The Resilience of Literacy Culture in Salafi Jihadis Pesantren; Study on Traditional Islamic Boarding School in Indonesia

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Abstract

The existence of Salaf pesantren which is suspected to be affiliated with jihadists lately has strengthened the presence of a new traditional pesantren typology namely Salafi-jihadis. Typology pesantren are considered vulnerable to radicalism and terrorism. This article reveals the resilience of the Salafi jihadi pesantren literacy culture which is allegedly affiliated with radical jihadist groups. This was done to determine the extent of the existence of salaf-jihadis pesantren literacy. The majority of people questioned the relevance of pesantren to the spread of radicalism and terrorism issues. The data of this study were collected through observation and in-depth interviews with former convicted terrorists (suspected theorists) as well as managing Salafi-jihadis pesantren as well as several religious teachers at the pesantren. The findings of this study indicate that the salafi-jihadis pesantren teach jihad fiqh up to the *ahkamudiammah* chapter. However, according to the boarding school manager, the jihad literacy taught in the pesantren is recognized as having no connection with radicalism and terrorism. The findings of this study can have implications for the terminology of jihad to be pejorative. Although the majority of traditional Islamic boarding schools have diverse resistance to the issue of radicalism.
Keyword: Jihadis, Pesantren (Islamic Boarding school), Salaf, Pejorative

Abstrak

Keberadaan pesantren salaf yang diduga berafiliasi pada kelompok jihadis akhir-akhir ini, memperkuat kehadiran typelogi pesantren tradisional baru yakni pesantren *salafi-jihadis*. Pesantren typelogi ini dianggap rentan terhadap radikalisme dan terorisme. Artikel ini mengungkapkan ketahanan budaya literasi pesantren *salafi jihadi* yang diduga berafiliasi dengan kelompok jihadis-radikal. Hal tersebut dilakukan untuk mengetahui sejauh mana keberadaan literasi pesantren *salaf-jihadis*. Mayoritas masyarakat mempertanyakan keterkaitan pesantren dengan merebaknya isu radikalisme dan terorisme. Data penelitian ini dikumpulkan melalui observasi dan wawancara mendalam terhadap mantan narapidan teroris (terduga teoris) sekaligus sebagai pengelola pesantren salafi-jihadis serta beberapa ustadz pada pesantren tersebut. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukan bahwa pesantren salafi-jihadis mengajarkan fiqh jihad sampai pada bab *ahkamudiammah*. Meskipun demikian, menurut pengelola pesantren tersebut literasi jihad yang diajarkan dalam pesantren tersebut diakui tidak memiliki hubungan dengan radikalisme dan terorisme. Temuan penelitian ini dapat berimplikasi pada terminologi jihad menjadi pejorative. Meskipun mayoritas pesantren tradisional memiliki ketahanan yang beragam terhadap isu radikalisme.
Kata Kunci: Jihadis, Pesantren (*Islamic Boarding school*), Salaf, Pejorative

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INTRODUCTION

Tackling radicalism and terrorism is one of the priorities of the government today because that issue has become part of the national framework. One aspect highlighted is the development of traditional Islamic education (pesantren salaf). Along with the increasing intensity of prejudice towards salaf pesantren education, pesantren literacy culture has become a stigmatized one where literacy culture has changed radically.

This change in literacy culture can be seen from the polarization and typology of pesantren that have developed lately. Among the developing pesantren are salafi jihadi pesantren. The Salafi jihadi

pesantren style is considered new because it is suspected that this group carries the ideology of jihadis. The term jihad lately tends to be associated with the problem of radicalism and terrorism because the term jihad becomes pejorative. As a result, each individual or group that makes jihad *fisabilillah* a principle and missionary propaganda is considered radical, militant, and fundamental. This has happened to several Salafi pesantren in Indonesia.

