Books of Tauhid 1, 2, and 3 for the santri of Tahfizul Qur'an santri. However, WI pesantren is flexible enough in the aspect of fiqh. Based on what the teachers admitted, both at STIBA and at Tahfiz Pesantren, Books of Al-Syafi'iyah are also taught here. In the aspect of fiqh, they learn Book of Ibnu Suja; and for Nahwu, they study Book Jurumiya. It's just like at other traditional pesantrens. They also learn the history of Prophets and Tafseer Ibn Kathir. They also join *Kapontren Kemenag* (Cooperation of Pesantren by Ministry of Religious Affairs). This is why Tahfizul Qur'an WI Pesantren also teaches Civic Education to its santri. According to Uztadz Ahmad, it teaches neither specific literature on Salafi Jihadi nor Jihad books by Sayyid Qutub. Ustadz Syandri denies an

assumption that WI is an exclusive mass organization. “No way. It's impossible. Wahdah spreads anywhere and people will not accept anything exclusive. I have seen that Waddah can be found in almost all cities in Sulawesi”<sup>58</sup> Ustadz Ahmad, the Principal of Tahfiz WI pesantren, said that its santri come from various background and not limited only to Salafi cadres. They are interested in joining WI pesantren because they join Tahfiz program. Thus, after graduating the Middle School, they are accepted at ICM Serpong. This is because they can memorize 20 Qur'an juz. The policy of pesantren Principal, to accept santri with different Islam Mass Organization backgrounds, can be considered a protecting factor to get affected by violent radicalization.

Ustadz Ahmad thinks that his santri have sufficient defense over radicalism and violent extremism. The point is that they're used to Al-Qur'an memorization. They just need to find out whether there are Al-Qur'an's articles allowing them to act radically or not. He thinks that teaching Al-Qur'an makes the santri become open and appreciate the beauty of Islamic teachings. Ustadz Ahmad also admits that some santri parents have concerns if their children learning in Wahdah, they will be radical. The pesantren also tries to debunk their concerns by emphasizing that WI Pesantren never teaches radicalism. He thinks that all Muslim parties, especially NU and Muhammadiyah, welcome Waddah. There is only one who does not support Wahdah. He does not tell which one it is. But it is most probably the exponents of Salafi Puris who refused Wahdah's transformation into Mass Organization.<sup>60</sup>

Salafi Puris Pesantren's efforts to build a social bridge with the non-Muslims are not really strong. They commonly have rare and pragmatic interactions with non-Muslim communities.<sup>61</sup> However, their attitudes generally show communal tolerance, which is more or less the same as other Pesantrens of Muhammadiyah and Persis. One of the characteristics of

communal tolerance is to welcome non-Muslims' presence as long as they do not bother. However, their interactions with non-Muslims must be limited. It only applies to social aspects. At WI pesantrens, the santri are not given the understanding framework over various religions. Thus, they are not taught either to hate or to commit violence toward non-Muslims. On the contrary, they embrace the non-Muslims in Islamic Missionary.<sup>62</sup> Salafi Puris community generally do not accept non-Muslim leader in where they live. However, this thing happens, they are not allowed to commit treason as long as the leader ensures the Muslims' freedom to worship. "And, when we have this kind of leader (non-Muslims) such as in Lombok; and I hope it won't happen. We have Hindu and Christian leaders, we will obey them", Ustadz M Sidik, Principal of Abu Hurairah Pesantren-Mataram, stated.<sup>63</sup>

Compared to their attitudes on non-Muslims, they tend more intolerant to Shia and Ahmadiyya. They consider non-Muslims equally as the other citizens, but not with Shia and Ahmadiyya followers. Ustadz Lis Mujiono of Al-Furqan Al-Islami, Gresik, stated that this nation was not obliged to fulfill Shia followers' rights of worship. This was because they think Shia does not belong to Islam but it is a group that acts on behalf of Islam. This group of people does not belong to Islam's scope because they judge the other companions to be unbelievers and they also falsify the Al-Qur'an. Abu Hurairah Pesantren does refuse Shia too. They refuse Shia and Ahmadiyya because both of them do not belong to any madhabs recognized in Islam. Abu Hurairah Pesantren, through its educational activities, commits to teaching its santri about the misguidance of Shia and Ahmadiyya.<sup>64</sup>

As-Salam Pesantren, Bima - West Nusa Tenggara, is one of the Salafi pesantren with the least protective factors. According to its Principal, the leaders at As-Salam pesantren had tolerant attitudes on the relationship with the ideologies of ISIS,

especially in understanding “jihad”. However, now jihad is not just understood as a way to raise your weapon, but it is to criticize the government policies or to maintain what is right and forbid what is wrong (*amar makruf nahi mungkar*) (Ustadz Muhajir, Principal of As-Salam Pesantren, Bima). Even though they refuse rebellion (*bughat*), some members of As-Salam pesantren do not consider that rally on criticizing the government is taboo. This is where we can see their difference with other Salafi Puris pesantrens, which is refusing rally or demonstration and claim it as an expression of rebellion over the legal government. In this case, they shift from the Salafi Jihadi into Salafi Haraki. Their related-with-no-mass-organization existence leads to the least protective factors over radicalism and extreme violence. The only protective factor they have today is their relationship with the government, who periodically controls their activities. According to their confession, the government's program to deradicalize has shifted its radical attitudes. This was admitted by Ustadz Muhajir, the principal of As-Salam Bima, West Nusa Tenggara:

“Frankly speaking, when I came out of jail, I learned many things. We have also left ISIS, thus we are here concentrating with the government to maintain what is right and to forbid what is wrong. For example, when there is cruelty committed by the government, and regulations that violate Islam, we will explain it by protesting the regulations in rallying on aspiration. All these are regulated by the Laws. That is how we commit Jihad. There is no more Jihad as what happened in Aceh. I was imprisoned because of a case in Aceh. Now, all my friends, who do not support ISIS anymore, are in JAS. They confirm that there are no more Jihads in forms of disobeying the government. No more. The meaning of Jihad, that is to raise our weapons, does not exist anymore”.<sup>65</sup>

The leader of As-Salam Pesantren confessed that his involvement within the ISIS network in Indonesia was only caused by his misunderstanding of Jihad's meaning. However, it does not mean that he left Jihad completely. For him, Jihad is still an important expression of faith. In its practice, it does not mean we must raise our weapons to fight against our own government. If the condition requires us, for example, to fight against other nations' attacks, then Jihad is applied. The present Jihad is understood as a way to get the government's policies, to be in line with the Sharia corridor. Quoting a Prophet Hadith, Ustadz Muhajir said, "The best jihad is to tell good things of the cruel government." He understood that there were still many people being traumatic and afraid of terrorism conduct. However, he emphasized that As-Salam Pesantren has changed. It is not extreme anymore as it was before. He hoped that the government can ensure the society that they really change<sup>66</sup>

It was not easy to find out further information on the progress of Islamic education in As-Salam Pesantren, Bima. This is because the Principal and community members tended to be exclusive for outsiders. However, the perspectives of its board members can provide depictions on their ideological pedagogy. Ustadz Muhajir himself admitted that they are not in the same line with ISIS. However, their views on nationalism ideas are still marked by suspicion and prejudice of conspiracy. Ustadz Anwar thought that we could not just accept the concept of nationalism. We must be careful because this ideology is a part of international Zionism to weaken faith in Islam. He saw there were non-conformities between Islamic things and nationality. This dichotomy perspective was gained from Ibn Taimiyah's ideas that he read:

"Al-Haq (the absolutely right) is just Islam, and al-Batil includes nationalism. Be aware because they also initiated nationalism. Their enemy is Islam. Nowadays, many Ulema cannot understand the world. And books of Ibnu Taimayah discuss this a lot. He is the one who

evoked the Muslims' spirit to fight against the Mongol army. Some movement groups compare Ibnu Taimiyah and Imam Al-Gazali to find out which one is better. And it is Ibnu Taimiya. This is because he was the ulema that fought against injustice.”<sup>67</sup>

They also still show besiege psychology, in which the Muslims are and will be under threats of Islam enemies from outside. “The unbelievers only have one Millah. They want to destroy Islam. And in the end, they want Islam to get weakened,” Ustadz Hakim showed his feeling that Muslims are being threatened.<sup>68</sup> The same idea was also emphasized by Ustadz Anwar, “Never dream that Islam has no enemies. It's impossible of course. I also told this to all folks who read the Al-Qur'an but who are also heretical at the same time. You are dreaming!” In Islam, I can tell you that finding a safe position, is only a dream!”<sup>69</sup> The psychology that divides this world into Muslim and non-Muslim, believer and unbeliever, heaven and hell, etc., has been vulnerable to violence. The provocations, that Muslims are being victims of cruelty, are easily accepted in surrounded-psychological conditions. We can see these from the situations in which the political conflicts involve the Muslims, such as in Syria. On the other hand, within the same psychological condition, it is not easy for them to live together with the people of different identities. This is because of trust, cooperation, mutual benefits, and shared goals.

#### **F. Social Linking: Connecting Pesantrens with Government**

The proximity between people and their own community, which consists of a different identity, is one type of social capital. Aside from this, we need another type of social capital so that pesantren communities can gain resilience over extreme violence. The experts call this the capacity to connect with government or social linking. The capacity can function to strengthen other social capitals; social bonding and social linking. In addition, social linking can overcome issues of

injustice and disparities in distributing economic and political sources. These issues are believed as some factors that propel radicalization (Ellis & Abdi, 2017: 290). Just like social bonding and bridging, the capacity of social linking with the government is not achieved just in one day. It is gained through long experience. Most of the pesantren communities, especially the old ones, have forged their linking capacity with the government since Indonesia gained its Independence. There are many traditional pesantrens established before the Independence of Indonesia, such as Persis Pesantren and Gontor Pesantren. From Indonesia's independence to the middle of the 1970s, the education systems of Pesantren were still not included national education systems. Later, in 1975, the 2<sup>nd</sup> President of Indonesia, Soeharto issued policies to integrate the whole education systems into one single system. After these policies had been issued, the pesantrens were faced with difficult options. They had to choose between following the government systems whose risks are compromising their own systems; or completely rejecting the government system but not being admitted by the nation? Some of the traditional pesantrens accommodated this system by adjusting the madrasahs or the existing schools with the government systems but still running the discussion of classical Islamic textbooks written in Arabic at different times of schedule. Some other pesantrens chose to fully run discussion of classical Islamic textbooks, as usual. Consequently, they were not admitted by the nation. Meanwhile, Gontor pesantren preferred running its system, which risked its graduates because they didn't receive certificates from the state government (Zuhdi, 2006).

The capacity of pesantrens to build their social linking is not only determined by its commitment to the institutional autonomy and capacity, but it is also determined by the political will of the ruling regime. The changes in politics influence the policy patterns of government toward pesantrens. After

Reformation 1998, there were some principal changes. In 2001, the Ministry of Religion Affairs (Kemenag) Indonesia formed a new directorate, which specially handles pesantren and *Madrasah Diniyah* (education institution that studies religions from various perspectives or approaches). In the same year, Kemenag also legally acknowledged the certificates of *Kulliyatul Muallimin al-Islamiyah* (KMI - School for Religion Teacher Training and Education) which had been run by Gontron Pesantren and some of the other Pesantrens that its graduates established later (Azra & Afrianti, 2005: 15). This event started a change in national education policy in which pesantren, by Laws Number 20 of 2003 on National Education System, was acknowledged as parts of national education systems. KMI of Gontor-model has now been a separate unit of education at Kemenag and known as *Satuan Mu'adalah* (Equivalency Unit). Until 2019 there have been 88 pesantrens equated after some series of requirements enacted by Kemenag.<sup>70</sup> Some equated (*Mu'adalah*) pesantrens, which are also the subjects of this research, are Darul Qalam Gintung Pesantren – Tangerang, Darunnajah 9 Pesantren-South Tangerang, and Tazakka Modern Pesantren – Central Java.

The traditional pesantrens that deepen their understanding of classical Islamic textbooks written in Arabic can join the equivalency program are Salafiyah pesantrens. They can join this by following the provisions of the Ministry of Religious Affairs through Regulation of Directorate Islam Education No. 6834 of 2015 on Framework and Curriculum Structure of Equivalency Education Unit. They can also join the Program of Education Equivalency for Salafiyah Pesantren (PKPPS) based on the specialties they offer including the Vocational Program. If they meet the requirements, they will be equated with vocational schools. Based on the data of the ministry, now there have been 3,235 Traditional or Salafiyah pesantrens registering for Equivalency Education. Through this policy, the Kemenag can increase access for people on elementary and high



education levels (12-year compulsory education) at pesantrens. The government can also help to improve the quality, prosperity, and subsidy for the lots of Salafiyah pesantrens. Besides the two pesantren models mentioned above, Government also acknowledges the other models; Tahfizul Qur'an (Campus Pesantren) and Tahfizul Qur'an (Al-Qur'an Memorization) according to the Ministry of Religion Affairs Regulation Number 13 of 2014. The other pesantrens, which do not pick any of the models mentioned above, necessarily mean that they are running the schooling systems in the pesantrens, which actually have been integrated into the national education system for a long time. The last data of Kemenag Indonesia records that there are 28,194 pesantren units. The number of Madrasah Diniyyah Takmiliah (education institution that teaches students all aspects of Islamic religion from various perspectives or approaches) is even much more, 84,966. There are 13,513 Al-Qur'an Education, 74 *Formal Diniyyah Pesantrens*, and 3,571 *Ma'had Aly Pesantrens* (Campus Pesantrens). Do the other pesantrens that have not been integrated by Equivalency Education choose the non-available or out-of-system models? God knows best.

The existence of *embracing politics* run by the after-reformation-governments shows that social capitals of pesantrens to connect with the government increase. In fact, the constructive, participative, and accommodative connections between government and pesantrens have provided benefits for pesantrens. The pesantren can now open easier access for their graduates to the study at a higher education institution in the homeland, to enter and apply the available jobs compatible with their interests and talents, and to become part of the government itself. Its practical orders, these opportunities of course can improve their sense of belonging and their loyalty for the this Republic of Indonesia and the people of Indonesia. Everybody knows that during *Orde Baru* era (New Order), the government did not really stand on

pesantrens' sides. This means that the integration offered at the time gave imposition and top-down impressions. Thus, some pesantrens felt discriminated. It was not impossible if this attitude grew as dissatisfaction and grievances in their thoughts. Therefore, we must be grateful for the other protective factors, so most pesantrens can prove themselves to survive to face the strong influences of radicalism, which provoke the Muslims by using the psychology of *Islam dizolimi* (Muslims are oppressed).

In this research, it is also found that some Salafi pesantrens also possess other protective factors in systemic connection with the government, especially through pesantren education systems developed by Kemenag Indonesia. Wahdah Islamiyah Pesantren in Makassar joined the PKPPS (Program of Education Equivalency for Salafiyah Pesantrens). By joining this program, the pesantren adjust some aspects, including the curriculum. Even though they are known as the followers of Aqidah Salafi, the pesantren also teaches its santri Fiqh Syahfi'iyah. In addition, the pesantren also teaches Civic Education. This is emphasized by Ustadz Ahmad, the principal of WI:

“Yes, that means we teach that. We have Civic Education. We use Civic Education to instill that. We do not eliminate it (Civic Education), because that's the concept in Islam. So, the point is... we do not shift from what has been regulated... Enacted Curriculum for Pesantren, etc...”<sup>72</sup>

The same also happens with Salafi Masjid Jajar Pesantren in Surakarta. As a new pesantren, Masjid Jajar pesantren is trying to gain acknowledgment over their religious education from the government. The regional government, through Kemenag, approached the Principal of Masjid Jajar Pesantren to join the Mu'adalah (Equivalency) program by the Kemenag. They are compatible with the program and now registering for Ma'had Aly Program (Campus Pesantren Program) to be legalized. Ustadz Yuda, the principal of Pesantren, told his efforts to build

links with Kemenag.

“In 2016, we introduced ourselves to Kemenag. Then, we were directed and managed. If you want to be in the right corridors, you must follow the procedures. Then we maintained how to equate the middle school, high school, and Ma'had Aly (campus pesantren). For the higher level, we must really pay attention to the regulation of Kemenag. That's the procedure. We just obey and follow them. Ma'had Aly is the only requirement we haven't finished because its Decree was just issued. So, it has been since 2016.”<sup>73</sup>

Besides mentioned previous programs, the traditional pesantrens connect with the government through *Madrasah Diniyah* (education institution that studies religions from various perspectives or approaches), public schools, and vocational schools provided by pesantrens. The other big pesantrens, which hold higher education such as Polytechnic, Institute, and university, have been in connection with the government of course. So has Persis Pesantren. This pesantren holds Madrasah. It is a relationship through the accreditation of the madrasah in its pesantrens. The Muhammadiyah-affiliated pesantrens, which hold Mu'allimin systems, have a connection with the government too. Besides the integration into national education systems, the pesantrens also receive a donation from the government in forms of Dana BOS (school operational costs) and cooperation in empowering the economy. These do not include incidental visits by government officials. With the legalization of Law Number 18 of 2019 on Pesantrens, 15 October 2019, the relationship between pesantrens and government grows stronger. This means the increase of pesantrens' protecting factors over radicalism.

Some modern Gontor-affiliated pesantrens involve the Law enforcers TNI AD (Indonesian Army) and Police to give training for their santri on scout activities. This is regularly held by Darul Muttaqin Pesantren, Parung – Bogor, for example. Ustad

Abdulla Hudri, Teacher at Darul Muttaqin Pesantren, said:

“We have internal cooperation with the police and the Indonesian Army. We usually involve them in scout events. They are annually involved to give the santri the concepts of being a nation in scout activities TNI Shaka Wira Kartika. We have routine programs, and they have their own programs like seminars and training. It usually needs 2 days for the theory on concepts of being a nation, marching, out-bond, weapon assembling for scouts, etc. When the Army gives the training, they will train firmly.”

The relationship between government and pesantrens over 'resilient pesantrens on radicalism' perspective is important. However, the relationship should be run in an equal framework. This is where the government remains respectful of pesantrens' autonomy and sees them as the main partners to overcome the radicalism. The views to keep pesantrens autonomous are really important to consider so that the government can improve pesantrens' resilience over radicalism. The quality improvement of newly established pesantrens is also important in order to meet the agreed requirements. Nevertheless, this program should be run by considering the nature and characteristics of every pesantren. These are important to take care of because empowering pesantren communities with their diverse forms and quality standards should be viewed as empowering civil society for Muslim Indonesian citizens. Partnerships among pesantrens are essential to think of future programs. These, however, should be based on principles of participation, equality, and benefit.

## Endnotes:

- <sup>1</sup> Interview with Nyai Maftuhah Minan, Principal of Tahfidz Nurul Qur'an Pesantren, Pati, Central Java. (28 July 2019)
- <sup>2</sup> Interview with KH. Makin Soimuri, Principal of Roudhatul Thalibin Pesantren, Rembang, Central Java. (5 August 2019)
- <sup>3</sup> Linguistics books are not less important either (Nahwu-Sharaf) and Classic Arab Rhetoric (Balaghah Science). Those books functions as the instruments to access various Islamic literature in Arab language, from the very beginning until the advanced books. Burinessen research, as quoted by Woodward (2010: 35) showed that from discourses on *Kitab Kuning* (Classical Islamic Textbooks written in Arabic), Fiqh Book is studied most, the second one is Arabic Grammar (Nahwu-Sharaf), and the last one is Book of Islamic Tenet.
- <sup>4</sup> Interview with KH Dr. Musyaffa', Principal of As-Salafi Al-Fitrah Pesantren, Surabaya, East Java. (14 August 2019)
- <sup>5</sup> Interview with Ustadz Aria, Teacher at Dayah Mahyal Ulum Al-'Aziziyah, Aceh Besar. (24 July 2019)
- <sup>6</sup> Interview with Rahmi Yati, a female santri of Dayah Darul Muta'llimin, Aceh Barat, (7 August 2019)
- <sup>7</sup> Interview with Ustadz Firdaus, one of the Principals of An-Nahdhah Pesantren, Maksssar, South Sulawesi (10 August 2019)
- <sup>8</sup> Interview with KH. Makin Soimuri, Principal of Roudhatul Thalibin Pesantren, Rembang, Central Java, (5 August 2019)
- <sup>9</sup> Interview with KH Agus Khatibul Umam, Principal of An-Nizhomiyyah Pesantren, Pandeglang, Banten (1 August 2019)
- <sup>10</sup> Interview with Principals and teachers of traditional pesantren, both in Java and outside Java: KH. Dr Musyaffa, Principal of al-Salafiyah al-Fitrah Pesantren, Surabaya (14 August 2019); Adlro'Hanimah (teacher) Tahfidz Nurul Qur'an, Pati, Central Java (28 July 2019); Ahyar Asri, Pengasuh PP Darul Abror, Lombok Timur (3 August 2019); Ustadz Muhammad, Board Member of Organization of Female Santri (24 August 2019).
- <sup>11</sup> *Pondok Gontor* (Gontor Pesantren) has Modern Pesantren of Gontor Darussalam Ponorogo (*Pondok Modern Gontor Darussalam Ponorogo*) as its full name. Sometimes it is shortened *Pondok Modern* (PM – Modern Pesantren). Gontor is the name of the village where the pesantren is located. The name of the pesantren itself is Darussalam (Peaceful Village). Combining name of location and the word 'pesantren' is a common thing in naming major pesantrens, such as Tebuireng Pesantren, Krapyak Pesantren, Sidogiri Pesantren, etc. The names of these pesantrens are taken from the names of the villages of subdistricts where the pesantrens are.

- <sup>12</sup> Interview with Ustadz Muhammad Bisri and Ustadz Ferry Hidayat, Teacher at Modern Tazakka Pesantren (Gontor-affiliated), Batang, Central Java. (15 August 2019).
- <sup>13</sup> Interview with KH. Oddi Rosyihuddin, Principal of Daar El-Qolam Pesantren, Gintung, Tangerang, Banten. (19 August 2019).
- <sup>14</sup> Interview with Ustadz Nur Ali, Tutor at Darunnajah 9 Pesantren, South Tangerang, Banten, (31 August 2019).
- <sup>15</sup> Gontor Modern Pesantren Ponorogo. *Sedjarah Balai Pendidikan Pondok Modern Gontor*. Penggal II, Tanpa Tahun.
- <sup>16</sup> Gontor Modern Pesantren Ponorogo. *Sedjarah Balai Pendidikan Pondok Modern Gontor* p 240.
- <sup>17</sup> Gontor Modern Pesantren Ponorogo. *Sedjarah Balai Pendidikan Pondok Modern Gontor*. p 240.
- <sup>18</sup> Interview with KH. Akrim Mariyat, Pimpinan Pondok Modern Gontor, Ponorogo, East Java, (9 August 2019).
- <sup>19</sup> Interview with Ustadzah Sri Rahmah, a female Santri of Darul Hijrah Putri Pesantren, Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan, (15 August, 2019).
- <sup>20</sup> Interview with Ustadz Abdullah Husin, Pengasuh PP Darul Hijrah Putri, Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan. (15 August, 2019).
- <sup>21</sup> Interview with Ustadz Adib Fuadi Nuriz, Teacher at Gontor Modern Pesantren, Ponorogo, East Java. (9 August 2019).
- <sup>22</sup> Interview with Ust Agus Budiman, Teacher at Gontor Modern Pesantren, Ponorogo, East Java. (9 August 2019)
- <sup>23</sup> Interview with Ustadz Adib Fuadi Nuriz, Teacher at Gontor Modern Pesantren, Ponorogo, East Java. (8 August 2019).
- <sup>24</sup> Interview with Ustadz Adib Fuadi Nuriz, Board Member of IKPM Gontor, Gontor Modern Pesantren, Ponorogo, East Java. (8 August 2019).
- <sup>25</sup> The example is at Tazakka Modern Pesantren, Batang, Central Java. This was the report on the interview with Ustadz Muhammad Bisri, the founder of Modern Tazakka Pesantren (Gontor-affiliated), Batang, Central Java. (15 August 2019)
- <sup>26</sup> Interview with Ustadz Adib Fuadi Nuriz, Tutor at Gontor Modern Pesantren, Ponorogo, East Java (8 August 2019).
- <sup>27</sup> But the informant admitted that Al-Adyan textbooks (religions) have not been taught for the last 10 years. This was the report on the interview with Ustadz M. Anshari, the Head of Education and Teaching at Darul Hijrah Putri Pesantren, Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan. (15 August 2019).
- <sup>28</sup> Interview with Ustadz Agus Budiman, Teacher at Gontor Modern Pesantren, Ponorogo, East Java (9 August 2019).
- <sup>29</sup> <https://darularqamgarut.sch.id/visi-misi-tujuan/> (accessed on 12 November

2019).

- <sup>30</sup> In 1970s the Muhammadiyah activists called for Al-Qur'an and Hadith. While doing that, they were criticized because while most of Muhammadiyah followers could not really read either Al-Qur'an or Hadith unless the translations. (see Mahmud Yunus. *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, p 271-277; see also Bruinessen, 2004: 9)
- <sup>31</sup> <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/18/10/21/pgy68v384-pertumbuhan-pesantren-muhammadiyah-sangat-pesat>, (accessed on 12 November 2019).
- <sup>32</sup> The habit of Persis community to discuss and to debate on religion affairs have begun since its establishment, before the Independence.
- <sup>33</sup> Interview with Ustadz Faiz Abdur Razak, Tutor at Persis Bangil Pesantren, East Java (5 August 2019).
- <sup>34</sup> Interview with Ustadz Ahmad Hidayat, Tutor at Darul Arqom Pesantren, Garut, West Java (26 August 2019).
- <sup>35</sup> Interview with Ustadz Garibaldi Abdollah, Board Member of Al-Ikhlash Pesantren, Bima, West Nusa Tenggara. (4 September 2019)
- <sup>36</sup> Interview with dengan Ust Nur Adi Septanto, Tutor at Persis Pesantren, Bangil (5 August 2019).
- <sup>37</sup> Interview with Ustadz Iip Saepuddin, Senior Teacher, Principal of Darul Arqam Pesantren, Serang, Banten. (3 August 2019).
- <sup>38</sup> Interview with Ustadz Arsyad, Vice Director of Darul Arqam Pesantren, Gombara, Makassar. (3 August 2019).
- <sup>39</sup> Interview with Ustadz Ahmad Syaueqie, Junior Teacher at Darul Arqam Pesantren, Garut, West Java. (26 August 2019)
- <sup>40</sup> Interview with Ustadz Su'ud Hasanudi, Public Relation of Persis Pesantren, Bangil, East Java. (4 August 2019)
- <sup>41</sup> Interview with Ustadz Ahmad Syaueqie, Junior Teacher at Darul Arqam Pesantren, Garut, West Java. (26 August 2019)
- <sup>42</sup> Interview with Ustadz Haeruddin, Headmaster of Senior High School (SMA) Darul Arqam Pesantren, Gombara, Makassar. (8 August 2019)
- <sup>43</sup> Interview with Ustadz Faiz Abdur Razak, Tutor at Persis Bangil Pesantren, East Java. (5 August 2019)
- <sup>44</sup> Tab'in (followers) is the first Islam generation of Prophet's followers. But they are not categorized as Mohammad's Friends. They witness His friends. Meanwhile Tabi'ut Tabi'in (followers of followers), the second generation of Prophet's followers, never saw the Prophet and His friends. They, however, once still lived with the Tabi'in.
- <sup>45</sup> Noorhaidi Hasan calls Salafi Puris in Indonesia by Salafi Yamani because they

have orientation on Syekh al-Muqbil in Yaman. Meanwhile, Salafi Haraki is called Sururi because they follow Muhammad Surur bin Nayef Zainal Abidin sect. (see Noorhaidi Hasan. *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militansi dan Pencarian Identitas di Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2006).

- 46 Interview with Ustadz M. Sidik, Principal of Abu Hurairah Pesantren, Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara. (5 August 2019)
- 47 Interview with Ustadz Taufan Yuda Negara, Principal of Masjid Jajar Pesantren, Surakarta. (9 August 2019)
- 48 Interview with Ustadz Arif Rahman, Teacher at Abu Hurairah Pesantren, Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara. (17 August 2019)
- 49 Interview with Ustadz M. Sidik, Principal of Abu Hurairah Pesantren, Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara. (5 August 2019)
- 50 Interview with Ustadz Lis Mujiono, Principal of Al-Furqan Al-Islamy Pesantren, Gresik, East Java. (14 August 2019)
- 51 Interview with Ustadz Zanwardi, Teacher at Abu Hurairah Pesantren, Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara. (22 August 2019)
- 52 “*Demo 212 wati loa ta, karena demo ma nchi re lao raka laloku pemerintah langsung ta. Mbei nasehat ndede*” “Sorry, 212 rally is not allowed. The right rally is by coming to the government. And there you can give advice or suggestion” Interview Report with Ustadz Firman, Board Member of Pesantren Santri Organization of Abu Hurairah, Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara. (9 August 2019)
- 53 Interview with Ustadz M. Sidik, Principal of Abu Hurairah Pesantren, Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara. (5 August 2019)
- 54 Interview with Ustadz Moh Fachrurozi, Senior Teacher at Wahdah Islamiyyah Pesantren, Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan. (9 August 2019)
- 55 Interview with Ustadz Ahmad, Principal of Wahdah Islamiyyah Pesantren, Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan. (8 August 2019)
- 56 <https://wahdah.or.id/sejarah-berdiri-manhaj/> (Accessed on 24 Oktober 2019).
- 57 Interview with Ustadz Hamid, Principal of Wahdah Islamiyyah Pesantren, Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan. (8 August 2019)
- 58 Interview with Ustadz Syandri, Tutor for Male Santri of STIBA. (12 August 2019)
- 59 Interview with Ustadz Ahmad, Principal of Tahfiz Wahdah Islamiyyah Pesantren, Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan. (8 August 2019)
- 60 Interview with Ustadz Ahmad, Principal of Tahfiz Wahdah Islamiyyah Pesantren, Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan. (8 August 2019).
- 61 Interview with Ustadz Lis Mujiono, teacher at Al-Furqan al-Islamy Pesantren, Gresik (14 August 2019); Firman, Santri Ponpes Masjid Jajar, Surakarta, 9 August 2019; Ustadz Ahmad, Pengasuh Pesantren Tahfiz Wahdah Islamiyyah,



- Makassar (8 August 2019).
- <sup>62</sup> Interview with Ustadz Ahmad, Principal of Tahfiz Wahdah Islamiyyah Pesantren, Makassar, Sulawesi Selatan. (8 August 2019).
- <sup>63</sup> Interview with Ustadz M. Sidik, Principal of Abu Hurairah Pesantren, Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara. (5 August 2019).
- <sup>64</sup> Interview with Ustadz M. Sidik, Principal of Abu Hurairah Pesantren, Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara (5 August 2019); and with Ustadz Lis Mujiono, teacher at Al-Furqan al-Islamy Pesantren, Gresik. (14 August 2019).
- <sup>65</sup> Interview with Ustadz Muhajir, Principal of As-Salam Pesantren, Bima, West Nusa Tenggara. (28 July 2019).
- <sup>66</sup> Interview with Ustadz Muhajir, Principal of As-Salam Pesantren, Bima, West Nusa Tenggara. (28 July 2019)
- <sup>67</sup> Interview with Ustadz Anwar, teacher at As-Salam Pesantren, Bima, West Nusa Tenggara. (27 July 2019).
- <sup>68</sup> Interview with Ustadz Hakim, teacher at As-Salam Pesantren, Bima, West Nusa Tenggara. (29 July 2019).
- <sup>69</sup> Interview with Ustadz Anwar, teacher at As-Salam Pesantren, Bima, West Nusa Tenggara. (27 July 2019).
- <sup>70</sup> One of them, it must at least have 300 santri in three years consecutively
- <sup>71</sup> <https://ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id/web/> (accessed on 22 November 2019).
- <sup>72</sup> Interview with Ustadz Ahmad, the Principal of Pesantren Tahfiz Wahdah Islamiyya, Makassar, Sout Sulawesi. (8 August 2019).
- <sup>73</sup> Interview with Ustadz Taufan Yuda Negara, Principal of Masjid Jajar Pesantren, Surakarta. (9 August 2019).



## **CHAPTER 4**

### **PESANTREN AND RESILIENCE DEVELOPMENT**

#### **A. Development of Resilience in Pesantren Perspectives**

The resilience development used in this context is a community-based resilience, an effort to strengthen the capacity of the community in preventing and confronting extremism and radicalization of violence (Ellis and Abdi, 2107). Community resilience relies on strengthening pesantren social connections, not only within internal pesantren (bonding) but also between pesantren communities and outside communities (non-Muslims); and pesantren with government institutions (social linking). The previous chapter describes how pesantren have built their social capital through a long and dynamic process of experience. That social capital has resulted in the ability of pesantren to maintain their existence in the face of various challenges including radicalism. Resilience development depends on how pesantren maintain their social capital and capacity all this time and even strengthen it, and how this social capital is empowered to eliminate risk factors for vulnerability.

In this research, it is found that the development of pesantren resilience is determined by the interpretation of each pesantren typology on radicalism. Naturally, pesantren will

react to events or movements that are considered dangerous or threatening their existence. Almost all pesantren reject extremism in the form of suicide bombings, violence, destruction, and killing of civilians, but not all of them consider the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) movement to be as dangerous as ISIS or Jemaah Islamiyah (JI). Despite rejecting HTI Khilafah ideology, Modernist pesantren, like Gontor, Muhammadiyah, and Persis, tend to regard HTI as not a serious threat. On the other hand, Traditional pesantren consider HTI to be as serious as the violent extremist movement mentioned above. They generally sense the urgency of resilience development that is greater than any other pesantren typologies because they believe threat does not only come from ISIS and JI extremism but also comes from HTI radicalism. For them, such threats are easier to deal with because the nature of the threat is easily recognized and will be dealt with by many parties, especially the government. What they are more worried about is the penetration of Wahhabism. To them, the penetration of Wahhabism directly pierced the heart of the existence of their own culture, namely Traditional Islamic culture. They feel that no one has a bigger interest in the threat but themselves. Perhaps, for this reason, the Traditional pesantren communities do not explicitly distinguish the variants in Salafism such as: Purist Salafism, Haraki Salafism, and Jihadist Salafism. To them, all Wahhabism is the same. A senior Dayah teacher in Aceh expressed his irritation at the penetration of Wahhabism:

Actually, the Muslim and Acehnese Muslims must be the most worried about the Wahhabi-Salafist movement, because of their ruthlessness and a tendency to accuse different groups of Muslims as infidels. However, to deal with the Wahhabist, we also need sufficient religious knowledge. We cannot just fight it without preparation. I am not sure if I will be able to resist the influence of Wahhabism with religious knowledge which I studied in Dayah all this time. Of course, we reject Salafism, since

they do not acknowledge the Companions of the Prophet. They, in my opinion, are almost the same as the Shi'a. Wahhabism is more deviant compared to Muhammadiyah especially in terms of aqeedah

The development of pesantren resilience depends on their belief in the social capital they have. They will use their social capital to respond to existing challenges. Traditional pesantren develop resilience through strengthening the role of Kiyai (cleric) and contextualizing the interpretations of the classical Islamic books to delegitimize radical ideology. They will explore the arguments in the classical Islamic books that can justify the rejection of the interpretation of the Qur'an and the Hadith from the radicals. Modern pesantren like Gontor tend to act normally in the sense that they do not make any specific effort, both in contextualizing and in increasing the role of certain institutions, as well as modifying the curriculum. Gontor believes that the existing social capital is sufficient to survive from extremism and radicalization of violence. Muhammadiyah and Persis pesantren do not carry out any transformative programs either except when they participate in supporting government programs in socializing counter-radicalism or strengthening national values. Some of the Purist Salafist pesantren do not make any changes except to maximize the only protective factor they already have, which is an anti-*bughat* doctrine to delegitimize radical ideology. Some others, such as WI Pesantren, adapt by adopting government programs with the consequence of compromising some of their Salafist identities.

