PPIM
UIN JAKARTA

COMPILATION OF EXECUTIVE SUMMARIES

English Edition

THE VIEWS OF POLITICAL PARTIES ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN INDONESIA
A VOICE FROM SENAYAN: PERSPECTIVE OF THE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON THE ROLE OF STATE IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
RADICALISM AND HOMESCHOOLING: MEASURING RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY
PESANTREN IN THE MILLENIAL ERA: RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY STUDY TO RADICALISM

Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Jakarta - CONVEY Indonesia

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PREFACE

The book that you are reading is an executive summary of four studies on: (1) The resilience and vulnerability of homeschooling to radicalism, (2) The resilience and vulnerability of Islamic boarding schools to radicalism, (3) attitudes of political parties regarding religious and national education, and (4) attitudes of Indonesian Parlement (DPR RI) members regarding the education of religions and nationalism. This research was conducted between August-October 2019 in collaboration with Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) of Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta and the United Nation Development Program (UNDP) Indonesia through the CONVEY (Countering Violent Extremism for Youth) program.

The results of these studies are available comprehensively in a book and CONVEY Report. For those interested in accessing the digital version, please visit the website "CONVEY Indonesia". However, we consider that it is also necessary to prepare this summary version of this book and report. Thus, it can allow readers who have limited time, especially policymakers, to understand the core of the findings and recommendations of these studies.

We need to inform that by working with the CONVEY Indonesia program, PPIM UIN Jakarta has conducted surveys and research on religious orientation at all levels of education from kindergarten to tertiary institutions, and all related stakeholders like teachers, lecturers, students, students, curriculum, and student/student organizations. The survey found that although the majority were tolerant at all levels of education, such as allowing the establishment of schools of different religions in the surrounding area, there was a significant number of teachers, lecturers, students, students who were intolerant or rejected the rights of followers of different religions. Besides, to a lesser extent, they have radical views, such as agreeing to destroy places of worship which belong to minority groups (PPIM, 2017; PPIM, 2018). Other studies have found intolerance problems not only among teachers, lecturers, students and students but also in textbooks in schools, OSIS, ROHIS, Scouts, and Islamic literature around campus (PPIM, 2016, 2017 & 2018; Maarif Institute, 2018; CSRC, 2018; and PUSPIDEP, 2018).

On May 13, 2018, there were suicide bombings at three churches in Surabaya, East Java. The perpetrators of this action were Dita Oepriarto and his wife and four children. Police officers investigated and found that Dita was a father who was suspected of having had had radical views since high school. He did not send his children to formal schools but chose to educate them at home. According to Dita's home learning practices, the police called it homeschooling. Homeschooling is an educational institution that has been growing rapidly in Indonesia and several countries and it also raises pros and cons. Among the

contra, they linked homeschooling with religious fundamentalism. Based on these considerations, we conducted a qualitative study on "Homeschooling Resilience and Vulnerability to Radicalization".

The results of this study found that homeschooling as an institution whose control depends on parents is problematic. Most of the residential schools studied were open. For example, they accept students from various religious backgrounds, teach the ability to live in diversity, organize education for national values (Civic Education), and administer national curriculum guidelines. However, some single-type housing schools are apparently closed. Some of them, for example, only teach their religious understanding and some only socialize the views of Jamaah Tabligh. Also, there are those who specifically introduce only Salafism. They do not provide education for national values, such as Civic Education.

Furthermore, this research on homeschooling found that the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) and the local Education Office did not have in-depth knowledge of the ideological orientation of homeschooling. Another thing was also found that the institution which is responsible for national education does not have a database of home schools such as the number of home schools and the number of students. While those data are important elements in the prerequisites of education institutions.

Apart from that, we also conducted research on Islamic boarding schools. The reason is that the Islamic orientation of the pesantren, which was established after the 1998 Reformation, seems different from that of the pesantren before the Reformation era. This can be seen from the pesantren alumni who are not only moderate or even liberal but are literal, intolerant, and exclusive, some even become terrorists. On that basis, the CONVEY partner, Center for Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC) UIN Jakarta conducted research to analyze the real level of resistance and vulnerability of pesantren to radicalism. This research found that, sequentially, the NU and Dayah Aceh, Muhammadiyah, and Gontor pesantren had resistance to radicalism even though the factors that were the source of their resilience differed in terms of figures, curricula, or extensive networks. Meanwhile, Salafi Islamic boarding schools were considered vulnerable to radicalism because their capital is only the doctrine of obedience to the government without an inclusive figure, curriculum, or network.

In the context of Islamic education which is partly in line with national values as illustrated by the results of the research above, our other research found that most of the political party elites and members of the Indonesian Parlement (DPR RI) generally have the view that education, especially religious education, is already good. They do not see a fundamental problem between religious education and nationalism. In fact, the strong opinion among some of the modernist Islamic-based political party elites believes that the stronger religious education is, the better it will be for adherents, society, and the nation.

So, what are the essential lessons from this research? The results of CONVEY's research warn that civil society must increasingly pay attention to educational

institutions. Besides, we need to ensure that education works for the good of all citizens. We, the people, cannot fully rely this matter on the government and state institutions including the DPR RI. However, we must actively reveal facts objectively and carry out evidence-based advocacy to policy-making institutions. Then, educational institutions absolutely must be the significant concern for all parties (civil society, government, and politicians). Otherwise, educational institutions, instead of being able to form feelings of the same fate and cooperation or mutual cooperation as one nation, the ability of educational institutions to only form tolerance may still be problematic.

Didin Syafruddin

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THE VIEWS OF POLITICAL PARTIES ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

INTRODUCTION

A limited number of studies examined political parties and (Islamic) religious education policies. However, paying attention to religious education that involves politicians is very important as this type of education will be able to shape the future generation that can create a peaceful environment. Moreover, the views of political parties have polarised only on the issues related to religion; however, there is no such polarisation on other issues such as economy, security, and others (Muhtadi, 2018).

Religious education has been existing in Indonesia for a long time, and it is even older than Indonesia itself. The challenge of religious education today is a religious plurality. Indonesia acknowledges six official religions and indigenous beliefs. In this context, the ideal model would be a religious education that can create individuals with the ability to accept differences and to interact with others. However, according to Centre for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM), intolerant attitudes towards people with different religions have grown up among students, university students, and teachers. The increase was among others caused by religious education. PPIM research in 2017 shows that 48.95 percent of students/university students thought that religious education influenced them not to get along with other religious adherents. The signs of intolerance are seen at every level of education from kindergarten to college.

Therefore, it is essential to conduct in-depth research to study policies and activities carried out by political parties related to religious education, and how political parties play their role in education which for the last few years have been troubled by intolerance and radicalism views, as validated by PPIM UIN Jakarta research (2016, 2017 and 2018).

The role of political parties is vital in both the recruitment process of legislature candidates and in the supervision of regulatory processes at the national and regional levels. As a consequence, political parties indirectly have an essential role in creating regulations that are consistent with the spirit of tolerance for the nation's resilience.

This executive report is based on a study that explores the views of 16 political parties (PDIP, Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, PKB, PKS, NasDem Party, Democrat Party, PAN, PPP, PERINDO, Berkarya Party, PSI, Hanura Party, PBB, Garuda Party, and PKPI) related to religious education issues by emphasizing on three main questions: a). To what extent are the views of political parties related to the vision and mission of religious education? How do political parties view the ideal portrait of religious education? What are the main issues in religious education? To what

extent do political parties respond to the latest religious and religious education issues? b). What are the programs and policies related to religious education from respective political parties?, What policies have political parties carried out regarding religious education?, and What is the plan of political parties related to religion and religious education? c). To what extent are the responses and views of political parties on religions and religious education related to nationalism, diversity, and Indonesianness?
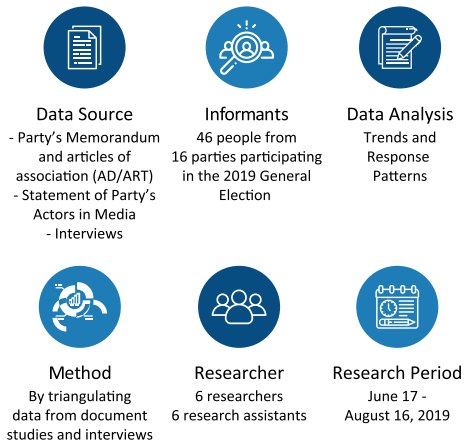
RESEARCH FOCUS

The main focus of this research is the religious education policy of political parties. Religious education has an essential place in national education. As stipulated in Article 3 of Law No. 20 of 2003 on National Education System, national education serves to develop the ability and character, as well as civilization of a dignified nation to develop the nation's intellectual life, aimed at developing students' potentials to become a man of faith of God's Almighty, noble, healthy, knowledgeable, skilled, creative, independent, as well as democratic and responsible citizens.

Furthermore, to achieve national education goals, article 37 paragraph (1) and (2) stated that the curriculum of primary and secondary education must include religious education. Three focuses were examined in this study: (1) How is the vision and mission of political parties related to religious education; (2) How do political parties realize it in the form of programs or activities; (3) How do political parties view the ongoing national issues, such as tolerance, diversity, and Indonesianness?

RESEARCH METHODS

The research used a qualitative method by using data triangulation. This method is utilized to answer the research questions about the views of 16 Political Parties (PDIP, Gerindra Party, Golkar Party, PKB, PKS Nasdem Party, Democrat Party, PAN, PPP, PERINDO, Berkarya Party, PSI, Hanura Party, PBB, Garuda Party, and PKPI) on the issue of religious education.

Data Source
- Party's Memorandum and articles of association (AD/ART)
- Statement of Party's Actors in Media
- Interviews

Informants
46 people from 16 parties participating in the 2019 General Election

Data Analysis
Trends and Response Patterns

Method
By triangulating data from document studies and interviews

Researcher
6 researchers
6 research assistants

Research Period
June 17 - August 16, 2019

The data used for triangulation includes the data of political parties concerning their vision-mission and programs retrieved from their official website, the data from interviews with politicians, and the data from the statements of politicians on media regarding education, nationality, diversity, and Indonesian-ness.

The interview with politicians was held in Jakarta, including three up to six representatives of each party. 16 parties participating in the 2019 elections were selected in this research And here are the details:

PDIP (6)	Perindo (3)
Golkar Party (6)	Berkarya Party (3)
PKB (6)	PSI (3)
Nasdem Party (6)	Hanura Party (3)
PKS (6)	PBB (3)
Demokrat Party(6)	Garuda Party (3)
PAN (6)	PKPI (3)
PPP (6)	

The executive summary will describe the views of political parties on the issue of religious education in Indonesia. Their respective views were examined from their vision and mission statements, programs of political parties, statements of politicians in the media, as well as interviews with the representatives of 16 political parties. The use of triangulation methods is to answer to what extent political parties engage with the issue of religious education. Lastly, several recommendations will be formulated as the output of this research. It is expected that this research could contribute to the improvement of the religious education system in Indonesia.

FINDINGS

This study aims to scrutinize the views of political parties regarding religious education and the extent of political parties in responding to the issues of nationality, diversity, and Indonesianness. Religious education, in a multicultural context of Indonesia, should lead to the values of tolerance, harmony, and respect against any discrimination in violation among adherents of different beliefs.

VISION AND MISSIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

One of the common disadvantages of political parties is the lack of specific mission-vision on religious education. This lack had a negative effect due to the absence of specific religious education policies from political parties. Consequently, political parties do not pay much attention to religious education. Until now, religious education is still part of our national education, which many times is used as a standard to assess the success of educational institutions.

VIEWS ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The views of political parties about the outstanding religious education are still relatively described as philosophical and teleological. In terms of ideas, nearly all political parties already have a compact concept of religious education as stipulated in their vision-missions. Unfortunately, all those concepts have not been manifested as a systematically concrete list of political parties for the benefit of people.

The agenda of religious education in political parties is only a subsidiary part of the main framework of the party's work. The views of political parties on religious education and education are placed as strategic factors for strengthening the values, orientation, and characters of the nation. However, political parties have not put in such a well-structured program. The great framework of the importance of religious education is already based on the political party's vision-mission and articles of association (AD/ART), which all cover the values of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and NKRI. For this reason, the conceptions offered by political parties on religious education were very relevant to the spirit of nationalism because the ultimate goal of education would enable individuals to become faithful and pious to God and to possess morals and noble characters as the reflective values of Pancasila.

Due to the comprehensive conception about religious education, their political stance may also differ from one to another party when faced with regulations with religious nuance. For one political party, this regulation is a necessity as a logical consequence of the actualizing the religious values contained in the state ideology, Pancasila. However, some other parties have another view of this kind of regulation. They acknowledge it as the form of pragmatism for electoral interests. Furthermore, others see this phenomenon as a form of deviation from diversity. The different points of view among them show that political parties have not attained a single stance over the issue of the relation between state and religion. They tend to have subjective thoughts, depending on their political interest.

In general, political parties recognize that there is a deviation from the spirit of diversity and nationality, which is supported by an exclusive religious understanding. The views of these political parties become an entry point to strengthen moderate and pluralistic-friendly religious education. This step is very prospective because the position of political parties is very strategic in influencing state policy. Nevertheless, no less important, there is a need for a complete conception and understanding of religious education, which is tolerant, moderate, and diversity-friendly regarding the urgency and models for diverse societies.

TYPOLOGIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

This research found that the views of political parties related to religious education can be grouped into three typologies. First, the Islamist Parties that include: a). Modernist Islamic Parties such as PKS, PPP, PBB, and PAN. PKS and PPP focus on the supremacy of Islamic excellence in religious education. While PBB is a Modernist-Formalistic, modernist aspect with Indonesian nuances, it does not agree with the adoption of Salafi-Wahabi-style from the Middle East. This spirit refers to

the modernist Islamic thoughts of the nation's founders, especially M. Natsir. In this case, PAN also develops the idea of modernist religious education by emphasizing the integration of religion in all subjects while also affirming the need for religious education that encourages pluralism; b). Moderate-Traditionalist Islam like PKB promotes the importance of strengthening traditional educational institutions in forms of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) and madrasa (Islamic pubic school) and accommodating local culture as a way to strengthen moderate Islam which is based on *Rahmatan Lil 'Alamin* (a mercy to all creation) as well as an effort to prevent radicalism.

The second is the Religious Nationalists. This type of political party is in the middle spectrum. This political party supports religious education and religious agendas in the political sphere, but not allowing them to go deeper (interventionist). This political party emphasizes the need for a balance between state/nationalism and religiosity/religion. Third, Nationalistic like PDIP, which emphasizes that Religious Education as a subordinate to the national vision. For PDIP, Pancasila Education is the most crucial aspect of Religious Education. PDIP tends to reject the role of the state in religion, or at least the state should not interfere because religion is a private area. PDIP sees that Religious Education tends to be Islamist today. In addition to PDIP, PSI, a political party, views that a liberal religious education may encourage the implementation of religious studies to foster mutual understanding among religions. To PSI, Religious Education, which tends to strengthen orthodoxy, becomes a threat because it relies on exclusivism.

Meanwhile, the Nasdem Party has the view that state intervention is necessary for strengthening Religious Education, especially for preventing radicalism. For the Nasdem Party, the state must be firm on Salafi-Wahabis who tend to foster intolerance and violence. To a certain extent, PDI-P, PSI, and Nasdem strongly reject religious regulations, such as the Sharia Regional Regulation, which are considered discriminatory against minority groups, and this will endanger the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. In schematic form, the spectrum of views of political parties in Indonesia on religious education can be seen as follows:

Nationalist Party — Religious Nationalist Party — Islamist Party

RECOMMENDATIONS

As policy research, this research is intended to offer what and how the role of political parties should be as one of the pillars of democracy in viewing religious education in Indonesia. Finally, this research presents several policy recommendations to the relevant government and policymakers as follows:

1. To encourage political parties to contribute to the government policy-making process of religious education that is based on the spirit of

nationality and diversity. Practically, this can be on the agenda of the political parties that are listed in the articles of association (AD/ART).

2. To strengthen the dialogue and democratic space for elements of civil society to voice their aspirations regarding the formulation of religious education policy towards political parties. This practice can be carried out by meeting people's aspirations from various groups as an effort to improve religious education policy.

3. To support the role of the government, especially the Ministry of Home Affairs, in upgrading the quality and capacity of political parties by regularly monitoring and evaluating both their budget and programs.

A VOICE FROM SENAYAN: PERSPECTIVE OF THE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON THE ROLE OF STATE IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Political parties play a strategic role in formulating policies and legislation in Indonesia. They become important actors whose function is to capture the political aspirations of citizens, including those related to religion and religious education (Mujani & Liddle, 2018; Muhtadi & Mietzner, 2019; LIPI, 2018, 2019). Through their representatives - elected as the Members of Parliament (MPs) - in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI), political parties which gain more or fewer votes may continue taking on a significant role in public policy through their function to check and balance the power of the government.

With regard to religious life in Indonesia recently, the role of legislative members has become essential and is expected to be a determinant of policy direction in the middle of the emergence of religious attitudes and behaviors which are exclusive, closed, anti-citizenship, anti-state, or even pro-violence in society. (PPIM, 2016, 2017, 2018; Puspidep, 2017, 2018). PPIM study (2018) shows that in the level of attitude/opinion, around 58.5 percent of students and university students have religious views that tend to be radical, and 51.1 percent have religious views that tend to be intolerant internally. Externally, as many as 34.3 percent of students and university students show religious understandings that tend to be intolerant among religious teachers.

Following one of its functions to maintain the unity and integrity of the nation, DPR RI needs to play its vital role in caring for the existing diversity, including through education. However, so far, not much information can be obtained about the attitudes and views of MPs regarding this matter. Studies on the MPs have focused more on the political aspects of the legislative institution, for instance, the interaction between the president or executive and the legislative body within the framework of a multi-party presidential system (Hanan, 2014). Some researchers have tried to look at other issues such as performance of the MPs and public trust in them (INSIS, 2013; FORMAPPI, 2018; Indonesian Survey Circle, 2018; and Poltracking, 2017). Nevertheless, very few have systematically studied the individual views of each MPs on essential issues in national politics or public policy, specifically related to religious education.

RESEARCH FOCUS

In capturing the MPs' views on religious education policy, this research has two things as the foundation. First, this research utilizes the views of experts in religious

education comparison in obtaining a good understanding of religious education patterns in different types of societies.

Second, given the close relationship between religion and the state not only in religious education but also in the formulation of religious education policies, this study will also use the findings from the previous studies about the relationship between religions and the state as a basis to better capture the views of the MPs on religious education policy. For this reason, a more detailed explanation of these two matters is necessary to provide a better understanding of the main ideas in this research. In short, the next few paragraphs will discuss how the relationship of religion and the state in the politics of religious education looks like and to what extent views on the relationship between religion and the state can provide better information about religious education policy patterns.

RESEARCH CONCEPTS

VARIATION OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION MODEL

Based on the purpose of education and the instructional material, generally, religious education can be divided into three models, namely (1) education into religion, (2) education about religion, and (3) education from religion (Schreiner,2005). Education into religion is an educational model that teaches certain religious values to students. Education related to religion does not emphasize the formation of religious piety in each student, but rather to introduce the diversity of existing religions (including religions other than those embraced by the students) or teach students to take lessons from every religion as universal values. The model of religious education like this is also known as non-confessional religious education.

STATE AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION POLICY

Many factors may influence the debate about religious education, including political dynamics or competition between ideological groups in a country (Kuru, 2009). Therefore, because of the substantial political influence, the focus of conflict between groups related to religious education in public schools may differ among countries. In the United States, for example, a conflict involves competition between supporters of passive secularism who want a neutral state role in matters of religious education with some religious conservative groups who want a greater role of religion in public schools. In Turkey, what happens is the competition between supporters of *laïcité* (secularism) which actively seek to exclude religion from the public sphere, and supporters of 'neutral-religion' who want a more neutral state role to open up space for religious expression of citizens in public spaces, including public schools (Kuru, 2009).

In Indonesia, as having been documented by many researchers, political dynamics in the early formation days formed Indonesia into a country that, in many respects, is 'friendly to religion.' Although Indonesia is not a religious state, Indonesia is also not a secular state. Some provisions in the constitution and other regulations, as well as state institutions, clearly give recognition and a large space for religion in

the life of the country. Regarding education, the state facilitates religious education in public schools. Moreover, the state is actively involved in facilitating the conduct of religious schools through one specific ministry, the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Ropi, 2017).

Without denying the broad spectrum of religious and state relations as mentioned above, the research on the politics of religious education policy in Indonesia can focus on four possible political choices, namely '*laïcité*,' 'religious-neutral,' 'accommodating,' and 'religious state.' Concerning this, models of religious education policy, as discussed in the previous section, can also be categorized again by paying attention to the four political positions. Following is a summary of the characteristics of each political choice about the role of the state in religious education:

Table 1.
The differences among the four choices of the State's Role in Religious Education

Laicite/ Reluctant	Religious Neutral	Accommodationist	Interventionist
Religion as a private matter; no interference from the state	Supporting the neutrality of the state in matters of religion	The state views several important religions, but not only the majority religion.	Religion and politics cannot be separated.
Actively removing religion from public schools	Opening or closing the room for all religious groups	The state facilitates several recognized religions.	Religious education is closely related to the importance of maintaining the role of the majority religion in the country.
Reducing the portion or eliminating religious education in public schools	Religious education for universal human values	Religious education is carried out only by state-recognized religious groups.	Give privileges to the majority religion to maintain dominance in various fields.