Radical stigma on the meaning of the term jihad is not always appropriate because after all the word radical for researchers of terrorism and radicalism so far tends to be interpreted as biased and political. For example, referring to the political views of the American government that "general characteristics of radicalism include individuals or groups desiring to establish an Islamic state, enforce Islamic law, study and perform jihad *fisabilillah*. Thus, if there are individuals, groups, and educational institutions which perform those three actions, they can be categorized as radicalism (Malik, 2017, 2020). This view is very political and counter-productive to the conception of jihad in a broader sense. The definition above is almost the same as what Miller said: "Radical Islam will be defined as an Islamist movement that seeks to use violence or violent rhetoric to gain the power to create an Islamic state, based on the sharia." According to Miller, there are two characteristics of Islamic radicals in terms of objectives: using violent means to achieve their objectives and establishing an Islamic state or applying Islamic sharia (Islamic law) formally (Malik, 2017).

Miller's view, although it does not explicitly mention that jihad is part of radicalism, some of the same elements of the radical definition of the two views above lead to an Islamic Movement that contains jihadist activities (Miller, 2008). Based on the findings of the CSRC typology, the Salaf pesantren is divided into three types, the first is pesantren affiliated with Wahabiyah Salafis, the second is Haraki Salafis, and thirty d is Salafi Jihadists (Abubakar, Irfan, Malik, 2020). The three types of Salafi have fundamental differences in the problems of religious movements and political ideology (Malik, 2023). BBasedon the types of pesantren, implicit religious moderation is represented by pesantren with traditionalist/salafiyah non-jihadist understandings and practices. While religious radicalism is generally displayed by pesantren with the characteristics of reformist, non-sectarian, textualist, and puritanical religious notions (Bruinessen, 2008). In line with the rapid increase in the number of pesantren in the past two decades (Marzuki, Miftahuddin, & Murdiono, 2020), the style and form of pesantren education has been developing. Viewed from the education and teaching system, pesantren can be divided into traditional, modern, and independent (Shodiq, 2011). Base on religious understanding and political ideology, pesantren (Islamic Boarding schschoolsan be categorized into traditional, modern, fundamentalist, and jihadist (Malik, 2023).

Based on the above perspective, it is not clear yet how the cultural literacy map of religious in the pesantren is; how it develops, progresses, and is maintained in pesantren with various categories above. This question will be related in a more specific context; how the reformist and non-traditionalist pesantren type, like Gontor Pesantren type or the others pesantren which the same mode, Persis pesantren, and Muhammadiyah pesantren, build a culture of religious literacy amid the rise of

Salafism with its various variants. Similar questions can apply to reformist pesantren, both traditionalist jihadis as pesantren Umar bin Khatab, and Salafi-Wahabi, both non-jihadi, non-harakiri, and tanzhimi (like Wahdah Islamiyah Pesantren in South Sulawesi). How the Salafi pesantren positioned themselves in the modern and democratic setting of Indonesian politics (Hamid, Pamujianto, 2019).

The issue of literacy of jihad fiqh in pesantren is the same as other fiqh literacy positions. It's just that some traditional Islamic boarding schools were previously suspected of being involved in the issue of terrorism, eventually, all instruments related to the pesantren tended to be suspected including the literacy of jihad in it (Marzuki et al., 2020). This then distinguishes Umar bin Khatab's salaf pesantren from *salaf* (traditional) pesantren in general. Therefore the pesantren is also known as the salafi jihadi pesantren. So far the polarization of pesantren is only known in three pesantren patterns namely *salaf* (traditional), (khalaf) modern pesantren, and a combination of both (Malik, Tamjidillah, 2020).

Referring to the variations of the pesantren, the Salafi jihadi pesantren is a pesantren style that came later and later became popular after the widespread issue of national radicalism and terrorism. Therefore this research seeks to explore in depth how the pesantren develop concepts and interpret what is called the culture of literacy of salafi jihadi pesantren. This academic anxiety is important to answer because it is related to the suspicion that the pesantren teaches and disseminates radical ideology in pesantren (Afrianty, 2012). The culture of pesantren literacy is an important factor that needs to be investigated about the spread of radicalism cells in pesantren. Since the beginning, radical stigmatization of pesantren education has been aimed at two things, firstly the role of the cleric as a central figure as in pesantren culture in general. Second, the literacy model and / or curriculum taught in the pesantren(Murariu & Anglitoiu, 2019; Zainiyati, 2016). This issue then developed rapidly and massively so as to tonegative image about pesantren.