Some boarding school administrators think the pesantren stigmatized radical is wrong. On the contrary, pesantren plays a role in stemming radicalism. They believe that pesantren have their own way to survive radicalism. As stated above, every pesantren has a unique strategy in dealing with radicalism, ranging from emphasizing obedience to Kiyai and the Islamic classic book, upholding the values of the school (Panca Jiwa),

being connected and bound with mass organizations, sheltering in apolitical doctrine, and being connected with the government. Because of their unique characteristics, it is not justified to generalize pesantren. Pesantren is a treasure that needs to be preserved together.

The development of pesantren's resilience to radicalism is a series of initiatives of pesantren, supported by various parties in increasing protective factors and eliminating risk factors from the influence of radicalism.

This study shows that pesantren have 4 strategies in carrying out the development of resilience: 1) Prevent pesantren community the contact with radical movements and teachings; 2) Delegitimize radical ideology; 3) Remove prejudice and detestation against different identities; 4) Address the issue of injustice towards Muslims

#### **B. Prevent Contact with Radical Groups**

This strategy aims to eliminate or at least to reduce the risk of being exposed to radical ideologies through direct or indirect contact. The reason being that in some cases, young people experience violent radicalism after being in intensive interaction with members of a radical network or environment. after they have joined radical groups, the next stage would be the indoctrination of radical ideology. In an environment where some people are exposed to radicalism, individuals who have not been radicalized, especially young people, have a bigger risk factor for the vulnerability (Silber and Bhatt 2007, p. 22). According to Roy (2004), young people are initially only experimenting, but after a long period of being exposed, they experience cognitive dissonance which is a psychological situation in which they become uncertain about their new ideology. However, little by little they will not stand this feeling of uncertainty and choose to increase their ideological commitment to achieve firmness and be accepted by their new

group (Roy, 2004).

Almost all pesantren communities studied have the potential to experience contact with radical actors or groups. The form of contact is not always physical but also through digital media. In this research, it was found that physical contact can occur through the teaching staff at pesantren. Pesantren that run public schools have a source of risk of contact through the recruited teachers teaching a subject. Pesantren which do not yet have adequate teaching human resources, such as Muhammadiyah pesantren also have this kind of risk factor. Some Salafist Pesantren also has risk factors for contact from the teaching staff of radical movements, especially Salafist pesantren which are open to organizations and political movements. Another physical contact can take place through the interaction of santri (students of Islamic boarding school/pesantren) with alumni who have previously joined radical groups. Beyond physical interaction, contact with radicalism can also occur through access to radical content in digital media or through reading material. To respond to contact with digital media, the use of mobile phones or the Internet is largely restricted by pesantren's policy.

### ***Strengthening the Role of Kiyai and the Classical Islamic Book***

Traditional pesantren, including pesantren in Aceh, prevent their santri from the contact with radical groups through strengthening the roles of pesantren's leader. Kiyai uses their authority and leadership to remind their santri (pesantren students) not to deal with radical groups. As stated in the previous chapter, among traditional pesantren, Kiyai is the main source of protection and social capital in the face of extremism and radicalization of violence. It has become a belief system in traditional pesantren that santri must obey Kiyai's advice, for this obedience will guarantee the goodness of their future. This is exactly what the Kiyai in Pesantren An-

Nizomiyah, Banten, do to his santri. As Agung Mulyana, one of the santri in pesantren An-Nizomiyah's admitted, his Kiyai often reminds the santri not to join radical Islamist.<sup>2</sup> similarly, Kiyai Makin of Pesantren Raudhatul Thalibin, Rembang also gives advice on several occasions: when teaching the classical Islamic Book; or when receiving the santri who ask for permission to leave the pesantren due to continuing their studies in college:

“Sorry to say, but when I am teaching, I'd mention the Khilafah just for their information. Don't join the Khilafah; the reason being that I only follow the knowledge of the people in the past. The Khilafah itself is rejected everywhere... Many of the santri, after they have graduated from Aliyah, go to college. Every time they come to ask for permission to leave the pesantren, I only give them one message: don't join the liqo' (exclusive Qur'an study). That's it. Don't join liqo' ... Don't be influenced by them. There are santri that go to UNS (Sebelas Maret University Surakarta), I also asked them whether there are exclusive people in UNS, and I advised them, “don't join liqo’.”<sup>3</sup>

In some Traditional pesantren, the advice is not strengthened by in-depth discussions. No discussion on why santri are prohibited from contacting radical groups or what the general characteristics of the so-called radical groups are, or how radical groups influence others to become radical, etc. Kiyai Makin's advice above gives a general indication that the radical movement is characterized by propagating the Khilafah and conducting exclusive recitation, but no further exploration is apparent. Due to the lack of discussion, a number of santri have no insight regarding radical groups in Indonesia. Agung Mulyana, for instance, a santri of Pesantren An-Nizomiyah, said he did not know anything about Ansharut Tawheed (JAT) and Ansharut Daulah (JAD). However, there are a number of traditional pesantren which hold discussions to broaden their



santri' insight about radical groups. Pesantren Attahiriyah, Serang, for example, held a discussion program by inviting speakers, who have deep knowledge about it (radicalism), from outside the pesantren to teach the santri about the characteristics and what kind of organization it is."<sup>4</sup>

Traditional pesantren cannot be completely protected from risk factors of contact with radicalism, generally the non-violent ones, such as HTI. Even Pesantren An-Nizomiyah, Banten, cannot avoid the HTI penetration. As admitted by the pesantren leader himself that the radicalism did not penetrate through pesantren but through the schools managed by the pesantren. Some teachers who teach at the schools were identified to be exposed to radical ideology and were consequently discharged by the Kiyai to prevent further penetration among santri. This assertive decision was taken by the leader of the pesantren because the suspected teachers refused to attend the flag ceremony.<sup>5</sup> Potential contact with HTI was also acknowledged by teachers who were often sent messages about HTI Khilafah propaganda although they refused it after assessing that HTI's religious view deviated from Aswaja's ideology.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, it also happened in several Dayahs in Aceh, such as Dayah Darul Muta'allimin Aceh whose santri joined the HTI movement but then left after realizing their mistakes. Learning from this experience the teachers try to increase the resilience of their santri by relying on the classical Islamic Book. The santri are reminded that the radical movement is not related to the identity of the pesantren. They are warned to stay away from HTI because HTI's Islamic ideology does not refer to the classical Islamic Book. As acknowledged by Ustadzah Evida, one of the teachers at Dayah, who had previously been influenced by the HTI movement:

... we also forbid them to join organizations like HTI because after they joined HTI they were no longer active

in religious studies. In the past, there were some who joined HTI including myself ... I (now) forbid santri from joining HTI because there are some of their teachings that are not in accordance with the books that I have studied, and they are more logical rather than refer to the book.<sup>7</sup>

The contact with HTI ideology was also experienced by Bahrul Ulum Traditional Pesantren community, in Goa, South Sulawesi. As admitted by the leader, quite a lot of alumni were invited to join the HTI movement, especially those who continue their studies in universities. The alumni tried to influence their juniors who are still santri to join HTI. It is not clear how the pesantren's strategy to respond in eliminating the risk factors. However, the pesantren clearly acknowledged that the resilience of their santri was not strong enough when they are outside the pesantren.<sup>8</sup> Based on the cases above, the social capital of Kiyai and the Islamic classic book in traditional pesantren does not fully assure that their santri are sterile from the risk factors of contact with radicalism, at least with non-violent ones. Having said that, when the risk factors arise, the traditional pesantren knows what needs to be done. They will strengthen their social capital: Kiyai and the Islamic classic book.

### ***Kiyai Regeneration***

The challenge of traditional pesantren for long-term resilience development lies in the regeneration of Kiyai that is knowledgeable in religious matters and accepted by the people. The regeneration process that has been running in traditional pesantren is conducted by the Kiyai himself by preparing his children to become the successors to the leadership of the pesantren. There are two strategies commonly adopted by Kiyai since ancient times. First, the Kiyai will entrust his children to study at another traditional pesantren to deepen their knowledge of the classical Islamic Book. They will move from

one pesantren to another to study certain books according to the expertise of each Kiyai. These activities usually take place within a period of 3 years, according to the guidance of the Book of Ta'limul Muta'allim. What is special about studying the classical Islamic Book with certain Kiyai is the emotional connection between teacher and student. It's more than just a transfer of knowledge as in the modern sense. The emotional connection between santri and Kiyai forms a cultural value that is accepted among the traditional pesantren community to create and maintain an identity that attaches the santri to their community.

The second strategy is after the cadres' return from their study, the Kiyai will prepare them to take leadership by involving them in pesantren matters. The Kiyai will usually appoint his son as *badal* (a substitute teacher) to teach his santri, and to take his place as the imam of the congregation prayer in the pesantren, as well as assisting the Kiyai in managerial matters in the pesantren. If the Kiyai has many sons, he will give his sons a new land to establish a new pesantren. Then, he will entrust some of his santri to follow his son in the new place, so that the santri will gradually increase in numbers. This is what KH. Abdullah Salam Kajen did for his son, KH. Zaki Fuad Abdillah. On a similar note, after marrying KH. Munawir's daughter, KH. Ali Ma'sum of Krapyak Yogyakarta took some of his santri from Lasem when he moved to Krapyak.

Not to mention, it is also important to build community acceptance of the prospective Kiyai. Basically, by involving his son as a substitute in teaching and other pesantren activities, the Kiyai has indirectly built social legitimacy for his son. The more knowledgeable the Kiyai candidates at the classical Islamic Book, the greater his legitimacy in the eyes of the traditional santri community in particular and society in general. However, it is not enough. The prospective Kiyai is demanded to be willing to be involved in the community life,

from being a Tahlil (praying for the dead people) leader when a member of community passed away, reading Manakib, responding to questions and complaints of the people, as well as providing answers based on the knowledge he has. Ultimately, the resilience of the pesantren and the surrounding community to the threat of radicalism will greatly depend on the success of Kiyai regeneration

### ***Relying on the Values of Muhammadiyah & Persis***

Modern pesantren of Muhammadiyah and Persis are also exposed to the risk of contact with radicalism. Like several traditional pesantren above, Pesantren Persis Bangil experienced contact with HTI through teachers who taught at the pesantren. According to the pesantren administrator, the teacher was eventually fired because he was considered to have a negative influence on the community. Facing such risk factors, Pesantren Persis Bangil has found guidance on how to act by referring to Community Organization figure, M. Natsir, who is a symbol that binds together the Persis community. From Persis' perspective, HTI disrupts unity among Muslims "...I don't know the reason. If I'm not mistaken, HTI used to turn one Muslim against another, and Mr. Natsir (Persis Figure) was one of the people who was disappointed by Hizb ut-Tahrir."<sup>10</sup>

Muhammadiyah Pesantren appears to have a bigger risk factor than Persis in terms of radical contact. Aside from contact with HTI, they also experienced contact with ex-NII radical actors, who in some ways had a greater vulnerability to the radicalization of violence than HTI activists. Some Muhammadiyah pesantren have the same risk factors, of course. It seems that the relatively young Pesantren Darul Arqam Islamic, located in Banten and Central Java, has more contact risk than those that are already quite mature, such as Darul Arqam Garut, which is now approaching 50 years of age. One of the factors that enable this risk is the lack of teachers sent by Central Muhammadiyah to be recruited to serve in the

newly established Pesantren. Due to the lack of teachers with the same ideology, the pesantren leaders recruited some ex-NII teachers, whose faith (Aqeedah) is considered close, even though their social service strategy is different. Additionally, the influence of local militancy cannot be ruled out since some local Muhammadiyah exponents have a historical affinity with the NII movement. This was acknowledged by the leader of the Pesantren Darul Arqam Serang who chose to embrace ex-NII rather than stay away from them. Pesantren leaders try to minimize the risk by emphasizing the value of Muhammadiyah as a protective factor. H. Asnawi, Darul Arqam Serang Pesantren, seems not to worry too much about the risks he is taking and instead he is optimistic that it will eventually be able to eliminate the radical ideology among ex-NII and make them moderate:

That is what Muhammadiyah Serang always does. Mr. Mahmud Mahfudz Siddiq of Darul Ilmi used to be part of NII, and used to teach at Muhammadiyah Serang High school. Those who are problematic are protected to teach in our school. Muhammadiyah becomes a big shelter ... So those (ex-NII) who have nowhere else to go, are accepted by Muhammadiyah. We are essentially the same in terms of Aqeedah, only the way of the social service that is different, for instance, they stay quiet in a flag ceremony. Fundamentally, when it comes to Darul-Ahdi of Muhammadiyah, they are not different from us. I believe that that radical ideology of theirs will eventually be gone. I don't think I got any complaints regarding how to handle them. We used to not take upon Muhammadiyah's name, but then I invited Mr. Lip to Yogya and we have used Muhammadiyah's name ever since. At first, many people objected. We started with the Islamic books and then we conducted the religious gathering. We provided some money for the gathering at the first beginning. As time passed, the gathering is now able to provide fundings for itself.<sup>11</sup>

To date, no signs indicate that resilience development by embracing exradicals can eliminate risk factors and strengthen protective factors. Instead, a commitment to national values which is a protective factor is not actually visible in the pesantren environment. Pondok Pesantren does not put up the Indonesian national red-white flag except for August 17. Whereas as an educational institution the national flag indicates something fundamental. The leader of the pesantren was aware of this and he was protested about the strong ideology of "Tawheed" purification in the Pesantren community. Moreover, some members of the community view the that Tawheed principle cannot be in line with the flag ceremony. Efforts to develop resilience through strengthening the value of Muhammadiyah have been carried out and it seems that the Central Organization has realized this problem.<sup>12</sup> As stated earlier that in the 2015 Congress in Makassar PP Muhammadiyah had issued a decision to reaffirm the commitment of the Muhammadiyah nationalism through the concept of the Unitary States of the Republic of Indonesia as "Darul Ahdi wa As-Syahadah" (a state based on agreement and binding recognition). Though, it seems that the efforts carried out by the pesantren have not been sufficiently optimal. Considering the age of the pesantren that is not yet 10 years old, a stronger commitment from the Central Organization is needed to increase the number of teachers from Muhammadiyah cadres to further adjust the ideology of the pesantren community to be in line with the Muhammadiyah nationalism paradigm.

Pesantren Darul Arqam Garut also relies on Muhammadiyah's value in developing the resilience of its santri. According to Muhammadiyah's view, the leader of Pesantren Darul Arqam Garut, and the Muslim community must have an Islamic character based on the values of the Qur'an and Hadith. Muslim communities can live in a pluralistic country like Indonesia as long as it maintains its Islamic characters. On that basis,

Pesantren Darul Arqam Garut rejects extremism in the name of Islam which wants to replace Pancasila with another ideology. "As a condition for uniting diverse national elements, Pancasila is final," said the Leader of the pesantren. To prevent extremist ideologies from affecting the santri, the pesantren leader intentionally brought ex-terrorists to give testimonies to the santri so that the santri would not follow their past mistakes.<sup>13</sup>

### ***Gontor Relies on KMI: Teachers Nurturing***

Pesantren Gontor and its affiliates, in general, do not worry about the risk of contact with radicalism in pesantren since the Pondok Gontor system does not combine pesantren with the madrasa or school system. The Gontor system known as Kulliyatul al-Mu'allimin al-Islamiyyah (KMI), aims to prepare reliable Islamic religious teachers. Because of this, Gontor does not face the problem of lacking teaching staff, forcing them to recruit teachers from outside. Generally, Gontor alumni will be recruited to become teachers for all subjects or assigned to serve in the Gontor-Alumni-newly-established Islamic boarding schools. No specific resilience development to avoid contact with radicalism is conducted. Pondok Gontor leaders seem to believe that resilience development is inherent in the efforts of the pesantren to maintain the quality of the teacher regeneration program which is one of five long-term programs at Pondok Gontor (Panca Jangka) (Abubakar, 2005, pp. 217-253).

There is indeed a concern that santri will experience contact with ideologies or radical movements through reading material or social media. Therefore, to prevent them from dealing with this ideology, Pondok Gontor controls the reading material of the santri. At Central Pondok Gontor, santri are not allowed to read books that are contrary to the teachings of Ahlussunah and the state ideology.<sup>14</sup> In the year before santri finish their study period, they are given a kind of debriefing about kinds of teaching ways and contents including radicalism which is

considered destructive to the relationship between Islam and other religious communities. Radicalism is included. Through this program, they are expected to have the insight to prevent contact with movements that are considered to be able to bring destruction. Ust. Bisri, a teacher at Pondok Modern Tazakka, Batang, Central Java, explained the intended debriefing program:

During the debriefing at class 6, we also teach them about al-madzahib al-haddamah (destructive teachings) or madhab (school of thoughts) or groups that have the potential to be destructive, so the santri will pay attention to it. Yatanabbah means be careful. This is Shi'ah. There is a radical teaching and this one is liberal. This one here is a deviation from the Shari'a. We teach them all of the teachings, especially the ones in Indonesia. We have also invited a number of experts, even experts in Christology to give debriefing to the santri. So we deliver the literature for the santri according to their level. If they want to read more about any topics of interest, they can do that after they are in college.

To prevent contact via the internet or social media, the pesantren conducts a control mechanism. In Pondok Gontor Ponorogo, santri are allowed to access the internet through computers. Surely, there are concerns about what if they access negative content, such as pornographic or extremist content. The pesantren does not exactly control the technical aspect of it, instead, the pesantren provides provisions in the form of strong faith or Aqeedah as a deterrent or immunization. However, mobile phones are not allowed, and even teachers who just teach there for a year are not allowed to use an Android phone. Though, they are allowed to use an old school phone merely for communication purposes. Only after 2 years of teaching are they allowed to use an Android phone and access the internet and social media.<sup>16</sup> At the Gontor Alumni-established Pesantren, the control of cell phone use is not as strict as that at



the Central Pondok Gontor. At Pondok Modern Tazakka, Batang, the supervision is carried out by accessing santri's data. The pesantren has all the email addresses and social media accounts of the santri. Even if the santri create another social media account with different initials, it can still be controlled through the group accounts they are logging in. Initially, the pesantren allowed the use of mobile phones and social media without restriction, but then the santri were found to share negative contents that are usually accessed by social media users outside the pesantren.<sup>17</sup>

### ***Purist Salafist: Prohibition of Jihadist Salafist Books***

Salafist pesantren which choose to be involved in politics are vulnerable to experiencing the risk of contact with radicalism, whereas the Purist Salafist Pesantren, which firmly reject politics, tend not to experience contacts either through teachers or literature. The Purist Salafist Pesantren Abu Hurairah in Mataram and al-Furqon al-Islami in Gresik are aware of the possibility of their santri being swayed by radical ideology.

To prevent this from happening, they implement a policy of forbidding their santri to read books written by Abubakar Ba'asyir and books written by Jihadist Salafist activists, especially those written by ISIS Ulama. The doctrine of the prohibition of Bughat or rebelling against the legitimate government is firmly held by the Purist Salafist pesantren. By relying on this doctrine, they prevent their santri from coming in contact with Jihadism that forces the adoption of the Khilafah Islamiyyah or Shari'ah Islamiyyah. The caregivers of the Purist Salafist pesantren do not reject the Khilafah Islamiyyah, but rather refuse to fight for it through political channels, which can cause them to be tempted to do Bughat even though it is forbidden by the religion.<sup>18</sup> The extent to which this strategy can prevent their alumni from making contact with radical ideologies is very much dependent on their loyalty to the

doctrine. In many cases, followers of the Jihadist Salafist initially believed in the same doctrine, but they feel they have to compromise in order to achieve more important goals, to uphold justice for Muslims who seem oppressed (Wiktorowicz, 2006).

Wahdah Islamiyyah, the Tanzimi Salafist movement in Makassar, has also allegedly experienced contact with radical groups, especially in the years of conflict in Poso between Muslim and Christian groups. A number of WI activists have allegedly chosen to be involved with actions that are considered radical and are in alliance with Jamaah Islamiyah radical group. Because of the incident, WI was perceived by some people, like Sidney Jones, Researcher of the International Crisis Group (ICG), as a terrorist network organization (Nisa, 2012). This perception was rejected by the WI administrators, and they asked Sidney Jones to change her research conclusions. According to another researcher, WI is divided in two, one taking the radical path and the other following the path of peace. The second group was led by Ustadz Muhamad Zaituna Rasmin to continue the WI movement which was not affiliated with radical organizations both domestically and abroad (Nisa, 2012). Now Pesantren WI has realized the possibility of its santri being associated with radical ideology. The extent to which they rely on the anti-*bughat* doctrine is not very clear. Nevertheless, they claim to apply some sort of control to the literature read by their santri while limiting the use of mobile phones to santri.<sup>19</sup>

### ***Haraki Salafist: Split from Radical Organizations***

Haraki Salafist pesantren such as As-Salam in Bima arguably have just separated from the JAT radical organization that bore allegiance to ISIS. Pesantren leaders admitted that they had previously joined ISIS, and been involved in a radical network, and the court convicted and sentenced them to prison. In the case of As-Salam Bima, the prevention of contact with

radicalism began with changes in the ideology of its leaders. If the change is successful, then the resilience development among the santri community can be expected. They claimed to have joined the Jamaah Ansharury Syari'ah (JAS), which was established in Bekasi in 2014. JAS itself was established to counter JAT and JAD which stated their allegiance to ISIS. Even so, that does not mean that JAS is sterile from the possibility of rebuilding the closeness to radicalism because the weight of ideological thinking is still strong enough to color Islamic discourse among its activists. That makes them, or at least the individual members, vulnerable to rejoining the radical movement. JAS itself has a mission to uphold Shari'ah according to Salafism teachings, even though the mission was not achieved utilizing violence.

Although they no longer formally join radical organizations, the teachers at Pesantren As-Salam Bima can still interact with young people who keep the spirit of jihad in their hearts. Intense contacts contain risk factors even though they admit to having experienced moderation on how to achieve their mission of struggle. They admitted that they did not intend to fight for the Khilafah using against the government, however, they still believed that the Khilafah was the ideal system of government for the implementation of Islamic Shari'ah. Like the Purists, they also believe that the Khilafah is a gift from Allah when all Muslims properly practice the Sunnah, while democracy is believed to be a product of the infidels that must not be followed.<sup>20</sup> With such political attitudes and perspectives, the Pesantren As-Salam Bima community still would hold the seeds of a radical ideology that could have germinated if the surrounding environment was supportive.

### **C. Delegitimizing Radical Ideologies**

Resilience development through radical ideology delegitimization has received enough attention among pesantren. Such a strategy can eliminate or reduce the risk

factors for the acceptance of radical ideologies by santri or the pesantren community. In many cases, environmental factors are considered decisive in the initial process of radicalization. However, in a number of cases, a young person, through a digital platform, accesses extremist narratives. Because they are not critical enough to analyze them, they may be influenced and begin to sympathize. (Veldhuis and Satun, 2009, p.44; Postmes and Baym, 2005). When the experience in his life is congruent with the radical message obtained from the narrative, he will more easily accept and sympathize with it. In turn, the changes in perspective or so-called "cognitive opening" will encourage young people to seek contact or accept offers to join radical groups (Wiktorowicz, 2005). Feelings cheated and treated unfairly by the environment and the system precede the radicalization of thought. Thus, once radical thinking has been strengthened, the feeling of being wrong becomes a factor that increases the process of radicalization (Benschop, 2005).

The target pesantren community of this study carried out a radical ideology delegitimization strategy through programs intended for increasing nationalist insight and strengthening the view of moderate Islam among santri. The program to broaden nationalist insight is carried out through the curriculum in the classroom and the content inserted in lectures outside the classroom, while activities that enrich the outlook for moderate Islam are generally carried out in the form of lectures. In the lecture, themes that were commonly presented are revolving around jihad, loving the country, and obeying the government. These concepts are interpreted in a way that supports peace. Jihad is no longer defined as war, but learning is also jihad. The faith is not only limited to ritual worship but also extended to loving the country is also part of faith. The obligation is to obey not only Allah and the Messenger, but also the government.

### ***Strengthen Nationalism Insights***

Some pesantren strengthen nationalism insights by including Civic Education in the pesantren curriculum. Some pesantren leaders realize that Civics Education can be used to prevent santri from adopting radical ideologies. Through Civic education, the santri's concept of nationalism and statehood is expanded and they are given an understanding and argumentation aimed at strengthening awareness of holding Pancasila as the basis of the state and complying with the 1945 Constitution and other agreed legal norms. The Civics Education teaching program is expected to be able to delegitimize radical ideologies that radically change the national state administration system. In the Gontor-affiliated pesantren, such as Pondok Modern Tazakka, Batang, Civics Education gets considerable attention. Teachers who teach the subject are selected from Gontor alumni who have relevant academic background and work experience in international NGO institutions that fight for Human Rights (HAM). With this relevant experience, Pondok Modern Tazakka even managed to compile a conflict resolution training module that is typical of pesantren. The module is not only used in pesantren internally but also for a wider range of people. With this module, they once organized peace development training to the delegation of Afghan scholars sent by their government for comparative studies in Indonesia.<sup>21</sup>

The Tanzimi Purist Salafist Pesantren such as Wahdah Islamiyah in Makassar also shows a committed attitude towards nationalism values through teaching Civic Education to their santri. However, this strategy is driven by a genuine commitment to nationalism which needs to be explored more deeply. As stated in the previous chapter, Pesantren Tahfiz Qur'an and the Islamic and Arabic Language College (STIBA) under the management of WI has participated in Pesantren Salafiyah equivalency education program organized by the

Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. As a consequence, the pesantren must include Civic Education as one of the subjects in addition to carrying out a program of studying Classical Islamic literature that has been predetermined. Furthermore, the pesantren also invites the police, members of the Regional Legislative Council (DPRD), and the Chairman of The People's Consultative Assembly of Republic of Indonesia (MPR RI), to provide nationalism insight in the form of 4 Pillars lecture (Pancasila, UUD 1945, NKRI and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Unity in Diversity).<sup>22</sup>

Traditional pesantren that run the school or madrasa system certainly include Civic Education in the school curriculum because it is a mandatory requirement. Nevertheless, some Traditional pesantren do not only rely on Civic Education delivered by teachers in the classroom but also through lectures given by Kiyai on several Qur'anic study sessions.

Kiyai of pesantren An-Nizomiyah, Pandeglang, Banten periodically gives lectures in front of his santri to remind them of the importance of maintaining Pancasila as the basis of the state and the Republic of Indonesia as the final form of the state. The Kiyai clearly warns them that the Khilafah ideology can endanger the pillars of Indonesian nationalism. With strong links with political parties in the People's Representative Council (DPR), where one of the members of the pesantren core family is a figure of one of the major parties in Indonesia, Pesantren An-Nizomiyah has no difficulty in inviting members of the MPR RI to give a 4 Pillar lecture (Pancasila, 1945 Constitution, NKRI, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika) in front of pesantren community.<sup>23</sup>

### ***Contextualization of the Islamic classic Book***

To delegitimize radical ideology, Traditional pesantren will always try to refer to the Islamic classic Book as its social capital. However, merely relying on the classical Islamic Book to

maintain pesantren identity is no longer sufficient for a reliable counter-extremist narrative. The ability to interpret the classical Islamic Book according to context is needed for pesantren to be relevant to the needs of the era. A number of traditional pesantren have successfully demonstrated the capacity of contextualization, an ability that distinguishes Traditional Pesantren (Salafiyah) from Modern Pesantren or Salafi Pesantren. Without contextualization, one will easily be misguided by the tendency of textualism or literalism to interpret a social and political discourse discussed in the Islamic classic Book. For example, the concept of the Khilafah is not something strange in the Islamic classic book, nor is the concept of jihad. Accepting the existence of such discourse indirectly will bring someone to loyalty. To simply accept the invitation to support the Khilafah is not hard because the classical Islamic Book has discussed it in sufficient detail. However, this attitude will lead to a radical understanding. This is exactly what happened to santri in a traditional pesantren in Banten. The santri believed that jihad to establish the Khilafah is a mission precisely written in the Book of Fathul Mu'in. "What's the point of learning Fathul Mu'in if you don't practice the chapter of Jihad," argued the santri.<sup>24</sup>

The role of Kiyai is vital to interpret the classical Islamic Book contextually by giving other arguments that are also available in it. Pesantren At-Thohiriyah, a Traditional pesantren located in Serang Banten, is one of the pesantren that practice this. When discussing the issue of the Khilafah, one of the teachers at At-Thohiriyah rejected the Khilafah system by referring to the opinions of NU ulemas who forbid changing of the existing state. According to him, the NU Ulama who understand the classical Islamic Book prohibits the Khilafah system from being established now because it can damage the agreement made by all the generations of the nation. In other words, the teacher wants to say that the Khilafah system is not bad, but it is not suitable to be applied in Indonesia because the founders of the

nation, including the Ulama, from the very beginning, agreed on the Republic of Indonesia as the final form of the state.<sup>25</sup> Using socio-historical arguments is effective to explain that the form of the state is not essential, but the contextual choice is very important. In a sense, the choice of the form of a state by a nation is varied like monarchy, republic, democratic, Khilafah, etc. It did not take place all of sudden, but the choice was based on the nation's long socio-historical development. Radically changing the state means opposing the natural development of the nation.

Contextualization tendencies in interpreting the concept of nationalism among Traditional pesantren also apply at a local level. Traditional pesantren do not have the same response in the implementation of Sharia by the state.<sup>26</sup> In the opinion of leaders of Pesantren An-Nizomiyah, demands from some Islamists, such as FPI, to uphold the Sharia Indonesia are a radical political aspiration because it indirectly rejects Pancasila as the basis of the state. In contrast to the above attitude, Dayah leaders in Aceh tend not to allude to demands for the implementation of sharia by the government as an indication of radicalism or rejection of Pancasila.

They also did not appear to be trying to push the implementation of Sharia by the state to be carried out throughout Indonesia. They seem to realize that the current implementation of Shari'ah in Aceh is an integral part of Aceh's unique socio-cultural history. Instead, Dayah leaders generally emphasize acceptance of the unitary state as an expression of nationalism. Dayah leader Mahyal Ulum, Aceh, affiliated with NU, claimed, in his lecture before the santri of Dayah, to often bring up the of about the importance of maintaining the integrity of the state, a perspective that clearly contradicts the idea of separatism that the Freedom Aceh Movement (GAM) had emerged in the past.<sup>27</sup>



### ***Strengthen the insight of moderate Islam***

The penetration of radical propaganda in pesantren can occur through literature or reading materials accessed in digital media or through posts on social media. The calls for jihad in the sense of war against the government or jihad in a conflict-affected Muslim country are often accepted by santri. As admitted by santri Pesantren Hidayatullah, Banjarbaru, the invitation seemed to have succeeded in influencing his mind so he stated that he was eager to wage jihad in Palestine so that he could die as a martyr.<sup>28</sup> At Pesantren Persis Bangil, a santri claimed to have read the book *Ma'alim fi al-Thariq* (Road Signs), by Sayyid Qutub, a book that inspired radical movements in the name of Islam in many countries. According to him, the book is not a curriculum, but a general reading for santri interested in.<sup>29</sup> The santri who read the indoctrination of jihad possibly do not have sufficient insight into the complexity of the conflicts involving Muslims, such as in Palestine or Syria since without understanding the complexity of the root causes of the conflict, it is not impossible for santri to easily carry over to a simplification of the problem so that it justifies the argument that the conflict is a religious war, as is usually campaigned by extremist ideologists.

Another radical invitation often accepted is to establish the Khilafah Islamiyyah. The Khilafah propaganda is closely related to the invitation to jihad. In the perspective of violent radicalism, such as ISIS and its network, jihad is an absolute requirement to achieve the goal of establishing a system of Khilafah ala Minhaj an-Nubuwwah (the government system resembling the Prophet era). However, from the perspective of non-violent HTI, the Khilafah does not have to be fought with war jihad. The Khilafah can be achieved by continuous propaganda to mobilize militant mass support. The aim is to create sympathy for the Khilafah system and antipathy for the system. It seems that this goal has been achieved among some

young people who are interested because of the lack of a critical understanding of the development of the political system in the past and in the present. They are easily carried to a utopian hope and run from the reality at hand. This happened to a young teacher at the Pesantren Tahfiz al-Qur'an in South Borneo. The young teacher admitted, if he had to choose, he would choose the Khilafah system over democracy.<sup>30</sup>

Regarding the propaganda of jihad often accepted by santri, there were not many pesantren that tried to straighten out the jihad thinking that is applied to respond to the conflict plaguing Muslims today. Some modern pesantren, such as Pondok Gontor, tried to present alternative narratives, a counter-narrative strategy that is not confrontational to extremist propaganda. The concept that is always taught is jihad to study. "Jihad is not always a war, but learning itself is also jihad."<sup>31</sup> Gontor's leaders did not reject the concept of war jihad, but they rejected war as the only meaning of jihad. In contrast to the strategy above, Pesantren Assalafi Al-Fithrah, Surabaya, one of the traditional pesantren in East Java, tried to do a counter-narrative strategy that directly plunged into the heart of the problem. According to one of the leaders, extremist ideologists use conflicts involving Muslims as a basis for justifying the implementation of war jihad. The conflict between Palestine and Israel is one of the examples. He did not deny that the Muslims in Palestine were harmed by Israel which had annexed most of its territory. But he refused to frame the conflict as a religious war. According to him, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is a political conflict involving Muslim Palestinians and Jewish Israelis, and it is not a religious conflict that can justify parties outside the region waging war jihad. Pesantren leaders also did not deny that Muslims are obliged to help Muslims in Palestine who are struggling as a form of solidarity among Muslims (*Ukhuwwah Islamiyyah*). However, the help can be sent in other ways, such as distributing food aid, medicines, and other basic needs. Helping Muslim countries affected by political conflict

does not mean that we have to go to war, and not to mention fighting in a political conflict does not guarantee martyrdom.<sup>32</sup>

### ***Instill Anti-Bughat Doctrine***

The Purist Salafist pesantren generally do not interpret the Qur'anic text and the Hadith, but they take it literally without contextualization. The verses of the Qur'an often referred to delegitimize the doctrine of jihad is, "Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you." (Athiullah, wa athiur rasul, wa ulil amri minkum, QS An-Nisa, Verse 59). The meaning of the verse is clear enough so it does not provide any rooms for interpretation other than what is stated (mantuq al-ayah). The verse means that it is prohibited to rebel against Allah, against the Messenger and the lawful government. With this understanding, the Purist Salafist oppose any invitation to the jihad of violence, and they also refuse to establish the Khilafah, as long as that invitation has the implications of defiance against a legitimate government.

Rebellion against a legitimate government is not only meant in the sense of taking up arms. Even the act of criticizing the government openly, for example, let alone accompanied by berating government officials, is also interpreted as defiant behavior. "We routinely teach the santri not to berate the government, so there is no radicalism here," said the leader of Pesantren Imam Syafi'i, in Aceh. He added, "the santri here idolize Ust. Firanda and Ust. Khalid Basalamah often reminds people to obey the government."<sup>33</sup> Let alone rebelling against a legitimate government can not be tolerated by Purist Salafist adherents. For Pesantren Purist Salafist Abu Hurairah in Mataram, ISIS is Khawarij at the present day because they both are rebels against the legitimate government.<sup>34</sup>

The Purist Salafist's persistent attitude in rejecting *bughat* even in the form of peace cannot be separated from the Islamic understanding of those who rely on the Sunnah practiced by the

Companions of the Prophet. They do not forbid providing advice to the government, but they forbid an open protest and criticism because the advice is better given directly to the authorities.