RESEARCH METHODS

This executive summary rested upon a complete survey of the Indonesian MPs period 2019-2024, a total of 575 members. The data generation employed a face-to-face interview with each respondent. Trained enumerators collected the data in the period of 21 October - 17 December 2019. With a response rate of 68.1%, this study

successfully interviewed 380 MPs. In enhancing data validity, the research team took on a 100% spot-check mechanism. Since as much as ten generated data was incomplete, there were only 370 data used for analysis (64.6%).

Several tests on response rates have been carried out, including by checking the difference in proportions on several variables, namely gender, age of the MPs both as a whole and per political party. This testing examined the extent of the non-response rate in this survey, which affected the results of the analysis. It found that non-response rates spread at random. For that reason, this study statistically reports that non-bias response is relatively small.

FINDINGS

The following will present several significant findings from this complete survey. First, there are not many members of the Indonesian Parliament that pay great attention to issues related to national vision, access for certain groups to include their religious views in the religious education curriculum, and understanding of religious diversity within religious education. The following figure shows the data related to the views of the Indonesian MPs regarding whether or not there are issues with religious education.
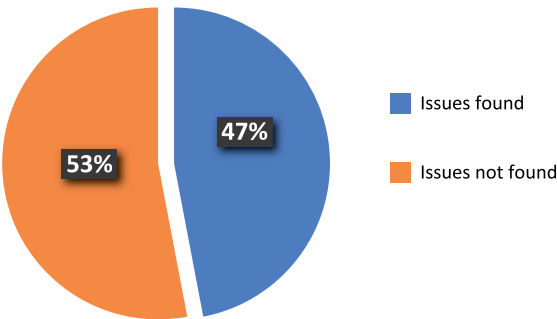

Figure 1.
The views on whether or not there are issues with religious education

Forty-seven percent from a total of 370 respondents to this survey discerned some issues with religious education. Of the 47 percent, only 19.46 percent of the respondents assumed that the lack of national vision in religious education is a severe problem. Only 12.16 percent of respondents evaluated that a lack of proper understanding of diversity in Indonesia is a severe problem. The increasing exclusive views and intolerant behaviors at schools identified in this study are not a piece of good news at all for the Indonesian House of Representatives as an institution that is supposed to care for the diversity of society in this country, as well as for the wider community. Second, the results of the complete survey also show that there are diverse views among the MPs about the role of the state in religious education. The majority of respondents completing this survey showed

accommodationist tendencies in policies related to the basic format of religious education. Those tendencies include religious teaching, joint prayer activities, and provision of religion teachers. However, a more diverse view is presented by the respondents who look at other aspects of religious education. Some respondents showed interventionist tendencies towards the state or school policies related to the provision of religious books and training for religious teachers. Meanwhile, in terms of enrichment of religious education, many respondents showed neutral tendencies in placing the state's role in religious education.

Figure 2.
Classification of Political Parties

Components of Religious Education	View
Procurement of religious books	Interventionist
Training of religion teacher	Interventionist
Format of religious education	Accommodationist
Prayer activities at school	Accommodationist
Provision of religion teachers	Accommodationist
Religious lectures/talks	Neutral
The ideal figure of religion teacher	Neutral
Addition of religious lesson hours	Neutral
Addition of religious studies classes	Neutral
Installation of religious symbols in schools	Neutral
Observance of religious holidays at school	Neutral
Religious extracurricular activities	Neutral

In some cases, these variations of views provide a little room for the community to gain political support for efforts to build a culture more inclusive and respectful among adherents of different religions in public schools. However, in the middle of the increasing intolerant attitudes or opinions within the school environment, a relatively large number of respondents with the interventionist view consider some crucial matters such as the training of religion teachers and the procurement of religious books deserve to attain attention. In contrary with the dominance of accommodationist view in policies related to the format of religious education, the relatively large interventionist tendencies allow the state to regulate further the religious life of citizens or students in schools and do not provide greater space for efforts to create a public schools culture which is more inclusive and respects the diversity of religions that exist between students.

Figure 3.
Classification of Political Parties

Political Party Category I (Political Identity)		Political Party Category II (Religious Heterogeneity)	
Type of Party	Party	Type of Party	Party
Modernist Islam	PAN, PKS, PPP	Quite Heterogeneous	DEMOKRAT, GERINDRA, PAN, PKB
Traditionalist Islam	PKB	Heterogeneous	GOLKAR, NASDEM
Nationalist	PDIP, NASDEM	Very Heterogeneous	PDIP
Religious Nationalist	DEMOKRAT, GERINDRA, GOLKAR	Not Heterogeneous	PKS, PPP

Third, the results of this complete survey also found that political parties had a considerable influence on how members of the Indonesian Parliament viewed the role of the state in religious education. Differences in political party affiliation more or less explain the differences in respondents' views on the direction of religious education policy. In other words, respondents of certain parties have a greater tendency to be interventionist or neutral compared to respondents from other parties. The data classifies the division of political parties based on their political identity and religious heterogeneity. To identify each political identity, the research team explored their respective websites for their party platforms as well as relevant statements from the party members. Whereas the religious heterogeneity is identified based on how many MPs from the mentioned parties are heterogeneous in terms of the religion they embrace. The following is the classification of political parties based on political identity and religious heterogeneity.

Figure 4.
Classification of Political Parties and Interventionist Tendency

	Ideal Figure of Religion Teacher		Addition to Lesson Hours	
	Interventionist	Accommodationist	Interventionist	Accommodationist
Modernist Islam	5.37*** (0.54)	3.08** (0.55)	4.88*** (0.56)	4.5*** (0.59)
Traditionalist Islam	0.71 (0.45)	0.35** (0.49)	1.30 (0.47)	0.84 (0.54)
AIC	784.87	784.87	739.73	739.73

	Procurement of religious books		Training of Religion Teacher	
	Interventionist	Accommodationist	Interventionist	Accommodationist
Heterogeneous	1.88 (0.47)	2.21* (0.46)	1.97 (0.46)	1.62 (0.51)
Not Heterogeneous	8.80*** (0.73)	5.78*** (0.74)	0.83* (0.73)	1.11** (0.76)
AIC	790.32	790.32	742.59	742.59

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Coefficient indicates Relative Risk Ratio

In terms of the provision of religious books in schools, for example, the results of logistic regression analysis show that respondents from the Modernist Islamic Parties (PAN, PKS, and PPP) have a greater tendency to be interventionist instead of being neutral in terms of providing religious books in schools compared to respondents from PDIP. The same thing - except for respondents from PPP - was also found in the case of religion teacher training. See figure 4.

Figure 5.
Classification of Political Parties and Neutral Tendency

	Ideal Figure of Religion Teacher		Addition of Religious Lesson Hours	
	Neutral	Accommodationist	Neutral	Accommodationist
Traditionalist Islam	7.05*** (0.58)	1.43 (0.51)	0.97 (0.46)	0.50 (0.51)
Nationalist	8.89*** (0.52)	1.91 (0.44)	2.33* (0.43)	0.67 (0.49)
AIC	743.80	743.80	742.76	742.76

	Ideal Figure of Religion Teacher		Addition of Religious Lesson Hours	
	Neutral	Accommodationist	Neutral	Accommodationist
Heterogeneous	5.36*** (0.59)	3.01** (0.50)	1.71 (0.48)	0.85 (0.53)
Very Heterogeneous	6.36*** (0.64)	2.15 (0.57)	3.41** (0.58)	1.35 (0.66)
AIC	759.44	759.44	748.05	748.05

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. Coefficient indicates Relative Risk Ratio

In addition to the characteristics of political parties influencing respondents' diverse views, this study finds that political identity has a reasonably close relationship with the views of members of the Parliament concerning the role of the state in religious education.

Figure 5 shows that respondents from Nationalist parties have a greater tendency to show a Neutral view in religious education policy compared to respondents from Modernist Islamic parties, especially in the case of adding religious study hours. In contrast, respondents from Modernist Islamic parties have a greater tendency than respondents from Nationalist parties to be interventionist in religious education, especially in the provision of religious books and training of religion teachers. For the public and particularly civil society elements that pay attention to nationalism and diversity issues in religious education in public schools, the results of this study provide a clearer picture of the political map in the House of Representatives of Indonesia regarding the position of political parties and the underlying factors in looking at the role of the state in religious education.

In summary, the results of this complete survey show unclear attitude or position of the House of Representatives of Indonesia in addressing the existing issues of the increasing intolerant attitudes or views in the school environment despite their essential role to formulate the direction of religious education policy. On the one hand, there is only a small proportion of Indonesian MPs who care about things like the improvement of national vision, the comprehension of religious diversity, and access for certain groups to insert their religious views into the education curriculum–a salient point which deserves serious attention. On the other hand, there are still quite many Indonesian MPs who show their interventionist tendencies when situating the role or position of the state in religious education.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of this complete survey indicate the relatively small proportion of the Indonesian Parliament members who pay great attention to nationalism and diversity issues in religious education and these results encourage the legislators, especially those serving in the relevant commissions, to engage in dialogue with different groups on nationalism and diversity issues. The discussion may highlight the vital role of the Indonesian Parliament in nurturing diversity and maintaining national unity and integrity. Political parties also have a great responsibility to prepare their cadres who are serving in the House of Representatives, especially those who will be in the commissions dealing with education and religion. This matter is needed to be able to understand the ins and outs of religious education issues properly, and to address existing problems, especially those related to nationalism and diversity issues, appropriately. Without the active role of the legislature to oversee the direction of government policy and the impacts this body creates, it will be difficult for the country to overcome any problems that arise as a result of increasing religious intolerance as well as to create a tolerant and respectful culture of state schools among followers of different religions.

Also, given the close links between political parties' identity and interventionist tendencies, to strengthen appreciation for diversity requires greater democratic space for elements of civil society to voice their aspirations in the formulation of religious education policy in public schools. At the central level, the Indonesian House of Representatives and political parties need to open up a more expansive participation space for civil society in the process of discussing the revision of the National Education Law, which has been proposed by several groups. Democratic control needs to be given not only to representatives of large groups but also to those who are marginalized or discriminated against in matters of religion so that the rights of minority groups in religious education are protected.

The mentioned democratic space needs to be opened not only at the national level but also at the local level and even at the school level. The formulation of school rules or policies related to the implementation of religious education needs to provide the most expansive possible space for community representatives, especially student guardians, to maintain and ensure that every student, regardless of their religions, receives religious education and proper treatment at the school where they learn. It is necessary to create a school culture that is diversity-friendly and to respect better the differences that exist among students and in the school environment, in general.

RADICALISM AND HOMESCHOOLING: MEASURING RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY

BACKGROUND

Why is research on homeschooling or *"Sekolahrumah"*[1] (hereinafter HS) in the context of radicalism and violent extremism important to conduct? First, it has been proven that educational institutions—whatever the model and form—are strategic fields in the process of transmitting religious values, whether moderate, conservative, or radical (Wahid, 2014). Second, HS itself until now is a type of educational service that has not received much attention from researchers, whether in the context of developed models in Indonesia and from the perspective of parents' backgrounds and motivations, learning models, and textbooks used. Third, with a flexible learning strategy combined with state-loose regulations, HS becomes a "broad field" vulnerable to the process of transmission and cultivation of religious values, even those that are radical. Fourth, in the context of democracy and citizenship, HS has the potential to create a "spiral of self-exclusion" (spiral of encapsulations) that further alienates children from other common values that broaden their thinking horizons (Porta, 1995).

In quoting homeschoolers, there are several motives and backgrounds of homeschoolers. First, most of them intend to maintain the beliefs and values held by the family. Second, objections to secularization symptoms occur in formal schools. Third, they want to focus on educating their children based on their unique talents. Fourth, they view school institutions no longer have enough strength in instilling discipline and ethical values. Fifth, they have objections to how schools treat children (Kho, 2007; Mulyadi, 2007).

In the context of contemporary Indonesia, research on HS is not frequently conducted. While at the same time, since 2007, this education service has rapidly developed in major cities in Indonesia. This fact is supported by the following symptoms. The first is the emergence of publications on how to manage HS, from well-known publishers such as Kompas-Gramedia or other publishers since 2007s[2]. The second is the spread of HS with the branding of prominent figures and educational services in several major cities in Indonesia, such as Kak Seto HS,

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1 "Sekolahrumah" term—jointly written— follows the spelling in the Indonesian Minister of Education and Culture regulation Number 128 of 2014 regarding Home School.

2 For instance—to show some of them—M. Kembara, *Complete Guide Homeshooling.* Bandung: Progressio (Grup Syamill), 2007; H. Setyowati, "Homeschooling, Creating the Best of Me," Jakarta: Kompas Gramedia, 2010; Seto Mulyadi, *Homeschooling Keluarga Kak Seto; Mudah, Murah, Meriah, dan Direstui Pemerintah.* Jakarta: Kaifa, 2010; N. A. Wiyani, "Save Our Children from School Bullying," Jogjakarta Ar-Ruzz Media, 2012.; M. Magdalena, *My Son Didn't Want To School, Don't Be Afraid To Try Homeschooling,* Jakarta: Kompas Gramedia, 2010; J. M. Asmani, *A Closer Look at Home Schooling, Making it more Comfortable and Learning Activities.* Jakarta: Flash Book, 2012; Sumardino, *Apa Itu Homeschooling.* Jakarta: PandaMedia, 2014

Primagama HS, and Rumah Inspiration HS. The third is the birth of organizations as a place for HS managers to associate, such as Asah Pena (Association of Home Schools and Alternative Education). These symptoms are not supported by information and data about HS, especially those that provide an overview of parents' motives and backgrounds who choose HS, comprehensive mapping of HS, and learning material within it.

In other countries such as the United States, where HS is also rapidly developed, HS is not only close to religion but also fundamentalism. Cited from Kunzman's research (2010), HS provides an ideal educational setting to support some fundamental principles of fundamentalists: resistance to contemporary culture; suspicion of institutional authority and professional expertise; parental control and family centrality; and emphasis on the faith and academic life network; it means intellectual life will only be meaningful if it is in line with religious doctrine. According to him, it is imperative to recognize HS with a fundamentalists tendency considering that fundamentalism is in a continuum, hence it is not appropriate to generalize. The right act is to encourage dialogue and accommodation towards religious-based homeschoolers to strengthen the structure of broader citizenship.

The case of the Surabaya Bombing in 2018 by a family–both parents and children–becomes an important note. As reported by the mass media, the bombers were parents who allegedly did not send their children to formal school and educate their children at home instead3. This condition provides awareness as well as reveals the fact that HS, an alternative education service that is growing in Indonesia, has a potential vulnerability to radical religious views.

In line with the development of HS in major cities in Indonesia, this education service is regulated in Permendikbud (Education and Culture Ministerial Regulation) Number 129 of 2014 concerning homeschooling. In the Permendikbud, HS is defined as "the process of educational services that are consciously and planned carried out by parents/family at home or other places in a single, compound, and community form where the learning process can take place in a conducive atmosphere with the aim that each unique potential of students can develop to the fullest" There are three forms of HS in the regulation, which are distinguished based on the number of participants involved. Single means alone, compound means more than one family, while the community is a combination of all (Article 5). Also, the Permendikbud mentions that the HS management must report to the local education office, enclosing a lesson plan (Article 6), a curriculum refers to national standards (Article 7), and they are required to teach Religion, Pancasila and Civic Education, and Indonesian language education (Article 7).

Considered the basis of the regulation as the only regulation that is directly related to HS—the regulation above is the HS legality principle and its position in the national education system.it states that the regulation was issued "to expand access to good-quality education and guarantee legal protection for families and environment that organize informal education." In this context, the country has

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3 "Confess Homeschooling, Surabaya Bomber's Child Only Receives Parents' Doctrines", *https://www.liputan6.com/*, Tuesday, 15 Mei 2018. "Surabaya Bomber's Children Do Not Study in Formal School" *https://nasional.republika.co.id/*, Tuesday, 15 Mei 2018.

appeared to provide recognition towards HS educational institutions that have rapidly developed. However, it must immediately be expressly stated that the Permendikbud, which was issued in 2014 or more than half a decade ago, has not yet been supplemented by its derivative regulations in the form of directives and technical guidelines. This condition can cause HS in Indonesia, due to its flexibility, grow very diversely, and makes it more vulnerable.

The above explanation is supported by symptoms of HS growth in Indonesia with various models. Brands such as Kak Seto HS and Primagama HS—to cite just two examples—have branches in major cities in Indonesia with their local contexts; at the same time, especially in the past half-decade, a variety of HS have emerged in cities in Indonesia, including HS "signboard." Diversity starts from the aspect of naming and definition, association, or close relations with certain religious organizations with certain religious ideologies.

PROBLEM FORMULATION

According to the arguments and cases mentioned earlier, the following facts are clear. First, HS is now experiencing diverse growth in major cities in Indonesia. Second, the government issues Permendikbud Number 129 of 2014 concerning homeschools, a regulation that is directly related to HS. But until now, they have not issued directives and technical guidelines for managing HS as a derivative regulation. Third, the development of HS, which uses religious labels, including Islamic label, with its diversity. The HS development has made this education service vulnerable to intolerance, radicalism, and extremism notions. However, like other education services, HS also has the resilience to these notions. This resilience and vulnerability issue will be explored by investigating views and responses of HS stakeholders, regulations, curriculum, guidelines, and textbooks from the perspective of possibilities and opportunities of radicalism and extremism that encourage violent extremism. Therefore, the main objective of HS as an alternative education form to educate the nation's life will be well preserved.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the problem formulation described earlier, the research questions are as follows:

1. What is homeschoolers' motivation in Indonesia?

2. What is the definition and typology of HS in Indonesia?

3. How does HS have resistance or vulnerability to the exposure to intolerance, radicalism, and extremism (such as curriculum, organizer, reading, media, networks)?

4. How is the regulation and implementation of policies on HS appropriate to prevent intolerance, radicalism, and extremism? Or, to promote moderatism?

DEFINITION AND CONCEPT

There many definitions of HS. Some researchers define HS as a model of educational services. Reich (2005) defined HS as "an alternative education model where children study at home with their parents, often mothers, as their primary educators." Dr. Brian D. Ray (2011), a leading HS researcher and president of the National Home Education Research Institute (NHERI), stated, "HS, by definition, is family-based, home-based, with parents as the person in charge in educating their children. " There are many other definitions.

This research used the definition of HS as regulated in Permendikbud Number 129 of 2014, namely "the consciously planned process of educational services that are conducted by parents/family at home or other places in a single, compound, and community form in which the learning process can take place in a conducive atmosphere with the aim that each unique potential of students can develop to the fullest".

Radicalism, especially related to religion, is a concept that has several equivalents—sometimes equated with puritanism, extremism, militancy, and fundamentalism. Radicalism is defined by Ashour (2009) as "using methods that reject democratic principles to achieve certain political objectives." Hafez (2015) also views it as "adopting extremist groups' views to influence social or political change."

This research used the definition of radicalism as an idea and action for fundamental socio-political change and justification of using violence, both verbal and action, with the following characteristics: (1) ideologically rejecting the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia/NKRI in its various forms (including rejects Pancasila, refuses to sing the Indonesia Raya national anthem and refuses to salute the Red-White flag); (2) being intolerant of diversity; (3) refusing to interact with other communities that are different (exclusive); (4) being easy to blame others who are different and to consider themselves the most correct; and (5) supports violence in various forms.

This study used resilience concept in several benchmarks, namely: (1) implementation of Permendikbud Number 129 of 2014 concerning home schools, where organizers teach Religion, Pancasila and Civic Education, and Indonesian language (Article 7, paragraph 2); (2) national curriculum application; and (3) open to other different groups and religions.

While the vulnerability concept used several behavioral benchmarks based on (ideological) beliefs, namely: (1) refusing the Red-White flag ceremony; (2) refusing to introduce national heroes; (3) refusing to teach national songs; and (4) refusing to introduce state symbols (flag, photos of the president and vice president, Garuda symbol, national heroes).

The concept of "spiral self-exclusion" (spiral encapsulation) in this study was used to look at the resilience and vulnerability of HS to intolerance and radicalism since self-exclusion has the potential to keep children away from other common values that open their thinking horizons (Porta, 1995).

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH AREAS

A qualitative approach and model were employed in this research. Without intending to generalize, this research deeply explores (in-depth study) essential symptoms in the world of education known as HS. In order to have this research successfully present a representative description, data collection was carried out along with in-depth interviews of HS organizers (Single, Compound, and Community) and policymakers (PNF Inspector and PNF Education Office) in each region. Observations were also conducted towards the three types of education services, document analysis (regulations, teaching materials, and curriculums), as well as Focus Group Discussions (FGD).

The process of selecting HS was determined by snowballing because there is still a lack of national and regional (provincial or regency/city) data on HS in Indonesia. Three forms of HS mentioned in the Permendikbud Number 129 of 2014, namely the Single and Compound HS service models and the Community HS, will be explored and determined by the snowballing approach.

This research was conducted in 6 (six) cities/regencies in 6 (six) provinces that were chosen purposively based on several arguments such as, first, the closeness of the city with religious movements. Second, the information is given by BNPT (National Counter-Terrorism Agency) about areas vulnerable to radicalism.