This research is a qualitative research with a phenomenological studies approach. Therefore this study uses a naturalistic phenomenological model. In the end, this research reveals in a literary culture the salafi jihadi pesantren culture which is considered different from traditional pesantren in general. In addition, this research also provides a new understanding of prejudice related to the issue of jihad that is understood and studied in the literacy culture of the Salafi jihadi pesantren. Therefore this study found several literacy models developed in the pesantren culture. Among them the material of *jihad*, *ahkamudimmah*, and Islamic Khilafah ideology.

The Literacy of Culture In the Pesantren

The Literacy of Culture in the pesantren world has developed since centuries ago. This is evidenced by the large number of *turats* (tradition) written by Muslim scholar who have Islamic education (pesantren) background (Malik, Sudrjat, & Hanum, 2016). That is, if traced from the history of genuine pesantren, literacy culture is indeed inseparable from the world of literacy that was built. At least the indicators of genuine pesantren can be measured from three aspects, namely history,

dogma, and culture of pesantren, therefore pesantren literacy is built on the three aspects of genuine pesantren(Charlene Tan, 2011).

Genuine pesantren does not seem to be everlasting from the world of literacy, because literacy is not only a matter of writing and reading but it transcends all that is called the core of culture. According to UNESCO, people's understanding of the meaning of literacy is strongly influenced by academic research, institutions, national contexts, cultural values, and experience (Zainiyati, 2016). Literacy is someone's ability to process and understand information when reading and writing. In development, the definition of literacy always evolves according to the challenges of the times. In the past the definition of literacy was the ability to read and write(Arifin, 2016). At present, the term literacy has begun to be used in a broader sense. And has penetrated cultural practices related to social and political issues (Malik, Tamjidillah, 2020).

Lately the discourse of pesantren literacy culture is no longer focused solely on the classic book or authentic pesantren traditions but the awareness of the thoughts passed on by Muslim scholars through the masterpieces which until now have been the main reference of pesantren, are demanded to understand the development of new literacy that circling the pesantren, such as the issue of radicalism and terrorism (Iswahyudin, Iswahayudin. Safala, 2019; Maskur, 2018). This was confirmed by Rais Aam, the Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) Executive Board, K. H. Ma'ruf Amin, called for pesantren literacy movement as an effort to counter radicalism which is widely campaigned through various media(Darmadji, 2011). The pesantren is again a concern when there are individuals suspected of being terrorists who claim to have been graduated from pesantren. For example, Ustadz Baasyir, one of the pesantren caregivers in Solo, has been arrested until now (although he is political victim in this cases) on charges of being a terrorist leader in Indonesia (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018). Since then the discourse on the culture of salafi jihadi pesantren literacy has always been linked and stigmatized as pro-radical doctrines. Even the culture of the pesantren salaf jihadis pesantren which is suspected to be radical often uses the legitimacy of the text as a support for his argument. For the case of the "Islamic extremism" movement that has spread to almost all Islamic regions (including Indonesia) (Malik, 2017), for example, it also uses Islamic texts (the Koran, Hadith, and the classic book) as the basis for theological legitimacy, because the text textually supports the attitudes exclusive and extremist (Gerges, 2005). Despite the debate from the two groups, certainly no one of the two groups can be sure how to place and carry out the will of the text appropriately. Therefore, radical Islamic groups tend to claim that with a textual approach they try to follow the will of the text as it is. This interpretation which tends to be textual is also called scripturalist understanding, namely the understanding of religion by the language of the text itself.

Salafi pesantren Jihadists

At first, the pesantren was only known as the traditional education system or often also referred to as the salaf pesantren. Traditional pesantren implies that "Islamic boarding schools in general are traditionally recognized as an Islamic education that emphasizes the basic teachings of Islam, such as

tawhīd (The oneness of God), al Qur'ān (Holy book), hadith (hadith) recorded verbal statements of the Prophet) fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence), literature and Arabic grammar (nahw) and mysticism (tasawwuf) (Malik, 2017). Besides on the traditional term in this context refers to the word salaf or salafiyah. The term salaf or salafiyah, tends to be associated with the religious thoughts and behavior of early Islamic groups. Then the group was represented through the *aqeedah* (believe system) of the ASWAJA (Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah) group by following the Salafush Sholeh manhaj.