According to them, the Prophet had never held a demonstration as a way of opposing the rulers of his time. Therefore, demonstrations and revolutions are not Islamic behavior, but Western behavior. Wiktorowicz (2006, p. 220) describes the Purist Salafist argument as quoted in the following:

Even involvement in political parties is seen as a heresy that is sourced from Western political party models and democracy. In the Purist Salafist's perspective, the use of Western political party style allows the danger of foreign influence in political ways: political parties follow the logic of their own political power and produce partisan attitudes (*hizbiyyah*), attitudes that can force political activists to put the interests of political parties above God and the obligation to maintain Tawheed.

The anti-*bughat* argument is actually not the monopoly of the Salafist Pesantren because traditional pesantren also use it. Only is it not the dominant discourse. A teacher at Dayah Mahyal Ulum, Aceh, used a *bughat* argument when describing the attitude of Daud Bereuh (DI-TII) who invited to rebel against Indonesia even though Aceh had declared to join Indonesia.<sup>35</sup> Apart from which were both rejected by both the Salafist Pesantren and the Salafiyah, the two typologies of the pesantren do not have a harmonious relationship as far as theological understanding is concerned. Traditional pesantren tend to frame radical delegitimization into Wahhabi delegitimization as a whole. This tendency is quite prominent in the attitudes of many traditional pesantren caregivers, especially in Aceh. They even showed antipathy towards Wahhabism. As expressed by a Dayah Darussalam santri Labuhan Haji, South Aceh, that Abuya, Dayah Caregiver, often

emphasizes how important it is to instill the Aswaja doctrine to counteract damaging Islamic teaching, such as Wahhabi.<sup>36</sup> Dayah Mahyal Ulum, Aceh, insists that they will try to deal with the Wahhabi movement in peaceful ways, such as discussion, but if it does not change, he indicates that there will be acts of violence.<sup>37</sup> In Banten, a Traditional pesantren deliberately held a Study General with the theme "The Danger of Wahhabi".<sup>38</sup>

### ***Santri Critical Thinking: Development or Restrictions?***

Critical thinking development strategies are among those that receive the least attention from pesantren leaders. The development in critical thinking in the context of resilience development is recognized as significant because it can create long-term resilience even though students are no longer under the supervision of their educational institutions (Nash, Nesterova, et al., 2017, pp. 101-102; British Council, 2017). With good critical thinking, students can choose and sort independently with whom or with which groups they will socialize. In addition, they will also be able to be critical of any narratives by confronting it with facts, whether the narration is based on objective facts, hoaxes, or just a form of framing trick. Students who think critically will not be easily affected by dangerous and empty rhetoric. Critical thinking is an objective method of thinking based on adequate data, and it keeps away from the bias of negative prejudice and prioritizes general good. Being critical, hence, requires a broad insight into knowledge. However, according to Nash, Nesterova, et al. (2017, p. 102), critical attitude is not identical with binary or black and white opposition. Critical thinking means providing space to be able to accept the diversity of understanding and interpretation (ambiguity). Those who are critical are not always opposed to the government, but they can also be pro-government as long as they are capable of self-criticism. In short, the success in critical thinking is able to tackle the problems and the complexities of real-life (Nash, Nesterova, et al., 2017, p. 102).

This study found that pesantren, in general, did not emphasize fostering critical thinking in the above meaning. There is virtually no pesantren in this research that teaches santri to discuss controversial issues critically by examining the complexity of the problem. For example, in responding to Wahhabism, traditional pesantren tend to emphasize the mistake of Wahhabism teachings and indoctrinate the santri with it, from the beginning. Hardly has any pesantren tried to see Wahhabism more comprehensively and to distinguish the variants within it--between Purist Salafist, Haraki Salafist and Jihadist Salafist. They tend to make generalizations of all variants of Salafism as a threat called Wahhabism. They also rarely speak the Bughat doctrine which is basically well understood by the traditional pesantren. Moreover, they generally consider the Shi'a and Ahmadiyya as a controversial issue and hence avoid discussing it objectively. The reluctance to discuss the controversial issue by covering both sides also occurs on the topic of "Muslims are oppressed" which are often used by radicals. Only some pesantrens that were investigated raised the issue to be discussed critically to see which the factual and rhetoric sides were. Discussing a controversial issue critically can train santri to distinguish which facts are acceptable and which provocative rhetoric must be shunned.

The pesantren leaders generally do not reject the importance of critical thinking, but they tend to limit it. Most of them consider the development of such critical thinking as more appropriate when the students continue their education in college. A student of Pesantren An An-Nizomiyah Islamic admitted that he had never read a book or discussed controversial issues because he felt it was not time to do so. He prefers reading novels rather than reading books that present the complexity of the problem. "We're still in high school," argued the santri.<sup>39</sup> Within the Traditional Pesantren in West Java, there are indeed discussions and debates among santri, but they are not intended to discuss controversial issues. As admitted by the

leaders of the Darul Ulum Pesantren Bogor, santri at the Tsanawiyah level learn how to communicate, and santri at the Aliyah level begins to learn discussion and debate. However, they do not learn to discuss controversial issues (bahtsul masa'il).<sup>40</sup> Likewise in Traditional Pesantren in East Java, according to one senior teacher, activities that encourage critical thinking only exist in Ma'had Aly (Higher Education), in the level below applies a one-way teaching.<sup>41</sup>

The main reason why pesantren leaders avoid the discussion of controversial issues because the purpose of Islamic education at junior and senior high school levels is to strengthen the Aqeedah of the santri. Perhaps it is worrying that if students have to face the ambiguity of the problem, santri will not focus to strengthen Aqeedah. Moreover, pesantren are essentially Islamic religious education institutions, different from public schools that do not go into certain theologies. In some Traditional Pesantren, santri are introduced to dialogical lectures every month, but the mechanism is not intended to foster critical thinking. It is intended to solve fiqh problems to find an appropriate solution.<sup>41</sup> In studying the classical Islamic Books, the santri in Aceh Dayah are accustomed to the discussion, but the aim is again to resolve differences of opinion in matters of Fiqh.<sup>42</sup>

In Traditional Pesantren, discussions are not something strange. On the other hand, the santri in Salafist pesantren are not allowed to have a discussion, not to mention, debate on religious matters. The textual nature of Islam in Salafist doctrine demands mastery of the Islamic religion based on the power of memorizing the arguments of al-Qur'an and Hadith. Even if there is room for discussion, the santri of Salafist Pesantren do not experience it in the Pesantren but at schools (junior and senior high schools). There are no even discussions in the religious matter but discussions are conducted in general school subjects.<sup>44</sup> It occurs not only among the santri but also

among teachers. Discussion in Salafist pesantren is simply not emphasized. Surely, teachers are allowed to broaden their horizons by listening to lectures from academics presented to strengthen their understanding of the Salafis, and they absolutely are not allowed to discuss political issues, as admitted by a senior teacher at Pesantren Abu Hurairah, Mataram.

In the monthly meeting for teachers, is the pesantren invite ustadz (religious teachers) from outside the pesantren to provide enlightenment. These ustadzs are nationally recognized scholars or they have doctoral degree . They are paid by the pesantren to pursue Master and Doctoral degrees. Some of them even studied at UIN. What these ustadzs convey in their lecture is in accordance with the vision and mission of the pesantren, and they never discuss politics. Political discussion is taboo.<sup>45</sup>

Fostering the critical thinking of santri is quite prominent in modern pesantren. In Pondok Gontor, santri in grades 5 and 6 begin to get used to conducting book review activities, discussing contemporary issues in the field of Fiqh, Tafsir, Hadith, and Aqeedah. The santri who are interested in developing their insights join the Santri Potential and Insight Development Forum (FPPWS), like the Bahsul Masail (Islamic Law Discussion forum) forum in Traditional pesantren. However, discussions are not intended to see and understand the complexity of the problem, but to find the solution for the problem. Discussion activities that are open to the diverse opinions are more likely to be carried out by santri at Darussalam Universitas (UNIDA), a higher education institution under the management of Gontor. The extent to which academic freedom is facilitated at UNIDA still needs to be explored more deeply. Nevertheless, it is to be expected that the academic freedom milieu on campus will be marked by the milieu of pesantren oriented towards the reinforcement of



Aqeedah. The same discussion model also applies to Pondok Alumni and Gontor affiliates. Discussion issues revolve around contemporary Fiqh issues, such as smoking laws, young marriage laws, etc. In fact, in some pesantren, the discussion activities are directed at debating exercises that enable the santri to defend their own arguments and weaken the arguments of their opponents.<sup>46</sup> In short, the development of critical thinking is still limited to an intellectual exercise, instead of the development of objective thinking to get accustomed to the complexity of problems.

Besides Pondok Gontor, other modern pesantrens that are concerned with fostering critical thinking are Pesantren Muhammadiyah and Pesantren Persis. In Pesantren Muhammadiyah, the discussion and debating activities are only extracurricular activities for those interested. In Pesantren Persis, however, the discussion activities are part of the pedagogy in the classroom.<sup>47</sup> Outside the classroom, santri of Pesantren Persis are used to having a discussion and debate about religious issues, namely Fiqh, Hadith, Tafsir, and Aqeedah. They have even debated about the ISIS.<sup>48</sup> It is debatable whether the debating activity is a kind of protective factor for santri from the risk of being exposed to radicalism, or whether it will increase the tolerance of the santri for different teachings in Islam. In debates, santri are trained to defend their position with arguments, so there are always pros and cons. Nevertheless, the emphasized argument is not empirical fact analysis or comparing theories, and the delivered arguments based on the Qur'an and the Hadith. These arguments are considered as the interpretation of social reality instead.<sup>49</sup> This tendency is driven from Persis religious view which emphasizes the importance of referring to the Qur'an and Hadith. As a consequence, it is common for such reasoning practices to lead to an attitude of simplifying the problem. For example, a teacher in Pesantren Persis Bandung jumped into the conclusion that democracy fails to produce a country that is

in accordance with religious teachings, and the Khilafah can be used as an alternative instead. Similarly, the teacher slightly assumed that Shi'a is not part of Islam. This black-and-white perspective is recorded in the interview below:<sup>50</sup>

Researcher : Do you agree if the democratic system is called the best system for Indonesia?

Interviewee : I disagree because lately the Khilafah system appears. I think it is an alternative system that is worth trying because democracy does not succeed in creating a country based on religious teachings.

Researcher : Does it mean that you support the Khilafah to be established in Indonesia, Ustadz?

Interviewee : Yes, I agree, and it's worth trying.

Researcher : Has this pesantren ever won a debate tournament? How do you conduct the training?

Interviewee : Internally, the debate is our favorite. We have won in some event. We train it in the class, and there is also Muhadoroh.

Researcher : Shi'a?

Interviewee : We certainly don't accept them because they are not from Islam.

Sharpening the critical thinking of santri in pesantren is generally done within limits. The santri are trained to use arguments to support or reject a view. With the arguments, they are also expected to be able to maintain Aqeedah or the view of fiqh and reject Aqeedah or fiqh views that are considered wrong or distorted. The stronger the orientation of the pesantren towards the establishment of Aqeedah, the more reluctant the pesantren will be to explore the diversity of opinions and the complexity of the problem in religious issues.

As a consequence, the santri are not accustomed to the tolerance of ambiguity. On the other hand, pesantren which provide opportunities for santri to recognize differences of opinion are more likely to accept ambiguity. However, pesantren, in general, pay more attention to textual argumentation, and less emphasis on contextual interpretation. In addition, the attention on the analysis of empirical facts is less frequently done, not are the diversity of opinions and theoretical views. In some pesantren, philosophical thinking tends to be shunned and considered as not legitimate. As a result, with such a mindset, santri are not sufficiently resilient to the empty rhetoric that utilizes Scriptural texts as justification.

#### **D. Eliminating Prejudice of Hatred**

The third strategy in developing pesantren resilience towards extremism and radicalization of violence is to eliminate prejudice against hatred of different groups of identity. One characteristic of the resilient community is that it has succeeded in fostering extraordinary high trust between different ethnic and religious groups (Van Meter, 2016, pp. 14-17; Quilliam, 2017). Hostile and alienating other groups simply because they are considered to be out of the majority's belief can undermine the trust that is the basis for social cohesion. However, this issue is a dilemma for the pesantren community in general between the need to strengthen the unifying identity and the demand to tolerate different religious sects. Keeping the balance is not easy. Groups in Islam perceived far from the core of religious teachings, are potentially expelled from the congregation. Accepting and tolerating it is considered to be a risk of obscuring the identity of the congregation. Shi'a and Ahmadis are two minority groups in Islam perceived to have left the congregation. For this reason, they are commonly treated in a discriminatory and intolerant manner. On the other hand, non-Muslim groups tend to get better situations because they

are clearly different groups of people and are considered relevant to be tolerated. One of the Ustadz from Pesantren Gontor showed a more tolerant attitude towards Non-Muslims than towards the Shiites and Ahmadist. When asked if it is allowed to build of Non-Muslim houses of worship in Muslim-majority areas, the Ustadz allowed it since it is their rights as citizens. However, when asked to comment on the Shiite and Ahmadist, his attitude tends to be intolerant. "Ahmadiyya or Shi'a is not part of Islam, so they are automatically not allowed". When asked if it is allowed to expel them from their home, he replied, "I agree, because they are not in the name pathway of Islam."<sup>51</sup>

The attitude of intolerance presented by most of the pesantren communities towards Shi'a is based on the position of the two minorities that are considered unclear in their Aqeedah. Frequently, this attitude is clouded by the prejudice against the two which often ignite the emotions of people of grass root level. In the case of an attack against the Shiite group in Sampang in 2013, the prejudice circulating in the social media said that the Shiite group had a different kind of Qur'an; carried out the prayer by clapping and dancing; liked exchanging wives; and carried out rituals to berate the Companions of the Prophet (Sharif, 2016, p. 124). Meanwhile, the prejudice and labeling addressed to Ahmadiyya are that they have their own Holy Book, and Ahmadiyya is misguided and misleading. For those who often express prejudice against hatred openly, the utterance is regarded as stating the truth despite the bitter consequences (Muchtadlirin, 2016, p. 98). In this research, it was found that the stigmatization of Ahmadiyya in some pesantren communities still exists and the prejudice against them could not be overcome. As the opinion of a teacher in Traditional Pesantren in Banten below, when asked about the case of attacks against Ahmadist in Cikeusik:

The video is terrible. The people from NU sought tabayyun (clarification) with Ahmadiyya leaders, but they instead fought back. Once or twice they were attacked using sharp weapons. It didn't work. They had *ilmu kedugalan* (invincibility) ..., but initially, there was tabayyun (intention to ask for clarification), but the Ahmadiyah fought against, so they were attacked. In terms of citizenship, Where do they belong to, exactly? Even Konghucu is clear, isn't it? But what about Ahmadiyya?<sup>52</sup>

The hate prejudice against Shi'ah and Ahmadiyya does not directly trigger political radicalism or violent extremism. This directly leads to hate and prejudice against the government which is considered to have deviated from the teachings of Islam and allowed deviations to occur in society. The Jihadist Salafist group believes that a government that does not practice Islamic sharia is infidel, and therefore their blood is halal (lawful) to be shed. According to them the mistakes committed by the government with its policies have led to the astray of thousands and even millions of people who follow and are involved in its policies. By proposing to improve the situation of infidelity to conform to the Shari'a and Allah's guidance, they justify suicide bombings in the public facilities belong to the government. They argue that violence was taken as the last step after repeated warnings that were ignored (Wiktorowicz, 2006).

In the context of political conflicts involving Shi'a vs. Sunnis such as in Iraq and Syria, hate prejudice against Shi'a is often used by radical ideologists to justify their acts of violence (Smith, 2015). It is because anti-Shi'a propaganda in Indonesia was rife around 2014-2016 when the Syrian conflict raged and ISIS appeared to escalate the conflict.

ISIS views the Syrian conflict as Shi'a repression of Sunni Muslims and they campaign for the elimination of Shi'ism as a way to resolve the conflict. During these years hate prejudice

against Shi'a was published at the social media stating that Indonesia would be made into Shi'a within 20 years. The fear of Shiite hegemony is part of ISIS propaganda in their efforts to frame the political conflict in Syria as a conflict between Sunnis and Shiites. At the same time, in Indonesia, a movement spearheaded by Islamists from various regions declared the Anti-Shi'a National Alliance (ANNAS) in Bandung on April 20, 2014 (Syarif, 2016). Based on the description above, it can be concluded that the hate prejudice against Shias and Ahmadiyya has clearly triggered hate speech and hate crime against both. However, its relationship to the radicalization of violence will depend on the political context involving Shi'a vs. Sunni propaganda.

After investigating what pesantren leaders did in terms of hate prejudice, the study finds that a number of them disagreed with the attitude of intolerance towards different groups, including Shi'a and Ahmadiyya. Even some traditional pesantren leaders often spread NU's non-violent method of preaching (thoriqah). One of them was KH M Sholeh Bahrudin, the leader of Darut-Taqwa Foundation, Pasuruan, who reminded the Nahdhiyyin about the importance of instilling the Wali Songo method of preaching, "Embracing them instead of Attacking them, Giving them instead of Hating, Fostering instead of insulting, Inviting instead of Mocking." KH M Sholeh also reminded the NU method of preaching that emphasized three types of ukhuwwah (solidarity); first, ukhuwwah basyariyyah (brotherhood of humanity); second, ukhuwwah wathaniyyah (national brotherhood); and third, ukhuwwah Islamiyyah (Muslim brotherhood) (Syarif, 2016, p. 153).

However, efforts to instill the value of ukhuwwah basyariyyah are not easily accepted by the public. This was admitted by the An-Nizomiyah Pesantren Caregiver in Pandeglang, Banten. Communities around pesantren do not easily accept the concept because it may still be unfamiliar and they feel worried

that this attitude could undermine Muslim identity. Even among teachers, not all can accept active tolerance. As narrated by KH. Agus Khatibul Umam himself, that one day he asked an English teacher to teach his students the Bohemian Rhapsody Song popularized by Freddie Mercury of Queen, a legendary British band that had triumphed in the 80s. The Kiyai's reason for asking for this is to motivate the santri to improve their English skills. However, the teacher objected and instead told the santri that the Bohemian Rhapsody song was a Christian song, even though it was not a Church song at all.<sup>53</sup>

### ***Rely on Government Curriculum***

As mentioned above, most pesantren communities show a tolerant attitude towards non-Muslims even though they continue to emphasize the limits in Aqeedah and morality. In pesantren itself, the development of tolerance is done more in the form of teaching and the formation of cognitive insight rather than through physical encounters. Many pesantren rely on the government curriculum to instill this attitude of tolerance, especially Civics Education (Pkn), Sociology, and Islamic Religious Education (PAI). In teaching these subjects, not many pesantren use field study method where santri are facilitated to conduct physical encounters. one of those is Pesantren Darul Arqam Garut. According to a teacher at Pesantren Muhammadiyah, students were assigned to conduct interviews at church. There were also those assigned to interview Shi'a activists and even HTI. The purpose of this field study is to broaden santri's insight into these groups, but it is not directed at understanding theological aspects or beliefs. However limited, allowing santri to engage in physical encounters and contacts with different identities can reduce the risk factor of being exposed to prejudice against different groups.<sup>54</sup>

Other Muhammadiyah pesantren also rely on the government curriculum in developing the resilience of their santri against

hate propaganda often spread by radicals on the internet.<sup>55</sup> Pesantren Al-Furqan, Banjarmasin, uses civic education to instill tolerance values. Although they do not use the method of meeting different groups, civic education teachers invite santri to discuss cases of intolerance that are shown on television programs. "In Civic Education, we usually ask the santri's opinions regarding the events on television, and they said that it is only the selfishness of one group," said Ms. Ida Norsanty, Civic Education teacher at Pesantren Al-Furqan, Banjarmasin.<sup>56</sup> The use of Civic Education for tolerance teaching was also carried out at the Female Pesantren Muhammadiyah, namely Pesantren Ummul Mukminin, Gombara Makassar. The head of the pesantren feels that Civic Education is sufficient to instill tolerance at the high school student level. The deepening of the insight of tolerance will be obtained in the training provided by the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IPM) or the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IMM) at college student level.<sup>57</sup>

The use of government curriculum to build social bridges among santri is also carried out in Gontor affiliated pesantren. In addition to Pondok Modern Tazakka, Batang, which paid great attention to the teaching of Civic Education, Female Pesantren Darul Hijrah, Banjarbaru, also used Civic Education, as well as Sociology and Islamic Religious Education (PAI), for the same purpose. According to santri of Female Darul Hijrah, teaching tolerance is emphasized to respect the adherents of other religions without influencing each other's Aqeedah (faith). Female Pesantren Darul Hijrah gave enough attention to the teaching of Civic Education so that some of its santri frequently participated in the 4 Pillars of National debate contest and won at the provincial level.<sup>58</sup>

As stated above, Pesantren Wahdah Islamiyyah in Makassar also relies on the Civic Education curriculum to teach the value of diversity and tolerance. In the Civic Education module, the



foundation of the Pancasila state, the 1945 Constitution, and also Unity in Diversity is included. If Civic Education is taught at all levels, the contents will certainly be well-conveyed. In addition to formal teaching through Civic Education, santri are also given the opportunity to listen to 4 Pillars Lecture which includes state and national values.<sup>59</sup> How well Civic Education and Lecture 4 Pillars emphasize the protection of citizenship rights for minority groups must be explored further.

The Pesantren attention in instilling tolerance through Civics Education, Sociology, and Islamic Education subjects, is not directly proportional to the attitude of the pesantren community towards Shi'a and Ahmadiyya. A santri of a traditional pesantren in Banten claimed that he learned tolerance, Pancasila, Human Rights (HAM) through Civics Education. Referring to the Civics Education book, he defines human rights as basic rights carried by a person from birth until death. It means that human rights are understood as rights that cannot be revoked from a person for as long as he lives. When he was asked about his attitude towards Ahmadiyya, a contradiction was raised between the understanding of human rights and its application to the Ahmadiyya group. "I think it's better to move them out since they may influence others." When asked what if the Ahmadiyya do not bother anyone, he replied, "Well, that's okay, I'm afraid they may influence others."<sup>60</sup> Ambivalence in the application of human rights is indeed a prominent symptom among pesantren in general. On several occasions, the Religious and Human Rights Training organized by CSRC UIN Jakarta in 2009-2014 often raises such ambivalence. This ambivalence illustrates is this, "We can accept human rights for adherents of other religions, but we can't do it for the Shi'a and the Ahmadiyya., It is another thing."<sup>61</sup>

In terms of content, Civic Education does emphasize the importance of tolerance and human rights and maintain diversity in Indonesia. However, Civic Education seems

reluctant to discuss the cases involving differences in the internal theological understanding of religion, such as the Shi'a and Ahmadiyya. If you look closely, the topics or cases of human rights violations against Shi'a and Ahmadiyya do not get attention. Civic Education emphasizes more in an anti-violence attitude in general. How it is applied in the classroom may depend on the teachers (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016 and 2017). The urgency for a Civic Education teacher or Islamic Religious Education teacher is to have a sufficient understanding of the sects in Islam, whether it is Shi'a and Ahmadiyya, or other sects. The understanding needed here is the one that is not sectarian-oriented but rather socio-historical one, about how the two sects with various variants are understood and applied by the adherents, not how the outsiders view them.

### ***Lack of Social Meeting***

As stated earlier, inculcation of tolerance in pesantren generally relies on teaching in the classroom and does not emphasize direct meetings with groups that are tolerated. Pesantren education is different from education in public schools in terms of students' interaction with different identities. In pesantren, all students are Muslim, whereas, in public schools, Muslim students are accustomed to mingling with non-Muslims. Because of this, the demand for santri to interact with those who are different is greater than the demand for public schools. As the old saying goes, "Out of sight, out of mind," lack of interaction can lead to misunderstanding and negative prejudice. Some pesantren deal with this limitation by utilizing the experience of their santri's interactions with non-Muslims prior to studying at the pesantren. Pesantren Al-Falah, a traditional pesantren in Banjarbaru, utilizes the experiences of its santri, mostly from Central Kalimantan, who are neighbors with non-Muslims. The pesantren only needs to stress the importance of tolerance by referring to the experience. In addition, pesantren also utilizes the Interfaith Campsite

program organized by Indonesia's Ministry of Religious Affairs to provide experience in interacting with non-Muslims.<sup>62</sup>

In some traditional pesantren, the effort to provide opportunities for santri to experience firsthand meeting with people of different beliefs is pursued by several strategies. One of which is through cooperation with non-Muslim institutions like cooperation held by Pesantren An-Nizomiyah, Pandeglang, in which the pesantren cooperates with GKI. But as the caretakers themselves acknowledge, interfaith cooperation like this does not always get the support of pesantren internals.<sup>63</sup> Differently, Pesantren Al-Fitrah Islami in Surabaya does not cooperate institutionally but it invites the non-Muslims to attend Qur'an recitations. Pesantren Assalafi Al-Fitrah relies on the tradition of the Amaliyah Tarekat to share with non-Muslims. Those who often attend Amaliyah Tarekat events are Hindu religious leaders.

There are actually some mechanisms available to be used as a method to involve santri interacting with those people of different religions. One of them is the Forum of Religious Harmony (FKUB) which is provided for interfaith figures to strengthen the relationship and eliminate prejudice and suspicion. Some pesantren leaders are also active as FKUB leaders. The Head of the Pesantren Darul Arqam, Serang, is one of them. He served as Chairman of the FKUB of Serang District. However, as confirmed by the Head of the pesantren, the relation established at FKUB is not related to pesantren. There was no initiative by the head of the pesantren to bring the santri closer to young people of other religions through the fostered relationships at FKUB. According to the Head of Pesantren, there was no urgency to bring FKUB's mission to the pesantren. "We're almost 100% majority of Muslims, so this is how the religious teachings should be. They actually are not worried," argued the Head of the Pesantren.<sup>64</sup>

### ***Limitation in social interaction***

As stated earlier, tolerance is taught in pesantren. Socializing with non-Muslims is not prohibited, but it is rare to find pesantren that encourage their santri to socialize with non-Muslims. Even if it is permissible to socialize, it must be carried out with due regard to boundaries. Pesantren emphasizes to the santri about the importance of not confusing social relations with Aqeedah. Another matter must be considered; food and clothing.<sup>65</sup>

The exclusive attitude and the lack of interaction between pesantren and differences and diversity are more discussed in the Purist Salafist. Even though they do not should non-Muslim hatred, they tend to avoid hanging out with them except in social interactions in public places. They also lack support for socialization and interaction with different Islamic groups. This exclusive attitude is strengthened by a policy that does not give santri access to reading books on Indonesian religious thinkers because it is not considered in harmony with their Aqeedah. The books of Sufism and Philosophy are also not allowed to be read because they are not considered in accordance with Manhaj Wahhabi. Meanwhile, Pesantren Persis Bangil also has an exclusive attitude because it has a less open relationship with different communities. Emphasis on the importance of debate and argumentation cannot be a balancing factor to this exclusive attitude. As stated above, a critical attitude based solely on textual arguments does not help to develop a more open and tolerant attitude.

### **E. Addressing the Issue of Muslims being Mistreated**

The final strategy is to overcome the prejudice of the state that against Muslims discriminated or Muslims are being oppressed. The psychology that Muslims are threatened because the government benefits other religious groups is often used as a campaign to foster a radical attitude against the

government. Muslims are also oppressed by propaganda spread by ISIS to delegitimize the government in Syria so that they get support from young Muslims to commit jihad to overthrow the government of Basyar Al-Asad who was accused of oppressing the Sunnis. The fact that in some cases, a group of Muslims encountered unfair treatment from the ruling regime is undeniable, but to say that in all situations Muslims are being oppressed is a matter related to psychological vulnerability (Borum, 2014, p. 293). The feeling of being oppressed, both as individuals and as communities, naturally encourages humans to look for the scapegoat responsible for the misfortune they face. The government is the party that is often the target for responsibility. At an extreme level, psychological vulnerability due to feelings of wrongdoing encourages someone to punish those who are considered guilty (Borum, 2014, p. 293).

In the resilience development discourse, the ability of communities to build links with government organizations can overcome issues of injustice and gaps in economic and political distribution. In addition, social linking capacity is also believed to be able to strengthen other social capital: social bonding and social bridging (Ellis & Abdi, 2017, p 290). The presentation in the previous section explained how the integration of pesantren with the national education system through the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia has helped strengthen the capital of social bonding and social bridging of pesantren. The use of government curriculum through Civic Education has helped to create a protective factor from the risk of radical influence and hate prejudice against different identities. It has also been explained in the previous chapter that the capacity of pesantren to establish links with the government was truly systematically successful especially after the Reformation era. Before the Reformation era, the pesantren's relationship with the government was marked by the psychology of suspicion and prejudice. However, with

various government policies that integrate the pesantren system into the national education system, the relationship marked by suspicion gradually diminishes as the relationship between pesantren and the government increases (Azra & Afrianti, 2005; Zuhdi, 2006).

The case of the integration of the Gontor KMI Education System into the national education system needs special attention. The reason is that Pondok Gontor is one of the large pesantren that still stands for long enough without the national curriculum. Pondok Gontor does not want to integrate the education system because it may bring a bad influence on the system that has been built long ago. In other words, Pondok Gontor does not want to lose its main identity and social capital. In 2003 the relationship gap between Pondok Gontor and the government in terms of the education system was successfully overcome by the recognition of the Kulliyatul Mu'allimin al-Islamiyyah (KMI) system as part of the national education system through the National Education System Law No. 20 of 2003. After the passing of Pesantren Law No. 18 of 2019, the KMI system was increasingly gaining a strong legal standing in the national education system. To date, the KMI system has been included in the Muadalah Education Unit (Equalization) scheme in the pesantren system under the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. Now it is not only Pondok Gontor that has been acknowledged in the Muadalah system, 88 other pesantren that implement the KMI system are also acknowledged in this scheme.

In the perspective of social capital, the government's recognition of the KMI system shows the capacity of Pesantren to build links with the government while maintaining its independence (Social Bonding), but it did not stop there, the 88 pesantren are required to improve the quality of the implementation of the system. This naturally arises the need to develop self-organizing initiatives to achieve common

interests. Pondok Gontor was chosen as the Coordinator of the Mu'adalah Pesantren Communication Forum (FKPM).

This forum has held several meetings to discuss issues around the Mu'adalah system and shared interests that can be fought with the government.<sup>66</sup> The fact that there is independent coordination from different pesantren communities provides a more trusted channel and opens channels of communication with the government in overcoming various problems it faces. Thus, various issues related to policies that do not take a side with pesantren, discriminatory policies, or policies that oppress Muslims do not only become rumors or are buried deeply. Instead, the issue can be discussed in this forum in a more open and participatory atmosphere and clarified directly to government authorities who can provide response openly and transparently.

It is true that only some pesantren show good social linking capacity with the government. In some pesantren, suspicion still marks the relationship. Relations with the government have not been fully built on the basis of mutual trust, but more of purely pragmatic interests. Awareness of the importance of building real relationships cannot be fully delegated to one party, either the government or the pesantren. Reciprocal relationships require mutual trust and give and take. In some pesantren that follow the Madrasa system, for example, it is required to teach several compulsory subjects, including Civic Education. However, not all pesantren view Civic Education as a necessity to instill awareness of nationalism to santri. They even see it as merely a formal condition for gaining government recognition. It is therefore not surprising that some pesantren do not provide teachers to teach Civics Education and only provide enough textbooks for santri to study on their own.<sup>67</sup> The knowledge obtained between learning with the teacher's guidance and without the teacher's guidance is certainly incomparable.

In addition to the systemic relationship between the pesantren and the government as described above, the links with the government are also established through several activities. Generally, pesantren accept government initiatives to carry out socialization of government programs. Various pesantren from some typologies claimed to have held socialization activities on the danger of radicalism involving BNPT, Polri, and also the TNI. These include Pesantren Daar El-Qolam Gintung, Tangerang, Traditional Pesantren Darul Abror Nahdhatul Wathan, Lombok, Pesantren the Darul Ulum, Goa, South Sulawesi, and Pesantren Al-Ikhlash which is affiliated with Muhammadiyah in Bima. In addition to the traditional and modern pesantren, a number of Salafist pesantren also hold activities with the same aim, the socialization of the danger of radicalism in pesantren, including Salafist Pesantren al-Furqan al-Islami, Gresik, and Pesantren Abu Hurairah, Mataram. In the previous section, it was also explained that Salafist Pesantren Tanzimi under Wahdah Islamiyah also claimed to invite members of the DPR and MPR RI to give lectures on the 4 Pillars of the national ideology in the pesantren community.

### **Endnote:**

- <sup>1</sup> Interview with Teungku Munawar, Senior Teacher at Dayah Darussalaman Labuhan Haji, South Aceh, August 15, 2019
- <sup>2</sup> Interview with Agung Mulyana, Santri at PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, Banten, August 2, 2019.
- <sup>3</sup> Interview with KH Makin Soimuri, Caregiver of PP Roudhatul Thalibin, Rembang, Central Java, August 5, 2019
- <sup>4</sup> Interview with UstazUstadz Abdul Nasir, Senior Teacher at PP At-Thahiriyah, Serang, Banten, August 3, 2019.
- <sup>5</sup> Interview with KH. Agus Khatibul Umam, Caregiver of PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, Banten, August 1-2, 2019.
- <sup>6</sup> Interview with UstazUstadz Saipudin, Teacher at PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, Banten, August 2, 2019
- <sup>7</sup> Interview with UstazUstadzah Evida, Senior Teacher at Pesantren Darul



- Muta'allimin, Aceh August 7, 2019.
- 8 Interview with HM. Arwani, Head of Pesantren Barul Ulum, Goa, South Sulawesi, August 6, 2019.
  - 9 Interview with UstazUstadzah Kamilia Hamidah, Teacher at Pesantren Tahfizul Qur'an at Pati, Central Java
  - 10 Interview with Ust Su'ud Hasanudin, Public Relations of PP Persis Bangil, East Java, August 4, 2019.
  - 11 Interview with H. Asnawi Sarbini, Caregiver of PP Darul Arqom Serang, Banten, August 3, 2019.
  - 12 Interview with H. Asnawi Sarbini, Caregiver of PP Darul Arqom Serang, Banten, August 3, 2019.
  - 13 Interview with UstazUstadz Agus Yusuf, Head of PP Darul Arqom Serang, Garut, West Java, August 26, 2019
  - 14 Interview with UstazUstadz Adib Fuad Nuriz, Administrator at IKPM Gontor, Pondok Modern Gontor, Ponorogo, East Java, August 8, 2019
  - 15 Interview with UstazUstadz Muhammad Bisri, Teacher at Pondok Modern Tazakka (Gontor affiliated), at Batang, Central Java, August 15, 2019
  - 16 Interview with KH. Akrim Mariyat, One of the caregivers of Pondok Modern Gontor, Ponorogo, East Java, August 9, 2019
  - 17 Interview with UstazUstadz Muhammad Bisri, Teacher at Pondok Modern Tazakka (Gontor affiliated), at Batang, Central Java, August 15, 2019
  - 18 Interview with Caregiver of Pesantren Abu Hurairah Mataram, August 5, 2019, and Caregiver of al-Furqan al-Islamy at Gresik, August 15, 2019
  - 19 Interview with UstazUstadz Hamid, Caregiver of Pesantren WI, Makassar, August 8, 2019
  - 20 Interview with Caregiver and teacher at PP As-Salam Bima, dated July 27-29, 2019.
  - 21 Interview with UstazUstadz Muhammad Bisri, Teacher at Pondok Modern Tazakka (Gontor affiliated), at Batang, Central Java, August 15, 2019
  - 22 Interview with UstazUstadz Ahmad Pujiyanto, PP WI, Makassar, August 8, 2019
  - 23 Interview with KH. Agus Khatibul Umam, PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, Banten, August 1-2, 2019
  - 24 Interview with UstazUstadz Abdul Nasir, Teacher at PP At-Thahiriyyah, Serang, Banten, August 3, 2019
  - 25 Interview with UstazUstadz Abdul Nasir, Teacher at PP At-Thahiriyyah, Serang, Banten, August 3, 2019
  - 26 Interview with KH. Agus Khatibul Umam, PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, Banten, August 1-2, 2019.