Data collection in the form of interviews and observations was conducted in one month (August-September 2019) of 129 selected informants in 6 cities/provinces (see Table 1) with the following details:

Table 1
Area Coverage

No.	Area	Type	Respondent	Category
1.	Jadetangsel (10 HS = 3 religion - exclusive Islam, 2 religion – inclusive Islam, 1 religion – Christianity, 4 non-religion)	Single HS	Ana Single HS	Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam
			Nana Single HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
			Nada Single HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
			Radit Single HS	Non-Religion
		Compound HS	Karunia Indah HS	Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam
			Pahlawan HS	Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam
			Teladan HS	Non-Religion
		Community HS	Bina Insan Mandiri CLC (Master)	Non-Religion

No.	Area	Type	Respondent	Category
			Eagle's Nest Homeschooling	Religion - Christianity
			Bina Potensi Insan Mandiri CLC	Non-Religion
2.	Bandung, West Java (12 HS = 1 Religion-Exclusive Salafi Islam, 6 Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam, 1 Religion - Christianity, 4 Non-religion)	Single HS	Sari Single HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
			Nia Single HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
			Ria Single HS	Non-Religion
			Tina Single HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
			Widya Single HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
			Nadin Single HS	Religion - Christianity
		Compound HS	Telaga HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
			Bersama HS	Non-Religion
			Gotong Royong HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
			Belantara HS	Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam
		Community HS	Pewaris Bangsa HS	Non-Religion
			Taman Sekar HS	Non-Religion
3.	Solo, Central Java (8 HS: 1 Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam; 4 Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam; 3 Non-Religion)	Single HS	Anugerah Single HS	Non-Religion
			Cahaya Setia Single HS	Non-Religion
			Wangi Melati Single HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
		Community HS	Kak Seto HS	Non-Religion
			Kuttab Ibnu Abbas	Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam
			Cahaya Rejeki HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
			Ar-Ridho HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam

No.	Area	Type	Respondent	Category
			Syifa	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
4.	Surabaya, East Java (10 HS = 1 Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam, 3 Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam, 1 Religion - Christianity, 5 non-religion)	Single HS	Unggul Single HS	Non-Religion
			Al-Khair Single HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
			Azmi Single HS	Non-Religion
		Compound HS	Duta Bangsa HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
			Bunga Mawar HS	Non-Religion
			Insan Mulia HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
		Community HS	Primagama Pakuwon CLC HS	Non-Religion
			Pena Surabaya CLC HS	Non-Religion
			Sinar Mulia Indonesia HS	Religion - Christianity
			Thayyibah HS	Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam
5.	Makassar, South Sulawesi (6 HS = 2 religion – exclusive Islam, 1 religion – inclusive Islam, 1 religion Christianity, 2 non- religion)	Single HS	Tunggal Naya HS	Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam
			Tunggal Mira HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
		Compound HS	Kasih Bangsa HS	Religion - Christianity
		Community HS	Cendekia HS	Non-Religion
			Primagama HS	Non-Religion
			Ikhwan HS	Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam
6.	Padang, West Sumatera (7 HS = 2 religion – exclusive islam, 1 religion –	Single HS	Hana Single HS	Non-Religion
			Cokro Single HS	Non-Religion
			Ita Single HS	Religion - Inclusive Salafi Islam
		Compound HS	Umat Mulia HS	Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam

| No.	Area	Type	Respondent	Category
	inclusive Islam, 4 Non-Religion)	Community HS	Primagama CLC HS	Non-Religion
			Markazul Quran CLC HS	Religion - Exclusive Salafi Islam
			Farilla Ilmi CLC	Non-Religion
53 HS in Total (21 Single HS, 12 Compound HS, and 20 Community HS)				

Note: The names of Single HS and Compound HS are concealed

Table 2
HS Categories

Category	Non-Religion	Religion			Total
		Christianity	Islam		
			Inclusive Salafi	Exclusive Salafi	
Jadetangsel	4	1	2	3	10
Bandung	4	1	6	1	12
Solo	3	0	4	1	8
Surabaya	5	1	3	1	10
Makassar	2	1	1	2	6
Padang	4	0	1	2	7
Subtotal	22	4	17	10	53

Table 3
HS Types

Area	Category		
	Single HS	Compound HS	Community HS
Jadetangsel	4	3	3
Bandung	6	4	2
Solo	3	0	5
Surabaya	3	3	4
Makassar	2	1	3
Padang	3	1	3
Total	21	12	20
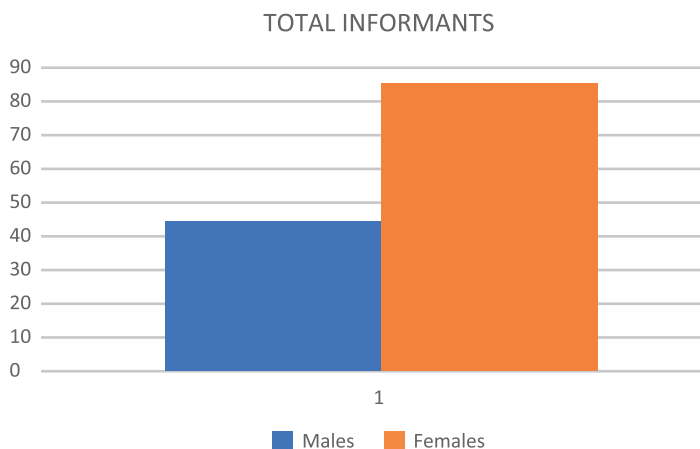
TOTAL INFORMANTS

INFORMANT PERCENTAGE BASED ON GENDER
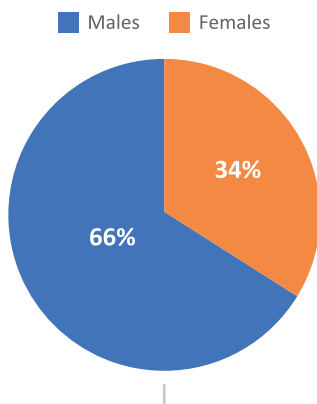
The total informants interviewed by the researcher were 129 (85 females and 44 males) consisting of HS subjects (single, compound, and community) and policymakers (PNF inspectors and PNF Education Offices). This data shows that there are more female informants than male informants. It also confirms that the implementation of HS, as acknowledged by several informants, is a responsibility of a mother based on the adage "mother is the first school" (*al-umm madrosatu al-ula*).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Is it not overreacting to associate HS with religious radicalism by only referring to the indication of "Surabaya bombing"? Here are some other researches that also focus on HS and religious issues so that this research topic becomes reasonable and not overreacting.

Table 4
Literature Review

No.	Literature	Content
1.	Robert Kunzman, "Homeschooling and Religious Fundamentalism" (2010);	HS provides an ideal educational setting to support some essential fundamentalist principles: resistance to contemporary culture; suspicion of institutional authority and professional experts; parental control and family centrality; and emphasis on the relation of faith and academic life; in this sense, intellectual life will only be meaningful if it is in line with religious doctrine. It is imperative to well recognize HS with a tendency for fundamentalists considering fundamentalism is in a continuum; hence it is not appropriate to generalize. The right attitude is an effort to encourage dialogue and accommodation towards religion-based homeschoolers to strengthen the structure of broader citizenship.
2.	Martin Myers and Kalwant Bhopal, "Muslims, Home Education and Risk in British Society" (2018);	Using a case study method and snowball technique, they explored six Muslim families in London UK as parts of 33 families who were the research sources. They found a specific reason why they chose HS. The first, and foremost, is the pressure of racism from local social groups and white children who perceive them as representing terrorism in Islam. Second, HS is a means to protect and pass down Islamic values that are believed by the family since it is also intended as a means of maintaining their social identity as part of a Muslim entity (ummah). For the case of other families in the same location, this research also found that in rich families, HS is part of an effort to improve lifestyle status. As for families with limited finance, HS is an alternative to formal education institutions. These two are reasons for choosing homeschooling as a form of response to the formal education system.

No.	Literature	Content
3.	Patrick Basham, John Merrifield, and Claudia R. Hepburn, Home Schooling: From the Extreme to the Mainstream (2007);	This research identifies the background of parental tendency in the United States and Canada for HS. Identification starts from HS definition, the history of its development in the two countries, the formulated policies and governance, the academic performance of HS students, and the characteristics of families who choose HS. HS in these two countries is defined as educational activities for school-aged children carried out at home rather than at school. This educational activity arises when a child (school-aged) participates in his education at home rather than taking part in an educational process in public, private, or other types of schools. Meanwhile, at the same time, parents or guardians emphasize their children's educational responsibilities by developing their customized curriculum guides and by utilizing appropriate local and virtual learning resources.
4.	Maryono, "Islamic Homeschooling Upaya Membangun Karakter Islami (Studi Kasus Islamic Homeschooling Fatanugraha Wonosobo" (2013) [Islamic Homeschooling Efforts to Build Islamic Character (Case Study in Islamic Homeschooling Fatanugraha Wonosobo)];	This research found three factors that caused the popularity of HS. First, the perception that formal schools are considered to fail to provide quality education, and HS is an educational service that can address that need. Second, parents are motivated to improve their children's intelligence with skills that formal schools do not offer. Third, the fulfillment of children's Islamic character education in line with their academic needs. Maryono noted that the last factor was the most compelling motive among parents. Mainly, in the case of Fatanugraha HS - which might be an attraction - character development is pursued in two ways: adopting Islamic boarding school material in the form of classic Islamic books and providing good examples ('uswah hasanah) through morals of the tutors.

No.	Literature	Content
5.	Ichsan Wibowo Saputro, Ideologi Pendidikan Islam di Homeschooling: Kajian Konsep Ideologi Pendidikan Islam dan Implikasinya di Homeschooling Group Khoiru Ummah (2017), tesis Magister di UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta [Ideology of Islamic Education in Homeschooling: Study of the Concept of Islamic Education Ideology and Its Implications in the Homeschooling Group Khoiru Ummah]. Unpublished Postgraduate Master Thesis Islamic, Religious Education Study Program, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta];	This research linked HS having branches in several cities with HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia). The researcher not only explained the relationship between the ideology of Islamic Education of Group Khoiru Ummah HS and the ideology of the HTI Islamic Movement but also concluded that Group Khoiru Ummah HS as a form of religious, social movement network with HTI as the driving organization behind it.

CATEGORY

HS is an educational method or service that is growing in Indonesia. HS in Indonesia, as in other countries that legalize HS, develops with a diverse variation. The research found HS mapping as follows:

Table 5
Mapping

Name	Category		Note
HS	1). Non-religion based		Non-religion HS is based on children's interests, talents, and needs.
	2). Religion-based	Christianity based	This HS places religion, both Christianity and Islam, as the most critical part of the education program.
		Islam based	

DEFINITION AND MOTIVATION

HS is a legal education service model in Indonesia. The legality of HS is referred to in consideration of Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 129 of 2014 concerning homeschooling — which is a regulation that directly regulates HS technically. Although the definition of HS is clear in the regulation, which is the result

of observation, HS practice is divided into two major parts. The first is HS in the form of parents themselves as the teachers. The second is HS in the form in which parents have HS by joining HS communities or inviting teachers to their houses to teach. HS is also defined by referring to the needs of children and parents and referring to religious teachings. In the "non-religion-based HS" group, HS is also defined in a non-religion as:

> "Alternative and flexible education service, providing comfort and flexibility in the choices of material and learning process, which can be done by each parent based on consideration of children's talents or desires, and consideration of parents who are developing children's potential."

While for the HS group "Christianity-based" and "Islam-based," in addition to the definition mentioned above, HS is given additional definition as a form of religious teaching implementation. In the Christianity-based HS group, HS is defined as:

> "Educational services taught by religion in which parents are required to provide religious education to their children. From non-Muslims (Christians), submit a quote, "And you, fathers, do not provoke your children to wrath, but bring them up in the training and admonition of the Lord." Ephesus 6:4

As for the "Islam-based" group, HS is defined as:

> "Educational services under the teachings of Islam which read *al-umm madrasah al-ula, idza a' dadtaha a' dadta sya'ban thayyib al-a'raq* (Mother is the first principal school, preparing her means preparing future best generation). HS is also believed to be an educational model of *al-salaf al-shalih,* and HS is an educational model that was practiced during the time of the Prophet PBUH and his companions. Therefore, for some of them, HS is an ideal educational model for Muslims to inculcate *tawhid,* Al-Qur'an reading-writing, and al-Qur'an *tahfidz*".

Consistent with the definition, non-religion-based HS groups have the motivation to provide educational services that are following the "conditions, interests, and talents of children" and the ideals of parents towards their children's education. As for the "Islam-based" groups, they have the motivation to provide religious education, especially the "true and strong" belief. Some say that they want their children to be al-Qur'an *hafiz* and independent adult Muslims.

TYPOLOGY OF ISLAM-BASED HS

According to field findings, the definition of Islam-based HS groups as an ideal educational service as practiced by the *salaf* (*al-salaf al-shalih*), this research divides Islam-based HS into two major typologies. The first is Salafi-Inclusive HS typology. The second is the Salafi-Exclusive HS typology. Salafi is given broad definitions by emphasizing the belief aspect that *al-salaf al-shalih* period is a period that must be

referred to, emphasizing the purification of *tawhid* and distancing themselves from things that lead to envy.

Salafi	
HS practice by referring and believing it as (1) a form of educational practice taught in Salaf al-shalih period; (2) Using Salafi literature references in Islamic subjects; (3) making al-Qur'an Tahfidz as the subject matter.	
Inclusive	**Exclusive**
Introducing the diversity of Indonesia;	Focusing on the group itself;
Willing to get along with followers of other religions than Islam;	Not getting along with followers of other religions than Islam;
Having non-Muslim students;	Not accepting non-Muslim students;
Implementing national curriculum (including Pancasila, Civic Education, and Indonesian);	Implementing their customized curriculum, while the national curriculum is only for the equivalency exam (including Pancasila, Civic Education, and Indonesian);
Refusing to congratulate other religious holidays, but can accept if anyone does	Refusing to congratulate other religious holidays and rejecting it

In detail, HS with their respective typologies can be seen in the following table - each of which is still grouped according to the demographic origin.

HS in Surabaya

No.	HS	Typology	Note
1.	Thayyibah HS	Religion – Exclusive Islam	This community HS considers other religions as rivals of Islam. HS participants are only Muslims and do not interact with other religions. Thus, They may not congratulate the holidays of other religions. There is no ceremony. Civic Education is not taught. National figures taught are only figures from Islam.
2.	Bunga Mawar HS	Non-religion	Compound HS. They implement a national curriculum. Participants varied from economic, social, and religious backgrounds. They are used to say Happy Holidays to other religions. Most of the participants are the Dropouts from formal schools.

No.	HS	Typology	Note
3.	Primagama Pakuwon CLC HS	Non-religion	Community HS with diverse participants and teach the diversity of Indonesia. The national curriculum adapted in the module. Participants are school-aged children whose parents choose HS as a learning model. The substance of pragmatic teaching, because it is output based, is that it passes National Examination with satisfactory grades.
4.	Insan Mulia HS	Agama – Inclusive Salafi Islam	Compound HS only teach Islam. They teach religion with teaching material made by alumni of Sunan Ampel majoring in Tafsir Hadith, and it is contained in the syllabus of religious subjects. However, students come from various religions. A teacher is wearing a hijab, but not veiled. National curriculum. Willing to wish other religious holidays. There is a ceremony. They get along with other religions.
5.	Duta Bangsa HS	Inclusive Salafi Islam Based	Compound HS is specifically for Muslim students. They are only associating with fellow Muslims and refuse to wish other religious holidays because there is no need. Religious material is taken from many sources, not limited to certain Madhab. Very strong in the al-Qur'an Tahfidz material and tend to be textual in understanding religion. Civic Education is taught by taking Islamic examples. It is introducing other religions that are recognized in Indonesia.
6.	Al-Khair HS	Inclusive Salafi Islam Based	Single HS. Students are only Muslim. They do not teach other religions. Although female teachers are veiled, the learning process does not separate male and female students. The main references are Salafi books. HS is held in Islamic boarding schools, but students are varied in terms of religions, professions, social backgrounds, and so on.

No.	HS	Typology	Note
7.	Unggul HS	Non-religion	Single HS is managed by a family that is not based on religion and does not emphasize religious symbols. Subjects required by the state are only for graduation needs—emphasis on the talents of students.
8.	Azmi HS	Non-religion	Single HS is managed by a family where the mother is a tutor. This HS is not based on religion and does not emphasize religious symbols. Its educational targets only focus on school subjects. The subjects required by the state are only for graduation purposes.
9.	Sinar Mulia Indonesia HS	Religion - Christianity	This community HS emphasizes religious teaching based on Christianity. It is educating children to be strong in Christ and nationalism. This HS also teaches diversity through joint activities.
10.	Pena Surabaya CLC HS	Non-religion	Community HS. They do not take a dominant portion in the curriculum. Thus, the National Curriculum is adjusted to students' talents. It is open to followers of other religions and teaches kindness to everyone.
Non-religion = 5 Religion – Christianity = 1 Religion – Inclusive Salafi Islam = 3 Religion – Exclusive Salafi Islam = 1			

Homeschooling in Makassar

No.	HS	Type	Description
1.	Mira Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	This HS stresses on Tahfidz Al-Qur'an learning and basic Islamic teachings. This HS does not apply the national curriculum but instead applies the Montessori method. Eventhough this HS does not hold the flag-raising ceremony, it has a bond in Homeschooling Muslim Nusantara (HSMN)

No.	HS	Type	Description
2.	Naya Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi	It is a Single Homeschooling that emphasizes its curriculum on Quranic Tahfidz. Its homeschoolers only have bonds with their families and do not have relationships with people from different religions. They neither greet nor congratulate other people of other religions on their holy days. This HS applies a personalized curriculum. For instance, It has fitrah-based education by design thinking as its framework and Quranic Tahfidz as its principles. The teachers teach Al-Qur'an textually.
3.	Ikhwan Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Malaysia-based chain homeschooling – Global Ikhwan. It is also a reincarnation of Darul Arqam; It has a dormitory and has both national and religious curriculum; It does not have bonds with people of other religions. It neither greets nor congratulates other people of other religions on their holy days. But they participate in social-religious activities (tahlil). The religion curriculum of this homeschooling is adapted from Global Ikhwan.
4.	Cendekia Homeschooling	Non-religion-based	It is a community HS, which runs just like other public schools, yet not conducted 'formally.' It implements the national curriculum. Its members are willing to have bonds with others, and either greet or congratulate people of other religions on their holy days. Knowledge about other religions in Indonesia is taught in this HS. It is not religion-affiliation HS.
5.	HS Kasih Bangsa	Christianity-based	It is a compound HS. Even though this is a Christianity-based HS, it has Muslim students. It implements the National Curriculum. It is open for people of other religions, including in greeting and congratulating the others' holy days. Most of the homeschoolers here are students with special needs.

No.	HS	Type	Description
6.	Primagama	Non-religion-based	It is a community HS. It has no differences both in the headquarter and in its other branches. It has diverse homeschoolers and teaches a diversity of Indonesia. National Curriculum is adapted in its modules. Its homeschoolers are students of school-age whose parents chose HS as a learning model. This school celebrates national days and introduces the national heroes; the teachers teach religions,
			ethnics, etc. Neither males nor females are segregated. The teaching does not stress any indoctrination.
Nonreligion-based = 2 Christianity-based= 1 Religion based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi = 1 Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi = 2			

Homeschooling in Padang

No.	HS	Type	Description
1.	Learning and Teaching Center (PKBM) HS Markazul Qur'an	Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi	It is a community HS. This HS focuses on Al-Qur'an. The teachers believe when someone memorizes Al-Qur'an, otherworldly benefits are going to follow. In this HS, the male and female students are segregated. They only have bonds within their community. They refuse either to greet or to congratulate people on other religions on their holy days. The only use the national curriculum for the National Exam's requirements.
2.	Umat Mulia Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi	It is a compound HS. Its homeschoolers are from 10 families, and they only make bonds with their community. Different religions are not introduced. They do not have a national flagceremony and develop an independent curriculum under family vision and mission. They also run

No.	HS	Type	Description
			the HS with their school motivation and specially design their learning modules as well as curriculum for their children. All of their principles are Al-Quran-based. Their objectives are to save their children from hellfire.
3.	Hana Homeschooling	Non-religion based	It is a single HS. This HS performs its school at home because it wants to provide customized education for its homeschooler. It is due to the public schools which treat their students equally, or just the same. This HS applies various methods. In its teaching, this HS also introduces various religions.
4.	Ita Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Single HS. This HS emphasizes Islamic Education (tahfidz), but the three of them get to mingle with non-Moslems in their writing group. They are allowed to join activities or organizations of people of different madhhabs in Islam.
5.	Learning and Teaching Center (PKBM) HS Primagama	Non-religion based	It is a Community HS. This HS has no differences between its headquarters and its branches. Its homeschoolers are diverse, and it teaches diversity in Indonesia. National Curriculum is adapted in their modules. The homeschoolers are children in school-age whose parents choose the HS as a learning model.
6.	Learning and Teaching Center (PKBM) Farila Ilmi	Non-religion based	It is a PKBM Community HS. This HS focuses on non-formal education and equality for marginalized children (waste scavengers, fisherfolks, etc.). It provides both in-class and online-class services. It applies curriculum from the Education Office, teaches Civic Education, and introduces other religions.
7.	Cokro Homeschooling	Non-religion based	This Single HS chose to conduct the HS because the children got bullied. Thus, this school emphasizes the comfort for

No.	HS	Type	Description
			the children when they are learning. The curriculum is adjusted according to their interest. This HS also introduces other religions and mingles with people of other religions. Learning can be anywhere and anytime. Just like a church, it is not only about space, but it stresses how we are sure about the place we study, or we pray. In this context, a Mosque can also have a similar meaning as a Church.
Nonreligion-based = 4 Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi = 1 Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi = 2		

Homeschooling in Jakarta - Depok- South Tangerang

No.	HS	Type	Description
1.	Karunia Indah Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi	It is a Compound HS which was initiated by Moslem Families, the followers of Jamaah Tabligh (JT), an Indian-based Salafi group. All it's female family members wear a niqab. They follow the view of al-um madrasatul ula. The curriculum focuses on memorization of hadiths and Quranic Tahfidz, JT's materials; and teaches the Urdu language. Their objective is only to seek Allah's satisfaction.
2.	Pahlawan Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi	It is a Compound HS with a boarding pattern. Its homeschoolers are followers of Salafist and the ex-Jemaah Islamiyah. Adopting the national curriculum just for equivalency, this school replaces the flag-raising ceremony with training on Dawah (Islamic Missionary Work). Extracurricular: horse-riding, archery, and swimming. For them, formal schools do not reflect Islam.