According to Abdullah Bin Abdil Hamid Al-Ansari in the book "Aqeedah salaf ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah that; Ahlus sunnah wal Jama'ah are people who hold fast to the sunnah of the Prophet, the Companions, and those who follow the Companions of the Prophet (Tabiin), taking the path of the Companions in beliefs, words, and deeds, as well as those who istiqamah above ittiba 'and away from bid'ah(Nilan, 2009). Referring to Atsari (2015), Aswaja's understanding in the pesantren tradition has been translated into three pillars, namely in the field of aqidah following the thought of Imam Abu Hasan al-Asyah'ari, in the field of Sufism towards Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, and in the field of fiqh followed the Shafi'i school. then all salafiyah pesantren claim to follow the *Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah*.

However, the conception of *salafus sholeh* ideology in the paradigm of salafi-jihadis persantren is different from the ideological conception of non-jihadis salafi pesantren. Referring to Imam Samudara's view, that the ideological conception and literacy of the salafi-jihadi pesantren, refers to several figures who take the Salaf manhaj like Salman bin Fahd Al-Auda, dr. Safar Al-Hawali, Dr. Aiman Azh-Zhawahari, Sulaiman Abu Ghaits, Dr. Abdullah Azzam, Usman bin Ladin, and Ulema Mullah Umar. These scholars are referred to as mujahid scholars(Abubakar, Irfan, Malik, 2020).

Base on Imam Samudra's view above, was opposed by several salafi-wahabiyah figures, according to Abu Hamzah, that the figures mentioned by Imam Samudra did not in line with the salaf manhaj like Ibn bin Baz, Shikh Al-albani etc. According to these figures the group referred to as mujahid ulama is a figure whose ideology is Quhtabiyah, Sururiyyah, ikhwanyyah, and Kharijiyah. This is proven by several actions and writings (literacy) of these figures which are filled with deviations and misleading thoughts. Among the forms considered deviations of salafi-jihadist groups is a way of interpreting the Qur'an and Hadith which are exclusive and tend to be textual, rigid, and build *taqfiri* narratives(Wagemakers, 2022). Salafi jihadi groups or jihadists mentioned by Imam Samudra, are currently represented by ISIS groups, al-Qaeda, JI (Jamaah Islamiayah, MMI (Indonesian Mujahidin Council), JAT (Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid), JAS (Jamaah Anshourt Syariah), and JAD (Jamaah Ashorut Daulah). All of the groups are the beginning of what is known as the "global jihad movement as the setting for the birth of the global war on terrorism by the Western world (Gerges, 2005).

METHOD

The naturalistic phenomenological research model, views humans and social reality as they form when human activities or behaviors are interpreted according to the culprit. In this study, the literacy culture of the Jihadist salafi pesantren is seen as a social phenomenon. The subjects as well as data sources in this study are: religious teacher, manager, and leader of the pesantren, santri who are in the salafi-jihadi pesantren. Data collection methods in this study are interviews, observation, and documentation. The interview in question is an in-depth interview. This study uses inductive data analysis procedures. This research was conducted on 41 salafiyah (traditional) pesantren in 4 Province in Indonesia. Resource persons were selected using intentional sampling techniques (intensity purposed sampling). This technique aims to select research sources in such a way as to reflect the characteristics of the group under study and make it easier to conduct a comparative analysis of their views, behaviors and attitudes towards the issue being studied. The resource person of this study numbering 25 people in each province (5 per pesantren), spread in 41 pesantren with various categories, in 4 provinces. In-depth interviews in this study traced the views of 207 sources boarding school leaders, boarding school administrators, senior boarding school teachers, boarding school teachers juniors, and administrators of santri organizations in 41 pesantren from 4 provinces in the research location. This research was successful in conducting in-depth interviews with NU pesantren, Dayah, Gontor and its affiliates, Muhammadiyah, Persis, Hidayatullah, Nahdhatul Wathon and Salafi.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Literacy content of Salfi-Jihadist Islamic Boarding Schools