- 27 Interview with UstazUstadz Arya, Junior Teacher at Dayah Mahyal Ulum al-Aziziyah, Aceh Besar, July 26, 2019
- 28 Interview with M Daffa, Santri of PP Hidayatulah, Banjarbaru, South Borneo, August 7, 2019
- 29 Interview with Abdun Nur, Santri of PP Persis, Bangil, East Java, August 4, 2019
- 30 Interview with UstazUstadzah Syarifah Milla, Junior Teacher at PP al-Ihsan Banjarmasin, South Borneo, August 15, 2019
- 31 Interview with UstazUstadz Husni Kamil Jaelani, Head of Pondok Modern Gontor 10, Aceh Besar, July 26, 2019.
- 32 Interview with UstazUstadz Ali Sofwan Muzani, Administrator at PP Al-Fitrah, Surabaya, East Java, August 4, 2019
- 33 Interview with UstazUstadz Fajri, Headmaster of Madrasah Aliyah Pesantren Imam Syafi'I, Aceh Besar, July 22, 2019
- 34 Interview with UstazUstadz M Sidik, Head of Pesantren Abu Hurairah, Mataram, August 5, 2019
- 35 Interview with UstazUstadz Arya, Junior Teacher at Dayah Mahyal Ulum al-Aziziyah, Aceh Besar, July 26, 2019
- 36 Interview with Nuratul Ikramah, Santri of Dayah Darussalaman Labuhan Haji, South Aceh, August 15, 2019
- 37 Interview with dengan UstazUstadz Arya, Junior Teacher at Dayah Mahyal Ulum al-Aziziyah, Aceh Besar, July 26, 2019
- 38 Interview with UstazUstadzah Ela H., Teacher at Ponpes At-Thahiriyah, Serang, Banten, 3 August 2019
- 39 Interview with Ana Rosaria, Senior Santri of PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, Banten, 2 August 2019
- 40 Interview with UstazUstadz Ahmad Yani, Senior Teacher at PP Darul Ulum, Lido, Bogor, August 16, 2019
- 41 Interview with UstazUstadz Ahmad Imam Bashori, Senior Teacher at PP Al-Fitrah Surabaya, August 4, 2019
- 42 Interview with UstazUstadzah Adlro' Hanimah, Teacher at Pesantren Tahfizh Nurul Qur'an Pati, Central Java, July 28, 2019
- 43 Interview with Afrizal, Santri of Dayah Mahyal Ulum al-Aziziyah, Aceh Besar, July 24, 2019
- 44 Interview with UstazUstadz Arif Rahman, Senior Teacher di PP Abu Hurairah, Mataram, 17 August 2019
- 45 Interview with UstazUstadz Arif Rahman, Senior Teacher at PP Abu Hurairah, Mataram, August 17, 2019
- 46 Interview with Caregiver and Santri at Pondok Modern Tazakka, Batang, at Pondok Darul Qalam, Gintung, Tangerang, at Pondok Darul Hijrah, Banjarbaru,

- South Borneo, during August 2019.
- 47 Interview with Nor Najmiati, Santri of Pesantren al-Furqan, Banjarmasin, South Borneo, July 22, 2019
  - 48 Interview with UstazUstadz Deden Rosihin, Head of Pesantren Persis Bandung 1, Agustus 26, 2019
  - 49 Interview with UstazUstadz Suud Hasanudin, Administrator at Pesantren Persis Bangil, August 4, 2019
  - 50 Interview with UstazUstadz Hamam Winandi, Junior Teacher at Pesantren Persis Bandung 1, August 24, 2019
  - 51 Interview with UstazUstadz Aib, Teacher at Pondok Modern Gontor, Ponorogo, East Java, August 9, 2019.
  - 52 Interview with UstazUstadz Abdul Nasir, Senior Teacher at PP At-Thahiriyah, Serang, Banten, August 3, 2019
  - 53 Interview with KH. Agus Khatibul Umam, PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, Banten, August 1-2, 2019.
  - 54 Interview with A. Hasan, Administrator at PP Darul Arqam, Garut, West Java, August 26, 2019.
  - 55 PP Darul Arqam Serang is included in teaching Civics Education to their santri. Interview with Nunung Fauziyah, Teacher at PP Darul Arqam, Serang, Banten, August 3, 2019.
  - 56 Interview with Ms. Ida Norsanty, Civics Education Teacher at PP Al-Furqan, Muhammadiyah affiliated, Banjarmasin, July 22, 2019.
  - 57 Interview with UstazUstadzah Masriwaty, Head of Female Pesantren Ummul Mukminin, Gombara, Makassar, August 5, 2019.
  - 58 Interview with Sri Rahmah, Santri of PP Female Darul Hijrah, Banjarbaru, South Borneo, August 15, 2019; and with Report of Interview with UstazUstadz Abdullah Husin, PP Female Darul Hijrah, Banjarbaru, South Borneo, August 15, 2019
  - 59 Interview with UstazUstadz Ahmad Pujiyanto, PP WI, Makassar, August 8, 2019
  - 60 Interview with Agung Mulyana, Santri of PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, Banten, August 2, 2019.
  - 61 Report on Religion and Human Rights Training for Pesantren in Indonesia (2009-2014) Cooperation of CSR UIN Jakarta with Kondrad Adenuer Stiftung (KAS) Germany.
  - 62 Interview with UstazUstadz Abdul Basit, Pesantren al-Falah, Banjarbaru, August 5, 2019.
  - 63 Interview with KH. Agus Khatibul Umam, PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, Banten, August 1-2, 2019
  - 64 Interview with H. Asnawi Sarbini, Head of PP Darul Arqam, Serang, Banten,

August 3, 2019

- <sup>65</sup> Interview with UstazUstadzah Syarifah Milla, Junior Teacher at PP al-Ihsan Banjarmasin, South Borneo, August 15, 2019
- <sup>66</sup> <https://ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id/web/> accessed on 22 November 22, 2019
- <sup>67</sup> Interview with UstazUstadz Nur Adi Septanto, Teacher at Pesantren Persis Bangil, East Java, August 5, 2019

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN RESILIENCE DEVELOPMENT IN PESANTREN**

#### **A. Women's Pesantrens in Historical Review**

Pesantren in the context of Indonesia is the oldest educational institution in which its tradition is the foundation and supporting pillar of the building of Indonesian civilization since 1200 (Dhofier, 2011), the pesantren then increasingly enhances its role and participates in being a part of the history of Indonesia. Pesantren is able to survive not only because of its flexibility in making adjustments but also because of its characteristics. It is characterized as an institution that is not only synonymous with Islamic meaning but also become part of Indonesian authenticity. Thus, pesantren is born from an ongoing and constantly dynamic social process.

From the data on pesantren released by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, there are at least 25,938 pesantrens in Indonesia with 3,962,700 madrasa students spreading across 34 provinces in Indonesia and approximately 79.93% of the students stay in pesantren dormitories.<sup>1</sup> Some pesantrens do not necessarily accommodate all their santri in dormitories because of several factors, both due to the limited boarding house issues, and the close distance of the students' houses to the pesantren allowing them to commute to pesantren, and their willingness to move from one pesantren to another in order to study from different Islamic scholars. Meanwhile,

Taking a look at the percentage of santri distribution based on gender, then there are approximately 1,886,748 male students (50.19% of the total students) and 1,872,450 female students (49.81%).<sup>2</sup> From this data it can be concluded how the pesantrens really accommodate in providing opportunities for women to be part of the pesantrens so that they are not only dominated by men.

As the oldest educational institution in Indonesia, few argued when pesantrens provide facilities (places to stay) specifically for women. When traced in literature studies on the history of pesantren, the information about women in pesantrens was not much reported. Clifford Geertz only mentioned young male students and not the young female. Based on this point, it shows that the pesantren in its early days were only devoted to boys.

It is estimated that starting in the early 1920s or early 1930s, many Muslim women began to enter pesantren, for instance, Pesantren Denanyar Jombang. K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid told the efforts of Kiyai Bisri Syamsuri, the leader of Pesantren Denanyar, as the first Kiyai who accept female students in their pesantren. At that time, accepting female students was still considered an unusual thing to do in pesantrens. It could even be called as “an effort to reduce religious rules.” Because of this, it is said that Kiyai Bisri Syamsuri accepted female students secretly. Even when Kiyai Hasyim Asy'ari visited his pesantren in Denanyar, Kiyai Bisri hastily asked his wife to hide his daughter's students so that Kiyai Hasyim did not know (Muhammad, 2016).

Pesantren as educational institutions usually only provide instruction in basic classical books (Dhofier, 2011). Even Kiyai Hasyim Asy'ari taught his own daughter named Nyai Khairiyah. Because of the upbringing of his father, Nyai Khairiyah was able to replace her husband's position, Kiyai Ma'sum Ali, as the leader of Pesantren Seblak when her husband passed away in 1932 (Husna A. & Ambarwati, 2014).

While in general, women at that time only gained limited basic religious knowledge relating to women's issues, mainly on how to purify and worship.

In the context of the role of women in the social and educational space, it is still debatable among scholars. This case was discussed in NU's *bahstul masail* forum. This forum addressed questions about whether women could study religious sciences and not just the Qur'an, whether women could attend religious activities and several other concerns. Also, the questions about women were raised in the forum for discussing religious affairs at NU Conference held around the 1920s. This issue can be found in the collection of *Bahtsul Masail Diniyah in Ahkam al-Fuqoha* compiled by KH. A. Aziz Masyhuri in 1997 (Muhammad, 2016).

This shows that women pesantrens have been the concern of the Kiyai since the 1910s. Research conducted by Dhofier between 1977 and 1978 found that almost all pesantrens provided dormitories for female students. The number of female students also increased by an average of 60% of male students. In terms of the method of teaching and education carried out, female and male students did not share the same classrooms (segregation between male and female) so that both male and female students studied in separate spaces and times. However, it is unfortunate in this study that the way of life female students have at pesantren is not specifically described.

In the context where patriarchal social structure culture is still dominating, pesantrens at the time had initiated to open opportunities for women to study in there. It was still very limited regarding its practical needs at that time, especially in matters relating to women's problems, such as menstruation, postpartum, *istihadhah*, prayer, and others related to women's obligations (Dhofier, 2011). This was because knowledge about these issues was *fardhu 'ain*, which was an obligation that must be carried out by each individual. While other knowledge such

as arithmetic, national history, and others were considered as *fardhu kifayah*, which means that when someone is already working on it, then the obligation for others has been fulfilled. This reason makes that the relevant knowledge about religious obligations for women was considered to be very sufficient to carry out the obligations in accommodating women—as part of facilitating diversity (Muhammad, 2016).<sup>3</sup>

This view still dominates pesantren culture, especially when it comes to discussing pesantren's vision and mission that are related to women's issues. The discussion of this issue will be specifically addressed in the next section on gender discourse in women's pesantren.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, the reluctance of Islamic scholars to accept female students was due to the fear of being unable to take care of them properly. The people of that era commonly assumed that caring for female students was more difficult. However, the development of pesantrens for women is getting so fast. This is based on the data above, showing by the percentage of the number of male and female students at pesantren which is almost equal. Hence, when seen deeply, more pesantrens have accepted female students (Muhammad, 2016), like the Pesantren Denanyar (Jombang) Tambakberas (Jombang), Lirboyo (Kediri), Cukir (Jombang), Pandanaran (Yogyakarta), Babakan Ciwaringin (Cirebon), Buntet (East Java), and Gontor (Ponorogo) (Gontor opened women pesantren named Gontor Putri in Ngawi in 1990).

The modernization of Indonesia's education system, which was first introduced during the Dutch period, has more or less forced traditional Islamic education systems, such as surau (small Islamic building for prayers) (Minangkabau) and pesantren (Java), to respond by either “rejecting while following” or “rejecting and emulating.” This response was applied by the Reformers to maintain the authenticity of the Islamic system without having to significantly change the



contents of, for example, surau education. Likewise, pesantrens in the Javanese context also have done the same thing, where the pesantren community carries out a number of adjustments to support the continuity of the pesantren itself, for example, in terms of the class system, curriculum and the classical system (Madjid, 1997).

From this, we can see how dynamic the pesantren were in which they were originally identical to rural culture and recently they have entered the culture of urban communities. For example, Pesantren Manba'ul Ulum (Surakarta) which was founded by Susuhunan Pakubuwono in 1906 was one of the pioneers of how pesantrens included literacy (reading and writing in Latin letters) and Al-Jabar (math) subjects into the curriculum. It was then followed by several other pesantrens, such as Pesantren Tebuireng (Jombang), Pesantren Rejoso (Jombang) which not only adopted the modern education system but also included some general lessons. In a slightly different nuance, Pesantren Modern Gontor (Ponorogo) also did the same response, by inserting a number of general subjects into its curriculum, encouraging its students to learn English (besides Arabic) and adding a number of extra-curricular activities, such as sports and arts (Madjid, 1997).

These accommodative adjustments have made the pesantren education system stand in its current context. These also encourage the widening of access to education to the broadest possible extent for women in the world of pesantren.

## **B. Pesantren and Gender Equality**

Pesantren as the oldest educational institution in Indonesia has a major contribution to developing gender equality discourse. Since 1920 Pesantren Manba'ul Ma'arif Denanyar (Jombang) has become one of the first pesantren that pioneered accepting female students to study at the pesantren. This happened in the context of a society that was not too familiar with the presence of women in pesantren education (Muhammad, 2016).

In the same period, Padang Panjang Women Diniyah College was established on November 1, 1923, by Madam Rahmah El Yunusiyah and recorded by history as a modern educational institution specifically for women by innovating ideas and education on daily basis. The existence of this Women Diniyah later inspired the University of Al-Azhar to open *Kulliyatul Lil Banat*, a faculty devoted to women.

There is not much literature that examines how the women lived in pesantren in details other than those written by KH. Husein Muhammad and also from observations that researchers conducted through the process of interaction with pesantrens of female students directly. But, in general, the activities female students have are not much different from male students. They are also required to study on a scheduled basis and to follow other activities, as well as male students, do. Although the learning process, in general, is not differentiated, female students are not as free as male students when going out of the pesantren.

In Traditional Salaf pesantrens, the pesantren complex for women was not as open as the male students'. Some are still very closed and located separately from male pesantren—usually, it is behind the Kiyai's house surrounded by walls so that it is not easy to meet female students. In many cases, pesantren activities for female students are limited to those of the male. Thus, in that way, female students in pesantren generally do not have special programs or curricula related to gender issues.

Likewise with modern pesantren, although the pesantren is specifically for women, in reality, there are not many female leaders involved in formulating pesantren policies, especially those relating to female students. Thus, practical curriculum or programs are built based on the men's ideal assumption on the female students, instead of how to empower them in accordance with their capacity from women's perspectives.

The issue of religion and gender equality is still an important issue that continues to be debated by a lot of Islamic scholars. The social reality still shows discriminatory views towards women. Many religious communities still believe the division between domestic work (women) and the public work (men) and they regard it as God's will. This division is considered as something natural, and inherent. Therefore, this concept should not be changed.

The question related to gender issues that often arises is whether Islam affirms the relations between men and women as equal when it comes to the social, cultural, and political rights of women? To respond to this question, two major groups presented different points of view. The first argues that women are less than men, or the second-class creatures of God. The second sect believes that women and men have equal status and position. There are still a few ulemas who embrace this teaching which might be categorized as a progressive (Muhammad, 2016). The two groups both refer from the same authoritative source, the Qur'an and the Hadith. The difference in approach to understand the text, between tafsir and ta'wil (misleading interpretation),<sup>5</sup> about universal meanings and particular meanings. This makes the thinking product about gender between the first and second groups very contrast.

It can be said that some of the fiqh doctrines in the classic books taught at pesantren indicate that women stand below men, with the main reference of Sura An-Nisa verse 34: "Men are in charge of women by [right of] what Allah has given one over the other and what they spend [for maintenance] from their wealth." From this text, it indicates a gender-biased law problem.

The Book of *Al-Ashbah wa al Nadhair*, a book on the principles of fiqh or law that is widely studied in pesantren, consists of some kind of summary of rights and obligations between men and women in many Islamic sources. The Shafi'i sect, especially, differentiates men and women in a number of laws. One of the

examples is “Al-Untsa Tukhalif al-Rajul fi Ahkam,” the urine of a baby girl who is still breastfed should be doused with water, but is the urine of a baby boy just need a sprinkle of water.<sup>6</sup>

In addition, the *book of Syarh 'Uqud al-Lujain fi Bayan Huquq al-Zaujain by Shaykh Nawawi al-Bantani*, is a book that discusses specifically the rights and obligations of husband and wife and women's behavior. The Book of Qurrah al-yunUyun fi al-Nikah al-Syar' is written by Idris al-Hasani, specializes in the discussion of sexual relations between husband and wife and their ethics. The Book of Adab al-Mua'syaroh bain al-Zaujain li Tahshil al-Sa'adah al-Zawajiyah al-Haqiqiyah by Ahmad bin Asyuni, discusses the ethics of conjugal relations to achieve true happiness in marriage. Anyone who reads these books textually without critical analysis will conclude that the classical books, in general, contain gender-biased religious discourse. To date, a lot of pesantren still teach these books to their santri, and in some pesantren, they combine *qauli* (evidence based on the Qur'an and Hadith) and *manhaji* (scientific procedure of interpreting).<sup>7</sup>

The nature of the discourse of gender equality continues to develop over time from the pesantren and community development association institute (P3M) established by a number of prominent Kiyai, such as KH. Yusuf Hasyim, KH. M. Sahal Mahfudz. Kiyai Abdurrahman Wahid and community social activists in Jakarta, since the 1990s, this programmed this institution as an effort to strengthen and empower pesantren in various fields, not only in the field of social but also culture and economy. The participants of this institution include young Kiyai and santri of pesantren throughout Indonesia.

The themes of women's study were also raised by P3M including issues on Islam and gender, women's rights in fiqh, women's rights with issues of sexuality, reproductive health, and the issue of HIV/AIDS. Important figures behind the popular activities called Fiqh al-Nisa are Lies Marcoes<sup>8</sup> Natsir,

Cicik Farha<sup>9</sup>, and also Masdar F. Mas'udi<sup>10</sup>, the late Dr. Mansour Fakhri<sup>11</sup> and Kiai Husein Muhammad<sup>12</sup>, important male figures who were vocal in the issue of the women's empowerment movement.

Having this issue, the networking groups were formed in an effort to socialize gender mainstreaming discourses and movements in their respective regions. A few examples of these groups are Fatayat Welfare Foundation (YKF) Yogyakarta, Fatayat NU, Rahima, Puan Amal Hayati, Women Crisis Center (WCC), Balqis, Puspita, and Fahmina Institute. The formation of these groups then led to the realization of the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress (KUPI) for the first time in Cirebon in 2017, which produced several important recommendations, including those relating to child marriages, sexual violence and natural destruction in the context of social inequality.<sup>13</sup>

After the KUPI meeting, the issue brought up by pesantren women activists is increasingly dynamic with factual issues that are more contextual. For example, *Halaqoh Ulama Perempuan* in Central Java, initiated important declarations<sup>14</sup> related to affirming commitments to the nation and state, reinforcing Islamic moderation and strengthening the network of female ulemas in education as an effort to prevent acts of radicalism and terrorism in their respective regions.

Apart from the dynamics of the pesantren women's movement which contributes to religious authority on factual issues involving the active role and participation of women, it is necessary to further study how the practice of women pesantren in the middle of the discourse. This is the focus of the findings of this study regarding the role of women in the development of pesantren resilience against radicalism.

In practice, ulemas and Kiyais recognize that men and women are God's creatures and what makes them different is their taqwa (obedience). Also, both men and women have the same

obligation to seek knowledge. In the words of the Prophet: "To seek knowledge is an obligation for every Muslim, both man and women" (H.R. Ibn Majah).<sup>15</sup>

Generally, the highest authorities in pesantren are held by men. In the tradition of the Salafi pesantren, the Kiyai holds the authority. Kiyai in Salafi pesantren culture is someone who is acknowledged by the community for religious expertise. Commonly, Kiyai's leadership is a natural process that emerges gradually. It can also be due to social genealogical factors. In contrast to the leadership patterns of modern pesantren which have developed a collective leadership system with all the organizational tools. The only difference is that this form of leadership (modern pesantren) is not culturally acknowledged by society.

The wife of Kiyai is called "nyai". Structurally, it feels like a "second class" leader even though socially the role of a "nyai" is as important as Kiyai. Thus, "nyai" in the practice, accompany Kiyai, making adjustments as a process of bettering themselves to be deserving as a companion of a -Kiyai. The "Nyai" identity is gradually formed in accordance with the identity of the Kiyai.<sup>16</sup>

The social culture that places women merely as a companion to a husband is found in many pesantren cultures, as revealed by Nyai Lilis, the leader of Pesantren Darunnajah 9 Tangerang Selatan, Banten:

"The pesantren wants to prepare the leader of the ummah, *sholihah* (religious) people, and a good generation, focusing on those related to womanhood like the needs of being mother, *thoharoh* (purify) and so forth, specifically for women."<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, Ustadz Farid, Junior Teacher of Pesantren Darunnajah 9 in South Tangerang, Banten, stated the ideal vision and mission of the pesantren. "To prepare female students who can cook and religious wives who obey their husbands."<sup>18</sup>

In the Salafi traditional pesantren, this culture influences how Kiyais pay special attention to their sons and daughters to be their successors. If a Kiyai has more than one child, then the oldest is expected to be his successor. The others are educated to establish their own pesantren or to be the leader of their parents-in-law's pesantren since practically whomever Kiyai will choose to be his son/daughter in-law with fellow the Kiyai. If a Kiyai has a daughter, she will be married to a smart santri who is prepared to be the leader of the pesantren. Therefore, it is very clear how the dominance of men as holders of leadership authority is the majority occurrence in many pesantren cultures (Dhofier, 2011). In many interviews with pesantren leaders, they always explicitly emphasize how the leadership of men is more important than that of women.

As illustrated by Ustadzah Ela H, the leader of Pesantren At-Thahiriyah, Serang, Banten, who took the verse of al Qur 'an about "ar rijaalu qowwamuna' ala annisa ' (a man is the leader over a woman)," as a law not allowing women to become leaders. The same opinion was stated by Fakhrusi Syakirin,<sup>19</sup> senior santri from Pesantren Daar El Qolam, Tangerang, Banten:

"In Islam leaders are men. However, everyone has duties of their own. Why must we choose women If we have men? According to Shaykh Abdurrahman, women's characteristics are very different. Women perceive intentions more than words, while men see intentions."

Similar statement was also expressed by Ustadzah Iis Aisyah, administrator of Pesantren Daar El- Qolam, Tangerang, Banten, who stated:

"If there are men, it will be better to choose men. In Islam, it is not allowed (to choose women). Based on the proposition, when women have to testify, there have to be two of them since women are weak."<sup>20</sup>

In addition to the lack of gender discourse in the pesantren tradition, this study also found that when it comes to gender, women in the pesantren environment tended to have a "sharper" view than men themselves, and this would have the potential to place them in a lesser position.

Nur Najmiati, 21 the leader of the board of santri organization in Modern Pesantren Al-Furqon, for example, stated that in her opinion, by nature men were destined by God to have a higher ability than women. This is evidenced that the court requires at least two women to be witnesses while one man is enough to be a witness in the court. It is because women's minds are considered weaker than men's. In its implementation, Nur Najmi considers that ideally leadership must be held by men, women should only hold the reins of leadership under certain conditions like when they have no other options available. For her, the concept of a female leader is contrary to the spirit in Islam.

In practice, Nur Najmiati herself leads the santri organization and manages many male santri under her coordination. Nevertheless, she continued to admit that her position was not ideal, and it should be held by men. Having said that, she admitted that under her authority, the student board organization ran well and she still could not entrust this responsibility to other administrators, men, or women alike.

Views regarding religious fanaticism were also found in Anita, Ustadzah in Female Pesantren Darul Hijrah.

She claimed that she was one of those who supported the establishment of Islamic law in Indonesia and stated that she often instilled the passion to love and defend religion to her santri in the pesantren where she worked. She is a supporter of the FPI program in preaching and detesting Western interference in the Islamic world. Unlike her male teachers in Darul Hijrah who did not question the issue of women's



leadership in the public area, Anita is one of those who strongly opposed the leadership of women as leaders. According to her, it does not matter how smart women are or how high her education is, the house is always the best and most appropriate place for women to work.

More extreme views regarding religious fanaticism in this research were even found in the pesantren which belong to Tabliq Jamaah. AZ, one of the teaching staff at Pesantren Al-Ihsan stated that she was pessimistic with the state. In her opinion, the country is currently not successful in managing religious Education Institutions properly, which she measured with the lack of financial and moral assistance. She even argued that the government tends to lie. They came asking for data and reviewed the pesantren, but to date, the assistance awaited has not been realized.

AZ is one of the supporters of the 212 Demo Movement. She even hoped to join more concretely, but because of her limitations, she can only pray from a distance. For her, Islamic Sharia is the solution. If Indonesia can implement Islamic Sharia, then various national problems would not be resolved properly.

Before the AZ family joined Jamaah Tablighi, they were entrepreneurs who had many customers from various backgrounds, including non-Muslims. AZ family business partners are not only Muslims but also Christians, Confucians, etc. However, AZ claimed that after joining Jamah Tabligh and getting to know religion more deeply, she withdrew from association with non-Muslims. Some business partners who often visit them during Eid, are no longer well-accommodated, and vice versa, the family's tradition of visiting business partners on Chinese New Year or Christmas is never done again. AZ stated that since getting to know religion she has guarded her Aqeedah against improper associations. She also firmly believes that Islam is the best religion and is determined to

devote her life to preaching and spreading Islam wherever and to anyone.<sup>22</sup>

AZ's views are very different from what was conveyed by Ustadz Tamzid, one of the leaders of Pesantren Al-Ihsan - the same pesantren as AZ. For instance, he stated that he accepts women's leadership and he himself has so many non-Muslim relations and friends. He also accepts Pancasila as the best principle for the Indonesian nation. He firmly rejected the Islamic Sharia which he said was only a fairy tale that would be impossible to run in Indonesia.

In a number of pesantren, it was found that women had a more fanatical view on religion, gender, and the concept of the state than men in the same pesantren. In some cases, they even reject women's leadership or women's dominant roles in the family or community. Women's natural abilities are under men and they acknowledge the absolute authority of men as leaders.

Even so, there are some pesantren leaders who have built a culture of leadership based on ability as carried out by Pesantren Al-Furqan, Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan. Still, most of the leadership issues in pesantren culture that were successfully collected in this research are dominated by male leadership discourse. Therefore, the equality discourse echoed by women pesantren activists has not been able to color the pesantren culture which is still dominated by patriarchal culture.

### ***Women and Professions in the Workplace***

One of the issues related to pesantren institutions is how pesantren as educational institutions prepare their santri to survive in society. Related to this context, the goal of most parents, in sending their children to pesantren is to equip them with religious educations since the main purpose of pesantren education is to provide educations of the Islamic religion. Thus,

basic education in pesantren is moral education and knowledge related to Islamic religion and humanity.

Since its inception, Pesantren did not prepare graduates with certain abilities or skills related to the work field. Even if there is one, it is usually in the form of extra-curricular, outside the main subject, with not much time allocated. In other words, pesantren does not establish a curriculum that is focused on developing skills as a basis for santri's independence. So, when during the education process, santri's activities are focused solely on the process of learning religion and nothing more.

Pesantren Raudhatut Tholibin Rembang, for example, was offered several times to cooperate with a training program for santri's skills development. These offers, however, were not accommodated by the pesantren because the santri schedule was full from morning until night to explore religious knowledge. According to an interview with Kiyai Makin Shoumuri:

"This pesantren has long been offered things like that, but it was never accepted. There were offers like a sewing course and taking care of ducks. Sure, it has a good purpose which is to prepare the santri to be independent in society after they leave the pesantren. However, how could they possibly do all that when they are too busy learning? It will interrupt the teaching and learning activities. Furthermore, with all due respect, it turns out that our santri can have an economically-sufficient life after leaving the pesantren."<sup>23</sup>

Still, not all of the pesantrens insist on this concept. Several other pesantren have taken more flexible measures regarding this issue. To respond to the constant changes of the time and era, the pesantren involves the enrichment of learning activities excluding the learning hours. Some pesantren realize the importance of certain abilities for their santri to survive after they leave the pesantren. Therefore, some pesantren try to

provide skills training in addition to religious knowledge as the basic foundation.

Pesantren Al-Falah once cooperated with the Banjarbaru City Agriculture Office and opened a small plot of land behind the pesantren to train their santri how to farm. Sadly, according to KH. Nur Sahid, this activity was sustainable because there was no qualified cadre to manage this activity. Agriculture Office itself did provide teachers and training for santri, but their assistance in the field practice did not last. So the teaching process was mostly in the form of mentoring and continued by santri who received direct training or pesantren's teachers who have a little knowledge about it.

Yet, in less than a year, this program eventually stopped. In addition to the lack of regeneration, the tight school curriculum, which requires santri to focus on subjects in pesantren and the obligation to master general subjects in order to pass the national exam, was one of the factors that hindered the santri to spend their time to deepen the skills related to work needs.<sup>24</sup>

A similar situation occurred in Pesantren Hidayatullah. The only difference was that the job training process lasted longer and was carried out more seriously.

According to KH. Shaddiq, Head of Pesantren Hidayatullah Banjarbaru, initially, at the central of Pesantren Hidayatullah in Gunung Tembak, Balikpapan, and some of the oldest branches, the lessons related to work skills were given specifically and were included in the compulsory curriculum of the pesantren. Some of these skills were farming, workshops, and computers. Because they were parts of the pesantren's compulsory curriculum, the management provided land, practical equipment and recruited qualified teachers for these skills training activities at the pesantren, conducted outside class hours. In some pesantren that were established earlier such as Pesantren Hidayatullah Gunung Tembak Balikpapan and

Pesantren Hidayatullah Depok, this activity was organized seriously and it prepared several generations that were able to work based on the skills they gained during their study. The skills are useful even after they left pesantren.<sup>25</sup>

As time went by, several changes in pesantren policies were made due to changes in the composition of the leadership and the merger between pesantren and the National Education Institution which required them to include several national subjects, so learning hours became denser. As a result, it increased the pesantren's load in pursuing this life skill activity seriously. Gradually, the lessons related to working skills were no longer the concern of Pesantren Hidayatullah and slowly faded from their attention.

In the female pesantren led by female leaders, the skill development program for female santri is integrated into planned and organized activities as in the case at Pesantren Tahfidz Nurul Qur'an in Kajen, Pati, Central Java. In an interview, the Head of Pesantren, Mrs. Nyai Maftuhah Minan emphasized that santri in the pesantren were provided a platform in TPQs (Qur'anic Learning Center) in Qiroati network all around Pati after they graduated. The santri, as a result, did not need to look for a place to dedicate their knowledge. Furthermore, in developing skills for female santri, they are equipped with skills like makeup, cooking, calligraphy, khutbah, and trading. All of which have a regeneration process from year to year. Even in the context of developing the mental leadership of this female student, every Ramadhan, they were given the opportunity to become event organizers in "Posonan",<sup>26</sup> an event managed by the pesantren in a form of Islamic short course for TPQ children. It means that all activities like planning, execution, and the substance of this activity are all managed by female santri.

In an interview, Ms. Nyai Maftuhah Minan stated:

"Personally, I have never thought about job opportunities for santri. What is important is that santri are equipped with (enough knowledge) so after becoming a Hafidhah, they are prepared to work at TPQ and well-trained.

In its implementation, pesantren provides training such as cooking training for those in charge of the kitchen; management training for those in charge of the pesantren-owned business so they can manage money well; and computer training for all; and santri with good voices are also accommodated. The santri of the pesantren have various talents, namely: tabligh (preaching), Quran recitation, teaching, shopping, cooking, writing, calligraphy, and khat (Arabic calligraphy). Some santri have a knack for makeup, so we hired a professional makeup artist to teach them. This activity was funded by the pesantren. We paid two of them for their makeup courses, and in turn, these two gave a lesson to other santri until they graduated. Then, every once a year, we organize a makeup contest in which the winner will be the cadre for the following year. So all these skills of makeup, painting, calligraphy, and handicraft are provided. These courses are held every Thursday and Friday, and the santri are given the freedom to choose according to their interests.<sup>1127</sup>

In reality, there are not many female pesantren which provide special skill development programs for their female santri. In pesantren where male and female are located in the same place, most activities in female pesantren are based on the activities of male pesantren, especially if the location for a female pesantren is not large enough. For this reason, most pesantren do not make special programs for female santri because of the lack of availability of places to support activities.

As experienced by Pesantren Masjid Jajar in Surakarta. In this pesantren, all female students are required to wear the niqab and occupy a completely enclosed building. From inside, the building is divided into dormitories and classes, so female

santri activities are only limited to one building. In an interview, one of the leaders at Pesantren Masjid Jajar, Ustadzah Hanifah told that the female santri did not have extra-curricular activities to develop skills for women because of the limited facilities for female santri. As conveyed by Ustadzah Hanifah:

"Well, actually, we really need extracurricular activities specifically for women, like cooking, sewing, and so on. We were supposed to be able to provide the training for them, but it hasn't started yet. Moreover, the main goal of studying here is to learn how to be a good mother."<sup>28</sup>

It can be concluded that the concern of pesantren in developing santris' skills and abilities is closely related to the policies taken by pesantren leaders. When pesantren leaders have gender concerns, programs for female santri will also be allocated proportionally especially when the pesantren leaders are women, and they are involved in making pesantren policies. While on the other hand, the development of these skills is not considered urgent, considering that when santri are in the pesantren, they are not directed to graduate and get a job since pesantren's vision and mission are not to prepare the workforce.

On the other hand, the dominating view among pesantren is that a fortune is God's will as humans can only try to make it happen and tawakkal (being submitted to God). This was also confirmed by Kiyai Makin<sup>29</sup> from Pesantren Raudhatut Tholibin Rembang, Central Java. He always rejected the offers of santri' skills development programs, since many pesantren alumni were still able to work and even become successful entrepreneurs without skills training provided by pesantren.

In more open-minded pesantren, life skills are provided to prepare santri to survive and play a role in a wider community. On the other hand, Puritanical pesantren-especially female pesantren - provide life skills for their santri for the enrichment

of domestic skills in order to support devotion to the family and a form of worship to God.

At Female Pesantren Tahfidz Umm Sullaim, Banjarbaru, santri were given special subjects related to the domestic role of women through the book of *Nasihati Lil Nisa* (Advice for Women). There were also cooking sewing and simple health care classes for families.

Ustadzah Rahmah, one of the teachers, said that these skills were given to prepare santri to be strong religious mothers who are skilled in managing the household.

"In addition to memorizing Qur'an, we also have sewing and cooking training programs. We are also currently preparing basic health classes for babies and children. We hope that these classes will prepare them to be the first madrasa (school) and the best mothers for their families."<sup>30</sup>

Whereas, in male Salafi pesantren, skill development programs were not found. Although the religious skills they learned in the Salafi Pesantren focused on the afterlife these were useful for the most part of world life.