No.	HS	Type	Description
3.	Ana Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi	It is a Single HS, which has a closed impression for others. This HS does not teach Civic Education and focuses on Al-Qur'an muroja'ah/tahfidz. Ana HS is the sub-HS of the Public Learning Center (PKBM) of Generasi Juara HS.
4.	Learning and Teaching Center (PKBM) Bina Potensi Insan Mandiri	Non-religion based	It is a Community HS for Special Needs Children. This HS focuses on children's interests and aptitudes. It applies the national curriculum with a lower standard and teaches life-skills, so its member can be accepted in society. This HS also teaches Civic Education and introduces other religions.
5.	Eagle Nest Homeschooling	Christianity-based	This Christianity-based Community HS educates their children to be tough in Christ. There are only Christian students, and all are nationalists. It uses playdate to teach diversity. It applies and modifies a foreign curriculum.
6.	Learning and Teaching Center (PKBM) Bina Insan Mandiri (Masjid Terminal/ Mosque at Bus Station)	Non-religion based	This Community HS was established because of social-economy reasons. Sekolah Master (abbreviated from Masjid Terminal, Mosque at Bus Station) teaches general courses and religion. Its main objective is to cut-off the poverty chain through education.
7.	Nada Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Single HS whose parents wear Salafi-hijab, and that makes Quranic Tahfidz and Salafi teachings as their main subjects. Also, it takes Mandarin as a foreign language, which is taught online. This school only has a small portion of general courses. It teaches diversity in Indonesia but refuses both to greet and to congratulate the holy days of people of other religions.
8.	Teladan Homeschooling	Non-religion based	It is a Compound HS which focuses on Children with Special Needs. Its students are from diverse religions and mingle each other.

No.	HS	Type	Description
9.	Nana Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	This HS strongly identifies itself as Salafi. Education must promote the students to be the provider of needs for themselves and their families. This HS adds Islamic Salafi material, which is believed by the families. This HS is open enough to others; even the students can get along with other kids of different religions. This HS also established a Public Learning Center (PKBM), called Homeschooling Muslim Indonesia (HSMI).
10.	Radit Homeschooling	Non-religion based	This HS was established to address Children with Special Needs. Aiming to increase students' aptitudes and interests, this school joins PKBM Generasi Juara. Open to the community of the same or different religions, this school applies Personal Curriculum. The National Curriculum is just additional.
Nonreligion-based = 4 Christianity-based= 1 Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi = 2 Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi = 3			

Homeschooling in Bandung

No.	HS	Type	Description
1.	Sari Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Single Homeschooling. The establishment of this HS was encouraged by a diary of a kid who wanted to give his/her parents crown, which is Al-Qur'an. This HS focuses on learning Al-Quran and Quranic Tahfidz. But the homeschooler mingles with people of other religions because the homeschooler joins Scout HS. The homeschooler learns Civic Education through the internalization of values of life.
2.	Ria Homeschooling	Non-religion based	It is a Single HS. The establishment of this HS was encouraged by the

No.	HS	Type	Description
			critiques of formal schools. This HS is open for any race or religion. It joins Scout HS. The homeschooler directly practices the Civic Education by taking care of correspondence in Government Office.
3.	Nadin Homeschooling	Christianity-based	It is a Catholic-based HS which opens to people of other religions through Scout HS and Pewaris Bangsa HS. The curriculum focuses on Children's aptitudes.
4.	Nia Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Single HS, which is managed by the mother as the tutor. This HS applies the school-at-home concept. It emphasizes studying comfort for the children. In her daily life, the tutor consistently wears *niqab*. This HS emphasizes Quranic Tahfidz.
5.	Telaga Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Compound HS. This stress teaching by stressing religious aspects. The homeschoolers are willing to have bonds with people of other religions, and they don't mind either greeting or congratulating on -holy days of other religions. This HS tries to find the ideal Education for Indonesian children. It stresses on textual learning and devotional practice. Religion learning is based on *tawhid* and *sirah nabawiyah.*
6.	Taman Sekar Homeschooling	Non-religion based	It is a Community HS. The critiques toward boring formal schools encouraged the establishment of this HS. Religion does not have a dominant part in this curriculum, and also teaches kindness for everybody.
7.	Widya Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Single HS with an emphasis on teaching religion and prioritizes religious symbols. Nevertheless, it has open and wide teaching methods. It stresses textual learning and devotional aspects. Religion learning is based only on *tawhid* and *sirah nabawiyah*.

No.	HS	Type	Description
8.	Pewaris Bangsa Homeschooling	Non-religion based	It is a Community HS with the national curriculum adjusted to the children's aptitudes. The homeschoolers have bonds with people of other religions. They do not mind either greeting or congratulating the holy days of people of different religions.
9.	Belantara Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi	It is a special Compound HS for Moslems. The Islamic belief is taught textually. The curriculum stressed here is *tahfidz*. It stresses indoctrination in its teaching method.
10.	Tina Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Single HS with an emphasis on teaching religion. Adopting the Cambridge Curriculum with children's growth as the main concern, this school also highlights textual learning and devotional aspects. The religious learning is only based on *tawhid* dan *sirah nabawiyah* (the history of Prophet).
11.	Bersama HS	Non-religion based	It is a Compound HS which stresses on universal aspects of life which are based on diverse values, especially religions. The homeschoolers of this HS mingle with other people from different groups.
12.	Gotong Royong Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Compound HS. This HS stresses special religious teaching, particularly for Moslem Homeschoolers. Even though this HS is Islam-based, it has empathy for people of different groups. This HS stresses textual and devotional learning. The religion learning is only based on *tawhid* dan *sirah nabawiyah*.
Nonreligion-based = 4 Christianity-based= 1 Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi = 6 Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi = 1			

Homeschooling in Solo

No.	HS	Category	Description
1.	Kak Seto Homeschooling	Non-religion based	It is a Community HS that expands education access for homeschoolers of various religions. It applies the national curriculum with extracurricular, such as Friday Class. This HS is a member of Asahpena.
2.	Kuttab Ibn Abbas	Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi	It is a Community HS. This HS educates Ulema Cadres through Faith and Al-Qur'an Curricula. Meanwhile, Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesia Language) and PPKN (Civic Education) are grouped into *nafi'ah* curriculum. The male and female students are segregated. They start all learning activities by pledging. "Allah is our God, Mohammad is our prophet, Islam is our religion, Al-Qur'an is our teaching." These are followed by reading The Testimony of Faith to strengthen Islamic tenets since their early childhood.
3	Cahaya Rejeki Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a community HS. This HS provides access for those who choose non-formal education. In addition to Quranic Tahfidz, this HS applies the national curriculum. This HS acknowledged having non-Moslem students.
4	Ar-Ridlo Homeschooling	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Community HS. It was established to empower the local people to get out of prostitution activities both in Silir and in the suburban area. It is according to the Islamic Mission. The curriculum is based on the national curriculum and has an emphasis on Islamic Sharia.
5	Syifa	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Community HS. The services of this HS are aimed at accommodating children with special needs and children who have difficulties in studying at formal schools. The Quranic Tahfidz is added up into the national curriculum.

No.	HS	Category	Description
6.	Anugerah Homeschooling	Non-religion based	It is a Single HS. This HS aims to educate children who face difficulties in learning and to encourage children with talents such as singing and writing. This HS teaches the homeschooler to have a relationship with the other children of different religions in their environment. This HS also educates the kid to help each other. The homeschooler is directed to sing national and Javanese songs.
7.	Cahaya Setia Homeschooling	Non- religion based	It is a Single HS that adjusts the learning speed. The learning curriculum is based on Charlotte Masson's philosophy. Religion learning is practice-oriented, not memorizing.
8.	Wangi Melati HS	Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi	It is a Single HS that has principles that parents have the main responsibility for educating the children. The kid starts with Quranic Tahfidz. The high understanding and discipline in executing religious teachings are going to be the guides in life for the children. The kid has a relationship with various groups of people.
Nonreligion-based = 3 Religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi = 4 Religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi = 1			

REGULATIONS IN THE FIELD

In terms of the regulations on HS, Permendikbud (the Education and Culture Ministerial Regulation) Number 129/2014 regarding *Sekolahrumah* is the only official regulation issued by the Indonesian government. This regulation has made provisions about the type of HS (Article 5), along with its implications and operations. In Article 6, it is mentioned that all types of homeschooling are obliged to register. Meanwhile, in Article 13, it is mentioned that "the regional government is obliged to foster the Homeschooling." Thus, administrative responsibilities, quality-fostering, monitoring, and evaluation are entirely handed to the Regional Government, CQ. Regency Education Office.

This research shows that 2 of 6 cities issued additional regulations to copy Permendikbud Article 6. That copy was Regional Regulation (Perda) of Surakarta Number 12 2017 on Education Operation in Article 70, Paragraphs 1-3 and Regional

Regulation of Bandung, Number 26 2009 on Operations of Education Systems in Bandung, which mentions about homeschooling. The Head of Education and Culture Office of Depok – in an interview – once issued an appealing letter, but later it was canceled in 2011 by the same Office. Education and Culture Office of Makassar also conveyed that the Regional Government had once had wills to draw up-regulation on HS, but they were not executed.

The Education and Culture Offices, which were being researched, didn't either have data on HS in their regions. Thus, the implementation of Permendikbud Article 6, stating that every Single and Compound Homeschooling must register themselves by fulfilling some requirements, is inadequate. From these real conditions, the rapid and various growth of homeschooling was not followed by the implementation of regulations, which is one of the procedures for monitoring and evaluation from the Indonesian government. For the government, however, this is aimed to preserve, to improve the quality, and to prevent certain religion-ideology.

RESISTANCE AND VULNERABILITY

In 53 HSs researched, there is resistance for the HSs belonging to non-religion based and religion-based – Islamic Inclusive Salafi, both the Compound and Community HSs. This self-resistance defends them from the spreading radical religion-based ideology. And they encountered a spiral of encapsulations because they had channels for the students to socialize with their communities. Some of them even encouraged the students to be engaged in social activities within their communities, however, for Single HSs, moreover, the ones that had not registered themselves to the Education and Culture Office, they were vulnerably affected in early homeschooling by radical religion-based ideology.

In religion-based – Islamic Exclusive Salafi, students were easier to encounter a spiral of encapsulations. It is because they have lower engagement with the community. This vulnerability may be bigger if the parameters used in this research were not found; (1) the HSs did not teach Religion, Civic Education, and Bahasa Indonesia (Article 7, Paragraph 2); (2) the HSs did not conduct flag-raising ceremony; (3) The HSs did not introduce the national Heroes; (4) HSs did not teach national songs; and (5) HSs did not introduce national symbols (flag, president and vice president photos, Garuda, and national heroes).

RECOMMENDATION

It is suggested that HSs strengthen defense aspects and reduce vulnerability aspects by being more open to diversity and encourage the students to get involved in their social communities. Thus, regardless of any growing HS types, students are not going to commit *spiral encapsulations.*

Composing Technical Guidelines and Operational Guidelines as the derivatives of (Permendikbud) Number 129/2014;

1. Improving procedures for Single and Compound Homeschooling by

applying one-single online submission by the Regional Education and Culture Offices. Thus, the government is going to have the database;

2. Establishing special division or department in Regional Education and Culture Offices that particularly monitor and evaluate the operations of education run by the Community HSs (including permit, curriculum, educators, infrastructure and facilities, and environment;

3. Fulfilling the needs of quality-guaranteeing for UNPK (National Exam on Equalization Education);

4. Obliging the HS students to socialize, to have bonds, and to interact with groups of various backgrounds to harvest tolerance and nationality values

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PESANTREN IN THE MILLENIAL ERA: RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY STUDY TO RADICALISM

BACKGROUND

Judging from the actors involved in terrorism in Indonesia, there are a number of figures with pesantren backgrounds. For example, the perpetrators of the Bali Bombing, Amrozi cs (Mukhlas and Ali Imran), came from the Al-Islam Islamic Boarding School, Tenggulun, Lamongan; 2 Solo terrorist suspects who were shot dead in 2012, Farhan Mujahid and Muchsin Tsani, both of whom graduated from the Ngruki Islamic Boarding School, Solo; and Aman Abdurrahman, leader of Jamaah Ansharud Daulah / JAD, once studied at Pesantren Darussalam, Ciamis. However, it cannot be said that they have represented the face of the pesantren as a whole because most of the pesantren are not exposed to religious radicalism. Indeed, it was reported that a number of Islamic boarding schools indicated radical teachings according to the 2016 National Anti-Terrorism Agency (BNPT) investigation report.[1] But in fact, thousands of other pesantren are still moderate, tolerant and support democracy and the Republic of Indonesia.[2] More than that, pesantren has contributed to the birth of a number of figures who are supporters of Islamic moderation at national and international levels, such as KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, Nurcholish Madjid, KH. Mustofa Bisri, and KH. Husein Muhammad.

Prior to Bali Bombings incident (2002), general perception of pesantren (Islamic boarding school) was not related to radicalism. Between 70s and 90s, the Islamic boarding school discourse in academic writings generally highlighted the nature and the role of Islamic boarding school in the context of preserving religious traditions (Dhofier, 1983; Steenbrink, 1989) and how Islamic boarding school responded to change and modernity (Raharjo, 1974; Ziemek, 1986; Kuntowijoyo, 1991; Mastuhu, 1994). Those writings generally argued whether Islamic boarding school has the potential to become agents of change or actually hinder development. This is due to the strong perception that Islamic boarding school education has character of "conservative Islam", the term used by Deliar Noer (1973). The issue of religious radicalism or moderatism has not received special attention. However, some writings have implicitly mentioned what is considered today as a form of religious

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1 "BNPT: 19 Islamic boarding schools are indicated to teach radicalism," accessed 27 May 2019, https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20160203201841-20-108711/bnpt-19-pesantren-terindikasi-ajarkan-radikalisme.

2 Even the Al-Mukmin Ngruki Islamic Boarding School, Solo, which was already labeled a radical Islamic boarding school, gave birth to the figure of Noor Huda Ismail, a person known to be actively campaigning for peace. In an interview Noor Huda Ismail admitted that he once shared a room with the 2002 Bali Bombing suspect, Fadlullah Hasan, while studying at the Ngruki Islamic Boarding School, Solo. Since 2008, Noor Huda, through the "Yayasan Prasasti Perdamaian" he founded, has helped de-radicalize terrorist convicts. See "My Life: Noor Huda Ismail," South China Morning Post, 23 August 2014, https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/article/1578415/my-life-noor-huda-ismail.

moderation. Bruinessen (1995) and Madjid (1997) present Islamic boarding school in terms of their closeness to Sufism - a religious culture that is passive towards political interests; instead emphasizes purification of the heart, tranquility of the soul, and the closest approach to God.

After Bali Bombings in 2002, Islamic boarding school and their associations to radicalism began to attract the interest of socio-religious researchers. Studies showed that Islamic ideologies, both Salafi and Ikhwani, have influenced the formation and style of religious understanding of several Islamic boarding schools identified as radical (Bruinessen, 2008; Qodir, 2003; Soepriyadi 2003; Al-Makassary and Gaus AF, 2010). The existence of Islamism in Islamic boarding school, which is known to be radical, cannot be said to be completely transnational. Bruinessen (2008) suggests the effect of Darul Islam (DI) local ideology in the history of the founding of Ngruki Islamic Boarding School, Solo.[3] Islamic ideology in the style of Ngruki islamic boarding school has influenced religious understanding of several other Islamic boarding schools. One of them is Nurussalam Ciamis Islamic boarding school whose caretakers are now held by alumni of Ngruki Islamic Boarding School (Basri, 2017). Development and dynamics of Salafism in Indonesia have also influenced the religious understanding of contemporary Islamic boarding school. It must be said, however, that although they both preach Islamic puritanism, not every Salafi sect is radical-jihadi oriented. Some Salafi variants are a-political and cooperative with the government, although other variants are politically active and critical of the government (Wahid, 2012; Basri, 2017).

Even though the socio-political and security impacts caused by Islamic boarding school alumni who are labeled as radically oriented are very impactful, this type of Islamic boarding school is still very small in number compared to Islamic boarding school with moderate religious understanding (Bruinessen, 2008). In fact, some Islamic boarding schools that are considered radical by National Counter Terrorism Agency (BNPT), their management staffs and caregivers tend to reject this identification and suspect the political motivation behind the label (Basri, 2017). Despite the generally moderate claims of Islamic boarding school, studies on religious moderation in Islamic boarding school have so far been not serious. Some preliminary researches (Farida, 2015) showed that religious moderation in Islamic boarding school is characterized primarily by its ability to adopt change while maintaining the Islamic characteristics inherent in Islamic boarding school culture. Another characteristic is the ability of Islamic boarding school to accommodate local culture - a capacity derived from the flexibility of Shafi'i School adopted by traditional Islamic boarding school. Moderate Islamic boarding school is also characterized by Islamic learning methods that rely on literature or Mu'tabara Book, a type of book

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3   Apart from Ngruki Islamic boarding school, establishment of Al-Zaytun Islamic boarding school and Hidayatullah Islamic boarding school was inspired by the ideology of Darul Islam. See Martin van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantren in Contemporary Indonesia," in The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages, ed. by Farish A. Noor, Yoginder Sikand, and Martin van Bruinessen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

believed to have a genealogical chain (scientific sanad) with previous scholars. The use of these mu'tabara book is believed to prevent Islamic boarding school from the ideology of jihadism taught in books that are deemed unreasonable. In certain cases, some moderate Islamic boarding schools have gone beyond traditional thinking, to open themselves up to liberal religious views. This includes accepting the discourse on compatibility of Islam with democracy, Islam with human rights, and Islam with gender equality (Farida, 2015). Based on that, it is implied that religious moderation is represented by Islamic boarding school with traditional/salafi religious understandings and practices. Meanwhile, religious radicalism is generally displayed by Islamic boarding school characterized by reformist, non-madhhab, and puritanist religious understandings (Bruinessen, 2008).

In line with the rapid increase in the number of pesantren in the last two decades,[4] types and forms of pesantren education have also developed. Observed from its education and teaching system, pesantren can be divided into traditional, modern, and independent (Jamhari, 2009). However, seen from their religious understanding and political ideology, pesantren can be categorized into traditional, modern, fundamentalist, and jihadist (Takeshi, 2009). Apart from the above categorization, it is not clear how to map the religious moderation in pesantren is; how it develops or occurs; how it isis maintained in the different categories of pesantren above. Put this question in a more specific context; how reformist and non-traditionalist Islamic boarding schools, such as Pesantren Gontor / similar to it, Pesantren Persis, and Pesantren Muhammadiyah, apply Islamic moderation in the midst of the rise of Salafism with its various variants. Similar questions can apply to Salafi-Wahabi pesantren, whether they are non-jihadi, non-haraki, or tanzhimi (such as the Wahdah Islamiyah Islamic Boarding School in South Sulawesi). How these Salafi Islamic boarding schools position themselves in the modern and democratic setting of Indonesian state politics.

The integration of pesantren education into the national education system has had a significant impact on the vertical mobilization of pesantren alumni. In addition, according to Bruinessen (2008), the education integration policy has led to the birth of a group of young Muslim intellectuals with santri backgrounds. At this point, the national education integration policy can be seen as having played a role in maintaining or developing religious moderation in the pesantren education system. Currently, the Indonesian Ministry of Religion is mainstreaming religious moderation to prevent the growth of intolerance and radicalism through Islamic boarding schools. To provide legal legitimacy for this religious moderation policy, the Government has passed the Islamic Boarding School Bill (RUU). In the context of the religious-political policy above, the study of how the protective factors and risk factors for pesantren against radicalism and the development of pesantren

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4   In the last two decades, pesantren have experienced massive development and growth. According to data from the Indonesian Ministry of Religion, the number of Islamic boarding schools has increased from 14,798 in 2015 to 28,194 in 2016

resistance against radicalism from various pesantren typologies can be strategic insights for developing pesantren education policies and religious education.

OBJECTIVES

1. To review and generate knowledge related to the level of resilience or vulnerability of pesantren from various typologies in Indonesia in the face of radicalism and violent extremism.

2. To review and produce knowledge about how the process of building resilience (resilience building) of Islamic boarding schools in facing radicalism and violent extremism, including how it is involved in promoting Islamic moderation and the pillars of state and national life (Pancasila, the Constitution, NKRI, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika).

3. To contribute to the development of research-based policies aimed at preventing and overcoming the spread of extreme attitudes and behaviors of violence and radicalism in Islamic boarding schools.