In Pesantren Bakkah, for example, in addition to teaching tahfidz and religious subjects, in a special class of *Tadribbudduat*, they are taught to be mosque priests, to preach in front of the congregation and specifically to explore some of the fiqh themes which are the most common problems of the people. This class is specifically designed to prepare santri to enter the community by becoming preachers and accompanying the community to solve their religious problems.<sup>31</sup> Although they are intended for the purpose of the afterlife, the special skills prepared in the Pesantren Salafi Bakkah make most of the graduates no longer have financial problems because, in every preaching activity, they are also valued materially. Even so, these santris are prohibited from



asking for or setting a certain rate in every one of their da'wah activities because the way of da'wah is the path of devotion to Allah, and no reward is more appropriate than the reward of the afterlife. A financial reward is only a bonus and not the main goal.

"At present, there is a lot of public demand for graduates of Bakkah Tadribbuduat class to fill mosques or to build majlis ta'lim (religious assembly), especially in Pelaihari and Hulu Sungai areas. Our society really needs consistent ulemas to guide the people. This class is indeed made so that they can assist the community to revive the sunnah in accordance with the correct rules of fiqh. Usually, they are contracted to become mosque or langgar (small mosques) imams, become permanent imam during the month of Ramadan, and fill out routine recitation sessions. In this program, they are equipped with special skills for da'wah and deeper knowledge of some fiqh issues which are generally and most widely available in the community, so that they are expected to be able to lead the community back to the sunnah."<sup>32</sup>

The Salafi pesantren has consistently established itself as an institution that focuses only on religions and everything that will support them in the afterlife. If there is an ability that they get while studying in pesantren that helps them financially, then it is not their intention to use it to compete in the labor market. It is only an asset given by God to those who prioritize the afterlife rather than the world.

In this case, the female pesantren male pesantren share the same things. Besides being equipped with religious knowledge, santri are also taught special skills like cooking and sewing skills that can be used to make money. However, making money is not the main goal. Santri are taught these skills so they are ready to be good and skillful mothers and wives in the family. Santri are taught cooking, for example, but commercial goals are not part of the training at all. Devotion in the domestic realm

for women is seen as part of worship and love for God, not for worldly purposes. Even the Salaf santri are strongly encouraged not to be involved in social life which tends to lead them to a lot of misfortune.

### ***Women and Access to Education***

Regarding the position of women in education, almost all pesantren state that women are entitled and obliged to acquire education as high as possible because it is part of the obligations mandated by Islam. Studying is a non-negotiable obligation. In this related discussion, almost all pesantren have the same opinion. Surely, there are some differences in its practice. The responses of pesantren caregivers, in both male or female pesantren, are dominated by this view when it comes to educational opportunities for women. Kiyai Makin, the leader of Pesantren Raudhatut Tholibin, Rembang, Central Java, <sup>33</sup>, stated that the pesantren provides equal opportunities for male and female santri regarding education and the opportunity to study the Qur'an. In his view, pesantren does not distinguish any books that must be taught based on gender.

A similar opinion was also stated in the interview with Drs. Samir Abdullah, Administrator of Pesantren Imam Syafi'i Foundation, As-Syafi'iyah Aceh Besar.

"No matter what their gender is, male or female, they share the common. In Islam, those rights are preserved. But there are some prohibiting laws to regulate and make it fair."<sup>34</sup>

Ustadzah Ela H, Caregiver of Pesantren At-Thahiriyah, Serang, Banten, <sup>35</sup> stated that women must study. If the husband forbids the wife to seek knowledge and does not educate his wife, the husband will sin. Something similar was expressed by Ustadzah Risti Aghisti, Pesantren An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, Banten. <sup>36</sup>

She stated that women have many obligations. Being a mother

or being a woman is not easy, so women must continue to learn. The same expression was also conveyed by Ustadzah Adlro 'Hanimah, an Assistant Leader at Pondok Tahfidz Nurul Qur'an Kajen, Pati, Central Java,<sup>37</sup> which stated that if there were santri who wanted to continue their study abroad, they were very supportive and did not limit women to pursue careers as public officials.

Furthermore, a similar thing was expressed by Ustadz Muhammad, Administrator of Pesantren Islahudy Organization of Santri, West Lombok, NTB, 38 who exemplified how the implementation of gender equality became a daily basis in pesantren. Equal opportunity is given to santri and teachers at pesantren, without any bias on gender differences.

The implementation of moderate pesantren is that female santri tend to be encouraged to learn various subjects in common with male santri. They are also given the opportunity to engage in various extra-curricular activities to help them build academic and social skills.

In these pesantren, female santri are encouraged to have higher educations, get scholarships, and go abroad. Even Kiyai Nursyahid of Pesantren Al-Falah and Kiyai Abdullah Husein of Pesantren Darul Hijrah, are very proud to list many of their santri who have studied at Al-Azhar, Yemen, and various Middle Eastern countries as well as mentioning their alumni who have occupied various public office. Female santri are encouraged to have higher education because, in addition to being beneficial for the afterlife and educating children, they are also expected to play a role in the community.

Pesantren's encouragement to achieve educations as high as possible is reflected in the vision of the santri and teachers interviewed regarding their views on the pesantren's commitment to education for women.

Sri Rahmah for example, a santri of Pesantren Darul Hijrah stated that after completing her education, she wanted to study at the Accounting Department so he could become a manager to take over her family business. She chose pesantren so she could balance the knowledge of the world and the hereafter. Even though she is a woman, she believes that she has the ability to run a family business in the future, provided she has enough knowledge.

"During my study at the pesantren, I learned many things besides the subjects taught in the class. Here, I mainly learned how to manage time. In the pesantren, I can also deepen religious knowledge which I found it difficult to get when I was studying outside. Before enrolling in the pesantren, I never wore a veil. Now, alhamdulillah, InsyAllah, I am istiqomah (consistent) and always wear a veil. I also believe that pesantren can provide me with not only religious knowledge but also science as long as I continue my study. After graduating from the pesantren, I plan to study at the Faculty of Economics majoring in Accounting. I intend to continue the family business. Even though I'm a woman, I'm sure I can do it, as long as we have enough knowledge."<sup>39</sup>

The same thought was expressed by Nur Najmi, a santri at Pesantren Al-Furqon Banjarmasin who wanted to deepen her ability in foreign languages so she could interact with the wider world. Currently, Nur Najmi is one of the mainstay santri of Pesantren Al-Furqan for English debate competition in various inter-school events in South Kalimantan.

"After graduating from a junior high school, I enrolled in this school because of my parents. They want me to deepen religious knowledge, and they believe that Muhammadiyah educational institutions are better and more organized. Regarding sects, there are Salafi, NU, and Muhammadiyah sects in the family. The Salafi side of the family is my mother's cousins. Enrolling in pesantren

sharpens our minds, and we get to know more about our future goals and the guidance of our lives.

We can critically think and focus on the fields we want to develop. Because my goal is to focus on the language sector, the pesantren really supports me to develop it. Besides that, why pesantren is important, for me, is because the religious character is vital. Here, apart from education, we are also taught how to make friends and morals. In the dormitory, we are taught to wake up from the morning and so on."<sup>40</sup>

Santri in modern pesantren are provided a work orientation in the wider community, but things are different for santri in Salaf pesantren. In some Salafi female pesantren, such as Ummi Sullaim in Banjarbaru, santri are equipped with special skills to prepare them to handle domestic work as housewives without any intended goals for work. The skills, in male pesantren, were not given at all either. Because it aims to prepare them for domestic life, then skills related to social life, such as scouting, are not provided for women in this Educational Institution.

Despite being encouraged to study higher, the female santri are prioritized to be "ready" to be wives for their husbands and children. Acquiring knowledge for santri in these pesantren are emphasized in the devotion to God and family, and it limits themselves very tightly to social life considered to bring more harm than benefits for women. Along with the educational goals of the Salaf pesantren that focus on the afterlife, the santri there, are also directed to build a vision and mission more oriented to the afterlife and the devotion to family as part of worship.

According to the ten santri who were interviewed at Pesantren Ummi Sullaim about their vision and future goals, Most of them had the same answer in which they want to be a Hafidz of 30 juz (chapters) of Qur'an and to be shalehah (pious) wives. The vision and mission in acquiring higher education or working or

being independent are not found in the santri of this pesantren. Being a good housewife, educating children, and preparing families for the afterlife are blessings and these all become their main goal of life. It is such a rare life goal that is rarely found in young people in this global era.

Rina, one of the santri living at Pesantren Umami Sullaim, said she was in the second grade of junior high school in Martapura when she decided to move to a Salafi pesantren and focused on memorizing only the Qur'an. She did not care that her pesantren did not provide an equivalency certificate that would make it difficult for her to go to have higher education or to find work. The afterlife is her goal, and it is a lot more than the world of the living.

"From the moment I enrolled here I wanted to be a good Muslim in accordance with Islamic Sharia. I realized that my peers' social environment had transgressed. Frankly, I am not comfortable with the environment of my previous school. It is very difficult to avoid interaction with men, whereas Islam instructed to put the clear boundaries of the relationship between men and women. I fear Allah.

During my time here I was very calm. I also gathered with friends in line with my expectations. Some Ustadzah guided me towards a better afterlife. Here I want to complete my future goals of being a hafidzah (a female memorizing the Qur'an) of 30 juz. But, if an Ustadz is proposing to me, I'd accept it because they must be full of knowledge and can guide me to be better."<sup>41</sup>

Mahmudah, another student, also expressed a similar opinion. Though, she added that if it is a Habib who proposed her, she would not mind being the second wife. For them, all things that will support a better afterlife, deserve to be fought for and to be lived.<sup>42</sup>

The only woman at Pesantren Umami Sullaim interviewed who aspired to continue her education was Ustadzah Mujibah.

Mujibah (19 years), has become the leader of Pesantren Umami Sullaim Banjarbaru for 8 months. She graduated from Pesantren Imam Bukhari in Solo. She claimed to have taken the school test in Egypt and LIPIA and passed both tests. However, her father forbade her to continue her education because she was single with no spouse. Even so, Mujibah aspires to take the test again next year and hopes that her father helps her to find a husband on her process to study abroad so she can continue her education to a higher level. However, Mujibah did not specify the future work goals that she wanted to achieve by studying abroad. At present, she still enjoys working in the pesantren.

### **C. Nyai, Ustadzah dan Pesantren Policies**

In female pesantren, the role of Nyai is largely determined by the status of Nyai both culturally and structurally. Socio-anthropologically speaking, the role of Nyai/ustadzah is very different depending on the characteristics of the pesantren itself. In the traditional pesantren culture, "Nyai" is a term used for female figures or leaders of pesantren in Java. "Nyai" has the highest status in a hierarchy among other women in the pesantren. It can be said that this hierarchy is a form of integration of the Javanese social class system, and to a certain extent is cultural assimilation between Javanese feudalism and Islam (Srimulyani, 2012).

"Nyai" refers to the status that a woman obtains from her father or husband. Practically, when a woman marries a Kiyai, she will automatically become a nyai, regardless of her family background and education. Therefore, in many aspects "Nyai" has genealogical virtues and is therefore permitted to carry out certain duties because of its affiliation with the Kiyai family. In the traditional Salafi pesantren, Nyai can also be seen as a "mother" for her santri.

In many cases "Nyai" can also exercise unofficial authority which allows her to act on behalf of the pesantren leadership,

especially in matters related to female santri, regardless of whether or not she is officially registered in the pesantren management structure. Culturally, "Nyai" is a female leader in a pesantren.

It can be summarized the role of "Nyai" in pesantren is as follows: first, as a motivator. One of the concrete forms of Nyai's role is that she entrusts the management or ustadzah in managing pesantren activities. The second role is the coordinator. Nyai has an important role in coordinating all matters relating to the daily practices of pesantren. Third, she plays a role as a facilitator. In the decision-making process, Nyai often asks for suggestions from various parties before making decisions.

The above explanation is very closely related to the role of Nyai who indirectly contributes to the decision-making process in pesantren.

It also applies to the Nyai who leads pesantren independently, like what happened in Pondok Tahfidz Nurul Qur'an Kajen, Pati, Central Java. Pondok Tahfidz Nurul Qur'an was directly led by Nyai Maftuhah Minan since her husband-Kiyai Minan Abdullah had a chronic illness and pesantren leadership was then taken over by Nyai Maftuhah. A similar thing occurred in Modern Pesantren Darul Muta'allimin, Aceh. Umi Hj. Zikriati directly contributes to the educational forms and style of teaching in her pesantren. Another similar thing also happened at Pesantren Al-Furqon, Banjarmasin, South Borneo.

Thus, in a different characteristic of pesantren, Nyai has full authority on the form of education in the pesantren. In this model of pesantren, Nyai or ustadzah can veto crucial pesantren policies at any time.

As an example, in the election process of the head of santri organization, in most practices, santri conducts an open election process. From this process, several candidates are



chosen by santri. Then, Nyai or ustadzah will decide the head of the santri organization by herself. In other words, the "elected" head of the santri organization is indirectly the "right hand" of Nyai's and the foremost layer in assisting the pesantren management.

Meanwhile, in pesantren which have expanded the categorization of pesantren education in their institutions to formal education, more or less has experienced a shift in leadership culture and become more decentralized in different divisions. In such pesantren, the role of Nyai and her contribution to pesantren policy is not very significant and authoritative. Besides, the Kiyai is no longer the sole authoritative figure in the pesantren as the leadership is delegated to several leaders who in practice are dominated by male caregivers. Based on this example, it can be seen how discourse related to gender is very much marked by the ideal picture of gender discourse from a masculine (male) perspective rather than from a female perspective. Nevertheless, some pesantren of this category accommodated the involvement of women to contribute to the evaluation and monitoring process carried out by pesantren. It even provides an opportunity for women to become school headmasters, but the majority of women's discourse is formed by foundations/institutions dominated by male administrators.

In a female pesantren with a structured management system, most of the caring function of Nyai was replaced by nurturing ustadzah who accompanied the santri on a daily basis. Like in Pesantren Masjid Jajar, Surakarta, it can be seen how the role of nurturing ustadzah who accompanies the santri is very dominant, both in providing curriculum input or activities related to womanhood. The wife of the pesantren leader, Nyai, did not do much in female santri accompaniment and teaching process, besides authorizing permission for female santri leaving the pesantren. Thus, pesantren policies relating to

female pesantren are influenced by the involvement of the nurturing ustadzah who accompanies the santri at all times.

Similarly, in Pesantren Darul Arqam Patean, Kendal, Central Java, pesantren care function in women's complex is held by developing the necessary skills of ustadzah. The nurturing ustadzah is a cadre of the pesantren's senior and alumni. It can be inferred that policies in female pesantren also involve ustadzah who accompany the santri, especially in policies or activities related to female pesantren. As stated by Ustadzah Sukmawati, one of the senior caretakers of the pesantren Darul Arqom Patean, Kendal, Central Java.<sup>43</sup> She once suggested that they be involved and take part in weekly internal meetings to provide input or suggestions related to female pesantren policies. One of the suggestions from the female caretakers is the Shodaqoh Qobla Dirosah (SDQ) program. This activity proposal was accepted into a routine program and up until now, it has been implemented in Female Pesantren Darul Arqom Patean, Kendal, twice a week.

From the description of the role of Nyai or ustadzah mentioned above, it can be concluded that the Nyai culture is built genuinely, with these characteristics: first, mature in the way of thinking and social interaction. Second, a cultural and social figure who is a role model for the surrounding community. Therefore, Nyai with strong educational background and high social activism has the potential to play a role in building and initiating gender-friendly integrative programs that can be included in the curriculum of female pesantren. This certainly will have a social impact on the surrounding community because Nyai also acts as a role model for the community, especially the community around the pesantren. Then, without having a strong educational background, Nyai is still supported by jam'iyah which emphasizes religious moderation, cultural factors of obedient to husband/Kiyai. that is moderate also becomes a supporting factor for pesantren resilience On the

contrary, it would be deviant if Nyai does not have gender discourse or even tends to educate her santri toward exclusive notions because it will also socially influence the surrounding community. The reason being Nyai in this kind of pesantren surely has Qur'an recitation participants from the general public.

In the case of ustadzah in the pesantren structural organization, the maturity in their thinking is still bound by the structural policies of the foundations/institutions high-ranking authority dominated by men. The maturity in their thinking is not that mature either because averagely, these utadzah are unmarried alumni. Their authority is limited to the scope of pesantren. Even though they get opportunities to formulate and provide feedback in policy-making within the pesantren structure, the structure is dominated by male stakeholders. As a result, gender discourse is more or less the same as other discourse built by the high-ranking authority. Discourse on women's leadership is one of them. In an interview with Pesantren At-Thahiriyah leader, Pandeglang, Banten. Ustadzah Ella,<sup>44</sup> when asked for her opinion on women's leadership, straightforwardly answered; "In Qur'an, it's forbidden. Arrijalu qowwamuna ala Nisa (men are the leaders for women)." A similar opinion was conveyed by Ustadz Abdul Nasir, a senior teacher at Pesantren At-Thahiriyah, Pandeglang, Banten, who stated:

"I'll answer this question with shorof. Arrijalu qowwamuna ala Nisa. From what I understand, arrijalu is formed with alif lam lil jinsi. Men are superior to women, in terms of reasoning and religiousness. I think that's the sense that we imagine. In religion, having a menstrual period means our worship lessens. If you are capable of leading the government, sure you may, why not? As long as you do not abandon your duties as a wife, then it is permissible".<sup>45</sup>

Although Ustadz Abdul Nasir did not reject the leadership of women, there was developed still a discourse on the importance of leaders that prioritize men over women. This is the general background of why gender discourse is not much discussed in female pesantren.

#### D. Veils and Burqas in Pesantren

Niqab (full covering veil) is a cloth covering the face or part of a woman's face, at least to cover the nose and mouth, so only the eyes are visible. Niqab itself in Arabic is called khimar, Niqab, synonymous with Burqa.<sup>46</sup> While in the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language (KBBI) niqab means head covering cloth. With these definitions, we can conclude that the niqab is a cloth covering the head and face, so only the two eyes are seen.<sup>47</sup>

Muslims outside Arab recognize niqab from one of the interpretations of the Qur'anic verse in surah An-Nur verse 31 which says:

وَقُلْ لِلْمُؤْمِنَاتِ يَعْضُنْنَ مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِنَّ وَيَحْفَظْنَ فُرُوجَهُنَّ وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إِلَّا مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا وَلَا يَضْرِبْنَ بِمُمْرِهِنَّ عَلَى جُنُوبِهِنَّ وَلَا يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إِلَّا لِبُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ آبَائِهِنَّ أَوْ آبَاءِ بُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ أَبْنَاءِهِنَّ أَوْ أَبْنَاؤِ بُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ إِخْوَانِهِنَّ أَوْ بَنِي إِخْوَانِهِنَّ أَوْ نِسَائِهِنَّ أَوْ مَا مَلَكَتْ أَيْمَانُهُنَّ أَوِ التَّابِعِينَ غَيْرِ أُولَى الْأَرْبَابَةِ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ أَوِ الطِّفْلِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يَظْهَرُوا عَلَى عَوْرَاتِ النِّسَاءِ وَلَا يَضْرِبْنَ بِأَرْجُلِهِنَّ لِيُعْلَمَ مَا يُخْفِينَ مِنْ زِينَتِهِنَّ وَتُوبُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا أَيَّهَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ

“And tell the believing women to reduce [some] of their vision and guard their private parts and not expose their adornment except that which [necessarily] appears thereof and to wrap [a portion of] their head covers over their chests and not expose their adornment except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers, their brothers' sons, their sisters' sons, their women, that which their right hands possess, or those male

attendants having no physical desire, or children who are not yet aware of the private aspects of women. And let them not stamp their feet to make known what they conceal of their adornment. And turn to Allah in repentance, all of you, O believers, that you might succeed.” (An-Nur [24]: 31)

and surah Al-Ahzab verse 59:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ قُلْ لَأَزْوَاجِكَ وَبَنَاتِكَ وَنِسَاءَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِنْ جَلَابِئِبِهِنَّ ذَلِكَ أَدْنَى أَنْ يُعْرَفْنَ فَلَا يُؤْذِينَ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ غَفُورًا رَحِيمًا

“O Prophet, tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to bring down over themselves [part] of their outer garments. That is more suitable that they will be known and not be abused. And ever is Allah Forgiving and Merciful.” (Al-Ahzab [33]: 59)

As a result, the discussion of female niqab in Islam is included in the discussion of Islamic disciplines including fiqh and social. Moreover, the use of niqab itself is often found in Saudi Arabia and the Middle East due to the hot weather climate or geographical factors like in the desert. Meanwhile, in Indonesian, the factor that makes someone choose to wear the niqab comes from a personal encouragement or from environmental influences like family, friends, organizations and so on.

In the days of Jahiliyah and early Islam, women of the Arabian Peninsula wore clothes that basically invoked men's admiration. Aside from avoiding the hot air, they wore a long veil that covered the head. This head covering, however, was stretched backward, so the chest and necklace jewelry decorating their neck was clearly visible. In fact, some of their breasts could be seen because their clothes were loose or opened. It can be concluded that niqab is not part of the tradition and the culture of the Arab Jahiliyah community.

M. Quraish Shihab in the book of "Jilbab Pakaian Wanita Muslimat" (Hijab is Female Muslim Dress) (Shihab, 2014) revealed that wearing closed clothes including niqab is not a monopoly of Arab society nor derived from their culture. Murtadha Mutahhari even believes that the hijab, including the niqab, has been widely known by a lot of nations of the world long before the advent of Islam. Islam accommodates niqab culture as a form of leniency for a group of Muslim women who at that time made niqab a fashion dress (Motahhari, 1990).

In the next chapter of resilience development niqab then turned into a symbol of identity as well as a social symbol, especially in the period of banning on wearing the niqab during Syah Reza period, where the period before the Iranian Revolution known as Black Friday, women without niqab is a symbol of modernity and change as well as a symbol of resistance to Shia. Until finally in the construction of the Republic of Iran, the imposition of wearing niqab became a symbol of progress, but at the same time a setback.

In the context of Indonesian, in the early days of the development of Islam in Indonesia, traditionally the wearing of the veil, let alone niqab among Muslim women has not been found. In general, the wearing of a veil with a niqab is only commonly found in Saudi Arabia or the Middle East. Geographical factors distinguish the difference in the practice of wearing the veil. In Indonesia, Muslim women usually only wear a veil, head covering made of thin fabric.

After the Iranian Revolution, the veil was introduced to Muslim women in Indonesia, with the support of the fashion industry and the media, the veil later became popular clothing for Muslim women. The veil thus became part of the local culture of Indonesian, but not niqab. There was still a gap between public understanding of niqab and the local culture. Niqab then got a negative stigma after the Bali Bombing on October 12, 2002, where the media showed how the terrorist suspects' wives

were all wearing niqab. This is why women wearing the niqab are always correlated with terrorism.

Presently in Indonesia, the niqab phenomenon is synonymous with a culture of "hijrah" which is increasingly popular, especially among urban Muslims, supported by the Muslim fashion industry and also media campaigns. Hijrah studies assume that wearing the niqab for women signifies an increasingly perfect Islam. The increasing number of niqab communities, called Hijaber Community and Niqab Squad in which at every gathering is always attended by hundreds of niqab communities. So we see how this niqab stigma begins to shift into a lifestyle for some Muslim women in Indonesia, not limited to the adult age group since the Niqab Squad gatherings is also crowded with female university students and high school students.<sup>49</sup>

In pesantren of Indonesia, wearing the niqab is indeed quite new, along with the emergence of Salafi pesantren that try to adopt Islamic life in the early era of prophecy comprehensively (kaffah) including the way dressing. Even so, this phenomenon is not evenly distributed in all pesantren in Indonesia. Most other pesantren, especially modern-based pesantren, such as Darul Hijrah, Gontor, or Al-Falah, did not keep niqab as part of the dress code for females santri. They even "became alarmed" when santri was wearing a niqab. The response is usually different based on the ideology embraced by each pesantren.

Obligations to wear niqab will generally be found in pesantren affiliated with Salafi, Jamaah Tabligh, or part of Pesantren Tahfidzul Qur'an affiliated with Salafi.<sup>50</sup> The wearing of niqab also reflects the social life of female santri who are obliged to protect themselves and their relationships from social life more strictly.

In Pesantren Al-Ihsan above, for example, female santri are required to wear a niqab, in addition to loose robe clothing with

a dark color. This mode of dress correlates with their perspective of world life and social relations considered more disadvantageous for women.<sup>51</sup> Khadijah for example, one of the santri at Pesantren al Ihsan admitted coming from families who are very strict in maintaining the association of women in their family.

Her father is a hafidz teacher who teaches the Qur'an and also has recitation gatherings in their humble home in Batulicin. Like her father, her mother is a hafidzah who looks after children memorizing the Qur'an. Aside from teaching, her mother is a housewife who takes care of her family and wears niqab daily. Her family preaches that all body parts of women are aurat (body parts must be covered), so they must protect themselves and their honor with worshipping more diligently and staying at home rather than having to work outside.

Khadijah went to public elementary school until she was in grade 6. After graduating she continued to tahfidz school around their residence. The Tahfidz School, which only teaches it to read and memorize the Qur'an, limits Khadijah's access to other fields of science. Even though she enjoyed studying the Qur'an every day. When she was 11 years old he was moved by his father to Pesantren Al-Ihsan in Banjarmasin so that she could more focus on memorizing the Qur'an.<sup>52</sup>

Moving to Pesantren Al-Ihsan, which at the same time provided dormitories for female santri, was the main reason for Khadijah's father to send her there. For women, controlled relationships are considered to be values that must be instilled early on.

At home, Khadijah and her mother wear niqab, but it is very difficult to find the same social groups who are able to strengthen one another in terms of protecting themselves against other different groups. Most of their neighbors feel unfamiliar with Khadijah and her mother's clothes that are



completely covered and with niqab. Therefore, enrolling in a pesantren with the same life is the best choice so that they can be istiqamahin strengthening each other.

Pesantren Al-Ihsan Islamic, since it was first established in 2004, has always obliged its female santri to wear the niqab as the spirit of the Tablighi Jamaah to follow in the steps of Salafus Shalih comprehensively, including dress models that adopt Middle Eastern culture.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to wearing a niqab, several other regulations also apply. In this pesantren female santri are prohibited from going home or returning to the Pondok without being accompanied by her mahram, thus making their level of dependence on other parties very high, making them unaccustomed to traveling long distances independently. Because of these regulations, the pesantren is rarely empty because the quantity of santri "going home" is very low. They must wait to be picked up, or wait for a group to go home with if they want to go home if they don't any groups to go home with, they should stay in the pesantren during the holiday. They are also not permitted to take a walk around or out of the Pondok without urgent reasons because they will potentially meet with the opposite sex and it possibly leads to the sin of interacting with the opposite sex. If there is something that they need to buy, they can ask the senior ustadzah to buy it for them. Lowering the gaze is the main requirement emphasized when they are outside the pesantren area or outside the home. Another thing, the female santri at the pesantren are not allowed to access the internet. Not only in the pesantren environment, even when they go home, they never access cyberspace.

As a result, santri in the Salafi-affiliated female pesantren have very limited access to the outside world. They will not come out of the Pondok if there is no one to pick them up, strangers to the surrounding, and outside information. The only information and knowledge they get are from school and at home. Of the

three female santri interviewed, for example, when Abdurrahman Wahid's name was mentioned, two santri claimed to have heard the name but could not explain who the figure was. Khadijah, 14 even claimed to have never heard the name.<sup>54</sup> Social life outside pesantren is something unfamiliar to them. The santri in this pesantren model are indeed built to focus on life and explore knowledge on matters more substantial in religion. A description of the limited access to information of female santri is illustrated by Ustdazah Aulia:

"Here, the santri do not know political polarization issues or whatever they are called, not to mention the elections or campaigns. Even if I tell stories about the situation, they just blankly stare, as if they don't know anything about the world out there."<sup>55</sup>

In addition to limitations in social access, santri at the Salafi-style pesantren are also limited in accepting this type of information. They only accept compulsory subjects, such as fiqh, hadith, Tarikh, or subjects directly related to religion and the afterlife. There are no English lessons, mathematics or natural sciences for example. Even in female tahfidz Pesantren such as Pesantren Al-Ihsan Tabligh, new female santri are prioritized to accept religious studies after they have completed memorizing 30 juz, so that santri can focus on the Qur'an only without thinking other sciences unrelated with the afterlife.

They only focus on the religious teachings mandatory for santri. At Female Tahfidz Pesantren Ummi Sullaim, on average they only received compulsory religious subjects, while strengthening the memorization of the Qur'an. If there are additional activities or other subjects, it is also related to the domestic role of women at home, such as women's fiqh and cooking and sewing skills. Education for women only focuses on religious science, obedience to the family, and a reminder of avoiding social interaction that tends to be harmful to women.

This kind of education is very dominant in Salaf-based pesantren. To support these goals, covering themselves with robes and niqab is a representation of the views, ideology, and responses of pesantren in viewing the wider life of the social community.

Unlike the typical Salafi pesantren or those based on the Tablighi Jamaah, modern pesantren do not require their santri to wear a niqab. There are even several pesantren in this research that pay more attention to their female santri who wear the niqab.

For example, Modern Pesantren Darul Hijrah's once called three of their female santri who suddenly wore the niqab after they returned from home. They were called in a persuasive and simple way, of course. The class teacher invited these santris to talk privately in class and ask why they suddenly wore the niqab when they returned to the pesantren. Based on the results of the approach and observation, the interviewed ustadz concluded that most of the santri who wore the niqab in the pesantren units were only motivated by following the trend. When they went home, accessing social media and seeing how the niqab trend was starting to plague most young people in big cities, they were curious to try it. According to Ustadz Abdullah Husein, most santri motivated to wear the niqab were inconsistent in wearing it. After a while living back to the pesantren's life, without access to social media, they slowly stopped wearing the niqab themselves. In modern Islamic pesantren, the niqab was never recommended to be worn.<sup>56</sup>

The Female Pesantren Ummul Mu'minin even forbids santri from wearing the niqab. Andi Arras, the head of the pesantren, said that not only female santri but also the teacher are disallowed to wear it. Those who wear the niqab are prohibited from teaching at their pesantren.

"Yes, the clothes, like the niqab, we can't accept it here ... well, if someone wears the niqab, we will ask if they will take it off. If they can't, then we can't accept them... some chose not to teach here because their clothes are their right... some of them chose that because they cannot change the way they dress... people wearing tight clothes are also not accepted here."<sup>57</sup>

The freedom to dress in modern pesantren is based on pesantren's views that are more open to wider social life. Most pesantren that does not require to wear the niqab, such as Pesantren Darul Hijrah, Pesantren Al-Falah and Ummul Mu'minin are modern-based pesantren, encourage their santri not only to be pious in the field of religion but also skilled enough to play a role in the community. The view that social life is part of workplace and devotion to the community is manifested in a variety of extra-curricular subjects provided by the pesantren to hone their skills in society. These modern pesantren hone the scouting skills of the santri through Scouting or at Muhammadiyah, known as Hubbul Wathan, where they are taught to build social relations with certain skills to face the challenges in the life around. In addition, there is also a muhadharah extracurricular, public speaking skills aimed at providing mass communication skills to santri. Then, there are usually drum bands extracurricular, debates, or PMR (Junior Red Cross). The difference in the use of the niqab is due to the diverse views of pesantren regarding social life and its impact on women.

There are not many pesantren in this study that obligate the niqab as the dress code for female santri because in general, the dress code for most female pesantren is identical with loose clothing (it is not tight or showing the curves of their bodies). Regarding the veil, most of the pesantren in this study only requires a standard veil that covers the head and chest but does not require a niqab.

According to this research data, there are several pesantren that require their female santri to wear the niqab. Such pesantren are usually affiliated with Salafi Wahhabi, Jama'ah Tabligh, and some are affiliated with Nahdhatul Ulama. Some of these pesantren are Pesantren Al-Ihsan Banjarmasin, affiliated with Jamaah Tabligh movement based in Raiwind Pakistan; Pesantren Masjid Jajar affiliated with Salafi Wahhabi, known as the consolidation location of sending Laskar Jihad to Ambon in 1999 affiliated with Ja'far Umar Tholib; Pesantren Al Furqon Gresik in East Java affiliated with Salafi Wahhabi having approximately 1,200 santri; Pesantren As-Syafi'iyah pesantren affiliated with Salafi-; Pesantren Assunnah; and Pesantren Mahyal Ulum Al-Aziziyah with the style of Nahdhatul Ulama (NU).

In the majority of interviews with pesantren leaders, there were no programs specifically for female santri. This impresses the existence of female santri in pesantren as nothing but “compliment” whose activities and learning curriculums are the same with male pesantren. The lack of differentiation of specific activities for female santri builds a discourse generally accepted by female leaders or female santri because the nature of women is primarily at home and teaches their children.

In an interview, the leader of Pesantren Masjid, Ustadzah Hanifah<sup>59</sup> emphasized that education is a right for men and women but women essentially belong to the home. If women have a career, their career must be related to education because primarily women are the first school for children. The same thing was expressed by Ustadzah Aulia Aziz<sup>59</sup>, one of the teachers at Female Pesantren Al-Ihsan, Banjarmasin, who said women should not be demanding. It is because whether they go to school or not will not be a matter. What matters is to become faithful believers. This interview illustrates how pesantren that require their santri to wear the niqab tend to build a closed culture.

## **E. Relations of Male and Female Students at Pesantren**

The culture which sets different classrooms between male and female santri in the learning process has become a culture inherent in the education process of pesantren. This is the characteristic of the learning process in any pesantren. When this culture is violated by a pesantren, the pesantren can be considered to have abandoned the tradition because of implementing a co-education system. Therefore, this section will emphasize the practice of separate learning models of males and females in pesantren.

Separating santri based on gender considerations for Educational Institutions originally built with the concept of pesantren is certainly easier because the initial design is sufficient, not only physically: classes, dormitories, prayer rooms but also the teaching staff and curriculum. However, for some Educational Institutions on the process of becoming pesantren, as in some Muhammadiyah pesantren, this process is quite complicated.

In Modern Pesantren Al-Furqon of Muhammadiyah, for example, the process of gender separation has only begun since August 2019. Since it was established on September 16, 2004, the learning process model implemented has been a model of ordinary school classes that mixed male and female. Although the concept of pesantren education began three years ago or around 2016, the initial process only focused on subjects, the boarding school system, and the practice of studying the classical Islamic books and memorizing the Qur'an. Approaching to 2019, the separation started with a rather complicated process. The founder and head of the school, KH. Muhran Juhri, did not recommend gender separation. According to him, the learning process that had been running was very good. Gender separation will also limit santri to acknowledge differences. According to him, santri who are separated from the opposite sex will tend to be more flirtatious

than those who are accustomed to interacting with different genders.<sup>60</sup> The separation between male and female santri is part of the tradition found in the pesantren environment. Interaction between male and female santri in this educational institution is very small. Communication with the opposite sex only occurs on formal forums, like meetings between student council officials or when santri represent the school at contest events organized outside the pesantren which require them to work together as a team. The living and learning areas of male and female santri are always separated. Even if they are in the same complex area, it will be designed so that communication access between males and females cannot be done.

Gender segregation in pesantren is also applied for teachers. The male teachers will be given priority in teaching in the male class, and vice versa, female teaching staff will be directed to teach at the female'dorms. This gender-based priority culture has implications for the access of the teaching staff they have. Generally, young ustadzah are not recommended to teach in male classes, only senior ustadzah can do it, with strict consideration. If male teachers possess scientific limitations, then there are no other options but to allow female teachers to teach in male classes.<sup>61</sup>

Some of the implications of this practice affect especially female santri. Female santri often do not get qualified teachers because of the lack of teachers able to teach them. Another tradition is to forbid single ustadz to teach female classes.

Apart from various challenges and developments related to gender issues in pesantren education, the separation of the learning process between male and female santri and teachers is one of the most powerful characteristics of pesantren Education Institutions and is still maintained to date.

## **F. The Role of Women and Building Resilience Against Radicalism in Pesantren**

The policy of combating terrorism radicalism that refers to Law No. 15 of 2003, is still gender-neutral in the context of combating or preventing violent extremism.<sup>62</sup> Involving women in preventing radicalism will provide a discourse on the perspectives of women and men in interpreting the phenomenon of violence and differences in how to define security, peace and social. This discourse should enable women to hold strategic leadership in the prevention of radicalism (Taskarina, 2018).

The involvement of women in acts of terrorism is increasingly emerging in the public. A series of women's figures as active actors of terrorism have changed the pattern of women's roles in a number of acts of terrorism from behind-the-scenes roles to more active roles. To mention one of them, Dian Yulia Novi, is an example of the participation of women in planning a suicide bombing at the State Palace in 2016.<sup>63</sup> Minhati Madrais, a woman from Bekasi who is the wife of Omar Maute who acts as a financier of the Maute terror group. Madrais is also a suspect who regulates logistics and finance.<sup>64</sup> Dita Siska Milenia, a young woman suspected of committed stabbing Brimob members in Mako Brimob Kelapa Dua, Depok, West Java.<sup>65</sup> Anindia Afiyantari, Retno Hernayani, and Turmini, have been detained since September 2019 and officially charged with criminal financing of terrorism. The three have been arrested since September on charges of supporting the ISIS group and the Anshorut Daulah (JAD) group through funding.<sup>66</sup> Recently a couple of husband and wife attacked the Menkopolhukam Wiranto, and the wife was also an active offender participating in the attack.

Why are women interested in joining and even participating in radical group movements? In the book, "Perempuan dan Terrorism" (Women and Terrorism) (Taskarina, 2019) puts



religious factors into one of the main factors that attract women to join. So it is not surprising that the construction of the doctrine of *arrijalu qowwamuna 'alan-nisa'* builds the doctrine of women's powerlessness that is strengthened by religious narratives and is used as an excuse so women fully obey their husbands without exception. Other factors such as ideological, political, and personal aspects also contribute to women's interest in joining the radicalism movement.

Pesantren as an educational institution that prepares female ulemas has a strategic role in building resilience to radicalism. However, based on the data collected from the interview process involving pesantren leaders, teachers, and also especially those related to gender issues, it is still dominated by patriarchal culture. So it is not surprising that pesantren programs or activities related to the development of gender relations that are equally and mutually supportive are not much discussed in pesantren. According to the questionnaire data collected related from the five categories of pesantren in 8 provinces to whether the programs about issues of women's equality were available in pesantren, 47% of the respondents confirm unavailable programs.

### **The Role of Women in Building Resilience to Radicalism**

The role of pesantren is crucial in developing ideological discourse taught to its santri as potential actors to guard social security in grassroots communities. The strategic role of pesantren is building resilience to radicalism because pesantren have religious authority in forming a social mindset and introducing Islamic moderation principles. Pesantren is the one that should have a wide of literacy that teaches friendly Islam.

Empowering female religious leaders, Nyai, the leader for female pesantren, to become pioneers in developing resilience to radicalism in pesantren as an effort to regenerate female

santri is very important. Culturally, these santri are pesantren cadres who will engage in society, so of course, women's ulema needs to get legitimization not only by women community but also in form of the merging of the concept of "Ulema" that is without gender barriers.

Building the legitimacy of women's ulema is closely related to giving access to education (women-friendly) for the sake of women development, as well as the need for moral and material support and encouragement from the environment, especially the immediate environment to erase the stigma commonly built-in society that women do not need higher educations. Biological factors related to reproduction often become obstacles for women in their opportunities to gain access to higher education, plus the unpreparedness of the environment or partners to share roles because of the division of labor structurally constructed places women as the one in charge of domestic responsibilities.

Surely, this requires an effort to deconstruct the understanding of most "Kiyai", Ulema and fuqoha (Islamic jurisprudents) who forbid women to become leaders based on the word of God: "ar-rijalu qawwamuuna 'alan-nisa",<sup>67</sup> which is interpreted textually that the term leader is identical with men. This understanding is also strengthened by an authentic hadith. "Lan-yufliha qoumun wallahu amro-hum imro'atan",<sup>68</sup> Such people as ruled by a lady (ruler or president) will never be successful."

KH. Said Aqiel Siradj explained that verse 34 of Surah An-Nisa ' which was used as the main platform for prohibiting women to be a leader was not in the form of command but a khabariyah (news) so the accuracy of the wajib or haram (obliged or forbidden) law has less effective levels. The hadith is not even in the form of prohibition (nahiy) but only khabariyah (news) so the law of prohibition is not significantly accurate. It is no exaggeration if Ibn Jarir Al-Tabari stressed that female leaders are not limited in Islamic law, and this opinion was later

strengthened by some Malikiyah ulemas in providing the legitimacy of Queen Syajaratud-Dur in Egypt (Siradj, 2015).

From the above findings, the interaction of santri-Kiyai/Nyai is one model to illustrate how dynamic gender relations are in the pesantren environment. From quantitative data, it is very clear that when talking about gender, pesantren has not sufficiently accommodated to build integrative programs that aim specifically in the development of women's capacities and abilities. From the thousands of pesantren, how many women or Nyai in pesantren have true religious qualities? The reality is very alarming. Most of the Nyai still play the role of catering managers, accepting santri's payment, and preparing food every day, so it is not surprising that their role is taken by men.

In an interview, Nyai Hindun Anisah,<sup>69</sup> the leader of Pesantren Hasyim Asy'ari Jepara, who is also one of the activists of Indonesian Women's Ulema stated:

"On the ceremony on August 17, I, as the ceremony inspector, always do the same thing I do every time. I teach "ngaji"(Teaching Reciting the Qur'an) to santri – which is emphasizing the role of pesantren in the struggle for independence of the Republic of Indonesia and emphasizing that the NKRI and Pancasila are final, for Pancasila acknowledge diversity."

To implement amar ma'ruf nahi munkar (encouraging good deeds and preventing wrongdoing) Nyai Hindun prevents santri and the public from engaging in radical movements. In this pesantren, santri are often introduced to different communities, invited to dialogue as well as involved in discussions with different communities like Christians, Protestants, Catholics, and indigenous beliefs. In fact, those different communities are also invited to visit and stay at this pesantren, so santri do not only have the theory but also the real practice of tolerance.

On the gender issue, Nyai Hindun practices the principle of equality more than just in a theoretical framework, starting from pesantren regulations which do not differentiate regulations for female and male santri. Likewise, access to participate in a variety of activities is not differentiated by sex. In terms of pesantren policy, both male and female santri are all involved in discussions. Another more interesting thing is that Pesantren Hasyim Asy'ari hire the instructors based on competency. Male teachers can teach in female classes, and vice versa so that there is no access separation to teachers based on gender.

Women in pesantren have a crucial role to contribute to the development of pesantren resilience against radicalism and extremism. Generally, in the salaf pesantren, the gap on gender equality discourse is still high, but the adherence to the Great Jam'iyyah which is culturally and genealogically connected, indirectly builds a culture of obedience to Nyai as a form of resilience developed in the culture of the Salaf pesantren. Hence, "Nyai" is a cultural symbol that becomes a role model for the general public, especially the community around pesantren. The vulnerability can arise when Nyai who acts as a role model perpetuates patriarchal relations and limit opportunities for female santri. Some people are worried that This practice will be adapted by both male and female anti as a continuous hereditary culture.

Meanwhile, in modern pesantren or pesantren with divisive leadership structure, the resilience of pesantren is built with involving female caregivers (ustadzah) in the policymaking process. Thus, an integrative program targeting female empowerment can be proposed as an accommodation for the needs of female santri. On the other hand, female pesantren programs can also be developed independently instead of being merely complimentary of male pesantren activities. The vulnerability can occur when the top leadership of the

pesantren is still dominated by men who continue to place women as subordinate groups. If that happens, even though women caregivers are involved in the policymaking process, they may not be accommodated by the pesantren leadership.

## G. Conclusion

In the conclusion of this paper, pesantren are a great asset to an educational culture that has authenticity. Pesantren will continue to make breakthroughs to adjust to the pace of change that occurs in society. Every pesantren has developed a way of genuine resilience towards extremism according to the style of the pesantren. Regarding the diverse characters of pesantren, pesantren resilience development interventions are directed with a particular approach without eliminating the authenticity of the pesantren, so it does not cause inequality in the treatment of pesantren closely related to policies about pesantren. Then, the most important thing is that female members of pesantren should be involved in any discussions related to pesantren because pesantren are not only inhabited by male santri but also inhabited by female students.

## Endnote:

- <sup>1</sup> Ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id, "Pangkalan Data Pondok Pesantren", <https://ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id/pdpp/statistik> (accessed on October 10, 2019).
- <sup>2</sup> Pendis.kemenag.go.id, "Analisis dan Interpretasi Data pada Pondok Pesantren, Madrasah Diniyah (Madin), Taman Pendidikan Qur'an (TPQ) Tahun Pelajaran 2 0 1 1 - 2 0 1 2", <http://www.pendis.kemenag.go.id/file/dokumen/pontrenanalisis.pdf> (accessed on October 10, 2019).
- <sup>3</sup> Islami.co, Fera Rahmatun Nazilah, "Manba'ul Ma'arif, Pesantren Perempuan Pertama di Pulau Jawa", <https://islami.co/manbaul-maarif-pesantren-perempuan-pertama-di-pulau-jawa/>.
- <sup>4</sup> Nafilah Abdullah, "Rahmah El Yunusiyah, Kartini Padang Panjang 1900-1969", *Scientific Journal of Sociology of Religion and Social Change*, Vol. 10 No. 2 July-

December 2016/ISSN: 1978-4457, p. 57-65.

- <sup>5</sup> These two words are often interpreted as “explain” or to express something. The difference between the two interpretations relates to history or information, excerpts or news sources, while Ta'wil relates to the understanding, content/substance of the news. See: Al Zarkasyi, al Burhan fi Ulum al Qur'an, Juz II, p. 149-150.
- <sup>6</sup> Read Jalal al Din al Suyuti, Al Asybah wa al Nadhaair, (Maktabah Dar Ihya al Kutub al Arabiyah, Indonesia), p. 151-153.
- <sup>7</sup> The Qouli Mazhab used a textual approach, while Manhaji used a contextual methodological approach. See: NU.or.id, KH. Dr. M. A. Sahal Mahfudh, “Fikih Sosial, Upaya Mengembangkan Madzhab Qouli dan Manhaji”, <https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/7209/fiqh-sosial--upaya-pengembangan-madzhab-qouli-dan-manhaji>.
- <sup>8</sup> Lies Marcos wrote a number of published research, both domestically and internationally: “Women's Grassroots Movement Post Reformasi in Indonesia” in the book of Women in Indonesia: Gender and Equality and Development (ANU, Canberra, 2002).
- <sup>9</sup> Cicik Farha, activist of the women's and village movements, founder of the Tanoker foundation.
- <sup>10</sup> Masdar F. Mas'udi when he was the Director of P3M, he was very active in spreading gender discourse in Islamic perspectives in pesantren. His important article on this issue was entitled “Perempuan di Antara Lembaran Kitab Kuning: Wanita Indonesia dalam Kajian Tekstual dan Kontekstual”.
- <sup>11</sup> Dr. Mansour Fakhri is heavily involved in gender education and training for pesantren activists or other wider circles. One of his books is very popular and is a reference for many people about gender and feminism “Analisis Gender dan Transformasi Sosial dan Membincang Feminisme, Diskursus Gender Perspektif Islam”.
- <sup>12</sup> K.H. Husein Muhammad since 2001 has established a number of non-governmental organizations on women's rights issues, a kiaiKiyai who became a Commissioner of the National Commission on Violence Against Women, one of his works is “Fikih Perempuan Refleksi KyaiKiyai atas Agama dan Gender”.
- <sup>13</sup> Radarcirebon.com, “Ini 3 Rekomendasi Hasil Kongres Ulama Perempuan”, <https://www.radarcirebon.com/ini-3-rekomendasi-hasil-kongres-ulama-perempuan-indonesia.html>, (accessed on October 22, 2019). See also: Nu.or.id, “Ulama Perempuan Diperhitungkan dalam Sejarah”, <https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/77401/ulama-perempuan-indonesia-diperhitungkan-dalam-sejarah>, (accessed on October 22, 2019).

- 14 Khazanah.republika.co.id, "Ulama Perempuan se-Jawa siap Jaga Kedaulatan", <https://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/18/03/30/p6dscj366-ulama-perempuan-sejawa-siap-jaga-kedaulatan>, (accessed on October 22, 2019).
- 15 Some ulemas consider this Hadith has weak sanad, such as Imam Ahmad. See: Al Muntakhob Min-al-'ilali lil-Hilal, p. 129-128. The majority of ulemas agree to allow Dhaif hadith for matters relating to fadhhoilul amal.
- 16 Based on the writer's observation and interaction with the pesantren culture, there is one case of how the 'adjustment' was made in the gradual process to be kyaiKiyai companion. In one pesantren, a kyaiKiyai son was married to another kyaiKiyai's daughter at a still very young age. As time went by since the establishment of the pesantren, the number of santri grew, and this young 'nyai' had adjusted herself and became a hafidhah from her parents-in-law sanad.
- 17 Interview with Nyai Lilis, Caregiver of Pesantren Darunnajah 9, Tangerang Selatan, August 31, 2019.
- 18 Interview with Ustadz Farid, Junior Teacher of Pesantren Darunnajah 9, Tangerang Selatan, 31 August 2019.
- 19 Interview with Fakhruhi Syakirin, Senior Santri of Pesantren Darul Qolam, Tangerang, August 18, 2019.
- 20 Interview with Ustadzah Iis Aisyah, Administrator of Pesantren Darul Arqom, Tangerang, August 19, 2019.
- 21 Interview with Nor Najmiati, Student/Head of IPM (OSIS) Pesantren Al Furqon, Banjarmasin, July 22, 2019.
- 22 Interview with AZ, Ustadzah Pesantren Al Ihsan, Banjarmasin, August 13, 2019.
- 23 Interview with K.H. Makin Shoumuri, Caregiver of Pesantren Roudhotut Tholibin, Rembang, August 5, 2019.
- 24 Interview with K.H. Nursyahid Ramli, Head of Pesantren Al Falah, Banjarbaru, August 15, 2019.
- 24 Interview with Ustadz Mushaddiq, Head of Pesantren Hidayatullah Banjarbaru, August 6, 2019.
- 26 'Posonan' is a term that is synonymous with crash islamic course activities held in traditional salaf pesantren during Ramadan. Posonan is usually filled with various activities, from the study of the yellow book and so on, depending on the pesantren organizers.
- 27 Interview with Nyai Hj. Maftuhah Minan, Head of Pesantren Tahfidz Nurul Qur'an, Kajen, Pati, July 28, 2019.
- 28 Interview with Ustadzah Hanifah, Nurturing Ustadzahat Pesantren Masjid Jajar,

Surakarta, August 9, 2019.

- <sup>29</sup> Interview with K.H. Makin Shoumuri, Caregiver of Pesantren Raoudhotut Tholibin, Rembang, August 5, 2019.
- <sup>30</sup> Interview with Ustadzah Rahmah, Teacher at Pesantren Umami Sullaim, Banjarbaru, November 30, 2017.
- <sup>31</sup> Interview with Ustadz Meilana Dharmaputra, Head of Pesantren Bakkah, Banjarbaru, November 12, 2017.
- <sup>32</sup> Interview with Ustadz Ayman Abdillah, Head of Pesantren Bakkah, Martapura, August 28, 2017.
- <sup>33</sup> Interview with K.H. Makin Shoumuri, Caregiver of Pesantren Raoudhotut Tholibin, Rembang, August 5, 2019.
- <sup>34</sup> Interview with Drs. Samir Abdullah, Administrator of Yayasan Pesantren Imam Syafie Asy-Syafi'iyah, Aceh Besar, July 24, 2019.
- <sup>35</sup> Interview with Ustadzah Ella H, Caregiver of Pesantren At-Thahiriyah, Serang, August 3, 2019.
- <sup>36</sup> Interview with Ustadzah Risti Aghisti, Administrator of Pesantren An-Nidhomiyah, Pandeglang, August 2, 2019.
- <sup>37</sup> Interview with Ustadzah Adlro' Hanimah, Assistant Caregiver at Pondok Tahfidz Nurul Qur'an, Pati, July 28, 2019.
- <sup>38</sup> Interview with Ustadz Muhammad, Administrator of Santri Organization Pesantren Islahudy, Lombok Barat, August 24, 2019.
- <sup>39</sup> Interview with Sri Rahmah, Santri of Pesantren Darul Hijrah, aged 15, August 15, 2019.
- <sup>40</sup> Interview with Nur Najmi, Santri of Pesantren Al Ihsan, aged 16, August 20, 2019.
- <sup>41</sup> Interview with Rina, Santri of Pesantren Ummu Sullaim, Banjarbaru, aged 15, November 16, 2017.
- <sup>42</sup> Interview with Mahmudah, aged 15, Santri of Pesantren Umami Sullaim, Banjarbaru, November 16, 2017.
- <sup>43</sup> Interview with Ustadzah Sukmawati, Caregiver for female santri Pesantren Darul Arqom, Kendal, August 15, 2019.
- <sup>44</sup> Interview with Ustadzah Ela H., Caregiver of Pesantren At-Thahiriyah, Serang, August 3, 2019.
- <sup>45</sup> Interview with Ustadz Abdu Nasir, Senior Teacher at Pesantren At-Thahiriyah, Serang, August 3, 2019.



- <sup>46</sup> AlMunawir Arabic Dictionary, p. 368.
- <sup>47</sup> Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language, <https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/cadar>.
- <sup>48</sup> Lisa Aisiyah Rasyid, Probematika Hukum Cadar dalam Islam: Sebuah Tinjauan Normatif-Historis, Scientific Journal Al-Syir'ah Vol. 16 No. 1 2018 State Islamic Institute (IAIN Manado).
- <sup>49</sup> Wolipop.detik.com, "Mengenal Niqab Squad Komunitas Para Wanita Bercadar di Indonesia", <https://wolipop.detik.com/hijab-update/d-3574754/mengenal-niqab-squad-komunitas-para-wanita-bercadar-di-indonesia>, (accessed on October 27, 2019).
- <sup>50</sup> For example, in the female pesantren affiliated with the Imam Bukhori salafi in Solo, the Pesantren Ummi Sullaim in Banjarbaru, South Borneo. While Pesantren Al-Ihsan, Banjarmasin is affiliated with the Tabligh Jamaah where almost all of the pesantren are focusing on Tahfidzul Qur'an.
- <sup>51</sup> Interview with Ustdadz Tamjidnoor, Head of Pesantren Al-Ihsan, Banjarmasin, August 20, 2019.
- <sup>52</sup> Interview with Khadijah, Santriwati Pesantren Al-Ihsan, Banjarmasin, August 16, 2019.
- <sup>53</sup> Interview with Ustdadz Tamjidnoor, Head of Pesantren Al-Ihsan, Banjarmasin, August 20, 2019.
- <sup>54</sup> Interview with Khadijah, Sarifah Mila and Lu'lu Az-Zahra, Santri of Pesantren Al-Ihsan, Banjarmasin, August 15, 2019.
- <sup>55</sup> Interview with Ustadzah Aulia Aziza, Teacher at Pesantren Al-Ihsan, Banjarmasin, August 13, 2019.
- <sup>56</sup> Interview with Abdullah Husein, Head of Pesantren Darul Hijrah, Banjarbaru, Agsutus 15, 2019.
- <sup>57</sup> Interview with Andi Ars, Head of Pesantren Ummul Mukminin, Makassar, August 13, 2019.
- <sup>58</sup> Interview with Ustadzah Hanifatur Rosyidah, Nurturing Ustadzahat Pesantren Masjid Jajar, Surakarta, August 9, 2019.
- <sup>59</sup> Interview with Ustadzah Aulia Aziz, Teacher at Pesantren Al-Ihsan Puteri, Banjarmasin, August 13, 2019.
- <sup>60</sup> Interview with KH. Muhran Juhri, Head of Pesantren Al-Furqon, Banjarmasin, July 22, 2019.
- <sup>61</sup> Interview with Nursyahid Ramli, Administrator of Yayasan Pesantren Al-Falah, Banjarbaru, August 5, 2019.

- <sup>62</sup> USAID/Indonesia, "Gender Analysis of Countering Violent Extremism", Indonesia Monitoring & Evaluation Support Project, 2017, p. 5.
- <sup>63</sup> Time.com, "ISIS Unveiled: The Story Behind Indonesia's First Female Suicide Bomber", <https://time.com/4689714/indonesia-isis-terrorism-jihad-extremism-dian-yulia-novi-fpi/>.
- <sup>64</sup> Tirto.id, "Ujung Nasib Minhati Madrais, Perempuan Bekasi Istri Panglima Maute", <https://tirto.id/ujung-nasib-minhati-madrais-perempuan-bekasi-istri-panglima-maute-czM7>.
- <sup>65</sup> Antaranews.com, "Ponpes Darul Arqom: Dita Siska Berwatak Keras", <https://www.antaranews.com/berita/709890/ponpes-darul-arqom-dita-siska-berwatak-keras>.
- <sup>66</sup> News.detik.com, "3 PRT Indonesia di Singapura Didakwa Mendanai Terorisme", <https://news.detik.com/internasional/d-4757425/3-prt-indonesia-di-singapura-didakwa-mendanai-terorisme?single=1>.
- <sup>67</sup> The Qur'an Surah Al-Nisa [4]: 34.
- <sup>68</sup> Hadith narrated by Bukhari.
- <sup>69</sup> Interview with Ny. Hj. Hindun Anisah, Caregiver of Pesantren Hasyim Asy'ari, Bangsri, Jepara, September 15, 2019.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

#### A. Social Capital & Pesantren Resilience Social Capital and Pesantren Endurance

The pesantrens defines resistance to radicalism and violent extremism based on their awareness of the nature of the dangers coming from certain movements and ideologies. The pesantrens of various categories, Traditional, Modernist, and Salafi Puris (non-Jihadi) agreed that radicalism and violent extremism must be rejected when they are manifested in actions clearly endangering the safety, security, and peace of people's communal life. They do not hesitate to remind their students to stay away from suicide bombings, destructing public facilities, and other terrorism acts. However, not all pesantren leaders viewed that the movements of the *Khilafah* ideology such as HTI, are dangerous. Traditional Puris Salafi pesantrens generally showed a firm attitude in rejecting HTI while Modernist pesantrens had varied stances in addressing HTI. Some of them refused it and the other was neutral. The reason for the rejection was because they disagree with the ideology or dislike the attitudes of HTI activists. Whereas Traditional pesantrens generally rejected HTI for ideological reasons, and some for theological reasons. Dayahs in Aceh, for example, rejected HTI solely because HTI's religious

understanding is not in accordance with the theology of Aswaja (*Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah*). In contrast to Traditional pesantrens, the Salafi Puris pesantrens focused on purifying Islam and rejected HTI because they disagreed with the ways HTI fight for the Khilafah instead of the idea of Khilafah. In their perspectives, these methods of HTI contradicted the *ijma* (consensus) of companions of the Prophet (PBUH) who forbade demonstrations and actions that could lead to rebellions against the legitimate government (*Bughat*).

In addition, the pesantren resilience to radicalism and violent extremism was also determined by their beliefs in their social capital. The pesantren social capital is a set of values and norms that are trusted, believed, and practiced by the pesantrens on a daily basis. This social capital is basically empowered because of pesantrens need to maintain their existence. Having this social capital, the pesantren communities were able to survive and even thrive in the struggles of facing various shocks in the social, political, and religious environment. These shocks were perceived as threats to the existence of the pesantrens. Social capital served to nurture the sense of belonging and linking of community members with their pesantrens (social bonding). The same social capital was also used to define the relationship between pesantren communities and other people of different communities (social bridging). Finally, by social capital, the pesantrens build their relationship with the government structure (social linking). Strong social bonding capital could prevent pesantren communities from being attracted by radical ideological movements. The social bridging capital helped the pesantren communities to eliminate the risk factors of hatred towards different identities. While using their social linking capital, the pesantrens could overcome the issues of injustice against Muslims that were commonly used by radicals in their extremist narratives. The more effective social capital was utilized, the stronger the pesantren resilience would be in dealing with radicalism and violent extremism.

This social capital was obtained by each pesantren through a long process of experience and practices conducted all the time. It incarnated into the identity of the pesantrens whose sources of formation were influenced by the acceptance, absorption, and attachment of the communities to theological and socio-religious views that developed outside of them. Although all followed the Sunni Theology, the pesantrens in this study had a unique social capital in accordance with the typical typology. There were always similarities between one another. This study found the prominent social capital of Traditional pesantrens was the existence of Kiayi (pesantren leaders) and Islamic classic books. The social capital of *Kiyai* and Islamic classic books were interrelated because the existence of Kiayi was determined by their mastery of Islamic classic books, while the function of books was determined by the reliability of Kiayi contesting their interpretations according to the changes and developments of the certain era. Islamic classic books for Traditional pesantrens had its own theological significance not only because they had the classic status, but also because the books contained the pillars of Aswaja: Shafi'i in fiqh, Ash'ariyah in theology, and Al-Ghazali's school in *tasawuf* (the process of realizing ethical and spiritual ideals). The ability of Traditional pesantrens to maintain and develop social capital did not only mean for the residents but also for the resilience of the Muslim community around the pesantrens. The reason was that not only the pesantrens rely on the Kiayi but also Kiayi became role models for the surrounding community.

Unlike the Traditional pesantren, the social capital of Pesantren Gontor and its affiliates was taken from "Panca Jiwa" (the Five Souls), namely sincerity, simplicity, *ukhuwwah Islamiyyah* (Islamic brotherhood), independence, and freedom. Panca Jiwa is believed by the founders of Gontor as the crystallized values of the Pesantren in a broad sense. Applying this Panca Jiwa, the Pesantren Gontor community (the Kiyai, teachers, *santri*) conducted the entire education and teaching program, teacher

regeneration, *waqf*, and the welfare of the community. Panca Jiwa as the identity of the pesantren is not only owned by the Central Pesantren Gontor in Ponorogo but is also trusted by hundreds of alumni-built pesantrens referring to the Gontor system. Unlike the Traditional pesantren, Pesantren Gontor did not emphasize its social capital in theological aspects and a certain *fiqh* school, but on the philosophical values of Islam in living the social life of society. In terms of the freedom, Gontor instilled a non-sectarian attitude to its community (Gontor Standing on and for All Groups). Applying the same value, they were free to take part in various social organizations while maintaining the value of brotherhood among Muslims. However, the radical movements done by some Gontor alumni like what Abubakar Ba'asyir did violated the values of Panca Jiwa. However, the resilience of Gontor and its alumni against violent radicalism and extremism would be greatly determined by the level of awareness and consistency in applying the values in Panca Jiwa.

Modernist pesantrens, such as Muhammadiyah and Persis, relied on the values of their organizations as their social capital in dealing with radicalism and violent extremism. The strength of social capital was determined by the willingness and ability of each pesantren to build its attachment to the identity of their respective central organizations. This strategy has been implemented by Muhammadiyah pesantrens which have long been established, like Darul Arqam Garut. However, the same strategy needs to be further strengthened in some of the newly established Muhammadiyah pesantrens. The concept of statehood of Muhammadiyah in the 2015 Makassar Conference is that the Republic of Indonesia is "Darul Ahdi wa as-Syahadah" (a state based on binding agreements and recognition) was well-received by pesantren leaders. The Central Office of Muhammadiyah needs to develop a national formulation and encourage it to become an important narrative in inculcating Muhammadiyah's values among the teachers and

administrators of the Muhammadiyah pesantrens. Meanwhile, Persis-based pesantrens and Persis mass organizations should revitalize the Persian identity bond in the national and mainstream state value that has increasingly strengthened Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Republic of Indonesia, and Unity in Diversity as its main pillars. The prominent tradition of discussion and debate in pedagogy at Persis pesantrens needs to be revitalized and enriched by utilizing available resources in the history and experience of Indonesian nationality without eliminating the unique characters of the Persis religious style.

Unlike the Traditional, Muhammadiyah, Persis, and Modernist pesantrens, Puris Salafi-based pesantrens relied on social capital in the form of illicit doctrine against the legitimate government (*Bughat*). This doctrine also distinguished Puris Salafists from Harafi Salafists (political) and Jihadi Salafists. Puris Salafi pesantrens' community tended to believe in the efficacy of the doctrine in preventing radicalism and violent extremism. However, that social capital is considered to be basically inadequate because it is not supported by a commitment to the values of Indonesian citizenship. The rejection of the democratic system among Puris Salafi pesantrens can erode social capital. The reason is that there is no guarantee that the santri will not violate the doctrine of obedience to a legitimate government when a strong impulse arises to replace the democratic system with a more Islamic political system. Therefore, the Puris Salafi pesantren communities should have a willingness to dialogue and consider insights on compatibility between Islam and democracy so that this paradox of understanding religious and political relations can be overcome more permanently.

Meanwhile, Tanzimi Salafi pesantrens which are affiliated with Wahdah Islamiyah (WI) organization, Makassar, had a characteristic closer to the Muhammadiyah style than to most Puris Salafists who rejected the organization. Even though both

WI and Muhammadiyah intersected in their history, they are different regarding their Sunnah doctrine. The WI community is more loyal to the Sunnah (for example, female students at the pesantrens wore full-face veils) than most Muhammadiyah people. However, WI had better social capital than other Puris Salafi pesantrens. Besides being able to accept the democratic system, WI also tried to connect with existing Islamic mass organizations, such as NU and Muhammadiyah. Most Puris Salafi performed a limited social bridging attitude. WI organization is also known to have good relations with the government. This is proven by the socialization of the 4 Pillars of Nationalism and Statehood in their pesantrens in which it involved the government officials and members of the House. However, so far there has been an impression in some circles that the purpose of WI to build relations with Islamic organizations and the government is more tactical so that the propagation of the Islamic puritanizing process at the community and state level can proceed smoothly without interruption. While the adoption of adaptation strategies indicates competence, strong resistance to radicalism, and violent extremism requires more than just the ability to adapt. Lasting endurance requires awareness, willingness, and commitment of the pesantren communities to live side by side with all nationalities regardless of their identity based on the principles of trust, reciprocity, equality, and mutual benefit.

Pesantren As-Assalam Bima was the only one Haraki Salafi-based pesantren which was investigated in this study. It is classified into Haraki Salafi because the pesantren community referred to puritanical Salafi-based theology without involving in political practice and having political interest. However, Pesantren As-Salam Bima belongs to Jamaah Anshar Shari'ah (JAS), an Islamist movement that rejects Islamic belief in ISIS, but tries to promote the application of Shari'ah through formal political mechanisms. In terms of social capital, this pesantren had the least number of protective factors among any other



types of pesantren. This was reflected in the existing nuances of Islamist ideology in the political-religious discourse of its leaders and teachers. Some of these pesantren had just severed the relationship with the ISIS extremist movement. This fact indicates that the risk of vulnerability within this pesantren has not completely diminished. However, a commitment to separate from the jihadi groups (JAT and JAD) indicated an opportunity to start building a stronger resilience in the future. The resilience of the pesantren would be largely determined by the success of the government in embracing the pesantren community and presenting mutual trust between the pesantren administrators and the government. The government can start a social linking approach in which Pesantren As-Salam is guided to follow the Islamic Education scheme developed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition, the government needs to facilitate the Pesantren As-Salam Bima community to communicate their political aspirations with the existing Islamic organizations and also with other stakeholders in an open and respectful atmosphere.

### ***Pesantren's Social Bridging Capital***

As stated earlier, the pesantrens' social capital was also used to define relationships with communities of different identities, especially with non-Muslims. This study found that the pesantrens generally valued relationships with non-Muslims in terms of coexistent tolerance (Rawls, 1987, and Fletcher 1996). However, a pesantren builds the coexistence relation by applying several conditions; (1) a Muslim cannot lose *aqidah* (faith) due to *muamalah* (social affairs), (2) people of different religions cannot interfere each other, (3) Muslims only consume *halal* (lawful) food, and (4) male and Muslim female must cover their *aurat* (genitals). Because of limited interaction opportunities with non-Muslims, the pesantren communities rarely built a social bridging through a deliberately planned

meeting. To meet non-Muslims is not prohibited but it is not intentionally recommended, except in several pesantrens. For example, Pesantren Darul Arqam, Garut gave students the opportunity to visit a church as part of a field study in Sociology subject. Also, Traditionalist Pesantren Raudatul Thalibin, Rembang, was accustomed to building intense interactions with non-Muslim neighbors, by visiting each other and showing mutual trust and reciprocity.

Although they did not emphasize face-to-face meetings with non-Muslims, the pesantrens generally provided insights into their students through classroom teaching. To introduce the concept of diversity to their students, almost all pesantrens, including the Puris and Tanzimi Salafi, apply the government curricula, both through Civic Education, Sociology, and Islamic Religious Education. A deeper study is needed to evaluate how effectively the government curricula are implemented. However, this study found that several pesantrens intentionally made the Civic curriculum become a radical counter-narrative method (Pondok Modern Tazakka, Batang; Pesantren Darul Hijrah Putri, Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan). However, to some others, the curriculum was seen as merely a formal requirement for gaining legal recognition from the government (Pesantren Persis Bangil). This pesantren did not any civic education teacher and it only provided reading texts of civic education for students. Some Islamic boarding schools integrated their social bridging capital with a unique curriculum. For example, Pesantren Gontor showed the uniqueness in terms of introducing comparative religious insights. Based on a broad-minded motto, Pesantren Gontor introduced students to the internal diversity of Islam and the diversity of religions. The first was introduced through the teaching of *Bidayatul Mujtahid* by the great thinker of the Maliki School, Ibn Rushd. The second was through the teaching of *Kitab al-Adyan* (religions) by the Indonesian educator, Ustadz Mahmud Yunus.

Unlike the attitude towards non-Muslims which were relatively tolerant, pesantrens generally had a negative attitude towards Islamic minorities, mainly Shi'ites and Ahmadis. It was rare to find pesantrens which initiated a dialogue about Shi'ites and Ahmadis in an objective setting. Generally, they tended to have a negative prejudice. Even Pesantren Gontor which emphasized the values of *ukhuwwah Islamiyyah* and freedom did not show a positive attitude toward these minority Islamic groups. Especially in Salafi pesantrens, the pesantren community showed a more negative attitude towards Shi'ites and Ahmadiyah. They preferred to establish distrust of both through indoctrination of Shi'ite and Ahmadi heresy.

The challenge for all pesantrens of building social bridging was to create a balance between strengthening their internal identity and building a social bridge that was based on diversity and mutual trust. This strategy is not easy to apply when dealing with Shi'ites and Ahmadis because prejudice against both of them is already inherent. Therefore, Pesantren communities are worried that having dialogue and harmonious relations can weaken the social bonding among the majority Islamic groups.

## **B. Pesantren and Resilience Development Strategies**

Resilience development in pesantrens aims to strengthen the capacity of pesantren communities in preventing and confronting violent extremism and radicalization. In the context of social capital, resilience development is a part of how pesantrens maintain and strengthen their social capital and capacity. Social capital is empowered to eliminate risk factors of vulnerability. This study showed that all types of pesantrens may have risk factors of vulnerability to radicalism and violent extremism.