4. To contribute to the development of research-based policies aimed at strengthening the involvement of pesantren in the prevention and spread of extreme attitudes, violent behavior, and radicalism.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to enable research to be more focused, the research problem will be limited to the following general questions:

1. What is the level of resilience or vulnerability of pesantren from various typologies when facing radicalism and violent extremism?

2. What are the risk factors and protective factors that have affected the resilience of pesantren or their vulnerability to radicalism and violent extremism so far?

3. How do pesantren build resilience (resilience building) towards the influence of radicalism and violent extremism through its education system which includes 4 components (Kiai and ustaz, literature/books, pedagogy, and pesantren/education management)?

4. In relation to question number 3, how do pesantren accept and support gender equality in the pesantren environment?

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

VIOLENT RADICALISM AND EXTREMISM

1. **RADIKALISME**
   Radicalism is an ideology or movement that has a strong desire to make

complete changes, if necessary by force, to the existing social and political system with other social and political systems regarded to be better and right by radicals (Schmid, 2013, p. 10; Veldhuis and Staun, 2009, p. 4; Angus, 2016, p. 2). Radicalism can arise from political ideology, or any religious ideology, including Islam. The relationship between politics and religion in radicalism is very close, where the radicalization (hardening) of religious understanding, although justified by certain religious interpretations, is basically driven by political desire (Angus, 2016, p. 3).

2. **VIOLENT EXTREMISM**

is an ideology or socio-political movement whose position is far from the mainstream socio-political view. Similar to radicalism, extremism also has a passionate desire to promote comprehensive change (kaffah) in social, cultural, political, and even ordinary life systems. However, in violent extremism, it is believed that this comprehensive change can only be realized in extreme ways, including coercion by force and even terrorism, without considering the coexistence of fellow humans (Schmid, 2013, p. 11; Angus, 2016, p. 2; Bertelsen, 2016, p.1; UNISCO, 2016, p. 11).

3. **DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RADICALISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM.**

These two ideologies and movements have much in common. However, both are distinguished in terms of the use of violence where violent extremism justifies various means of violence to achieve its ideological goals, whereas radicalism does not always require the use of force. Another difference lies in the acceptance of rationality. While radicalism is still open to arguments and debates, violent extremism completely shuts itself off from rational arguments (Schmid, 2013, p. 10; Angus, 2016, p. 2; Veldhuis and Staun, 2009, p. 4). Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is an example of a radical movement that does not use violent means, besides being open to the public and engaging in discussions and debates. In many Muslim countries, Hizb ut-Tahrir is a banned organization, as well as in European countries. Britain initially allowed HT to operate but this organization was later banned because it was deemed responsible for the radicalization of many young Muslims there (Azzam, 2007, p. 127). While examples of contemporary violent extremist movements are the Neo-Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, ISIS, and Boko Haram.

4. **CHARACTERISTICS OF RADICALISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM.**

These two types of ideology and movement have the same characteristics, namely: 1) justifying the use of violence and ignoring persuasion. Even for religious extremists, violence is not just a method to achieve ideological goals, but also to purify sins, liberate, and draw closer to God (Veldhuis and Staun, 2009, p. 4; Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2013, p. 5); 2) rejecting the constitution, prioritizing uniformity over diversity. Historically, Fascism and Communism are two ideological extremists who reject diversity in society; (3) promote collective goals at the expense of individual rights and freedoms; 4) the fanatical and intolerant dichotomy between black

and white; and 5) emphasizes authoritarianism or the reversal of one's own ideas rather than dialogue and democracy (Schmid, 2013, pp. 8-9; Veldhuis and Staun, 2009, p. 4; Angus, 2016; p. 3).

5. **FACTORS CAUSING RADICALISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM.**

Nash, Nesterova, et al (2017, pp. 91-92), describe the factors that cause a person to be attracted and compelled to participate in radicalism and violent extremism. The first factors are called push factors, namely the personal situation, the social environment, and the structural (macro) conditions that surround a person's life. These factors, especially those of a structural nature (feelings of being excluded, feelings of being oppressed by dominant political forces), constitute one's perceptions of an objective situation - perceptions which can be supported by objective conditions, can also be subjective or imaginative in nature. The second factor is called pull factors (pull factors) come from the propaganda and invitations of radical and extremist groups who try to offer remedies and solutions to various problems that people feel and complain about (grievances) about themselves, the social environment, the state, and even globally.

Pull Factor	Push Factor
Identity Crisis	Sense of identity and belonging given by the extremists
Feeling economically and politically isolated	The offers of economical and political benefits
Feeling insecure in unfulfilled basic needs by the current governments	The offers of security and fulfilled the basic needs
Discriminated and excluded from one's community	The offers of networks, acceptance, and warmth from the extremist
Perception of failed leadership	Hope for empowerment, heroism, and leadership from extremist
Perception of crimes, oppression, and corruption	Opportunity for revenge

RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY TO RADICALISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM

1. **MEANING OF THE WORD RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITIES**

The word "resilience" means "elasticity" and "flexibility". The same word refers to two related senses. First, "the ability to survive and not be susceptible to something" (Macmillan Dictionary); second, "the ability to recover quickly from a difficulty, adversity, or disease"

(https://writingexplained.org/resilience). The term resilience is also used in the field of disaster management studies. Rockefeller Report (defines "resilience" as "the capacity of individuals, communities, and systems to survive, adapt, and grow in the face of stress and shocks, and even transform when conditions require" (the ability of individuals, communities, and systems to survive, adapts and grows when countering with stress and shock, and even to transform when circumstances demand it) (The Royal Society, 2014, p. 18; http://www.rockefellerfoundation. org/c5672a43a097- climate.pdf, accessed July 27, 2019).

The opposite of the word "resilience" is "vulnerability". Vulnerability in general "refers to the tendency to be adversely affected, easily hurt and less able to cope with problems and adapt to changes." If "resilience" is a characteristic that leads to a positive outcome, then "vulnerability" is a characteristic that leads to a negative outcome. Vulnerability is also associated with risk factors, namely the influence of the environment that makes a vulnerable person more susceptible to adverse effects from pressure or shock. In a vulnerability study to the dangers of drugs, for example, the conditions of "broken home families", "poverty", "drop-out from." Schools ", and" bad city environment "were assessed as risk factors that accelerate vulnerable children to engage in drug trafficking. On the other hand, protective factors are individual and environmental characteristics that reflect the absence of risk factors and the presence of increasing factors (i.e not just eliminating risk factors) (Glantz and Johnson, 2002).

2. RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY TO VIOLENT RADICALISM AND EXTREMISM

The concepts of "resilience" and "vulnerability" as described above have also been applied in studies on violent extremism. Horgan (2008) as quoted by Borum (2014) explains "vulnerabilities" as factors that are owned by people that make it easier to engage in violent extremism. " In contrast, "resilience" refers to factors possessed by a person that makes him less susceptible to being influenced by violent extremism.

In his research on psychological vulnerability to violent extremism, Borum (2014, pp. 291-292) mentions three psychological factors that make people vulnerable to the influence of extremist ideology and movements. These three factors are part of the push factors described earlier.

First, the need to get meaning in life and identity. Venhaus (2010) in his study found that followers of al-Qaeda generally have a strong desire to find meaning in life and self-identity. Those who experience an identity crisis are vulnerable to being influenced by extremist ideologies that see the problem based on only two polarisations--right and wrong in black and white.

Second, the need to be part of a group (belonging). In addition, the

human desire to be part of a social group is also a factor in someone being attracted to radical movements. Many studies confirm that it is the need for a sense of belonging that attracts young people to extremist ideology. After they become part of radical and extremist groups, then the process of indoctrination of extremist ideology begins to be carried out gradually to make radicalism a way of life.

Third, the perception or feeling of being tyrannized or the loss of self-esteem. The perception of the injustice that befell him and his group as well as a feeling of loss of self-worth encourages people to accuse other parties of being the cause of this injustice. On the other hand, knowing the facts of injustice triggers the perception of injustice.

Borum (2014) emphasizes the role of "mental attitude" (mindset) and "world view" which is the basis for one's psychological vulnerability to violent extremism.

3. **RISK FACTORS AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS**

   a) **Risk factors** are "individual characteristics and environmental influences that make someone who is vulnerable more easily experience impact from stress or shock"(Glantz and Johnson,2002). In the context of radicalism and violent extremism, risk factors make it easier for a vulnerable person to be drawn to radical and extremist movements. Monahan (2016) argues that risk factors are not a direct cause of violent extremism, such as suicide bombings. Monahan said that one's mental attitude and worldview play an important role as risk factors.

      According to him, there are 4 risk factors: 1) thinking ideologically with black-and-white characteristics, and prefer indoctrination to dialogue; 2) one's affiliation with groups indoctrinating radical ideologies; 3) the perception of tyranny and injustice that befell him and his group; 4) strong moral emotions or moral motivation. Referring to the push factors and pull factors above, these factors can be said in general as factors risks to radicalism and violent extremism.

   b) **Risk factors in the educational environment**. Apart from the above risk factors and pull factors, educational and teaching processes in the educational environment can contribute to risk factors.

      • First, the dominance of teaching and educating methods that emphasize ideological indoctrination, sowing an absolutist way of thinking with black-and-white characteristics in seeing problems.

      • Second, easy access for radical and extremist groups and networks to join and socialize with residents of the educational environment.

- Third, the spread of information about conflicts and incidents that indicate the existence of injustice and tyranny of one group against another, without any attempt to discuss and discuss it critically.

- Fourth, there is the cultivation and strengthening of moral emotions or spirit to fight injustice and tyranny in the educational environment, without discussing critically how to make it happen.

c) **Protective factors**, "individual and environmental characteristics that reflect the presence of factors that increase resistance to adverse impacts and stress or shock, in addition to indicating the absence of the above risk factors (Glantz and Johnson, 2002).

d) **Protective factors in the educational environment**. Nash, Nesterova, et al (2017) mention several processes that support the availability of protective factors in the educational environment.

- Development of critical thinking.

- An atmosphere of open discussion and tolerance.

- The presence of teachers who can be the role models for the growth of a mental attitude that is critical, inclusive, and tolerant.

- Literature and pedagogy support character building and a student mindset that is critical, inclusive, and tolerant.

- School management supports student engagement with diversity in society.

BUILDING RESILIENCE TO RADICALISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMISM

The combination of risk factors can create opportunities for young people who are exposed to them to join radicalism and extremes of violence. Meanwhile, protective factors can slow down, stop, or eliminate these risk factors altogether. The study suggests policymakers strive to increase community resilience through the cooperation of various parties with the aim of increasing protective factors against various possibilities (Weine and Horgan, 2014, p. 2).

1. **Definition of Building Resilience:** building resilience to radicalism and violent extremism is a process that aims to increase community resilience and prevent them from being attracted to violent extremism. One of the most effective ways to build resilience is by overcoming the driving factors (see the table of push factors) (British Council, 2017).

2. **Building Resilience through Educational Institutions.** Educational institutions play an important role in building youth resilience against radicalism and extremism through teaching and education that aims to shape the character, mindset, and mental skills of young people so that later they will have resilience, flexibility, and resilience in facing various life problems. both personal, family, social, and even structural. In accordance with their duties and functions, educational institutions are not aimed directly at addressing the problems of poverty, unemployment, inequality, and corruption that occur in government, society, and even global circles - which problems can be the driving factors for radicalism and violent extremism. However, educational institutions can ideally be expected to provide human resources who are capable of facing and overcoming these various problems through an educational process that involves teachers, subject matter or literature, pedagogy, and educational management support to achieve the intended educational goals. Thus, building resilience through educational institutions can indirectly contribute to increasing resilience and prevent young people from being seduced by radicalism and violent extremism.

Following the perspective of Nash, Nesterova, et al (2017), the development of resilience in the educational environment aims to present protective factors in the educational environment, which include:

- The development of *critical thinking*.

- Open and tolerant discussion.

- The existence of teachers who can be role models for children's development in terms of critical thinking, inclusive, and tolerant attitude.

- Literature and pedagogy support character building and a student's mindset to be critical, inclusive, and tolerant.

In addition to the 5 main factors above, of course, we can consider skills training in communication, entrepreneurship, and managing organizations, etc., which are held in schools can be factors that indirectly provide capital for the resilience of young people against radicalism. and violent extremism in society.

3. **Resilience Development Patterns**. So far there have been no serious studies into patterns of resilience to radicalism and extremism in the educational environment. Theoretical information on patterns of resilience has been provided by natural disaster mitigation literature. Perhaps research in educational settings can adapt this theory to understand patterns of response by educational institutions to the dangers of radicalism and violent extremism. In reports on community resilience to extreme climate change, information is obtained about community responses depending on the level of likelihood of extreme

weather occurring and the perceived danger, as well as the need for change to increase resilience. The less likely the extremism will occur, the smaller the changes required as part of resilience. This means that people's awareness of the possibility of extreme weather affects their response.

First, not doing anything in response to extreme weather changes is considered as a negative attitude towards resilience.

Second, the most minimal response is to "survive", at least it is better than doing nothing or not changing anything (business as usual). Surviving in the context of extreme climate change is bearing the pain of the impact of these dangers, but at the risk of decreasing quality of life as a consequence. The response at this level ("survive") is mostly done because usually, people will not be sensitive if they do not directly experience the disaster.

Third, the response to this pattern is more proactive, namely adapting, by making changes to the structure and lifestyle, when facing stresses and shocks due to these hazards. Responses like these can lead to a potentially improved quality of life.

Fourth, the last and highest response is transformation, namely making fundamental changes in the system, which take place sooner or later. Although a transformative response can be taken as a reaction to a disaster, the same response can also be done as a proactive attitude. However, all these responses are processes. Adaptation and transformation are planned processes with desired change parameters. Meanwhile, the "survive" response is usually individual and spontaneous, not systematic through a planned and measured program (The Royal Society, 2014, p. 18; http://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/c5672a43a097- climate.pdf, accessed July 27, 2019, p. 19).

METHODOLOGY

To answer the key research questions as presented above, the methodology used applies two approaches simultaneously, namely qualitative and quantitative approaches. The qualitative approach is the main approach in which in-depth interviews and direct observation of 42 Islamic boarding schools were conducted in 8 provinces as the research locations. The qualitative methodology used is the applied qualitative approach (applied qualitative research) and uses the Interpretive Phenomenology (IP) approach. having these approaches, the research aims to understand, analyze, and explore why and how the pesantren stakeholders under this study build, care for, maintain, and develop their resistance to radicalism and extremism. On the other hand, it is also to understand why and how the pesantren stakeholders were being exposed to radicalism and extremism (if exposed) despite the incessant rejection of these ideologies by the government and society.

Meanwhile, the quantitative approach with surveys is a supportive approach to see the opinions, attitudes, and behavior of 207 pesantren stakeholders as the respondents. The combination of these two types of data collection is intended to produce comprehensive research by presenting the percentage trend in graphical form which is revealed through the survey and analyzed critically based on in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews were conducted to explore the phenomena obtained from the survey results. This deepening is mostly to answer the question of how the level of vulnerability or resilience of pesantren from various typologies in an effort to face the challenges of the ideology of radicalism and violent extremism, why these pesantren were vulnerable or have resistance, what are the factors that influenced them, how pesantren build resilience, and to answer other research questions above.

Respondents of the survey samples were selected purposively and survey respondents were those who were the sources of in-depth interviews consisting of pesantren leaders (Kiai / Nyai), senior pesantren teachers, junior pesantren teachers, pesantren administrators, and Santri (student) organization administrators. The survey was conducted to see trends in the views, attitudes, and behavior of respondents related to the level of vulnerability or resilience of the pesantren from various pesantren typologies in facing the ideology of radicalism and violent extremism. The survey results do not represent the views of pesantren at a provincial or even national level because the sample is not proportional, but only provides information on trends in the views of informants related to this research topic. The method of collecting survey data is by conducting face-to-face interviews with respondents. The interview uses a questionnaire written in sequential order of questions. In other words, data collection was carried out in a structured manner (structured interview). Interviews were conducted by researchers before conducting in-depth interviews.

Informants were selected using an intensity purposed sampling technique. This technique aims to select research sources in such a way as to reflect the characteristics of the group being studied and to make it easier to conduct a comparative analysis of their views, behavior, and attitudes towards the issue being researched. The sources of this research were 25 people from each province (5 people per pesantren), which spreads over 42 pesantren with various categories, in 8 provinces.

In-depth interviews in this study explored the views of 207 resource persons who are boarding school leaders, pesantren administrators, senior pesantren teachers, junior pesantren teachers, and administrators of Santri (student) organizations in 42 pesantren from 8 research location provinces. The table below shows the categories of pesantren based on religious patterns and political affiliations which are the study locus. This study succeeded in conducting in-depth interviews at the pesantren of Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), Dayah, Gontor and its affiliates, Muhammadiyah, Persis, Hidayatullah, Nahdhatul Wathon (NW), and Salafi with the category of pesantren in each province as illustrated in the table below:

Tabel 1
Distribution of In-depth Interview Resource Persons by Province and Origin of the Pesantren

NO.	PESANTREN	CATEGORY	REGION
1.	Darussalam Labuhan Haji, Aceh Selatan	Traditionalist	Aceh
2	Mahyal Ulum Al-'Aziziyah, Aceh Besar	Traditionalist	Aceh
3	Darul Muta'allimin, Aceh Barat	Modernist	Aceh
4	Pondok Modern Gontor 10, Aceh Besar	Modernist	Aceh
5	Imam Syafi'i (Asy-Syafi'iyyah), Aceh Besar	Salafi Wahabi	Aceh
6	An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang	Traditionalist	Banten
7	At-Thohiriyah, Serang	Traditionalist	Banten
8	Darul Arqom, Serang	Modernist	Banten
9	Darul Qolam, Tangerang	Modernist	Banten
10	Darunnajah 9, Tangerang Selatan	Modernist	Banten
11	Darul Ulum Lido, Bogor	Traditionalist	West Java
12	Darul Muttaqien, Bogor	Modernist	West Java
13	PERSIS, Bandung	Modernist	West Java
14	Darul Arqom, Garut	Modernist	West Java
15	YAPIDH, Bekasi	Salafi Wahabi	West Java
16	Raudlotut Thalibin, Rembang	Traditionalist	Central Java
17	Pesantren Tahfidz Nurul Qur'an, Pati	Traditionalist	Central Java
18	Pesantren Hasyim Asy'ari, Jepara	Traditionalist	Central Java
19	Pondok Modern Tazakka, Batang	Modernist	Central Java
20	Darul Arqom, Kendal	Modernist	Central Java
21	Masjid Jajar, Surakarta	Salafi Wahabi	Central Java
22	Pondok Modern Gontor (Pusat), Ponorogo	Modernist	East Java
23	PERSIS Putera, Bangil	Modernist	East Java
24	As-Salafi Al-Fitrah,Surabaya	Tradisionalist	East Java
25	Sidogiri, Pasuruan	Traditionalist	East Java
26	Al-Furqan Al-Islam, Gresik	Salafi Wahabi	East Java
27	Al-Falah Putera, Banjarbaru	Traditionalist	South Kalimantan
28	Al-Ihsan Puteri, Banjarmasin	Traditionalist	South Kalimantan

29	Darul Hijrah Puteri, Banjarbaru	Modernist	South Kalimantan
30	Hidayatullah, Banjarbaru	Modernist	South Kalimantan
31	Al-Furqon, Banjarmasin	Modernist	South Kalimantan
32	An-Nahdlah, Makassar	Traditionalist	South Sulawesi
33	Bahrul Ulum, Gowa	Traditionalist	South Sulawesi
34	Abnaul Amir, Gowa	Modernist	South Sulawesi
35	Darul Arqom, Makassar	Modernist	South Sulawesi
36	Ummul Mukminin, Makassar	Modernist	South Sulawesi
37	Wahdah Islamiyah, Makassar	Salafi Haraki	South Sulawesi
38	Islahuddiny, Lombok Barat	Traditionalist	West Nusa Tenggara
39	Darul Abror, Lombok Timur	Traditionalist	West Nusa Tenggara
40	Al-Ikhlas, Bima	Modernist	West Nusa Tenggara
41	Abu Hurairah, Mataram	Salafi Wahabi	West Nusa Tenggara
42	As-Salam, Bima	Salafi Jihadi	West Nusa Tenggara

PESANTRENT CATEGORIES

This study categorizes pesantren based on religious and political ideology with the characteristics inherent in the pesantren, as follows:

TRADITIONAL PESANTREN

It has several characteristics: mazhab; understand Islam through the yellow books (Islamic classical books) both Asya'riyah in faith and Syafi'iyah in fiqh; Tasawuf especially Al-Ghazali Sufism; and accepting local culture such as festivals, seven months, maulidan (commemorating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad), sacrifice at the sea, and so on; reluctant or slow to accept modern institutions from the West; ideologically it can accept Pancasila as the consensus (ijma') of the ulama. The characteristics of this traditional pesantren are represented by:

1. Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools affiliated to Nahdhatul Ulama (NU).

2. Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools affiliated to Nahdhatul Wathan (NW) Lombok.