The first risk factor was contacting with radical followers or networks both directly and through social media. In traditional

pesantrens, this kind of risk exists because they hired subject teachers or alumni who had previously joined radical organizations like HTI. The newly established Muhammadiyah pesantrens (Darul Arqam, Serang, Banten, and Darul Arqam, Kendal, Central Java) encountered this risk as the teachers from ex-NII worked in their schools. This issue happened because these pesantren experienced a shortage of teachers with Muhammadiyah backgrounds who are willing to serve in the pesantrens. Pesantren Gontor did not experience the contact risk because the Kulliyatul Mu'allimin al-Islamiyyah (KMI) education system required teachers to be Gontor alumni.

The second risk factor was access to the internet and social media so that both teachers and students could be exposed to extremist narratives and hate propaganda. Almost all students had the opportunity to experience the risk of reading radical ideologies because of the wide access to digital media. The most commonly accepted extremist narrative was the *jihād* invitation to defend Muslims oppressed in Palestine, Syria, and other regions. Another propaganda was an invitation to support *khilafah ala minhaj an-nubuwwah*. Also, the other was prejudice against hatred towards minority Shiites and Ahmadis. Some students of Pesantren Hidayatullah in South Kalimantan claimed that they had a strong desire to wage *jihād* in Palestine so that they could die as a martyr after reading the *jihād* campaign. A young teacher (Pesantren al-Ihsan, Kalsel) who often read the *Khilafah* campaign stated that he preferred the *Khilafah* system to democracy. The third risk factor is a strongly indoctrinated pedagogy in teaching religion that could also cause vulnerability. Puris Salafi pesantrens had a great potential of this risk factor as they emphasized memorization rather than discussion.

This study showed that there were 4 pesantren strategies in building resilience: 1) preventing pesantren communities contact with radical movements and ideologies; 2)

delegitimizing radical ideology; 3) removing prejudice against hatred for different identities; 4) addressing the issue of injustice towards Muslims. Each pesantren tried to carry out 4 resilience development strategies by relying on their respective social capital.

Traditional Islamic pesantrens carried out resilience development strategies to prevent contact with radicals, delegitimize radical ideologies, and dispel prejudices of hatred by strengthening the role of Kiyai and contextualizing interpretations of Islamic classic books. They would explore the arguments of the Islamic classic books that could justify the rejection of the radical interpretation of the Qur'an and Hadith. One example of the contextualization of the Islamic classic books was to reinterpret the concept of the Khilafah. Kiyai did not say the Khilafah was bad, but the Khilafah system could not be applied in Indonesia because it would risk violating another principle, i.e. the prohibition of changing the agreement. That the Republic of Indonesia is a state is the final decision. The form of this country is the result of the agreement of the nation's founding fathers and scholars. It will be bad when a group of people try to change the form of this state will break the historical agreement. The challenge of Traditional pesantrens for long-term resilience development was in the regeneration of Kiyai that is qualified based on academically religious understandings. Kiyai runs The regeneration process in Traditional pesantrens by appointing their sons and daughters to become the next leaders of the pesantrens. The process of regeneration will encounter obstacles in the Traditional pesantrens when Kiyai's children are not interested in performing the pesantren leadership duties.

Pesantren Modern Gontor preferred to be normal in the sense that Its management did not carry out specific efforts, like contextualizing, increasing the role of certain institutions, or making curriculum modifications. Because Gontor believed

that the existing social capital was sufficient to encounter the radicalization and violent extremism. Building resilience to avoid contact with radicalism was not done specifically. However, in some Gontor-affiliated pesantrens, there were efforts to make alternative narratives to promote peaceful narratives without directly counter-extremist narratives. For example, emphasizing the diverse meanings of jihad. Jihad is not merely war. Studying is jihad. Caretakers of Pesantren Gontor seemed to believe that resilience development inherent in the efforts of the pesantren to maintain the quality of their education and teaching programs was one of five long-term programs at Gontor (Panja Panjang).

Muhammadiyah and Persis Islamic pesantrens also did not carry out transformative programs unless they participated in supporting government programs in socializing counter-radicalism or strengthening national values. Some of Puris Salafi pesantrens did not make any changes either, except to maximize the only the existing protective factor like anti-*bughat* doctrine to delegitimize radical ideology. Some others, such as the Pesantren WI, were adapting by adopting programs offered by the government with the consequence of compromising some of their religious identity.

To prevent santri from contacting radical ideologies through reading, digital media, and social media, some pesantrens exercised control over reading and digital media. In some pesantrens, the use of digital media was not restricted but the use of mobile phones was restricted for students and young teachers. The control over the reading was also carried out on students. At Puris Salafi pesantren students were prohibited from reading books written by Abubakar Ba'asyir, and books written by Salafi Jihadi activists, especially the works of ISIS scholars.

### ***The urgency of Training Critical Thinking in Pesantrens***

Besides Puris Salafi pesantrens which emphasized rote learning, Modernist and Traditional pesantrens generally held discussion and debate activities to train students' critical thinking. However, the purpose of discussion and debate was not to familiarize students with the diversity of views and complexity of a problem, but rather to train them to reason based on an argument. Discussions and debates were not directed so that students were confident in facing controversial issues, instead, the discussion exercises were more oriented to completing the Fiqh cases completely. This is closely related to the objectives of pesantren education which emphasized the strengthening of *Aqidah*. The pesantren leaders seemed to be worried that if immature students were introduced to controversial issues, the establishment of their *Aqidah* would fail. Therefore, pesantrens generally did not refuse to discuss controversial issues critically, but they tended to postpone after the students have entered the college.

Learning to argue through discussions and debates seems insufficient as a method in building long-term resilience. the discussion about *Fiqh* cases based on merely textual arguments can lead students to simplify the problem due to the limited data sources. the debate training which focuses on determining who wins and who loses is not enough to overcome persuasive narratives based on prejudice. They will easily agree because they consider the narration to be based on the textual propositions of the Qur'an and Hadith. It is suggested that pesantrens seriously consider introducing controversial issues Aliyah or High School students. However, the issue must be discussed critically so that they are accustomed to distinguishing which facts are objective and which are biased rhetorics.

### ***The Importance of Connections with Government***

The ability of pesantrens to build links with the government not only functions to overcome the issue of that Muslims are being mistreated, but can also strengthen the social bonding capital and bridging of the pesantrens. The integration of pesantren education into the national education system has been implemented since the government issued the National Education System Law No. 20 of 2003 to the enactment of the Pesantren Law No. 18 of 2019. This helped pesantren build systemic social links successfully. The impact is quite large in building strong and sustainable pesantren resilience. The evidence under this social linking strengthens the social bridging which is implemented in the government curricula to teach the concepts of nationality and citizenship. For pesantrens which do not have enough social capital to instill national values and diversity through religious interpretation, Civic Education and Sociology subjects can be a shield that creates a protective factor. However, teaching the Civic Education curriculum needs to pay attention to how the teaching quality of this subject can effectively educate students about the nationalism and tolerance of diversity. The use of field study methods exemplified by Muhammadiyah pesantrens in Sociology subjects is an alternative that needs to be offered to other pesantrens. The government needs to make a special policy to strengthen the learning of this material in pesantren.

One of the benefits of integrating the pesantren education system into national education is the emergence of certain policies on opening the “Equivalency Program” and *Muadalah* (Special Programs for Alternative Education) for pesantrens that do not organize formal Madrasas or Schools. Salafiyah pesantrens that are proposing the deepening of Islamic classic books can continue their specific program but have gained government recognition. In the scheme, the government provides several conditions that allow the education of state



ideology as well as the concept of citizenship for pesantrens. Likewise, the Salafi message can also be involved in Equivalency Program or *Muadalah*. For example, WI's Pesantren Tahfizul Qur'an and Pesantren Masjid Jajar in Surakarta introduced their students to the Shafi'iyah School books in addition to studying Civic Education. The Ministry of Religious Affairs needs to consider offering other Salafi pesantrens with this program without compromising the aim of improving pesantren quality standards.

In 2001, the KMI program of Pesantren Gontor Ponorogo had obtained *Muadalah* (Equivalency Program) from the Ministry of Religious Affairs so that with its distinctive curriculum Gontor could still run the education process and was no longer constrained by government recognition. Now 88 pesantrens have participated in the *Muadalah* program and these pesantrens have formed the Silaturrahmi Forum (Meeting Forum) for *Muadalah* Pesantrens which is led by the head of Pesantren Gontor. The existence of this forum proves how pesantren social links can strengthen social bonding and social bridging between different pesantrens which now carry the same identity, *Muadalah* pesantren. At the same time, the coordination forum can function as a bridge for Kiyai of pesantren to discuss their interests to be conveyed to the government. While the emergence of rumors about the government mistreating Muslims can be directly addressed in the existing social mechanism discussed openly and more likely clarified by the government.



## REFERENCES

### Books, Journals, Reports, and Articles

- Abdullah, M. Amin. *Pendidikan Agama Era Multikultural-Multireligius*. Jakarta: PSAP, 2005.
- Abdullah, Nailah. "Rahmah El Yunusiyah, Kartini Padang Panjang 1900-1969." *Jurnal Ilmiah Sosiologi Agama dan Perubahan Sosial* 10, No. 2, Juli-Desember 2016, 51-82, ISSN: 1978-4457.
- Abdurrahman, Jalaluddin ibn Abu Bakr al Suyuthi. *Al Asybah wa al Nadha-ir*. Indonesia: Maktabah Dar Ihya al Kutub al Arabiyah, Indonesia, t.t.
- Abubakar, Irfan. "Pengelolaan Wakaf di Pondok Modern Gontor Ponorogo: Menjaga Kemandirian Civil Society." Dalam *Revitalisasi Filantropi Islam: Studi Kasus Lembaga Zakat dan Wakaf di Indonesia*, disunting oleh Chaider S. Bamulaim dan Irfan Abubakar, 217-54. Jakarta: PBB UIN Jakarta, 2005.
- Abu Zayd, Nasr Hamid. *Ma hum al-Nash Dirasat i Ulum Alquran*. Kairo: al-Hai'ah al-Misriyyah al-'Ammah li al-Kitab, 1993.
- Adams, Charles J., "Islamic Religion Tradition." Dalam *The Study of the Middle East: Research and Scholarship in the Humanities and the Social Sciences*, ed. Leonard Binder. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1976.
- Adraoui, Mohamed-Ali. "The Hijra in French Salaism: A Quest for Purity Through Religious Migration." *Sociology of Islam* 7, No. 2 - 3 ( 2 3 S e p t e m b e r 2 0 1 9 ) , 1 3 2 - 4 7 , <https://doi.org/10.1163/22131418-00702002>.
- Ahmed, Akbar S. *Islam sebagai Tertuduh*. Bandung: Arasy Mizan, 2004.
- Ahmad, Munawar. *Ijtihad Politik Gus Dur: Analisis Wacana Kritis*. Jakarta: LKiS, 2010.
- Ali, Muhamad. "Mengapa Membumikan Paham Kemajemukan dan

- Kebebasan Beragama di Indonesia?" Dalam *Bayang-bayang Fanatisme: Esai-esai untuk Mengenang Nurcholish Madjid*, eds. Abdul Hakim dan Yudi Latif, Jakarta: PSIK, 2007.
- Ali, Mohamed. "Understanding Salais, Salaism and Modern Salaism." *Islāmiyyāt* 41, No. 1 (June 2019), 125–36. Ali, Tariq. *Benturan Antar Fundamentalis, Jihad Melawan Imperialisme Amerika*. Jakarta: Paramadina, 2004. Al-Ibrahim, Bader. "ISIS, Wahhabism and Takir." *Contemporary Arab Affairs* 8, no. 3 (July 3, 2015): 408–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17550912.2015.1051376>.
- Aly, Anne, Elisabeth Taylor, dan Saul Karnovsky. "Moral Disengagement and Building Resilience to Violent Extremism: An Education Intervention." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37, No. 4 (April 3, 2014), 369–85, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2014.879379>.
- Ambarwati and Aida Husna. "Manajemen Pesantren Responsif Gender: Studi Analisis di Kepemimpinan Nyai Pesantren di Kabupaten Pati." *PALASTREN* 7, No. 2 (December 2014), 445–456.
- Angus, Chris. "Radicalisation and Violent Extremism: Causes and Responses." *NSW Parliamentary Research Service*, 2016, 23.
- An-Na'im, Abdullahi Ahmed. *Islam dan Negara Sekular: Menegosiasikan Masa Depan Syariah*. Bandung: Mizan, 2007.
- Azra, Azyumardi, and Dina Afrianty. "Pesantren and Madrasa: Modernization of Indonesian Muslim Society." Boston, MA: Boston University, CURA, 2005.
- Azra, Azyumardi, Dina Afrianty, and Robert W. Hefner. "Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia." *Schooling Islam, the Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, 2006, 172–98.
- Azzam, Shaikh Abdullah. *Defense of the Muslim Lands*. 2 ed., 2002. [http://archive.org/details/Defense\\_of\\_the\\_Muslim\\_Lands](http://archive.org/details/Defense_of_the_Muslim_Lands).
- Az-Zarkasyi, Imam. *Al-Burhan i 'Ulum Al-Qur'an*. Juz II. Kairo: Darut Turots, 1984.

- Badan Litbang and Diklat Kementerian Agama RI. *Moderasi Bergama*. Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2019.
- Badar, Mohamed, Masaki Nagata, and Tiphanie Tueni. "The Radical Application of the Islamist Concept of Takir." *Arab Law Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (June 14, 2017): 134–62. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15730255-31020044>.
- Basri, Husen Hasan. "Pendidikan dan Paham Keagamaan Pesantren Nurussalam Ciamis." *EDUKASI: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan* 15, No. 2 (August 31, 2007), 141-160, <https://doi.org/10.32729/edukasi.v15i2.449>.
- Baz, Mira. "Salaism in Lebanon: From A politicism to Transnational Jihadism." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 29, No. 1 (January 2, 2018), 105–7, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2017.1406110>.
- Beider, Harris, and Rachel Briggs. "Promoting Community Cohesion and Preventing Violent Extremism in Higher and Further Education." *Institute of Community Cohesion*, March 2010, [http://www.safecampuscommunities.ac.uk/uploads/files/2013/05/promoting\\_community\\_cohesion.pdf](http://www.safecampuscommunities.ac.uk/uploads/files/2013/05/promoting_community_cohesion.pdf) (accessed on January 12, 2020).
- Bertelsen, Preben. "Violent radicalization and extremism: A Review of Risk Factors and a Theoretical Model of Radicalization." In *Tværfagligt samarbejde om udsathed blandt børn og unge*, edited by Hansen Lund J. HanTurbine: Aarhus, 2016.
- Bonci, Alessandra. "Salai fuel for ISIS Tanks? The ideological relationship between Salaism and the Islamic State." *Journal Mediterranean Politics*, 15 January 2019.
- Borum, Randy. "Psychological Vulnerabilities and Propensities for Involvement in Violent Extremism." *Behavioral Sciences & the Law* 32, No. 3 (May 2014), 286–305, <https://doi.org/10.1002/bsl.2110>.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Forms of Capital." In *Readings in Economic Sociology*, edited by Nicole Woolsey Biggart, 280–91. Oxford,

U K : B l a c k w e l l P u b l i s h e r s L t d , 2 0 0 2 ,  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470755679.ch15>.

Bruinessen, Martin van. *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 1995. “‘Traditionalist’ and ‘Islamist’ Pesantren in Contemporary Indonesia.” In Farish Noor, Yoginder Sikand, dan Martin van Bruinessen. *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkage*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008.

Cardozo, Mieke T. A. Lopes. “‘Education as a Stronghold? The Ambiguous Connections between Education, Resilience and Peacebuilding’ Norrag Policy Research Note”, [https://www.academia.edu/12777279/\\_Education\\_as\\_a\\_Stronghold\\_The\\_Ambiguous\\_Connections\\_between\\_Education\\_Resilience\\_and\\_Peacebuilding\\_NORRAG\\_Policy\\_Research\\_Note\\_2](https://www.academia.edu/12777279/_Education_as_a_Stronghold_The_Ambiguous_Connections_between_Education_Resilience_and_Peacebuilding_NORRAG_Policy_Research_Note_2) (accessed on 31 December 2019).

Carpenter, Ami C. “Community Competence.” In *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad*, edited by Ami C. Carpenter, 119–31. *Peace Psychology Book Series*. New York, NY: Springer, 2014, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8812-5\\_9](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8812-5_9).

\_\_\_\_\_. “Economic Resources.” In *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad*, edited by Ami C. Carpenter, 107–18. *Peace Psychology Book Series*. New York, NY: Springer, 2014, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8812-5\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8812-5_8).

\_\_\_\_\_. “Information and Communication.” In *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad*, edited by Ami C. Carpenter, 95–106. *Peace Psychology Book Series*. New York, NY: Springer, 2014, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8812-5\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8812-5_7).

\_\_\_\_\_. “Resilience: Conceptual Foundations.” In *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad*, edited by Ami C. Carpenter, 63–80. *Peace Psychology Book Series*. New York, NY: Springer, 2014, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8812-5\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8812-5_5).

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Social Capital." In *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad*, edited by Ami C. Carpenter, 81–94. *Peace Psychology Book Series*. New York, NY: Springer, 2014, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8812-5\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8812-5_6).
- Castells, Manuel. *The Power of Identity*. Chicester UK: Willey-Blackwell, 2010.
- Chandra, Anita, et, al. "Partnership: Develop Strong Partnerships Within and Between Government and Other Organizations." Dalam *Building Community Resilience to Disasters; A Way Forward to Enhance National Health Security*, RAND Corporation, 2011.
- Cottee, Simon. "'What ISIS Really Wants' Revisited: Religion Matters in Jihadist Violence, but How?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 40, No. 6 (June 3, 2017), 439–54, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1221258>.
- Cragin, R. Kim. "Resisting Violent Extremism: A Conceptual Model for Non-Radicalization." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, No. 2 (1 April 2014): 337–53, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2012.714820>.
- Dalgaard-Nielsen, Anja, and Patrick Schack. "Community Resilience to Militant Islamism: Who and What?: An Explorative Study of Resilience in Three Danish Communities." *Democracy and Security* 12, No. 4 (October 1, 2016), 309–27, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2016.1236691>.
- Davis, Rachel, Danice Cook, and Larry Cohen. "A Community Resilience Approach to Reducing Ethnic and Racial Disparities in Health." *American Journal of Public Health*. 95, No. 12 (December 1, 2005), 2168–73, <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2004.050146>.
- Dhoier, Zamakhsari. "Kinship and Marriage among the Javanese Kyai." *Indonesia* No. 29, 1980, 47-58.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Pesantren Tradition: The Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java*. Tempe, Ariz: Asu Center for Asian Research, 1999.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011.
- Djafar, Alamsyah M. *(In)Toleransi! Memahami Kebencian dan Kekerasan Atas Nama Agama*. Jakarta: PT. Elex Media Komputindo, 2018.
- Effendy, Bahtiar. "Agama dan Politik: Mencari Keterkaitan yang Memungkinkan antara Doktrin dan Kenyataan Empirik." Dalam *Islam dan Politik Era Orde Baru*, ed. M. Dien Syamsuddin. Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2001.
- Egerton, Frazer. *Jihad in the West: The Rise of Militant Salaism*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Ellis, B. Heidi, and Saida Abdi. "Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism through Genuine Partnerships." *American Psychologist* 72, No. 3 (April 2017), 289–300, <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000065>.
- Fakih, Mansour. *Membincang Feminisme, Diskursus Gender Perspektif Islam*. Surabaya: Risalah Gusti, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Analisis Gender dan Transformasi Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Insist Press, 2008.
- Farida, Umma. "Radikalisme, Moderatisme, dan Liberalisme Pesantren: Melacak Pemikiran dan Gerakan Keagamaan Pesantren Di Era Globalisasi" *Edukasia: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Islam* 10, No. 1 (February, 2015), 145-163, <https://doi.org/10.21043/edukasia.v10i1.789>.
- Fauzi, Muhammad Latif. "Traditional Islam in Javanese Society: The Roles of Kyai and Pesantren in Preserving Islamic Tradition and Negotiating Modernity." *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 6, No. 1 (June 1, 2012), 125–144, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2012.6.1.125-144>.
- Federspiel, Howard M. *Islam and Ideology in the Emerging Indonesian State: The Persatuan Islam (Persis), 1923 to 1957*. BRILL, 2001.
- . *Persatuan Islam: Islamic Reform in Twentieth Century*



- Indonesia*. Equinox Publishing, 2009.
- Firro, Tarik K. "The Political Context of Early Wahhabi Discourse of *Takir*." *Middle Eastern Studies* 49, no. 5 (September 2013): 770–89. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2013.811648>.
- Fukuyama, Francis. "Social Capital and Civil Society." *IMF Working Papers*, April 2000, <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WP/Issues/2016/12/30/Social-Capital-and-Civil-Society-3547> (accessed on 10 Januari 2020).
- Galtung, Johan, *Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. Terj. Asnawi dan Safruddin. Sage Publication, 1996.
- Ghosh, Ratna, W. Y. Alice Chan, Ashley Manuel, dan Maihemuti Dilimulati. "Can education counter violent religious extremism?" *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 23, No. 2 ( 4 Mei 2017 ) , 117 – 33 , <https://doi.org/10.1080/11926422.2016.1165713>.
- Ghufron, Fathorrahman, "Radikalisme dan Politik Identitas", *KOMPAS*, May 5, 2017.
- Gilperez-Lopez, Irene, Javier Torregrosa, Mahmoud Barhamgi, dan David Camacho. "An Initial Study on Radicalization Risk Factors: Towards an Assessment Software Tool." Dalam *2017 28th International Workshop on Database and Expert Systems Applications (DEXA)*, 11–16. Lyon, France: IEEE, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1109/DEXA.2017.19>.
- Glantz, Meyer D., and Jeannette L. Johnson. *Resilience and Development: Positive Life Adaptations*. Springer Science & Business Media, 2006.
- Gunaratna, Dr. Rohan, Jolene Anne R. Jerard, and Salim Mohamed Nasir. *Countering Extremism: Building Social Resilience Through Community Engagement*. 1 edition. London: Imperial College Press, 2013.
- Haryani, Tiyas Nur, Muhammad Ikhsanul Amin, Nur Hidayatul Arifah, dan Arina Mardhiyana Husna. "Islamic Education in Supporting De-Radicalization: A Review of Islamic Education

- in Pondok Pesantren." *Nadwa* 12, No. 2 (January 7, 2019), 259–72, <https://doi.org/10.21580/nw.2018.12.2.2581>.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. "Salaism in Indonesia: Transnational Islam, Violent Activism, and Cultural Resistance." Dalam *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Indonesia*, ed. Robert W. Hefner. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2018.
- Hassan, Muhammad Hanif. *Teroris Membajak Islam, Meluruskan Jihad Sesat Imam Samudra dan Kelompok Islam Radikal*. Jakarta: Graindo Khazanah Ilmu, 2007.
- Hefner, Robert W. and Muhammad Qasim Zaman. *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*. Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Henningsson, Martin. "Fundamentalist Separation or Extremist Indoctrination: Salaism in Contemporary Society. A Study of Preventative Practices' Adaptation to Salaist Radicalisation in Sweden." *LUP Student Papers Lund University, Department of Sociology of Law*, 2019, <http://lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/record/8983939>.
- Herrenkohl, Todd I, Eugene Maguin, Karl G Hill, J. David Hawkins, Robert D Abbott, and Richard F Catalano. "Developmental Risk Factors for Youth Violence." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 26, No. 3 (Maret 2000), 176–86, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1054-139X\(99\)00065-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1054-139X(99)00065-8).
- Hidayat, K., *Kontroversi Khilafah, Islam, Negara, dan Pancasila*. Bandung: Mizan, 2014.
- Inayah, Nurul and Nawal Ika Susanti. "Eksistensi Cadar di Tengah Jilbab Santri (Kajian Eksistensi Santri Bercadar Lingkungan Pondok Pesantren di Jawa Timur)." *Jurnal Darussalam: Jurnal Pendidikan, Komunikasi, dan Pemikiran Hukum Islam* XI, No. 1, September 2019, 182- 198, ISSN: 1978-4767.
- Jamhari, Jajang Jahroni (eds.). *Gerakan Sala i Radikal di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Raja Graindo Persada, 2004.
- Jamhari. "New Trend of Islamic Education in Indonesia." *Studia Islamika* 16, no. 2 (2009).

- <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v16i2.482>.
- Jurdi, Syarifuddin. "Gerakan Sosial Islam: Kemunculan, Eskalasi, Pembentukan Blok Politik Dan Tipologi Artikulasi Gerakan." *JPP (Jurnal Politik Profetik)* 1, no. 1 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.24252/jpp.v1i1.1615>.
- . *Islam dan politik lokal: studi kritis atas nalar politik wahdah Islamiyah*. Pustaka Cendekia Press, 2006. Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, <https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/cadar>.
- Keibell, Mark R, and Louise Porter. "An Intelligence Assessment Framework for Identifying Individuals at Risk of Committing Acts of Violent Extremism against the West." *Security Journal* 25, No. 3 (July 2012), 212 - 28, <https://doi.org/10.1057/sj.2011.19>.
- Kementerian Pendidikan & Kebudayaan. *Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan untuk SMA Kelas X*. 2016, t.t.
- . *Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan untuk SMP kelas VII*. Kementerian Pendidikan & Kebudayaan, 2017.
- Kessels, Eelco, Tracey Durner, dan Matthew Schwartz. *Violent Extremism and Instability in the Greater Horn of Africa: An Examination on Drivers and Responses*. Indiana: Global Center on Cooperative Security, April 2016.
- Koh, Ian Russeell. "The Genesis of Salafism: A Modern Interpretation of Fundamentalism." Singapore, 2018, [http://works.bepress.com/ian\\_russel\\_koh/13/](http://works.bepress.com/ian_russel_koh/13/).
- Kovacs, Amanda. "Saudi Arabia Exporting Salaf Education and Radicalizing Indonesia's Muslims." *GIGA Focus International Edition English*, No.07 (2014).
- Lauziere, Henri. "The Construction of Salafism: Reconsidering Salafism from the Perspective of Conceptual History." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42, No. 3 (August 2010), 369 - 89, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743810000401>.
- . *The Making of Salafism: Islamic Reform in the Twentieth Century*. Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2015.

- Lukens-Bull, Ronald A. "The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java by Zamakhsyari Dhoier." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, No. 4 (November 2000), 1091–92, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2659290>.
- Maarif, Ahmad Syaii. *Islam dalam Bingkai Keindonesiaan dan Kemanusiaan, Sebuah Releksi Sejarah*. Bandung: PT Mizan Pustaka, 2009.
- Madjid, Nurcholish. *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*. Jakarta: Paramadina and Dian Rakyat, 1997.
- Marks, Monica. "Youth Politics and Tunisian Salafism: Understanding the Jihadi Current." *Mediterranean Politics* 18, No. 1 (March 1, 2013), 104–11, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2013.764657>.
- Masten, Ann S., Karin M. Best, dan Norman Garnezy. "Resilience and Development: Contributions from the Study of Children Who Overcome Adversity." *Development and Psychopathology* 2, No. 4 (1990), 425–44, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579400005812>.
- Mas'udi, Masdar F. "Perempuan di antara Lembaran Kitab Kuning." Dalam *Wanita Indonesia dalam Kajian Teks dan Kontekstual Islam*, eds. Lies Marcoes-Natsir and Johan Hendrik Meuleman, 155-163, Jakarta: INIS, 1993.
- Matesan, Ioana Emy. "Grievances and Fears in Islamist Movements: Revisiting the Link between Exclusion, Insecurity, and Political Violence." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 5, no. 1 (January 1, 2020): 44–62. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogz042>.
- Meijer, Roel, ed. *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement*. 1 edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Political, Politics, and Political Citizenship in Modern Islam." Dalam *The Middle East in Transition: The Centrality of Citizenship, Monograph Book*, eds. Nils A. Butenschøn dan Roel Meijer, 25 May 2018, <https://www.elgaronline.com/view/edcoll/97817>

88111126/9781788111126.00016.xml.

- Milla, Mirra Noor, Faturochman, dan Djamaludin Ancok. "The Impact of Leader-Follower Interactions on the Radicalization of Terrorists: A Case Study of the Bali Bombers." *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* 16, No. 2 (2013), 92-100, <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajsp.12007>.
- Miller, Joyce. "Resilience, Violent Extremism and Religious Education." *British Journal of Religious Education* 35, No. 2 (March 2013), 188-200. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200.2012.740444>.
- Mirahmadi, Hedieh. "Building Resilience against Violent Extremism: A Community-Based Approach." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 668, no. 1 (November 1, 2016): 129-44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716216671303>.
- Monahan, John. "The Individual Risk Assessment of Terrorism: Recent Developments." *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2665815>.
- Muhammad, K.H. *Perempuan, Islam dan Negara, Pergulatan Identitas dan Entitas*. Yogyakarta: Qalam Nusantara, 2016.
- Mukhibat. "Deradikalisasi dan Integrasi Nilai-Nilai Pluralitas dalam Kurikulum Pesantren Salai Haraki di Indonesia." *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 14, No. 1 (May 2014), 181-204, <https://doi.org/10.21154/al-tahrir.v14i1.121>.
- Mukhlis, Maulana, Syarief Makhya, and Imam Mustofa. "The Urgency of Starting Condition in the Religious De-Radicalization Policy Collaboration: The Pesantren Perspective in Lampung Province." *Proceedings of the 1 Annual International Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities (AICOSH 2019)*, Atlantis Press, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.2991/aicossh-19.2019.26.st>
- Munawwir, A.W. *Kamus Al-Munawwir Arab-Indonesia Terlengkap*. Surabaya: Penerbit Pustaka Progressif, 1984. Musnad Ahmad: IV/273.

- Muthahhari, Murtadha. *Gaya Hidup Wanita Islam*, Terj. Agus Efendi and Alwiyah Abdurrahman. Bandung: Mizan, 1990.
- Napoleni, Loretta. *Modern Jihad: Tracing Behind the Terror Network*. London: Pluto Press, 2003.
- Nash, Carolyn, Yulia Nesterova, dan Kenneth Primrose. *Youth Lead Guide on Prevention of Violent Extremism through Education*. New Delhi: UNESCO & MGIP, 2017.
- Nashir, Haedar, *Gerakan Islam Syariat: Reproduksi Salafiyah Ideologi di Indonesia*. Bandung: Mizan, 2007.
- Natsir, Lies Marcus, *Women in Indonesia: Gender and Equality and Development*. Canberra: ANU, 2002.
- Nilan, Pam. "The 'Spirit of Education' in Indonesian Pesantren." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 30, No. 2 (March 1 2 0 0 9 ) , 2 1 9 – 3 2 , <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690802700321>.
- Nisa, Eva F. "Cadari of Wahdah Islamiyah: Women as Dedicated Actors of Ultra-conservatism." *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*, no. 30 (November 2012).
- Noer, Deliar. *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. Oxford University Press, 1973. Norris, Fran H., Susan P. Stevens, Betty Pfefferbaum, Karen F.
- Wyche, and Rose L. Pfefferbaum. "Community Resilience as a Metaphor, Theory, Set of Capacities, and Strategy for Disaster Readiness." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 41, No. 1-2 (March 2008), 127-50, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-007-9156-6>.
- Oliver Roy, *Who Are the New Jihadis?*, 13 April 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2017/apr/13/who-are-the-new-jihadis> (accessed on 8 October 2019).
- Painikkar, Raimundo. *Dialog Intra Religius*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1994.
- Pall, Zoltan. "Can the Umma Replace the Nation? Salafism and Deterritorialized Citizenship in Lebanon and Kuwait." *The Middle East in Transition*, May 25, 2018,

- <https://www.elgaronline.com/view/edcoll/9781788111126/9781788111126.00017.xml>.
- Patel, Sonny S., M. Brooke Rogers, Richard Amlot, and G. James Rubin. "What Do We Mean by 'Community Resilience'? A Systematic Literature Review of How It Is Deined in the Literature." *PLoS Currents* 9 (February 1, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.1371/currents.dis.db775aff25efc5ac4f0660ad9c9f7db2>.
- Pedahzur, Ami, and Daphna Canetti-Nisim. "Support for Right- Wing Extremist Ideology: Socio-Economic Indicators and Socio-Psychological Mechanisms of Social Identiiication." *Comparative Sociology* 3, No. 1 (2004), 1–36, <https://doi.org/10.1163/1569133041513756>. Pfefferbaum, Betty, Rose L. Pfefferbaum, dan Richard L. Van
- Horn. "Community Resilience Interventions: Participatory, Assessment-Based, Action-Oriented Processes." *American Behavioral Scientist* 59, No. 2 (February 20015), 238–53, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764214550298>.
- Pohl, Florian. "Islamic Education and Civil Society: Relections on the Pesantren Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia." *Comparative Education Review* 50, No. 3 (2006): 389–409.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Islamic Education and the Public Sphere: Today's Pesantren in Indonesia*. Munster: Waxmann Verlag GmbH, Germany, 2009.
- Portes, Alejandro. "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998), 1–24, <http://faculty.washington.edu/matsueda/courses/590/Readings/Portes%20Social%20Capital%201998.pdf> (Accessed on January 2020).
- Purwanto, Wawan H. *Terorisme Undercover: Memberantas Terorisme hingga ke Akar-akarnya, Mungkinkah?* Jakarta: CMB Press, 2007.
- Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, dan Raffaella Y. Nanetti. *Making*

- Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Qodir, Zuly. *Ada apa dengan Pondok Pesantren Ngruki*. Pondok Edukasi, 2003.
- Qodir, Zuly. "Kaum Muda, Intoleransi, dan Radikalisme Islam", *Jurnal Studi Pemuda* 5, No. 1, Mei 2016, 429-445, <https://jurnal.ugm.ac.id/article/download>.
- Rabil, Robert G. *Salatism in Lebanon: From Apoliticism to Transnational Jihadism*. Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2014.
- Ramakrishna, Kumar. *Radical Pathways: Understanding Muslim Radicalization in Indonesia*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2009.
- Ranstorp, Magnus, Filip Ahlin, Peder Hyllengren, and Magnus Normark. *Between Salatism and Salafi-Jihadism: Inluence and Challenges for Swedish Society*. Forsvarshogskolan (FHS), 2018, <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:hs:diva-8534>.
- Rasyid, Lisa Aisiyah and Rosdalina Bukido. "Problemтика Hukum Cadar Dalam Islam: Sebuah Tinjauan Normatif- Historis." *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 16, No. 1, Tahun 2018, Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN Manado).
- Roiq, Aunur. *Tafsir Resolusi Konlik, Model Manajemen Interaksi dan Deradikalisasi Beragama Perspektif Al- Qur'an dan Piagam Madinah*. Malang: UIN Maliki Press, 2012.
- Rohan, Gunaratna, Jerard Jolene Anne R, and Mohamed Nasir Salim. *Countering Extremism: Building Social Resilience Through Community Engagement*. World Scientiic, 2013.
- Rohim, Zaini Tamin Abd. "Sinergi Pendidikan Pesantren dan Kepemimpinan dalam Pandangan KH. M. Hasyim Asy'ari." *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 2, No. 3 (2015): 323-345.
- Romaniuk, Peter. *Does CVE Work?: Lesson Learned from the Global Effort to Counter Violent Extremism*. Indiana: Global Center on Cooperative Security, September 2015, <https://www>.



- globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Does-CVE-Work\_2015.pdf (accessed on January 12, 2020).
- RTI International. "Countering Violent Extremism: The Application of Risk Assessment Tools in the Criminal Justice and Rehabilitation Process (Literature Review)." North Carolina, February 2018.
- Sachedina, Abdulaziz. *Beda tapi Setara: Pandangan Islam tentang Non-Islam*. Jakarta: Serambi, 2001.
- Sarason, Seymour B. *The Psychological Sense of Community: Prospects for a Community Psychology*. Cambridge, MA, US: Brookline Books, 1974.
- Schoon, Ingrid. *Risk and Resilience: Adaptations in Changing Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511490132>.
- Sherrieb, Kathleen, Fran H. Norris, dan Sandro Galea. "Measuring Capacities for Community Resilience." *Social Indicators Research* 99, No. 2 (November 2010), 227–47, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-010-9576-9>.
- Shihab, Alwi. *Islam Inklusif: Menuju Sikap Terbuka dalam Beragama*. Bandung: Mizan, 1999.
- Shihab, M. Quraish. *Jilbab Pakaian Wanita Muslimat*. Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2014.
- Siauw, Felix, *Talak Tiga Nasionalisme Now!*, <https://felixsiauw.com/home/talak-tiga-nasionalisme-now/> (accessed on October 6, 2019).
- Silva, Samantha de. "Role of Education in the Prevention of Violent Extremism." *The Joint World Bank-UN Flagship Report "Can Development Interventions Help Prevent Conflict and Violence?"* World Bank, 2017, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/448221510079762554/pdf/120997-WP-revised-PUBLIC-Role-of-Education-in-Prevention-of-Violence-Extremism-Final.pdf>.
- Sivan, Emmanuel, and Menachem Friedman. *Religious Radicalism*

- and Politics in the Middle East*. Suny Press, 1990.
- Smith, Allison G. "Risk Factors and Indicators Associated with Radicalization to Terrorism in the United States: What Research Sponsored by the National Institute for Justice Tells Us." Washington D.C: National Institute of Justice, 2018.
- Soepriyadi, Es. *Ngruki dan jaringan terorisme: Melacak jejak Abu Bakar Ba'asyir dan jaringannya dari Ngruki sampai bom Bali*. Almarwadi Prima, 2003.
- Srimulyani, Eka. *Women from Traditional Islamic Educational Institutions in Indonesia: Negotiating Public Spaces*. The Netherland: Amsterdam University Press, 2012.
- Steenbrink, K. *Madrasah, Pesantren dan sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam kurun modern* [Madrasah, Pesantren and school: Islamic education in modern period]. Jakarta: LP3ES. 1986.
- Stewart, Sheelagh. "Building Resistance to Violent Extremism." British Council, 2018.
- Tamam, Baddrut. *Pesantren, Nalar, dan Tradisi*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2015.
- Taskarina, Leebarty. *Perempuan dan Terorisme, Kisah Perempuan dalam Kejahatan Terorisme*. Jakarta: PT. Elex Media Komputindo, 2018.
- Taylor, Elisabeth (Lily), Peter Charles Taylor, Saul Karnovsky, Anne Aly, dan Nell Taylor. "'Beyond Bali': a Transformative Education Approach for Developing Community Resilience to Violent Extremism." *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 37, No. 2 (3<sup>rd</sup> April 2017), 193 – 204, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188791.2016.1240661>.
- The Global Center on Cooperative Security. "Countering Violent Extremism and Promoting Community Resilience in the Greater Horn of Africa: An Action Agenda." USA, May 2005, [https://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/HOA\\_CVE\\_Action\\_Agenda\\_lo.pdf](https://www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/HOA_CVE_Action_Agenda_lo.pdf).
- The Royal Society (Great Britain). *Resilience to Extreme Weather*.

- Science Police Centre Report 02/14, 2014. Torelli, Stefano M., Fabio Merone, dan Francesco Cavatorta. "Salatism in Tunisia: Challenges and Opportunities for Democratization." *Middle East Policy* 19, No. 4 (Winter 2012): 140–54.
- Turmudi, Endang. *Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java*. Canberra: ANUE Press, 2006, <https://doi.org/10.22459/SU.10.2006>.
- Turmudi, Endang dan Riza Sihbudi (eds.). *Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia*. Jakarta: LIPI Press, 2004.
- Umam, Fawaizul. *Reposisi Islam Reformulasi Ajaran*. Mataram: LEPPIM IAIN Mataram, 2011.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). "Preventing Violent Extremism through Promoting Inclusive Development, Tolerance and Respect for Diversity: A Development Response to Addressing Radicalization and Violent Extremism." New York: UNDP, 2016.
- UNESCO. *A Teacher's Guide on the Prevention of Violent Extremism*. Paris: UNESCO, 2016.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Education Sector, dan Qian Tang. *Preventing Violent Extremism through Education: A Guide for Policy-Makers*, 2017, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000247764>.
- USAID/Indonesia. "Gender Analysis of Countering Violent Extremism". Indonesia Monitoring & Evaluation Support Project, 2017.
- Van Metre, Lauren. *Community Resilience to Violent Extremism in Kenya*. Washington D.C: United States Institute of Peace (USIP), 2016.
- Veldhuis, Tinka, dan Jørgen Staun. *Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model*. Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, 2009.
- Wagemakers, Joas. "Salatism." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*, August 5, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.0>

13.255.

- Wahid, Abdul. *Pluralisme Agama; Paradigama Dialog untuk Resolusi Konflik dan Dakwah*. Mataram: LEPPIM IAIN Mataram, 2016.
- Wahid, Abdurrahman. "Pondok Pesantren Masa Depan." Dalam *Pesantren Masa Depan*, eds. Marzuki Wahid, et, al. Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1999.
- Weine, Stevan M. "Building Resilience to Violent Extremism in Muslim Diaspora Communities in the United States." *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 5, No. 1 (March 1, 2012), 60-73, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17467586.2012.699085>.
- Weine, Stevan M, dan William Braniff. "Empowering Communities to Prevent Violent Extremism." In *The Handbook of the Criminology of Terrorism*, 449–67. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118923986.ch29>.
- Weine, Stevan M, Schuyler Henderson, Stephen Shaniield, Rupinder Legha, and Jerrold Post. "Building Community Resilience to Counter Violent Extremism." *Democracy and Security* 9, No. 4 ( September 2013 ), 327 – 33 , <https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2013.766131>.
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan. "Anatomy of the Salafi Movement." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29, No. 3 (1 May 2006), 207–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100500497004>.
- Woodward, Mark, Ali Amin, dan Inayah Rohmaniyah. "Lessons from Aceh Terrorist De-Radicalization." *Consortium for Strategic Communication, Arizona State University*, Report 1001, 13 May 2010.
- Woodward, Mark, Inayah Rohmaniyah, Ali Amin, dan Diana Coleman. "Muslim Education, Celebrating Islam and Having Fun as Counter-Radicalization Strategies in Indonesia." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 4, Issue 4 (October 2010), 28–50.
- Yasin, Abdul Jawab. *al-Sulthah i al-Islam: al-'Aql al-Fiqhi al- Salai baina al-Nash wa al-Tarikh*, (Beirut: al-Markaz al- Tsaqai al- 'Arabi, t.t.).
- Yeung, Douglas, Jeffrey Garnett, Lisa S Meredith. "Deinition and

Application of Community Resilience.” Dalam *Building Community Resilience to Disasters; A Way Forward to Enhance National Health Security*, RAND Corporation, 2011.

Zada, Khamami. “Jihad: Memperebutkan Perang Suci”, dalam *Jurnal Ulumuna*, 2006.

Zakaria, Gamal Abdul Nasir. “Pondok Pesantren: Changes and Its Future.” *Journal of Islamic and Arabic Education* 2, No. 2 (2010), 45–52, <http://journalarticle.ukm.my/782/1/19.pdf>.

Zen, Fathurin. *Radikalisme Retoris*. Jakarta: Bumen Pustaka Emas, 2012.

Ziemek, Manfred. *Pesantren dalam perubahan sosial*. Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat (P3M), 1986.

Zuhdi, Muhammad. “Modernization of Indonesian Islamic Schools' Curricula, 1945–2003.” *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 10, No. 4–5 (July 1, 2006), 415–27, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603110500430765>.

## Website

*Antaraneews.com*, “Ponpes Darul Arqom: Dita Siska Berwatak Keras”, <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/709890/ponpe-s-darul-arqom-dita-siska-berwatak-keras> (accessed on October 22, 2019).

*Darularqamgarut.sch.id*, “Profil Visi dan Misi”, <https://darularqamgarut.sch.id/visi-misi-tujuan/> (accessed on November 12, 2019).

*Ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id*, “Pangkalan Data Pondok Pesantren”, <https://ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id/pdpp/statistik> (accessed 10 October, 2019).

*Islami.co*, “Membumikan Ajaran Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin ala KH. Hasyim Muzadi”, <https://islami.co/membumikan-ajaran-islam-rahmatan-lil-alamini-dari-kh-hasyim-muzadi/> (accessed 26 November 2019).

*Islami.co*, Fera Rahmatun Nazilah, “Manba’ul Ma’arif, Pesantren

Perempuan Pertama di Pulau Jawa”, <https://islami.co/manbaul-maarif-pesantren-perempuan-pertama-di-pulau-jawa/> (accessed on October 22, 2019).

*Khazanah.republika.co.id*, “Ulama Perempuan se-Jawa siap Jaga Kedaulatan”, <https://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/18/03/30/p6dscj366-ulama-perempuan-sejawa-siap-jaga-kedaulatan> (accessed on October 22, 2019).

*Pendis.kemenag.go.id*, “Analisis dan Interpretasi Data pada Pondok Pesantren, Madrasah Diniyah (Madin), Taman Pendidikan Qur'an (TPQ) Tahun Pelajaran 2011-2012”, <http://www.pendis.kemenag.go.id/ile/dokumen/pontrenanalisis.pdf> (accessed October 10, 2019).

*Nasional.kompas.com*, “DPR Sahkan RUU Pesantren dan PPP, Tunda 4 RUU Termasuk RKUHP Sesuai Permintaan Jokowi”, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/09/25/08565641/dpr-sahkan-ruu-pesantren-dan-ppp-tunda-4-ruu-termasuk-rkhu-p-sesuai?page=all> (accessed September 25, 2019).

*Nasional.tempo.co*, “Salawat Iringi Pengesahan RUU Pesantren”, <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1251784/salawat-iringi-pengesahan-ruu-pesantren/full&view=ok> (accessed October 15, 2019).

*News.detik.com*, “3 PRT Indonesia di Singapura Didakwa Mendani Terorisme”, <https://news.detik.com/internasional/d-4757425/3-prt-indonesia-di-singapura-didakwa-mendanai-terorisme?single=1> (accessed on 22 Oktober 2019).

*News.detik.com*, “Tok DPR Sahkan RUU Pesantren”, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4719531/tok-dpr-sahkan-ruu-pesantren>, (accessed on October 15, 2019).

*Nu.or.id*, KH. Dr.M.A. Sahal Mahfudh, “Fikih Sosial, Upaya Mengembangkan Madzhab Qouli dan Manhaji”, <https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/7209/iqh-sosial--upaya-pengembangan-madzhab-qauli-dan-manhaji> (accessed on

October 17, 2019).

*Nu.or.id*, "Program Muadalah dan Hak Santri Melanjutkan ke PTN", <https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/53804/program-muadalah-dan-hak-santri-melanjutkan-ke-ptn> (accessed on October 17, 2019).

*Nu.or.id*, "Ulama Perempuan Diperhitungkan dalam Sejarah", <https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/77401/ulama-perempuan-indonesia-diperhitungkan-dalam-sejarah>, (accessed on October 22, 2019).

*Otago.ac.nz*, "University of California Berkeley Library, Turabian and Chicago Styles Citations", <https://www.otago.ac.nz/library/pdf/chicago-turabianstyle.pdf> (accessed on December 30, 2019).

*Radarcirebon.com*, "Ini 3 Rekomendasi Hasil Kongres Ulama Perempuan", <https://www.radarcirebon.com/ini-3-rekomendasi-hasil-kongres-ulama-perempuan-indonesia.html>, (accessed on October 22, 2019).

*Republik.co.id*, "Pertumbuhan Pesantren Muhammadiyah Sangat Pesat", <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/18/10/21/pgy68v384-pertumbuhan-pesantren-muhammadiyah-sangat-pesat>, (accessed on November 12, 2019).

*Time.com*, "ISIS Unveiled: The Story Behind Indonesia's First Female Suicide Bomber", <https://time.com/4689714/indonesia-isis-terrorism-jihad-extremism-dian-yulia-novi-fpi/> (accessed on October 27, 2019).

*Tirto.id*, "Ujung Nasib Minhati Madrais, Perempuan Bekasi Istri Panglima Maute", <https://tirto.id/ujung-nasib-minhati-madrais-perempuan-bekasi-istri-panglima-maute-czM7> (accessed on October 27, 2019).

*Tribunnews.com*, "Muhammadiyah Konsisten Tolak RUU Pesantren Meskipun Sudah Disahkan DPR", <https://www.tribunnews.com/>

nasional/2019/09/24/muhammadiyah-konsisten-tolak-ruu-pesantren-meskipun-sudah-disahkan-dpr, (accessed on October 15, 2019).

*Wahdah.or.id*, “*Sejarah Berdiri & Manhaj*”, <https://wahdah.or.id/sejarah-berdiri-manhaj/>, (accessed October 24, 2019). *Wolipop.detik.com*, “*Mengenal Niqab Squad Komunitas Para Wanita Bercadar di Indonesia*”, <https://wolipop.detik.com/hijab-update/d-3574754/mengenal-niqab-squad-komunitas-para-wanita-bercadar-di-indonesia>, (accessed October 27, 2019).

*Voaindonesia.com*, “*Survei Intoleransi Meningkat di Indonesia*”, <https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/survei-intoleransi-meningkat-di-indonesia/1530777.html> (accessed on October 4, 2019).

### **Interview Documents**

Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Imam Syai'i (Asy-Syai'iyah), Aceh Besar, 22 July 2019.

Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Mahyal 'Ulum Al-'Aziziyah, Aceh Besar, 24 July 2019.

Interview with Informant from Pondok Modern Gontor 10, Aceh Besar, 26 July 2019.

Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Darul Muta'allimin, Aceh Barat, 7 August 2019.

Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Darussalam Labuhan Haji, Aceh Selatan, 15 and 17 August 2019.

Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren An- Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, 1-2 August 2019.

Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren At- Thohiriyah, Serang, 3 August 2019.

Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqom, Serang, 3 August 2019.

Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Daar El-Qolam,



- Tangerang, 18 and 19 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Darunnajah 9 Puteri, Tangerang Selatan, 31 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Darul Muttaqien, Bogor, 26 July 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren YAPIDH (Yayasan Perguruan Islam Darul Hikmah), Bekasi, 8 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum Lido, Bogor, 16 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Persis 1, Bandung, 16 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqom, Garut, 26 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Tahidz Nurul Quran (PTNQ), Pati, 28 July 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Rhodhatut Thalibin, Rembang, 5 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Masjid Jajar, Surakarta, 9 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Modern Tazakka, Batang, 15 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqom, Kendal, 15 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Hasyim Asy'ari, Jepara, 15 September 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren As- Salai Al-Fithrah, Surabaya, 4, 7, and 14 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Persis, Bangil, 4 and 5 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Sidogiri, Pasuruan, 6 and 20 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Modern Gontor, Ponorogo, 8 and 9 August 2019.

- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Al- Islami, Gresik, 13 and 14 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Al- Furqon, Banjarmasin, 22 and 24 July 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Al- Falah, Banjarmasin, 24 July 2019 and 5 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Hidayatullah, Banjarbaru, 6 and 7 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Al- Ihsan Puteri, Banjarmasin, 7, 15, 16 and 20 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Darul Hijrah Puteri, Banjarbaru, 15 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Darul Arqom Gombara, Makassar, 3, 8 and 13 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Ummul Mukminin Gombara, Makassar, 5 and 6 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren An- Nahdhah, Makassar, 7, 8, and 10 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Wahdah Islamiyah, Makassar, 8, 9, and 12 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Bahrul Ulum, Gowa, 6 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Abnaul Amir, Gowa, 3, 4 and 13 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Darul Abror, Lombok Timur, 3, 21, and 24 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Abu Hurairah, Mataram, 5, 9, 17, 22, and 24 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Islahudiny, Lombok Barat, 15, 18, 19, 22, and 2 August 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren As- Salam, Bima, 27, 28, and 29 July 2019.
- Interview with Informant from Pondok Pesantren Al- Ikhlas, Bima, 26, 27, 28 August 2019, and 4 September 2019.

## PROFILES OF AUTHORS & EDITORS

**Abdul Malik**, was born in Simpasai, Bima, West Nusa Tenggara on 23 September 1979. He completed his master's and doctoral education in Yogyakarta, the City of Education. He is a lecturer at UIN Mataram. In addition, the author is also active in conducting research and studies on Islamic education, terrorism, and peacebuilding.

He has written many books published by Horizon Keilmuan UIN Mataram: *Membangun Pemahaman Filsafat Pendidikan Karakter Secara Integratif dan Holistik (Building an Integrative and Holistic Understanding of the Character Education Philosophy)* (2018), *Landscape Pendidikan; Sebuah Percikan Filsafat (Educational Landscape; A Spark of Philosophy)* (2018), *Melejitkan Potensi Mengajar (Accelerating Teaching Potential)* (2019), *Pendidikan Pesantren dan Isu Terorisme (Pesantren Education and Terrorism Issues)* (2019). Some popular publications are as follows: *"Membangun Kembali Otoritas Guru" (Rebuilding Teacher Authority)* (Opinion Article in Lombok Post, 2010), *"Menggugat Ujian Nasional (UN)" (Suing the National Examination)* (Opinion Article in Lombok Post 2010), *"Pertautan Logika Pendidikan dengan Logika Kapitalis" (Linkage of Educational Logic with Capitalist Logic)* (Opinion in NTB Post 2010), *"Guru Sang Sutradara Pembelajaran (Releksi Hari Guru Nasional)" (The Learning Director Teacher on National Teacher's Day)* (Lombok Post 2011), *"Kematian Ruang Kelas" (The Death of Classroom)* (Lombok Post 2011), *"Mencerahkan Pendidikan vs Pendidikan Mencerahkan" (Enlightening Education vs Inspiring Education)* (Newspaper of Radar Lombok 2011), *"Mewujudkan Ujian Nasional (UN) Bermartabat" (Realizing the Dignified National Examination)* (Lombok post 2011), *"Ujian Nasional (UN): Sebuah Pertaruhan Moral" (National Examination: A Moral Bet)* (Lombok post 2012), *"Guru Makhluk Pembelajar" (Teachers are learning*

beings) (NTB Post 2012), “*Kematian Pendidikan Keluarga*” (the death of family education) (Online Kahaba.net, 2012).

**Idris Hemay** is the Director of the Center for the Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) of Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta. He is also a lecturer at FISIP UIN Jakarta. Idris is experienced and interested in conducting research in the fields of socio-political religion, political behavior, identity politics, radicalism, democracy, and human rights, as well as conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Idris was born in Pamekasan Madura on April 3, 1982. He completed his education at the state elementary school of Kertagena Tengah Kadur Pamekasan, Khairul Falah Bungbaruh Kadur Pamekasan Islamic Junior High School, 2 PP. Annuqayah Guluk-Guluk Sumenep Islamic Senior High School, bachelor's degree of Political Islam at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, and master's degree at the Postgraduate Political Science National University Masters in Political Science Study Program. In 2015-2017, Idris was the coordinator of the program “*Pesantren for Peace (PFP): a Project Supporting the Role of Indonesian Islamic Schools to Promote Human Rights and Peaceful Conflict Resolution*”. This program is a collaboration between CSRC UIN Jakarta and Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) Germany with the support of the European Union. Besides the CSRC of UIN Jakarta, Idris is also active as a research director at INDEX INDONESIA, a public opinion survey institute, especially the regional, legislative, and presidential election surveys.

Idris, a man who has been an active student at HMI Ciputat Branch has published his research results in the form of books and journals: “*Membumikan Pancasila untuk Bina Damai dan Resolusi Konflik Sosial*”, Badan Pengkajian MPR RI (“Disseminating Pancasila for Peace Development and Social Conflict Resolution”, the Republic of Indonesia's People's Consultative Assembly Review Board), 2018; *Pesan Damai Pesantren Modul Kontra Narasi Ekstremis Pesantren* (Peace Message: Counter Extremist Narrative Module), CSRC UIN Jakarta and Konrad Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), 2018; “*Literasi Keagamaan Takmir Masjid, Imam dan Khatib*” (Religious Literacy for

Mosques' Officials, Imams and Khatibs), CSRC, PPIM, CONVEY and UNDP, 2018; *“Kaum Muda Muslim Milenial: Konservatisme, Hibridasi Identitas, dan Tantangan Radikalisme”* (Millennial Muslim Youth: Conservatism, Identity Hybridization, and the Challenge of Radicalism), CSRC, PPIM, CONVEY and UNDP, 2017; *“Menilai Politik Elektoral dengan Tropong Prinsip Musyawarah Mufakat”* (Assessing Electoral Politics with the Principles of Deliberative Consensus), Journal of Majelis Media Aspirasi Konsitusi, 2018; *“Aktualisasi Nilai-Nilai Demokrasi Pancasila dalam Masyarakat Indonesia”* (Actualization of Pancasila Democratic Values in Indonesian Society), Journal of Majelis Media Aspirasi Konsitusi, 2017; *“Cerita Sukses Pendidikan Perdamaian di Ambon”* (Success Stories of Peace Education in Ambon) CSRC UIN Jakarta-The Asia Foundation, 2015; Modul *“Pencegahan Terorisme di Daerah”* (Prevention of Terrorism in the Regions), BNPT 2013; *“Benih-benih Islam Radikal di Masjid Studi Kasus Jakarta dan Solo”* (Radical Islamic Seeds in the Mosque: Case Study in Jakarta and Solo), CSRC UIN Jakarta, 2010; and *“Pengaruh Politik Identitas Kesukuan dan Citra Figur Kandidat Gubernur terhadap Perilaku Pemilih Menjelang Pilkada Provinsi Bengkulu Tahun 2015”* (The Influence of Political Identity of Ethnicity and Image of Governor Candidates on Voter Behavior Towards the 2015 the egional election of Bengkulu Province), UNAS, 2016. Idris can be contacted via [idris.hemay@gmail.com](mailto:idris.hemay@gmail.com).

**Irfan Abubakar** is a Senior Researcher & Advisory Board for CSRC UIN Jakarta 2019-2003. During 2010-2018, he was the Director of CSRC UIN Jakarta. He is also a lecturer at the Faculty of Adab and Humanities at UIN Jakarta and he is an academic with a broad scientific interest in humanities studies and social sciences. After completing his Bachelor's Degree in Arabic Language and Literature, IAIN Jakarta (1995), Irfan continued his study at the IAIN Jakarta Postgraduate Program and earned a master's degree in Islamic Studies at the same university (1999). In 2000, he participated in joint research on Islam and Phenomenology at the Faculty of Arts, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

After joining CSRC in 2003, Irfan was sent to learn about conflict resolution at AMAN's School of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution in Bangkok, Thailand (2005). His interest in conflict issues led him to attend an Advanced Course in Security Studies at APCSS, Honolulu, Hawaii (2015). This Gontor Pesantren graduate has written and edited many books and training modules on various themes, from Islamic Philanthropy, Islam and Peace, Conflict Resolution, Islam and Human Rights, to Islam and Democracy. He has also researched and written several articles in the media on the issue of Hate Speech. Thanks to his works in 2011, Irfan was named by Campus Indonesia Magazine (August, Vol. 5) as one of Indonesia's top 20 academics (for the humanities field) under the age of 45. As an expert on hate speech, in recent years Irfan Abubakar has been regularly invited to be a resource person in various seminars and training attended by police officers.

**Jejen Musfah** is a lecturer of Education Policy at Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta. He currently serves as Head of the Master Program (S2) of Islamic Education Management, Deputy Secretary-General of the PGRI Board of Directors, Editor in Chief of the Magazine "Suara Guru" (2016-present), and Expert Staff of Committee III DPD RI. Author of books, scientific articles, and educational opinions in the some mas media like Republika, Sindo, Jawa Pos, Detik.com, and Media Indonesia.

He completed his studies at the Tarbiyah Faculty (Arabic Language Education Department) IAIN Jakarta (1996-2000), and master's degree in Islamic Studies UIN Jakarta (2002-2004). In 2006-2007, he attended a Diploma in Arabic Language Education at LIPIA Jakarta. Graduated from a doctoral degree in Education Science UNINUS Bandung (2007-2010). Previously, he served as Secretary of the FITK Masters Program (2012-2016).

**Junaidi Simun** studied at the Faculty of Sharia and Law, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. He attended The 12th Asian Training and Study Session for Human Rights Defenders (ATSS), Forum-Asia, Bangkok, Thailand, 2008; attended The 2010 Gwangju Asian Human

Rights Folk School (GAHRFS), The May 18 Memorial Foundation, Seoul-Gwangju, South Korea, 2010. In 2011-2012, he participated in the Fellowship Exchange Program (FK-South-South Staff Exchange Program) at Forum-Asia, Bangkok, Thailand. In July 2011, he also participated in The 18<sup>th</sup> Fredskorpset Norway Preparatory Course in Asia, Bangkok, Thailand.

Since 2015, Junaidi has been active as a Researcher & Coordinator for the Media and Publication Division of CSRC UIN Jakarta; Resource Persons National Insights Implementation Team for the Central Substance Management of the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) at the Sentul Class IIB Special Prison (Terrorism Prisoners), 2017-present. Besides, he was a PMU Peace Through Sustainable Village Development (PROSEVEN) Expert at the Directorate General of PDTu, Ministry of Village, PDTT, and PT. Donggi Senoro Liquefied Natural Gas (DSLNG) (2016-2019); Legal & Human Rights Consultant PT. Communica Tropics (2013-2014); Fellow & Program Officer East Asia Program and ASEAN Advocacy Program Forum-Asia, Bangkok (2012-2013); Researcher & Program Manager at IMPARSIAL (the Indonesian Human Rights Monitor), 2004-2013. He can be contacted via email: junaidi.simun@gmail.com.

**Kamilia Hamidah** (Google Scholar: K Hamidah) is a permanent lecturer at the Faculty of Da'wah and Community Development at the Mathali'ul Falah Islamic Boarding School (IPMAFA), Pati, Central Java. Founder of the "Madrasah Damai" Community which focuses on promoting, educating, and practicing the values of peace based on Islamic boarding schools. She has many activities as a facilitator and program coordinator for some peacebuilding training, capacity building training, and trainer training for peace facilitators. 'Pantura Interfaith Journey' is one of the activities initiated by him. He is also a member of the Asatidz Council [www.pesantrenvirtual.com](http://www.pesantrenvirtual.com) and a team of writers on the book "Konflik Intra dan Antar Agama" (Interfaith Conflicts).

As a lecturer at the Islamic Community Development Study Program, he often talks about themes of community development, social development, and social change paradigms and theories. The author obtained his bachelor's degree in Faith and Comparative Religion and his master's degree in Politics and International Relations from International Islamic University Islamabad (IIUI), Pakistan. He is a member of the international NGO Network KAICIID (King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Interreligious and Intercultural Dialogue) for South and Southeast Asia and the LPI (Indonesian Peace Institute) Board Team. Two of his newest papers which are still in the process of publishing are *'The Discourse Phenomenology of Digital Dakwah and the Challenge of Islamic Moderate Mainstream Media in Seizing Digital Public'* and *'Mechanization of Islamic Moderation in the Nahdhatul Ulama Pesantren Tradition'*.

**Muchtadlirin** was born in Pemalang, on April 4, 1976. He studied at Khusus (MAPK) Islamic Senior High School in Solo and completed his undergraduate degree in the Ushuluddin Faculty of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. He is also active in teaching at various universities in Jakarta and its surroundings, one of which is at the Jakarta Spiritual Development Institute (IPRIJA), East Jakarta. Besides that, he is also a trainer and facilitator of some training and workshops.

Muchtadlirin is currently also active as a Researcher & Coordinator for the Training and Development Division of the UIN Jakarta CSRC Network. He has written several books, among others: *Pendidikan Agama Islam untuk Mahasiswa (Islamic Education for University Students)* (2004), *Cerita Sukses Pendidikan Multikultural di Indonesia (Success Stories of Multicultural Education in Indonesia)* (2010), *Islam di Ruang Publik (Islam in the Public Sphere)* (2011), and *Agama dan HAM (Religion and Human Rights)* (2014). Ia juga pernah terlibat dalam pembuatan film He was also involved in film making "Filantropi dalam Masyarakat Islam" (Philanthropy in Muslim Society) and "Gerbong Penuh Warna" (Wagon Full of Color).



**Muhajir Al-Fairusy** was born in Banda Aceh on March 21, 1987. He is a lecturer at STAIN Meulaboh, Aceh. Now, he is completing a doctoral program on Cultural Anthropology at Gadjah Mada University (UGM). He has been in the MAA Management for Aceh Province and is actively involved in several research institutions, including CSRC UIN Jakarta, PKPM Aceh, and ICAIOS. He has an interest in the discourse of religious and cultural studies. Several books and journals have been published by him. Muhajir Al-Fairusy can be contacted via email: [muhajiralfairusy@gmail.com](mailto:muhajiralfairusy@gmail.com).

**Rita Pranawati** completed her master's degree in Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies (IIS), Postgraduate School of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta (2006) and master of sociology (2013) at Monash University Australia with an Australian Leadership Award (ALA) scholarship as well as the recipient of the Allison Sudrajat Award.

Rita has studied Islam, democracy, human rights, peace-building, women since joining the CSRC of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta in 2006. She has been involved in Religion and Human Rights training since the completion of the training modules from the beginner to advanced levels conducted for Young Muslim Leaders in Islamic boarding schools in 22 cities of Indonesia (2009-2013). The Indonesia-Australia Moslem Exchange Program (MEP) alumnus was also actively involved as a facilitator in the Pesantren for Peace (PfP) program for Islamic boarding schools in Java from 2014-2016. She has also become a trainer for the Civil Service Police Unit (Satpol PP) on human rights issues, women, and children.

Rita strengthened her involvement in child and family issues when she joined Nasyiatul Aisyiyah and the Muhammadiyah Children Center during the Aceh tsunami. She has been also a commissioner of the Indonesian Child Protection Commission for the 2014-2017 and 2017-2022 periods as well as a commissioner in the field of family and alternative care. Currently, she is the Deputy Chairperson of KPAI. She initiated quality parenting research at KPAI and became a module writing team and a team of facilitators for the Marriage Guidance of the Ministry of Religion. Currently, Rita is the Deputy

Chairperson of the Muhammadiyah Central Executive Board of Social Services and the Coordinator of the Socialization Division of the Law and Human Rights Council for the Central Executive 'Aisyiyah. Not to mention, she is a lecturer at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Prof. Dr. Hamka (UHAMKA). She can be contacted via email: pranawati\_rita2000@yahoo.com.

**Siti Tarawiyah** is a lecturer at Nahdlatul Ulama University in South Kalimantan. She has been a researcher at The Wahid Institute and Komnas Perempuan and is active as a peace worker in the Gusdurian Community and as a Chief Staff at Fatayat Nahdlatul Ulama South Kalimantan. Apart from teaching, she currently focuses on being a carer and fostering Pesantren Hidayatullah, a Salaf Islamic boarding school in Martapura, South Kalimantan.

**Ubed Abdilah Syarif** is a permanent lecturer at the Communication Science Study Program at Buddhi Dharma University, Tangerang. He also teaches as an extraordinary lecturer at several private universities in Tangerang and South Tangerang (BSD), including Surya University, Matana University, Pradita Institute, and International University Liason Indonesia (IULI). He teaches a wide range of learning materials related to Ethics and Religion, Leadership, Pancasila and Civic Education, Qualitative Research, Communication, and Communication Ethics.

As a researcher, he is a member of the Indonesian Social Network Researchers Association (Apjarsi), actively conducting research individually and with institutions such as CSRC UIN Jakarta, ICRP, CRCS UGM, and other institutions. His study interests include the fields of philosophy, socio-religion, global terrorism, cultural politics, cultural studies, and cultural communication. He is UGM Philosophy alumnus (2001) and CRCS-UGM (2005). Now he lives with his family in Serpong, South Tangerang, Banten. E-mail: abdeeki@gmail.com.

## ABOUT CSRC OF UIN JAKARTA

**C**enter for the Study of Religion and Culture/CSRC is a study and research institution in the field of religion and socio-culture, founded based on the Decree of the Chancellor of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta on April 28, 2006. This center is a development of the Center for Language and Culture (PBB UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 1999-2006) in the cultural sector, due to the increasing demands for developing religious studies and research (especially Islam) in socio-cultural and political relations. The aim is to know and understand what are the important roles that religion can contribute to realizing a just and social order which is prosperous, strong, democratic, and peaceful.

The importance of this development can be seen from the increasing role and influence of religion in the public sphere. From time to time, religion is not only the discourse of various levels of society--the national and international levels but also getting stronger influence in the public sphere, amidst the swift currents of modernization and secularization.

It is proven by the growth of religious identity, symbols, and social institutions. It must be admitted that the expression of Islam has a strong enough position in the public sphere in the country. However, Islam is not the only entity in that space; there are also other entities that enliven the face of our public space. As Godly teaching, a source of ethics, and an inspiration for the formation of social institutions, Islam often appears in its various expressions, because it is practiced based on the multi-interpretation of Muslim communities who have different backgrounds. As a result, from these various sources, many interpretations and schools of Islam were born. Therefore, Islamic teachings and values are often practiced in distinctive ways.

Sometimes, it appears in various portraits of exclusivism, and it is also a source of social ethics, and inspiration for the development of

science and technology, a mediator for social integration, and a motivator for the socio-economic empowerment of civil society. Islam also influences the formation of socio-political, economic, and educational institutions that have a positive contribution to national development. In this context, there is no need to worry about the presence of Islam in the public sphere. On the other hand, religious ethics and ethos need to be appreciated by the community and the support of all parties, especially the government.

The presence of CSRC aims to revitalize the role of religion in such a context. Religion must be actualized in the form of ethics and ethos at the same time, in order to form a good and accountable system. In the future, careful religious transformation needs to be carried out in order to respond to the various challenges faced by the ummah (Muslim Community) which seems increasingly complex, amid the swift waves of social change and globalization. Given that the flow of change is taking place faster than the ability of the people to upgrade its capacity, it is necessary to have the proper strategy to deal with it.

In accordance with its duties and roles, CSRC tries to contribute to the research, information, and training sectors. Besides, it is intended to facilitate various initiatives that can encourage the empowerment of civil society through policy development in the socio-religious and cultural fields. We hope that, in the future, Islamic institutions will develop into production centers of the ummah, and not become social burdens (social liability). Thus, it is expected that Muslims can improve their roles in socio-cultural and economic life in a positive and constructive way.[]



Based on the findings, all topologies of pesantrens have various social capital according to their unique roots of theologies and views of socio-politics. Traditional pesantrens rely on Kiayi and Yellow Books (Classical Islamic Books) as their main protectors. While, esantrens affiliated with Muhammadiyah and Persis depend on the values promoted by Muhammadiyah and Persis. However, modern pesantrens like Gontor Pesantren and its affiliations rely on Panca Jiwa or the Five Principles held tightly by these topologies of pesantrens. All pesantrens apply their own social capitals to strengthen the identities of the pesantrens. Besides, the same social capitals are used to define their relations with other groups and with the government.

However, some topologies of pesantrens like Salafi Islamic Boarding have weak resistance towards radicalism and violent extremism. The only one protective factor is the doctrine that forbid its community from relabeling the legitimate government (*bughat*). Nonetheless, this doctrine in Salafi community is not fixed. Based on the findings, pesantrens' vulnerability and resistance levels towards radicalism are determined by protective and risk factors within the pesantren communities. The bigger protective factors the pesantrens have, the smaller vulnerable factors the pesantrens can possess. Otherwise, without protective factors, the bigger risk factors, the bigger risk the pesantrens' vulnerability level towards radicalism.[]