3. Dayah Islamic boarding schools in Aceh.

REFORMIST / MODERNIST PESANTREN

It has characteristics: lack of or no sect; claim back to Al-Quran and Hadith (do not rely on the opinion of classical scholars in worship and creed, so go directly to the hadith); lack of sympathy or even antipathy with Sufism; tend to hesitate or hostile to local culture because they are considered heretic; some of them accept modern educational institutions from the West as long as they do not interfere with creed; some accept Pancasila not on the basis of religious doctrine, but as part of negotiations, but others reject it because it is deemed not in accordance with the Al-Quran and Sunnah). This characteristic is represented by the following pesantren:

1. Pesantren Gontor and its families (reformist base, but respect turats. Islam in general, this group of Pesantran can accept qunut and wirid (remembrance upon Allah) after the prayers as a form of tolerance towards the NU tradition; alumni vary depending on the dominant interaction with habitus or descents of Prophet Muhammad).

2. Muhammadiyah Islamic boarding schools, PERSIS, Al-Khairat (reformist, modernist basis institutional, religiously puritanical, less tolerant of traditions except for Al-Khairat, perhaps because of its many Habib).

3. Salafi Islamic boarding schools (reformist basis, anti-traditionalism, but returning to the sunnah Salafush Shalih, more puritanical than the above, the agenda is to replace Salafiyyah with Salafi, maybe it could turn into radical metamorphosis). There are 3 types of Salafi pesantren:

    a) Salafi-Wahabi La Hizbiyyah (accepting the government as long as Muslims; not in politics).

    b) Salafi Haraki / Hizbiyyah (influenced by the Ikhwan movement, for example, Pesantren Hidayatullah).

    c) Salafi Jihadi (against bid'ah and polytheism with jihad; intolerance to those who are interpreted, who are preached; and political systems other than early age of Islamiyyah are considered thagut, some variants of the Ngruki Islamic Boarding School and family

    d) Ngruki: Al-Islam Tenggulun, Lamongan, and so on).

SCHEDULE AND LOCATION OF PROGRAM

The entire series of activities during the course of this research took an effective 6 months, from July to December 2019 with field trips for 3 weeks. This research program was carried out in 8 provinces in Indonesia, namely: Aceh, Banten, West Java, Central Java, East Java, South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, and West Nusa Tenggara.

Lokasi Program

RESEARCH FINDINGS

PESANTREN: BETWEEN RESILIENCE AND VULNERABILITY

I. PROTECTIVE FACTORS

a) Kiai and Yellow Books (Islamic Classic Books)

Pesantren experts (Dhofier, 1994; Prasojo, 1978; Arifin, 1993; Mastuhu, 1994) mention that among the characteristics of pesantren, apart from the essence of Santri and dormitories, is the central figure of the Kiai and the yellow books. We still find such images, especially among traditional pesantren. Compared to other types of pesantren. Traditional Islamic boarding schools (NU, Aswaja) are the most aware of making Kiai and the yellow book as two protective factors for pesantren from religious radicalism.

Times may change, but the figure of a charismatic Kiai is still believed to be a role model for religious moderation in the traditional pesantren community. Kiai is seen as the real manifestation of religious values, morals, and ideal Islamic behavior. Even in the eyes of the exemplary pesantren, it extends to the political sphere. "That is the way of Ahlussunnah, right? Follow the Kiai. Just come along where Kiai or PKB (National Awakening Party) go. In the past, we follow Gus Dur, right…," explained Nyai Maftuhah Minan, leader of the Tahfidz Nurul Qur'an Islamic Boarding School, Pati, Central Java.[5]

By mentioning the Kiai's name as a reference for religious morality, it is sufficient for traditional pesantren to understand how to respond to religious radicalism--that is, by imitating the behavior

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5   Interview with Nyai Maftuhah Minan, a Caregiver of PP Tahfidz Nurul Qur'an, Pati, 28 July 2019.

of their Kiai. Kiai Mustafa Bisri, one example. As the caretaker of PP Roudhatul Thalibin, Rembang, Gus Mus (usually called), is widely known not only as a charismatic scholar but also as a humanist and culturalist. For the caregivers of PP Roudhatul Thalibin, the figure of Gus Mus is a guarantee of the resilience (resilience) of the pesantren against hardline or radical religious understandings. Just take a look at the explanation of Kiai Makin, caregiver of PP Roudhatul Thalibin, Rembang, below:

> "We see the figure of Mbah Mus as the most ideal example for the students here. So, the students here are prepared to avoid being anarchists towards other people, while other people who are not our ideals. All praises to Allah, the Santri, and the Thionghoa community have a good relationship. Even, Catholic communities are the next-door neighbors. The Kiai is the Kiai of Catholic."[6]

Besides the Kiai is seen as a manifestation of behavior, the yellow book is believed to be a normative-intellectual form that protects pesantren against radicalism. The yellow book means more than just a book whose paper is yellow. The yellow book refers to a classical literary system whose content includes three Islamic discourses: the teachings of Aqidah Asy'ariyah, Fiqih Syafi'iyah, and Tasawuf Akhlaqi (especially the teachings of Imam al-Ghazali). Furthermore, they are also complemented with the religious literature, which is equally important, linguistic books (Nahwu-Sharaf), and classical Arabic rhetoric (Ilmu Balaghah). These linguistic books serve as tools to access various Islamic literacy in Arabic, from basic books to advanced books. Mastery of the yellow book system is believed to result in a Muslim person who is resilient (flexible) not only against radical religious teachings but also against counter-religious ideology. This is confirmed by KH. Musyaffa ', caregiver of PP As-Salafi Al-Fitrah, Surabaya:

> "(In the pesantren) there are manteq, philosophy of science, Islamic philosophy. Such sciences are being taught. Let alone, students can learn philosophy, the theories "Yai (Kiai) call Communists". Teaching it is okay. For example Karl Max. We are not afraid. It is because the students are protected by Ahlussunnah from ibtida '(ground level) until 'ulya (high level)."[7]

The view that the yellow book is central in shaping the mindset of the pesantren community so that it is resistant to radicalism is also

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6   Interview with KH Makin Soimuri, a Caregiver of PP Roudhatul Thalibin, Rembang, 5 August 2019.

7   Interview with KH Dr. Musyaffa', Caregiver PP As-Salafi Al-Fitrah, Surabaya, 14 Agustus 2019.

prominent in Dayah, the name of pesantren for the people of Aceh. Like the NU pesantren, Dayah is characterized by a deep devotion to the Ahlussunah Wal-Jamaa'h (Aswaja) Theology. For traditional Dayah caregivers, teachers, and Santri, the yellow book is a benchmark for assessing religious ideology, including responding to radical movements. A Dayah female Santri Darul Muta'allimin, West Aceh, confidently said, "The books we have studied are enough to fight radicalism and terrorism ... Dayah here always teaches her students to be polite and respect each other."[8]

From the perspective of some teachers in the Dayah, radicalism is caused by the wrong belief or a result of a misunderstanding of interpreting the Quran. Realizing the possibility of receiving a radical understanding that used the verses of the Qur'an as justification, the pesantren made a program to recite the tafsir book regularly. In Dayah Mahyal 'Ulum al-Aziziyah, Aceh Besar, an NU-affiliated pesantren, mastery of the yellow books or the turats books is a requirement for recruiting teachers who will teach these books according to their level. This selection model is believed to be a powerful strategy to build pesantren resilience against radicalism. "So, in my opinion, there is no negative understanding in this institution, because the teaching staff who serve are really well-selected," concluded Ustadz Aria, a teacher at PP Mahyal Ulum al-'Aziziyah, Aceh Besar.[9]

The belief in the Islamic learning system based on the yellow book is very large and it is reflected in the attitude of Dayah caregivers to make reasoning based on the yellow book as a benchmark for assessing the validity of a religious understanding and ideology. Ustadzah Evida, a senior teacher at PP Darul Muta'allimin, West Aceh, refuses to understand HTI and forbids his students from joining HTI. It is not because of HTI's political arguments which are considered illogical or utopian, as some critical view. He rejected it precisely because HTI's active religious thinking method rests too much on logic, and does not refer to the yellow book.[10]

Other types of pesantren, such as the Gontor Islamic Boarding School and its affiliates, the Darul Arqom Islamic Boarding School which is affiliated with Muhammadiyah, the Persis Pesantren, or the Salafi Islamic Boarding Schools, of course, have a Kiai or caregiver. Likewise, ideally, these Kiai and caregivers are role models for students, teachers, and pesantren families. However, in the non-traditional pesantren system, the Kiai is not positioned as the identity of the pesantren nor is his figure seen as the symbol of

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8   Interview with Rahmi Yati, a female student of Dayah Darul Muta'allimin, Aceh Barat, 7 Agustus 2019.

9   Interview with Ust Aria, a teacher Dayah Mahyal Ulum Al-'Aziziyah, Aceh Besar, 24 July 2019.

10 Interview with Ustadzah Evida, a senior teacher Dayah Darul Muta'allimin, Aceh Barat, 7 Agustus 2019.

the pesantren values as found in the traditional pesantren system.

Non-traditional Islamic boarding schools such as the above ones also called modernist and reformist pesantren (because of their ideological orientation to reform) and puritan (orientation to the purification of religious teachings, such as the Salafi Islamic boarding school), generally do not teach the yellow books, except for a few pesantren which combine two different educational systems. Namely, combining the modern pesantren system with the teaching of the yellow books. Pesantren Gontor and its affiliates teach their students to read at least one yellow book, although not in-depth. The book that is being read is a book of comparative schools of fiqh entitled Bidayatul Mujtahid, the work of Ibn Rushd from the Maliki School. However, the book is not known in the traditional Syafi'iyyah system of pesantren. Even though he reads Maliki fiqh works, Gontor himself in religious practice adopts rituals of worship that are generally practiced among Nahdhiyyin, such as remembrance of Allah after praying and reciting Qunut during Fajr prayers.

Some of the Gontor affiliated pesantren (eg Pesantren Al-Amin, Perinduan, Madura) apart from running the Gontor system also teach some fiqh and nahwu-sharaf (grammar) books to their students. Pesantren Wahdah Islamiyyah, Makassar, which is a Salafist, after collaborating with the Central Ministry of Religion also taught several books on Syafi'iyyah fiqh, such as Fathul Qarib. Even though they teach the books of fiqhiyyah Syafi'iyyah, these pesantren do not necessarily make these books a protective factor against religious radicalism.

b) **Community-Oriented Educational Values**

The Gontor pesantren and their affiliates emphasize the philosophical values of pesantren education as a protective factor against religious radicalism. Even though it was not clearly stated, the information from the source of Pesantren Gontor indicated that the values of community-oriented education were the capital of Pondok Gontor and its affiliates in responding to the challenges of religious radicalism. These values are instilled through various strategies and learning media or pedagogy which are deliberately designed and developed in such a way by the caregivers of this pesantren since its inception, in 1926. Character building through leadership and community education is considered to be able to fortify Gontor students from the negative influence of religious radicalism.

According to Ustadz Husni Kamil Jaelani, Leader of the Gontor 10 Aceh Islamic Boarding School, education at the Gontor pesantren (center and its branches) aims to produce a cadre of community leaders, as well as being a place of worship, and a source of religious

and general knowledge while students study at the Islamic boarding school. The mission of the Gontor pesantren focuses on preparing "a superior and quality generation in forming Khairul ummah (the best followers)", with a focus on "creating a cadre of leaders in the community."[11] This focus requires Gontor education to be socially oriented in the sense that Gontor alumni are expected to become a figure accepted among Muslims. To become a leader in the community, one must be prepared with a mental attitude that is able to adapt to social-societal norms, so that they can be accepted as a leader in their midst. This social orientation is seen by Pondok Gontor as an asset that automatically keeps students and alumni of Gontor away from taking an extreme attitude because extremism is against the generally accepted values and norms of life.

Gontor education which is socially oriented requires a pedagogical process that is directed towards forming a personality that is flexible with the demands of community life. One of Gontor's educational mottos is to create a free-spirited Muslim generation. At first glance, the value of freedom in the way of Gontor can be interpreted as freedom of thought and will which is independent - a concept of freedom within the framework of Western liberalism whose limitations only violate the freedom of others. However, in the eyes of the Gontor leadership, this freedom is understood in this context, namely the social value. Freedom means that there is no attachment in making choices to carry out the service of leadership in society. This freedom is still limited by and within the framework of the values and norms in society itself. Ust Husni Kamil explained that the meaning of free spirit, namely "pesantren graduates are not only focused on teaching and learning problems but can become anything such as businessmen, politicians, etc."[12]

The freedom to determine the direction of social career development and the self-actualization of students requires the leadership and caregivers of the Gontor Islamic Boarding School and its affiliates to bring Gontor students closer to the leadership models that are accepted in society. This strategy is carried out consciously by the caregivers of the Gontor Islamic Boarding School by bringing in guests from circles who are considered successful in their fields. The aim is to create a kind of modeling for the students to prepare themselves for the future. See the explanation Ust. Muhammad Bisri, one of the educators at Pesantren Tazakka, an affiliate of Gontor, located in Batang, Central Java.

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11 Interview with Ust Husni Kamil Jaelani, The leader of Pesantren Cabang Gontor 10, Aceh Besar, 26 July 2019.

12 Interview with Ust Husni Kamil Jaelani, The leader of Pesantren Cabang Gontor 10, Aceh Besar, 26 July 2019.

"Usually, when we invite guests, it is the process of children to identify what they want to be in their future. For example, when we bring in a general, we ask who wants to be a general? Then when the minister came, we also ask who wanted to be the minister of foreign affairs? Yes, everyone. By inviting guests, the kids finally start making models for themselves. So, guests here very often, intensively. In addition to building networks for the students, the modeling process is also carried out."[13]

One of the historical socio-religious contexts that underlie the process of building the Gontor pesantren in the first half of the 20th century is the high tension and even polarization in Islamic society. This conflict situation involved mainly the followers of the traditional NU mass organizations and the Muhammadiyah religious movement activists who carried the idea of reform in the life of the Muslim community. Appearing to bring a spirit of unity among Muslims, the founders of Pondok Gontor tried to get out of the trap of Islamic fanaticism at that time and offered a fresh idea, namely to embrace and bond. For that, they introduced a motto which later became the hallmark of Pondok Gontor, namely "Gontor Standing Above and for all groups".

This motto seems to be integrated into the principles and pedagogical strategies of Gontor. For those who visit the Gontor Islamic Boarding School in Ponorogo, this motto is easily visible because it is displayed on one of the walls of the building in the pesantren complex. Perhaps the aim is to instill the values of the unity of the people in the souls and minds of the students as well as to campaign for the establishment of Gontor to visiting guests.

During its development, Pesantren Gontor has produced alumni who took part as leaders of the ummah and were active in Islamic mass organizations that exist in Indonesia, especially NU and Muhamamadiyah. In the early 2000s, the two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia were led by two Gontor alumni. NU is led by KH Hasyim Muzadi, while Muhammadiyah is led by Prof. Dr. Din Syamsuddin. These two religious institutions are known as the main supporters of Islamic moderation in Indonesia. On the one hand, the orientation of freedom to take part in society and the spirit of being the uniting elements of the people. On the other hand, it can be seen in the statement of one of the leaders at the Gontor Pusat Pesantren, KH Akrim Mariyat.

"We're close to all groups. Pak Hasan (the current leader of the Gontor Islamic Boarding School) belongs to NU. It's Gontor

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13 Interview with Ust Muhammad Bisri, a teacher of Pondok Modern Tazakka (affiliated with Gontor), Batang, 15 August 2019.

alumni. Din Syamsuddin, Muhammadiyah, Gontor alumni. So, Gontor alumni are free where they want to go. However, while they are in this school, they can't do it. This is one of the phenomena among alumni. One alumni with other alumni when they meet they become one."[14]

Nevertheless, the orientation of freedom in taking part in society has consequences in which the Gontor Islamic Boarding School is considered by some to have not really succeeded in proving its resilience to radicalism. One indication is the phenomenon of Abubakar Ba'asyir, the main figure and role model for radical groups and jihadists in Indonesia. Because Ba'asyir had studied at Gontor, not a few speculated about the possible influence of education in Gontor with Ba'asyir's radical orientation. Apart from that, throughout the mass media coverage, there was no clear statement from the Gontor leadership that criticized or at least blamed Ba'asyir's actions with his radical ideology. Responding to the above perceptions and speculations, Gontor leadership rejected Ba'asyir's radicalism but did not exclude Ba'asyir from Gontor alumni. The leadership of Gontor is not concerned with the suspicious views of some circles about Gontor's indecisiveness in addressing the phenomenon of Ba'asyir's radicalism. The leadership of Gontor saw Ba'asyir's choice as a personal right. However, his radicalism is not the ideal image that Gontor aspires to his alumni. However, regardless of how to fight for their ideology, educators in Gontor appreciate the sincerity and commitment of their alumni to Muslims and their religion. At least this is the meaning that can be interpreted from the statement of the leader of the Gontor Islamic Boarding School below:

"Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is Gontor, but Gontor is not Abubakar Ba'asyir. That's because after graduating from Gontor where do they go, but the alumni of Gontor always instill what their teachers have taught them about sincerity, about that ideology. Even, Cak Nun (Emha Ainun Najib) when he went to Gontor before he married said, I could be like this because of Gontor. I was taught with discipline and religious values of nobility."[15]

Pondok Gontor builds resilience on the basis of the principle of freedom of its alumni to take part in which Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia in the context of benefiting the ummah. However, the Gontor Islamic Boarding School itself maintains its independence and is not tied to these mass organizations. How Pondok Gontor can maintain its consistency is a challenge in itself

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14 Interview with KH Akrim Mariyat, The leader of Pondok Modern Gontor, Ponorogo, 9 August 2019.

15 Interview with Adib Fuad Nuriz, The Commitee of IKPM Gontor, Pondok Modern Gontor, Ponorogo, 8 August 2019.

in facing radicalism in the millennial era marked by increasingly rapid social change. Carrying the unity of the ummah in the context of tensions between Muhammadiyah and NU in previous eras is very relevant, but it may sound less contextual in today's era where the distinction between NU and Muhammadiyah is increasingly thin.

However, how to see the capital of the resilience of modernist pesantren such as Darul Arqom, PERSIS, and Salafi pesantren against radicalism? Muhammadiyah and PERSIS Islamic boarding schools can rely on their attachment and connection with their parent Ormas. Nevertheless, the Salafi Wahabi pesantren has no affinity for local social identities. So what is the capital of their resilience to radicalism?

c) Social-Political Linkages and Connections

For pesantren administrators affiliated to Muhammadiyah organizations, their attachment, and connection with their parent organization is the capital of resilience against radicalism. However, the pesantren under Muhammadiyah cannot freely determine their religious and political attitudes without the direction and Khittah of their central organization. In the context of resilience to radicalism, the organic linkages of pesantren and their parent organizations allow for a central control function of pesantren as part of their organs. Muhammadiyah's control of the pesantren under its supervision is not only in terms of addressing radicalism but also on socio-religious and socio-political issues. Muhammadiyah Islamic boarding schools show their loyalty to the direction of the central organization. As pointed out by Ust. Ahmad Hidayat, a teacher at Darul Arqom, Garut, West Java, "in this case we are following to the center, especially as a pesantren institution, it is very taboo to lead students' certain political attitudes. our central organization tells us to be independent, meaning not to be affiliated."[16]

On the other hand, bondage and connection with the center require pesantren to maintain the good name of their central organization, while maintaining their acceptance and positive image in the eyes of the public. This organic relationship is a protective factor for Muhammadiyah pesantren against radicalism, although at a certain level some individual boarding schools may agree with the aspirations and understandings that are perceived as radical. This fact can be found in the response of the leadership of the al-Ikhlas pesantren, a Muhammadiyah-affiliated pesantren, in Bima.

> "It is our duty to criticize students and the public who engage in radical acts and extremism. We always emphasize when there is

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16 Interview with Ust. Ahmad Hidayat, A Teacher of Pesantren Darul Arqom Garut, 26 August 2019.

such a thing. We avoided it completely. This is especially to avoid the general perception of the Islamic boarding school Al-Ihklas Muhammadiyah Bima itself. Adek, pay attention, there are no students who wear the veil here. In a sense, it's not that we don't understand, but we are more limiting. We understand about the veil, but at least there is Islamic value being practiced."[17]

For Muhammadiyah-affiliated pesantren, their attachment to Muhammadiyah organizations is a protective factor against religious radicalism. The same thing is more or less experienced by the Wahdah Islamiyah Islamic Boarding School which is categorized as the Salafi Haraki Islamic Boarding School, in the sense of doing Salafi theology and allowing preaching through organizations or movements. The Wahdah Islamiyah Islamic boarding school is also tied to the Wahdah Islamiyah mass organization based in Makassar, South Sulawesi. As a community organization that has the legal standing of Wahdah Islamiyah (or abbreviated Wahdah), it has an interest in being accepted by various levels of Muslim society. They need to maintain their image in a society that questions the presence of the Wahdah community with their exclusive physical appearance (clothing), namely the wearing of a veil for women and maintaining beards and short pants for men. According to the admission of the Wahdah Pesantren in Makassar, Wahdah has been accepted by Muhammadiyah, NU, and even Salafi members. Wahdah administrators tried to reject the notion that they were terrorists as this image was addressed to Wahdah in a National TV broadcast (Metro TV). Wahdah's interest in being accepted by the Muslim community encouraged him to try to assert his position both internally and among the Muslim community at large. However, Wahdah's flexible attitudes have triggered resistance from internal Salafi circles who considered Wahdah to have lost his ideological consistency.[18]

d) **Wahabi Salafi Islamic Boarding School and the Doctrine of "Obedience to the Legitimate Government"**

Unlike the Wahdah Pesantren which is tied to the Wahdah Islamiyah organization, the Salafi Wahabi Islamic Boarding School, whose religious doctrine refuses to preach through organizations, is not automatically tied to any Islamic mass organization. The doctrine of "Laa Hizbiyyah" (not being organized) leaves them with no social protection against radicalism. However, they still have the potential to be protected from radicalism because they are not negative towards the government, and have even recently

17 Interview with Ust Garibaldin Abdollah, The Committee of PP Al-Ikhlas, Bima, 4 September 2019.

18 Interview with Ust. Ahmad Pamujianto and Ust. Hamid, The Commitee of Pesantren Wahdah Islamiyah, Makassar, 8 August 2019.

opened themselves up to the presence of government officials to deliver programs and activities to raise awareness of the dangers of radicalism and extremism in Islamic boarding schools. This is made possible by the existence of a political doctrine that is highly believed among Salafi Wahabi that obedience to a legitimate government is obligatory.

On the other hand, rebelling against the legitimate government (bughat) is forbidden in Islam.[19] As long as they still adhere to this political doctrine, Salafi Wahabi Islamic boarding schools, such as Al-Furqan in Gresik, Abu Hurairoh in Mataram, Imam Syafi'i in Aceh Besar, still have the capital to protect it from radicalism and extremism.

Bonds and links with government and political institutions are the main protective factors in preventing and alienating communities from radicalism. In general, pesantren of all types in Indonesia have this protective factor, albeit at different levels and forms. Pesantren have several alternative partnerships with the government in the form of formal recognition of certificates issued by pesantren education institutions (Mu'adalah), collaboration in the field of the curriculum with the Ministry of Religion, provision of school operational assistance (BOS), cooperation in the field of economic empowerment, and even in incidental forms, for example, welcoming visits by government officials. With the passing of law no.18 the year 2019 concerning Pesantren on 15 October 2019, the connection between pesantren and the government will be even stronger and that means increasing the protective factor of pesantren against radicalism. The Central Gontor Islamic Boarding School welcomed the official government recognition for its 2000 curriculum, while the Tazakka Islamic Boarding School, Batang, in 2016.[20] Wahdah Islamiyah Islamic Boarding School in Makassar participated in the Islamic Boarding School Salafiyah (PPS) program of the Ministry of Religion where they were required to teach their students yellow books with the Syafiiyyah sect.[21]

Indeed, the relationship between pesantren and the government is important in the perspective of building pesantren resilience against radicalism. However, this connection must be carried out within the framework of equality, in which the government still respects the independence of pesantren and also sees pesantren as the main partners in overcoming radicalism. However, the

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19 Interview with Ust. Zanwardi, Guru PP Abu Hurairoh (Salafi Wahabi), Mataram, 22 August 2019.

20 Interview with Adib Fuad Nuriz, The Committee of IKPM Gontor, Pondok Modern Gontor, Ponorogo, 8 August 2019; and Interview with Ust Muhammad Bisri, a Teacher of Pondok Modern Tazakka (affiliated with Gontor), Batang, 15 August 2019.

21 Interview with Ust. Ahmad Pamujianto and Ust. Hamid, The Commitee of Pesantren Wahdah Islamiyah, Makassar, 8 August 2019.

government must be selective in dealing with pesantren by making authentic pesantren its partners. Here is the message conveyed by Kiai Makin, caregiver of PP Raudhatul Thalibin, Rembang, below:

> "If seen from that, the government really wants to support it, but as I said, there are some Islamic boarding schools that want to be independent. Free. So I think the government has made an effort but it needs to be maximized, not in the form of materials, for example. From the ideas of the pesantren to be accommodated. The accommodation is then used as material for moving forward. For example, it turns out that at this time the only one to counter radicalism in pesantren. Pesantren, in this case, are real pesantren, not a fake one. Now the Islamic boarding schools are increasingly emerging. That's in my opinion."[22]

The view of the importance of maintaining the independence of the pesantren is something that should be considered in building pesantren resilience against radicalism. Likewise, with the improvement of the quality of the newly established pesantren to meet agreed standards. However, the program must be implemented by considering the characteristics of each pesantren. This needs to be considered because after all the empowerment of the pesantren community with various forms and quality standards must be seen as an important part of empowering civil society among Muslim communities. Partnerships between pesantren need to be considered in future programs, of course by paying attention to participatory principles, equality, and benefits.

e) Experiencing Difference and Diversity

One of the characteristics of a community that has a high resistance to radicalism and extremism is the high mutual trust between different identity groups (religion, ethnicity, sect, and school) and the exclusive engagement between these groups (Van Metre, 2016, p. 14-17).

This research shows that the pesantren community is generally used to living together with different ethnicities. However, their trust and relationship with non-Muslims are still low, even though it is inferior to Ahmadiyah and Shia. It is quite encouraging that the relationship between the followers of the schools is improving, even though the mutual trust between them has not been strong enough.

From the beginning, Gontor Islamic Boarding School realized the importance of cultivating an attitude of respect for various

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22 Interview with KH Makin Soimuri, A Caregiver of PP Roudhatul Thalibin, Rembang, 5 August 2019.

fiqh. This was marked by the introduction of a comparison of Ibn Rushd's schools of thought entitled Bidayatul Mujtahid. Apart from that, Pesantren Gontor and its affiliates also apply this viewpoint in their pedagogical and social orientation. Moreover, in Gontor, students are taught comparative religions (*al-Adyan*) in order to introduce other religions. However, in the last 10 years, al-Adyan's lessons have not been taught anymore.[23] In the Muhammadiyah, PERSIS, and Tablighi Islamic boarding schools, an open attitude to different schools of thought has been applied through the student recruitment policy. In Darul Arqom Garut the number of non-Muhammadiyah students is much greater than the number of students from Muhammadiyah families.[24]

Traditional Islamic boarding schools also introduce a comparison of schools of thought, but this is done after the students have reached an advanced level because from the perspective of traditional pesantren understanding classical books cannot be just an outline. Classical books must be understood to detailed arguments in order to be applied in real life. Salafi lodges, which are known to be rigid, also study the comparison of sects for certain objectives to build a harmonious and free-blaming-each-other relationship.

However, tolerance for mazhab in pesantren is not followed by tolerance for a different understanding of aqidah.[25]

Several Islamic boarding schools have proven to build trust with non-Muslims and followers of other religions. For example, Raudatul Thalibin Islamic Boarding School, Rembang, was often invited by its Christian neighbors to allow its students to perform Islamic musical performances at their houses.[26] On the other hand, in Darul Arqom Garut, students are accustomed to dealing with non-Muslims, Shia followers, and churches in the context of Sociology lessons.[27]

f) Extracurricular activities

Stevan Weine in his study "Building Resilience to Violent Extremism" (2013, p. 85) shows that teenagers in Somali communities in the United States have uncontrolled activities outside of school: when, where, and with whom they play, are at risk of exposure with radicalism. In line with that, several educators at pesantren showed their concern with extracurricular activities as a way to increase the

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23 Interview with guru PP Darul Hijrah (affiliated with Gontor), Banjarbaru, 6 August 2019.

24 Interview with a Teacher of PP Darul Arqam, Garut,10 August 2019.

25 Interview with a Caregiver of pesantren Wahdah Islamiyyah, Makassar and Abuhurairoh, Mataram, 12 August 2019.

26 Interview with KH Makin Soimuri, A Caregiver of PP Roudhatul Thalibin, Rembang, 5 August 2019.

27 Interview with guru PP Darul Arqam, Garut, 15 August 2019.

resistance of students to the effects of radicalism. In their points of view, a lot of free time can open up opportunities for students to be exposed to radicalism either through physical contact or through digital media.[28]

This research shows that generally modernist pesantren (Pesantren Gontor, Muhammadiyah) and some NU pesantren have good protective factors in terms of many and varied extracurricular activities. Besides being preoccupied with learning activities in class from morning to noon, in the afternoon until evening the students spend their spare time by various extracurricular activities such as scouts, sports, arts, speech in several languages, skills, and so on. Of course, these activities have a pedagogical function in the context of mental and psychiatric education. However, these activities also function to control the presence of students outside the classroom. One of the advantages of pesantren education institutions which are rich in extracurricular activities compared to non-pesantren schools is the possibility of teachers controlling the activities of their students 24 hours.

Salafi Islamic boarding schools do not have many extracurricular activities. Even if there were, they chose just a few activities, especially archery and swimming, following the advice of the Prophet Muhammad who invited Muslims to teach their children 3 things: archery, swimming, and horse riding. Apart from Imam Syafi'i Islamic boarding school, Aceh Besar, which is also a Salafist, other Salafi Islamic boarding schools place less importance on scouting activities.[29] Whereas scouting activities, apart from having a function of cultivating mental attitudes and skills, also function to open opportunities for students to mingle with non-Muslims and friends from different identity backgrounds through a camp or jamboree at various levels. One of the female students in PP Tahfiz al-Qur'an (Al-Ihsan) in South Kalimantan admitted to being friends with non-Muslims when she had the opportunity to join the national jamboree. From that experience, she learned that his Christian friends were doing well. She herself admitted that she did not associate with non-Muslims in the pesantren because all his friends were Muslim.[30]

2. RISK FACTORS

This study found that almost all pesantren from various typologies studied were not sterile from risk factors for radicalism. Having a risk factor does not mean being susceptible to being exposed to radicalism because what determines vulnerability is the difference between the

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28 Interview with a Caregiver of Pesantren Imam Syafi'i, Aceh Besar, 22 July 2019.

29 Interview with a Caregiver of Pesantren Imam Syafi'i, Aceh Besar, 22 July 2019.

30 Interview with female student of PP Al-Ihsan (Tahfidz), Banjarmasin, 12 August 2019.

protective factor and the risk factor. If the protective factors are stronger and more numerous, the pesantren will have good endurance. Conversely, if the risk factor is more than the protective factor, the members of the pesantren community are vulnerable to radical exposure.

a) Radical Movement and Understanding Infiltration

One of the risk factors is the penetration of radicalism into the pesantren community. There are several entry points for radicalism into pesantren. One of them is the admission of former radicals to boarding schools, whether as teachers or simply living in the vicinity of the pesantren and having the opportunity to mingle with teachers or students. Pesantren As-Salam (Salafi) Bima is one that has risks because the pesantren itself is managed by ex-radicals who have received prison sentences. Some youths who were allegedly radicalized live in the vicinity of the pesantren, mingling either intensively or not with members of the pesantren community. According to the admission of this pesantren manager, their political views and attitudes are no longer as radical as before. This means that they have undergone a process of deradicalization. However, their perception of the democratic system as a *kafir* product and the hope of implementing sharia by the state even though not by revolutionary means shows that the seeds are still there. Intense contact with those who still join ISIS and other radical networks increases the risk factor.[31] In addition, the strengthening of the psychology that Islam is surrounded by its enemies also adds to the risk factor. This psychology can be felt in Ustadz Anwar's statement below:

> "So, don't ever dream that Islam has no enemies. Well, no way. Likewise, what I said to friends who have leaned the heresy. You may just dream that we can be safe by embracing Islam. That's a dream! If we want to bring out the teachings that the Prophet taught, we must also be able to accept what the Messenger of Allah received. Rasulullah was once called to be a syahirun majnun (sorcerer), or an asshobi '(divider). He was hostile, stoned until he bled. Preaching in Mecca 13 years, he got much opposition from his family."[32]

In addition to intense and productive relations with the government, a protective factor that can offset these risk factors is the shift in beliefs about the Islamic caliphate which must be upheld by violence due to the belief that Islamic Caliphate is the

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31 Interview with a Caregiver and a teacher in PP As-Salam Bima, 27-29 July 2019.

32 Interview with Ust. Anwar, a Teacher of PP As-Sasala, Bima, 27 July 2019.

gift from Allah most Muslims are waiting for.[33] Their resilience will be largely determined by the sustainability and effectiveness of the government resilience development program so far.

At a lower level, the Darul Arqom Islamic Boarding School in Central Java and Banten has a risk factor for the entry of radicalism in the pesantren. Several former NII members were also accommodated to serve at the pesantren. Likewise, 8 contact and interaction with the influence of HTI allow risks. However, the internal provisions of pesantren that prohibit them from teaching their ideological understanding can be a protective factor. More than that, control and resilience-building which is carried out constructively by the Muhammadiyah Central Board will increase resilience and therefore a protective factor. Direct government intervention does not appear necessary. On the other hand, supporting and giving trust to the Center will be more promising. Moreover, since 2015 PP Muhammadiyah has seriously built a strategy of internal resilience by officially releasing the Muhammadiyah concept of the Republic of Indonesia as Darul 'Ahdi Wassyahadah. This concept seems to resonate in the explanations of several pesantren administrators regarding their attitudes towards NKRI and Pancasila as final - indicating a level of obedience and loyalty to the official view of the Center.[34]

Traditional Islamic boarding schools (NU) cannot be separated from the risk factors for HTI influence. PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, which is perceived to have a strong national insight, although it does not avoid the penetration of HTI's caliphate ideology. The leader himself admitted that the penetration was not through the pesantren but through the school managed by An-Nizhomiyah, some teachers were identified as being influenced by radicalism. However, the attitude of the pesantren leadership who firmly rejects and takes firm action against teachers who violate the provisions of the pesantren has the potential to increase the protective factor and therefore the resilience of the pesantren.[35] Meanwhile PP Bahrul Ulum, Gowa, South Sulawesi, also has risk factors because quite many alumni are influenced by invitations to join the HTI movement. Their contact with students can increase risk factors in the pesantren community. It is not yet known what the pesantren's internal strategy is in increasing protective factors.[36]

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33 Interview with a Caregiver of and guru di PP As-Salam Bima, 27-29 July 2019.

34 Interview with a Caregiver of and guru di PP Darul Arqom di Kendal and di Serang, 15 and 26 August 2019.

35 Interview with KH Agus Khatibul Umam, A Caregiver of PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, 1-2 August 2019.

36 Interview with santri di Pesantren Hidayatullah and Al-Ihsan in Kalimantan Selatan, 4-20 August 2019.

The infiltration of radical views can be through books, digital media, and social media. Some of the santri at the Tahfiz Islamic boarding school in South Kalimantan and the Hidayatullah Islamic boarding school appear to be influenced by radicalism accessed via the internet. They support the Islamic caliphate and are ready to fight in Palestine in order to be martyred. [37] From the study of the resilience-building efforts of the two pesantren, it does not seem that there is a strategy to increase resilience carried out by the two pesantren or through the Hidayatullah Organization or Jama'ah Tabligh.

b) Exclusive Attitude and Indoctrinative Pedagogy

Selain Apart from the inclusion of radicalism, other risk factors are exclusive attitudes, intolerance, and the lack of Islamic boarding schools which are connected to differences and diversity of identities. Salafi Islamic boarding schools have this risk factor. This is reflected in their policy of not giving access to students to read books from Indonesian religious thinkers. In addition, the attitude of those who are not connected with Islamic mass organizations in Indonesia increases this exclusive attitude. This exclusive attitude and indoctrinated pedagogy increase risk factors. Philosophy and Sufism are not known in Salafi pesantren. Books that did not conform to Wahabi's manhaj were confiscated.[38]

Pesantren Persis Bangil also has an exclusive risk due to its lack of connection with differences and diversity. Moreover, the disconnection of PP Persis Bangil with Ormas Persis increases the exclusion factor and community disconnection from more open associations. However, the emphasis of teachers at Pesantren Persis on debates and arguments is a balancing factor for this exclusive attitude.[39]

c) Lack of State Awareness

Salafi Islamic boarding schools generally show low state awareness. The boards of pesantren tend to be identically related to the awareness of the state concerning politics. In Salafi Islamic boarding schools there are no civics lessons. Pesantren Persis Bangil still has Civic Education lessons, but its students are not taught in class. It is sufficient to provide the dictates for the students to read themselves. This apathy towards state consciousness is worsened with a reluctance to show respect for state symbols. There is no flag ceremony here because it is considered baseless and insignificant.

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37 Interview with a Caregiver of pesantren Abu Hurairoh Mataram and al-Furqan Gresik, 4-20 August 2019.

38 Interview with teachers of PP Persis Bangil, 4-5 August 2019.

39 Interview with teachers of PP Persis Bangil, 4-5 August 2019.

DEVELOPMENT OF RESILIANCE IN PESANTREN

PESANTREN USES RESILIENCE DEVELOPMENT

1. PESANTREN'S EYES ON RADICALISM

The pesantren studied had a different understanding of what is meant by radicalism. However, they seem to agree that radicalism is manifested in violent extremist actions, such as suicide bombings, destruction of people and buildings, and anarchist actions to impose their will, replacing Pancasila with their ideology.

However, there are striking differences between traditional and Salafi pesantren in interpreting radicalism. Salafi Islamic boarding schools tend to identify radicalism with rebellion against the legitimate government, whether with or without violence. Because of that, many Salafi pesantren management expressed their rejection of HTI. Likewise, the traditional pesantren also understand the concept of bughat or see radicalism as bughat which is prohibited by religion.

Pesantren Mahyal Ulum Al-'Azaziyah Aceh admits rebelling against the legitimate government is bughat whose law is haram (forbidden), because Aceh is already the Republic of Indonesia.

On the other hand, traditional dayahs and traditional Islamic boarding schools tend to accuse the cause of radicalism of being Wahabi. They do not clearly distinguish the variants in Salafi from Salafi Wahabi, Salafi Haraki, to Salafi Jihadi. In their eyes, everything is the same, namely Wahabi. For those who say that Pancasila thagut is Wahabi, those who carry the sunnah slogan are radical groups, takfiri groups are from Wahabi, and so on.

2. PESANTREN AS A DEFENSE FORTRESS

To some pesantren administrators, stigmatizing pesantren as radicals are wrong. Even though pesantren have played a role in stemming radicalism. They also believe that pesantren have their own way of surviving radicalism. As stated above, each pesantren has a unique strategy in dealing with radicalism, starting from emphasizing adherence to Kiai and the yellow book, upholding social values, connecting and being tied to mass organizations and the government, experiencing differences, and diversity, and various extracurricular activities. Because of this uniqueness, it is not appropriate to attempt to uniform the pesantren. In their eyes, pesantren is a wealth that needs to be preserved and maintained together for its continuity.

The building of pesantren resilience against radicalism is a series of pesantren initiatives with the support of various parties in increasing protective factors and minimizing risk factors from the influence of radicalism in the pesantren environment. This study shows that there are six pesantren strategies in carrying out building resilience: 1) preventing

contact of pesantren residents with radical movements and views; 2) delegitimizing radical ideology; 3) cooperating with the government; 4) supporting diversity and tolerance; and 5) fostering critical power of students.

a) Preventing Contact with Radical Movements

This strategy is carried out by various pesantren by implementing teacher control policies and literature at the pesantren which are believed to increase the risk of exposure of students and teachers to radicalism. The prohibited books are those that are against ahlissunnah, against the state ideology (Pesantren Gontor Pusat), books by Abubakar Ba'asyir, and books from ISIS (Pesantren Salafi in Gresik), and PP An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang. In addition to book control, pesantren also take action against teachers who violate ideological provisions (An-Nizhomiyah) and expel teachers who join HTI because they are considered to be against each other (Persis, Bangil). Apart from teacher and literature control, social media control and restrictions on the use of cellphones were also carried out (PM Tazakka and Wahdah Islamiyah).

Some pesantren also held discussions with experts to increase understanding and resistance to Islamic caliphate propaganda (At-Thohiriyah, Serang); and by bringing former terrorists to the pesantren to take precautions against action radicalism (Darul Arqam Garut). However, the most frequent and common step is to give advice to students to stay away from radicalism whether it is done through general recitation and giving messages before becoming pesantren alumni. Santri are prohibited from participating in HTI activities, joining HTI organizations, and participating in exclusive activities, such as liqa', and so on.

b) Delegating Radical Ideology and Extremism

The second strategy is the delegitimization of radical ideology. There are two methods, namely: first, through the teaching the sense of nationalism by conducting a) teaching of national insight; and b) enriching moderate Islamic insight. National insight teaching is pursued by teaching civic education, lecturing on the 4 pillars of national and state life by government officials, tucking in through recitation, and large preaching events. Enriching moderate Islamic insights by teaching about the concept of ukhuwah basyariyah, loving the state as part of faith, the role of certain religious groups in protecting sharia from the dangers of radicalism, the importance of tolerance and respect for minorities, understanding jihad is not always a war, but learning as jihad. Teach the importance of obeying the legal government and the prohibition of bughat (typical of Salafi Islamic boarding schools). In contrast, the traditional Aswaja pesantren emphasizes the dangers of Wahabi.

c) Cooperating with the Government

In this study, it was found that pesantren 2 Salafi were visited by the government, police, regional police office, and National Counter-Terrorism Agency, conveying the socialization of radicalism. Likewise, Al-Furqan Islamic Boarding School, Gresik, held a seminar on the dangers of radicalism after the Surabaya bombing by bringing in the police to give lectures. Darul Qalam Pesantren Gintung Balaraja Tangerang, Darul Abror NW Lombok, Darul Ulum Gowa, Abu Hurairoh Mataram, all said they had collaborated with the government in increasing the resistance of the pesantren to radicalism.

d) Supports Diversity and Tolerance

Building resilience through activities to support diversity and tolerance has been carried out well by several NU pesantren (An-Nizhomiyah Pandeglang, Al-Fitrah Surabaya, and Roudhatul Thalibin Rembang), as well as Darul Arqam Garut. Supporting diversity and tolerance is not only done in the form of lectures and advice, but also through real examples and through programs, such as what Darul Arqam Garut did.

e) Fostering Critical Thinking

The final strategy is to foster critical thinking. This strategy is considered long term and the results cannot be seen in the short term. It is the same as building diversity and tolerance, fostering the critical thinking power of students, the impact is deep and far. Even after the students leave the pesantren, the resilience of this model is still functioning, especially after the connection with the Kiai, friends and the pesantren network has stretched and is facing a life full of challenges and various narratives and propaganda invade. Strong critical power can also increase other protective factors, especially respect for diversity and tolerance.

This study found that certain pesantren were quite active in fostering the critical power of the students through discussing and brainstorming activities. However, the program is more directed at practicing intellectual skills rather than critical power which refers to facts and data and considers the various views available without judging them from the start. It is proven that no pesantren has dared to raise controversial issues to be discussed in a critical yet objective manner. Pesantren Gontor and Persis are quite active in fostering the intellectual skills of their students. But once again it is not to develop objective criticality, but to solidify beliefs through honing intellectual reasoning.

Pesantren Persis needs to get its own records, although in some aspects it has risk factors. Pesantren Persis is equipped with a protective factor when it comes to their passion and a strong

emphasis on debate and argumentation. Even PP Persis Bandung has won the national debate competition.

Several traditional Islamic boarding schools, such as An-Nizhomiyah, Pandeglang, are building resilience by building critical power. However, in a form that is still basic, namely encouraging students to get used to asking questions and not passively listening to lectures.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN BUILDING RESILIENCE TO RADICALISM IN PESANTREN

NIQAB AND BURQAH IN ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOLS

A niqab is a cloth covering the face or part of a woman's face, at least to cover the nose and mouth so that only her eyes are visible. The niqab itself in Arabic is called khimar, synonymous with Burqa'.[40] While in the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) it means a head covering, so from here it can be understood that the niqab is a cloth covering the head and face so that only the second visible eyes.[41]

In Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, the use of the niqab is relatively new along with the emergence of Salafi Islamic boarding schools, which try to adopt Islamic life in the early era of kaffah - including the dress model. Even so, this phenomenon is not evenly distributed across all pesantren in Indonesia. Most of the other pesantren, especially modern-based Islamic boarding schools, such as Darul Hijrah, Gontor, or Al-Falah Islamic Boarding School, not only do not consider the niqab as part of the way to dress for female students but they also "become aware" when their students wear the veil. This difference is usually based on the respective ideologies adopted by these pesantren. The obligation to wear the niqab will generally be found in Salafi-affiliated Islamic boarding schools, Jamaah Tabligh, or part of the Quran tahfidz Islamic boarding school which is affiliated with Salafis.[42]

The use of the niqab also reflects the social life of female students who are obliged to protect themselves and their associations from social life more strictly.

At the Al-Ihsan Banjarbaru Islamic Boarding School above, for example, female students are required to wear a niqab. Apart from wearing loose robes with dark colors, this way of dressing correlates with the way they perceive world life and social interactions which are considered more harmful to

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40 Kamus Bahasa Arab Al Munawir (Arabic Dictionary), p. 368.

41 Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian Dictionary). Read https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/cadar.

42 Like pesantren Salafi puteri Imam Bukhori di Solo, Ummi Sullaim di Banjarbaru. Pesantren Al-Ihsan owned by Jamaah Tabliqh mostly focus on tahfidzul Qur'an (Quranic memorization).

women.[43] Khadijah, for example, one of the students at the Al-Ihsan Islamic Boarding School admitted that he came from a family that was very strict in maintaining the interactions of women in their homes. Her father was a hafidz teacher, taught the Quran, and also had recitation in their humble house in Batulicin. Likewise, her mother is a hafidzah educating the children to memorize the Al-Qur'an. Apart from teaching, her mother is a housewife who takes care of her family every day and, of course, she wears a niqab Her family taught that all body parts of women must be covered, so they must protect themselves and their honor by worshiping and staying at home more than having to do activities outside. Khadijah attended elementary school up to grade 6, and after graduating, she continued to the tahfidz school near where they lived. The school of tahfidz, which only taught her to read and memorize the Qur'an, limited Khadija's access to other fields of knowledge. Even so, she enjoyed cultivating the Qur'an every day. Until when she was 11 years old, her father transferred her to the Al-Ihsan Islamic Boarding School in Banjarmasin so she could focus more on memorizing Al-Qur'an.[44]

Moving to the Al-Ihsan Islamic boarding school, which also provides a dormitory for female students, was the main reason Khadijah's father sent her to school there. Controlled interaction is considered to be a value that must be instilled from an early age for women. At home, Khadija and her mother wear niqab, but it is very difficult to find the same social group that is able to strengthen each other in terms of protecting themselves from other different groups. Most of their neighbors feel unfamiliar with Khadija's clothes and her mother's as they covered all parts of their bodies. Therefore, entering a pesantren with the same life is the best choice so that they can be istiqomah and strengthen each other. The Al-Ihsan Islamic Boarding School, since it was first established in 2004, has indeed obliged its female students to wear a niqab, along with the spirit of Jamaah Tabliqh to follow in the footsteps of salaf ash-shalih in kaffah, including a dress model that adopts Middle Eastern culture.[45]

In contrast to pesantren with typical Salafi characteristics or those based on Jamaah Tabliqh, modern affiliated pesantren on average do not oblige their santri to wear a niqab. Even some pesantren in this study pay intense attention to female students wearing niqabs.

The Darul Hijrah modern Islamic boarding school, for example, once summoned three female students who suddenly wore a niqab when they returned from their hometown. Calls were indeed made in a persuasive and simple way. The class teacher invited students to talk privately in class and asks why they suddenly wore the niqabs when they return to the pesantren.

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43 Interview with Ustdaz Tamjidnoor, The leader of PP Al Ihsan Puteri, Banjarmasin, 20 August 2019.

44 Interview with Khadijah Nur Jannah, Female student PP Al Ihsan Puteri, Banjarmasin, 6 August 2019.

45 Interview with Ustdaz Tamjidnoor, The leader of PP Al Ihsan Puteri, Banjarmasin, 20 August 2019.

From the results of the approach and observation, the ustadz interviewed concluded that some, even almost all of the santri who had worn the niqabs at the pesantren, were only motivated by the mere motivation to follow the trends. When they go home, open social media how the niqab trend had been starting to spread among young people in big cities, they were curious to try it. However, according to Ustadz Abdullah Husein's confession, some students who were motivated to wear the niqabs generally were inconsistent in wearing it. After living for a while back to their Islamic boarding school life, not accessing social media, they gradually stopped wearing the niqabs on their own. In modern pesantren, the niqab is never recommended to be worn.[46]

At the Ummul Mukminim Women's Islamic Boarding School, it even prohibited students from wearing the niqab. Andi Arras, the head of the boarding school, even stated that not only female students who were prohibited but also the teachers who wore the niqabs would be refused to teach at their pesantren.

> "No, we can't accept niqab here ... well, if someone is wearing a niqab, we ask them to take off it. if they can't do it, some of our sisters don't want to ... we can't allow them to teach here ... yes, there are some people who have a strong commitment to wearing that clothes ... on the other hand, those who still wear their tight clothes cannot be accepted."[47]

In the pesantren in this study, only some of them made the niqabs a dress code that must be obeyed by female students. It is because in general, the dress code in most female Islamic boarding schools is identical to clothes that are loose, or not tight so that they do not show curves of the body. Meanwhile, for the head covering, most of the pesantren in this study only required a standard headscarf covering the head and chest but did not require the niqabs.

However, from the data of this study, there are several Islamic boarding schools that require female students to wear niqabs. Most of these pesantren are affiliated with Salafi Wahabi, Jama'ah Tabligh, although some are affiliated with Nahdhatul Ulama. Of the several pesantren, among others: Pesantren Al-Ihsan Banjarmasin, which is affiliated with the Jama'ah Tabligh movement based in Raiwind Pakistan, Pesantren Masjid Jajar Surakarta which is affiliated with Salafi Wahabi, has previously been the location for consolidating the sending of Laskar Jihad to Ambon in the range of years 1999 affiliated to Ja'far Umar Tholib, Pesantren Al-Furqon Gresik which are affiliated with Salafi Wahabi with approximately 1,200 santri, the Imam Syafi'i Aceh Islamic Boarding School, the Salafi style, the Makassar As-Sunnah Islamic Boarding School, and the Mahyal Ulum Al-'Aziziyah Islamic Boarding School with the Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) styles.

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46 Interview with Abdullah Husein, The leader of Pesantren Darul Hijrah Puteri, Banjarbaru, 15 August 2019.

47 Interview with Andi Arras, The Head of SMP PP Ummul Mukminin, Makassar, 5 August 2019.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN AND BUILDING RESILIENCE TO RADICALISM IN ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOLS

The policy for countering radicalism and terrorism which refers to Law no. 15 of 2003, is still gender-neutral in the context of overcoming or preventing violent extremism.[48] The involvement of women in the prevention of radicalism will provide a discourse from the perspective of women and men in interpreting the phenomenon of violence and diversities in how to interpret feelings of security, peace, and social harmony. It should enable women to take strategic leadership in activities to prevent radicalism.[49]

The involvement of women in acts of terrorism is increasingly appearing in the public. A series of women's names as active actors committing in terrorism has changed the pattern of women's roles in a number of acts of terrorism from a behind-the-scenes role to a more active role. To mention among them, Dian Yulia Novi, for instance, is an example of women's participation in planning the suicide bombing at the State Palace in 2016.[50] Minhati Madrais, a woman from Bekasi who is the wife of Omar Maute who acted as a financier of the Maute terror group. Madrais is also a suspect in managing logistics and finances.[51] Dita Siska Milenia, a young woman who is suspected of stabbing Army members at Mako Brimob Kelapa Dua, Depok.[52] Anindia Afiyantari, Retno Hernayani, and Turmini, all three have been detained since September 2019 and officially charged with financing terrorism. The three have been arrested since September 2019 on charges of supporting the ISIS group and Jamaah Anshorud Daulah (JAD) through funding.[53] And recently a husband and wife attacked the Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, Wiranto, in which the wife was also an active actor taking a part in the attack.

Why are women interested in joining and even participating in radical group movements? In the book, 'Women and Terrorism'[54] places the religious factor as one of the main factors that attract women to join. So it is not surprising that the construction of the doctrine arrijalu qowwamuna 'alan-nisa' builds the doctrine of helpless women who are strengthened by religious narratives and used as an excuse so that women are fully obedient to their husbands without

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48 USAID/Indonesia, "Gender Analysis of Countering Violent Extremism", Indonesia Monitoring dan Evaluation Support Project, 2017, p. 5.

49 Leebarty Taskarina, Perempuan dan Terorisme, Kisah Perempuan dalam Kejahatan Terorisme, (Jakarta: PT. Elex Media Komputindo, 2018), hlm. 90-91.

50 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/.*

51 Tirto.id, "Ujung Nasib Minhati Madrais, Perempuan Bekasi Istri Panglima Maute", *https://tirto.id/ujung- nasib-minhati-madrais-perempuan-bekasi-istri-panglima-maute-czM7.*

52 Antaranews.com, "Ponpes Darul Arqom: Dita Siska Berwatak Keras", *https://www.antaranews.com/berita/709890/ponpes-darul-Arqom-dita-siska-berwatak-keras.*

53 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.*

54 Leebarty Taskarina, Perempuan dan Terorisme ....

exception. Other factors, such as ideological, political, and personal aspects have also contributed to women's interest in joining the radicalism movement.

Islamic boarding schools as educational institutions that prepare female ulama have a strategic role in building resilience against radicalism. However, from the data collected from the interview process involving pesantren caregivers, teachers, and especially those related to gender issues, it is still dominated by a patriarchal culture. So it is not surprising that pesantren programs or activities related to the development of equal and mutually supportive gender relations are not widely discussed within the scope of the pesantren. From the questionnaire data collected regarding whether there is a program that discusses issues of women's equality in Islamic boarding schools, from the five categories of Islamic boarding schools in 8 provinces, 47% of the respondents' data stated that there was no such discussion.

The role of pesantren is very crucial in building ideological discourse that is taught to its students as potential actors in guarding social resilience in grassroots communities. This is the strategic role of pesantren in building resilience against radicalism because it is the pesantren that has the religious authority in building a social mindset and introducing the principle of Islamic moderation. So that the pesantren should have a source of literacy that teaches friendly Islam.

Empowerment of female religious leaders, Nyai, female caregivers of female Islamic boarding schools to become pioneers in building resilience against radicalism in Islamic boarding schools, as an effort to regenerate female students, is very important. Later, these students will culturally be cadres of the pesantren who will be involved in society. So, of course, the legitimacy of women's clergy needs to be recognized not only unilaterally by women, but also by the fusion of the concept of 'ulama' without gender divides.

Building women's clerical legitimacy is closely related to opening access to education (friendly to women) for women's capacity building. There is also a need for moral and material support and encouragement from the environment, especially the immediate environment to remove the stigma that is common in society that if women do not need higher education. Biological factors related to reproduction often become obstacles for women to gain access to higher education, in addition to the unprepared environment or partners to share roles because the structural division of labor that has been built, places women in charge of domestic affairs.

Surely, this requires an effort to deconstruct the understanding of most 'Kiai' ulama and fuqaha (Islamic jurisprudence) which prohibits women from becoming leaders based on the word of Allah: "ar-rijalu qawwamuuna 'alan-nisa",[55] which is interpreted textually as saying that the term leader is identical with men. This understanding is also strengthened by a shahih hadith, "lan-

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55 QS. An-Nisa: 34.

yufliha qoumun wallahu amrohum imro'atan",[56] which means: there will be no happiness for those who give up their affairs (appoint rulers, president) of a woman.

KH. Said Aqiel Siradj explained that verse 34 of Surat An-Nisa 'which is used as the main basis for prohibiting women from leading, is not in the form of command words, but khabariyah (news) sentences so that the accuracy of mandatory or haram laws has a less effective degree. Even with the hadith, it is not a sentence of prohibition (nahiy) but only khabariyah (news) because of that the prohibition law does not have an accurate significance. So it is not an exaggeration if Ibn Jarir Al-Tabari emphasizes that women leaders are not an obstacle in Islamic law. This opinion was later strengthened by some Malikiyah scholars in giving Queen Syajaratud-Dur legitimacy in Egypt.[57]

From the findings above, the santri-Kiai / Nyai interaction is a model capable of describing the dynamics of gender relations in the pesantren environment. Even from quantitative data, it is very clear how pesantren praxis is not accommodating enough to build an integrated program that specifically targets the development of women's capacities and abilities when talking about gender. If we look at it, of the thousands of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, how many pesantren or Nyai have true cleric qualities? Due to the fact that it is very concerning, most of the Nyai still act as catering managers, receive the money for the students' meals and prepare food every day, so it is not surprising that their role is taken by men.[58]

In an interview with Nyai Hindun Anisah,[59] a caregiver of Pesantren Hasyim Asy'ari Jepara, who is also one of the activists of Indonesian Women's Ulama, stated:

"On the occasion of the ceremony last August 17, where I was the inspector of the ceremony, every time I teach 'Quran' (teaching the book) to students - emphasizing the role of pesantren in the struggle for independence of the Republic of Indonesia and emphasizing that the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila are final because the existence of Pancasila recognizes the diversity."

The practice of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar which is done Nyai Hindun also always prevents students and society from becoming involved in radical movements. In practice, in this pesantren, students are often introduced to different communities, invited to dialogue, and at the same time discussing with different communities like Christian, Protestant, Catholic, or religious. In fact, they are also invited to visit and live-in at this pesantren, so that students not only have a good understanding but also practice tolerance.

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56 HR. Bukhari.

57 KH. Said Aqiel Siradj, Islam Kebangsaan, Fikih Demokratik Kaum Santri (Jakarta: Pustaka Ciganjur, 1999), p. 2-10.

58 Ibid, p. 21

59 Interview with Ny. Hj. Hindun Anisah, A Caregiver of Pesantren Hasyim Asy'ari, Jepara, 15 September 2019.

In terms of gender issues, Nyai Hindun practiced the principle of equality more than just in a theoretical framework, for example, starting from the pesantren regulations that do not differentiate between male and female students. Likewise, access to participate in various activities is not differentiated by sex. In terms of pesantren policies, both male and female students are invited to discuss together and all are involved. What is more interesting is how in this Hasyim Asy'ari Islamic Boarding School, the teaching criteria are based on competence. Male teachers can teach in women's classes, and vice versa, so there is no separation of access to teachers based on sex.

Of course, women in pesantren have a crucial role to play in contributing to the development of pesantren resilience against radicalism and extremism. In the salaf pesantren, although in general in practice the gap on the discourse of gender equality is still high in the discourse of pesantren. But the closeness to the big jam'iyyah which is connected culturally and genealogically, indirectly builds a culture of obedience to Nyai, as a form of resilience built in the culture of the salaf pesantren. Therefore, 'Nyai' is a cultural symbol that becomes a role model for the general public, especially those around the pesantren. The vulnerability can arise when it is turned on- as a role model - actually plays a role in perpetuating patriarchal relations and limiting opportunities for female santri. Practice like this it is feared that the students will continue to become a culture from generation to generation, both male and female students.

Meanwhile, in modern pesantren or pesantren whose leadership structure has been divided, the resilience of the pesantren is built in the context of involving female teachers (ustadzah) in the policy-making process. Thus an integrative program that targets women's empowerment can be proposed in the form of accommodation for the needs of female students. On the other hand, the female pesantren program can also be developed independently, which is not an activity that is merely a complement to activities in male Islamic boarding schools. The vulnerability can occur when the top leaders of the pesantren are still dominated by men who still place women as a subordinate group. If that happens, even though female caregivers are involved in the policy-making process, they may not necessarily be accommodated.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Research on pesantren from various typologies shows that pesantren have several unique and prominent protective factors against radicalism in accordance with the characteristics of each pesantren. However, several other protective factors are shared by different types of pesantren. These protective factors are the basic assets possessed by pesantren and are attached to its history, vision, and mission, long before the emergence of government initiatives to run programs to build pesantren community resilience against radicalism. These protective factors serve to make the pesantren resilient or resilient to radicalism.

Traditional Islamic boarding schools and Dayahs (NU / Aswaja) use Kiai and the yellow book as their modalities in dealing with radicalism, something that is not

found in other types of pesantren. Meanwhile, Pesantren Gontor and its affiliates stand out in the values of community-oriented education as a protective factor in dealing with radicalism. On the other hand, the attachment and connection between Muhammadiyah and Wahdah Islamiyyah affiliated pesantren and their central organizations serve as a protector of them from radicalism. The greater the connection, the greater the protective factor. Connections with the government, experiences with diversity and different identities, and extracurricular activities are protective factors that different types of pesantren have.

Traditional pesantren, Pesantren Gontor, and its affiliates, as well as Islamic boarding schools affiliated with Muhammadiyah have more than one protective factor in addition to being unique. Meanwhile, the Salafi Wahabi pesantren were the types of pesantren with the least and weak protective factors. The only distinctive and strong protective factor of Salafi Islamic boarding schools is the political doctrine of "the prohibition of rebellion by the legal government (bughat)".

This study found that almost all pesantren from various typologies studied were not sterile from risk factors for radicalism. Having a risk factor does not mean you are susceptible to being exposed to radicalism because what determines vulnerability is the difference between the protective factor and the risk factor. If the protective factors are stronger and more numerous, the pesantren will have good endurance. Conversely, if the risk factor is more than the protective factor, the members of the pesantren community are vulnerable to exposure. Common risk factors are the inclusion of radicalism in pesantren, exclusionary attitudes, indoctrinal pedagogy, and lack of awareness of the state. The risk of radicalism entering the pesantren, among others, is through ex-radicals who teach and settle around the pesantren, so that they may interact with members of the pesantren community. Apart from that, what is quite common for certain pesantren is through HTI recruitment through pesantren alumni who continue on to their younger siblings at the pesantren.

To increase the resilience of pesantren to radicalism, pesantren carry out resilience-building aimed at increasing protective factors and minimizing risk factors. Resilience building will be successful if it involves the government as a facilitator, involving Islamic organizations as partners, experts, and the pesantren itself. Resilience development among pesantren consists of two strategies: first, a short-term strategy; second, a long-term strategy.

The short-term strategy is to avoid contact with radical movements and views and to legitimize radical ideologies. Meanwhile, the long-term strategy is to foster diversity and tolerance and develop critical thinking. Pesantren was quite successful in the first strategy, but still have to improve on the longer-term strategy. The construction of tolerance between schools of thought in Islam was relatively successful, but tolerance and respect between sects had not shown significant improvement. The attitude towards Shia and Ahamdiyah is still the same, it tends to be intolerant. The development of critical power is only at the stage of preparing intellectual training but has not yet built the basics of objective thinking, staying away from prejudice, based on data, listening to various views, and so on. However, debate exercises exemplified by Pesantren Persis are the best practices that can be

developed by policymakers in stimulating the development of critical power among pesantren.

The two approaches above will be effective if they involve the government and experts who understand radicalism and its prevention. Relying on pesantren alone, there is concern about the bias of pesantren's understanding of radicalism itself, which if not balanced with objective information can cause new problems, namely suspicion, and distrust between one type of pesantren and another.

However, government involvement must be precise and measurable. The government needs to pay attention to the characteristics of pesantren and how they interpret the resilience of pesantren and the development of resilience to radicalism that is suitable and relevant for the pesantren itself.