The curriculum in this research as part of the pesantren environment (Mujahidah, 2015; Navarro & Tudge, 2022). Often the curriculum in pesantren is thought to be the basis for the development of radical values, although the assumption is not entirely true, curriculum content is one aspect that can be used as an indicator to see the elements of radicalism in pesantren learning. In the beginning, the traditional pesantren education curriculum was an aspect that was extracted or developed from the ideology and doctrine of the religion of the group that had the Ahlus sunnah wal jama'ah (Aswaja) pattern (Asadullah & Maliki, 2018). This is seen from the figures that are referred to. Therefore the traditional pesantren literacy culture often introduces the ideas of the founders, the management of the boarding school and even the organizations that oversee the pesantren itself (Malik et al., 2016).

At least the curriculum has four elements related to the culture of this pesantren literacy. First the objectives to be achieved by Education itself, secondly knowledge of information, data, activities,

and experiences from which the curriculum was built. The third method or procedure used by teachers in teaching, and fourth, the method or instrument used by teachers in conducting assessments(Pohl, 2006). Referring to the concept of the curriculum, traditional pesantren literacy culture in general, refers to the contents of the material contained in the yellow book, so that the leadership of the boarding school just determines what books should be learned by students. It also illustrates the competencies that must be achieved by students. According to Karel A. Steenbrink in the 19th century pesantren literacy was only known as fiqh material, Arabic grammar, Usul al-Din, and Sufism but as the development of ideological models and religious doctrine of society with all the driving factors and risks followed by the development of variants or pesantren typology which then affects the change in pesantren literacy culture(Isbah, 2020). In this context pesantren not only faces demands to defend values and traditions that maintain values and traditions which are Islamic intellectual treasures, but also face globalization with all its instruments (Malik, 2022).

One of the challenges of the Salaf pesantren in this era of globalization is the massive development of transnational religious ideologies. One of the ideologies meant is the ideology of the global Islamic jihadist group. Global groups of jihadists are well known who try hard to think of Islam as a political ideology that encompasses all social life (Malik, 2022). This arises from a view of juridically tight social relations within traditional fundamentalism (such as whether an action is permissible or not) to define the essence of a society and Islamic power. For Islamists, society is a totality that reflects the unity of the community of believers in the Oneness of God. The climax, since the events of 11 September 2001, terrorist activities and radicalism in Indonesia increased rapidly, including four Islamic radicalism groups operating in Indonesia, such as the Noordin M.Top group, Poso, Palembang, and *Jamaah As-Sunnah* (Malik, 2023).

Politically, the development of salafi-jihadis Islamic groups in Indonesia is inseparable from the constellation of militant activities of global jihadist groups since the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan. However, the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan between 1979 and 1989 attracted many Muslim youth from all over the world to participate in the anti-Soviet global jihad (holy war). Key figures who organized and financed the transnational jihadist group were Osama bin Laden and Abdullah Azzam. These two figures founded an organization MAK (Maktab al-Khidmat) or service bureau(Ben-Dor, 1996).

Starting from the role of the global jihad group then traces and networks of new Islamic neo-radicalism in Indonesia developed, namely through Indonesian Muslim groups involved in jihad against the Soviets and receiving military training in Afghanistan (Bayat, 2022), including Imam Samudra and his group. After the American government declared war on world terrorism, the Afghanistan alumni network allegedly arrived in Southeast Asia including Indonesia recruiting new members with the same vision and mission, as active movement cells (Bayat, 2022). One locus targeted for recruitment is pesantren which are ideologically and doctrinally affiliated with radical or fundamental Islam. In subsequent developments, the new radical Islamic group continued to recruit

new members, until some of these members were involved in the conflicts in Ambon and Poso, as well as several bombings in various regions(Arifin, 2016).

The development of the global jihad group indirectly influence the development of pesantren literacy style and culture since several global jihadi activists allegedly involved in theorists established and are involved in the management of several pesantren which are now called Salafi-jihadis pesantren. Therefore, based on research findings, it is suspected that the literacy culture of the Salafi-jihadi pesantren, besides containing fundamentalist elements, is also oriented towards the ideology of "jihad fisabilillah". According to Abegebriel that fundamentalism is a tradition of socio-religious interpretation (mazhab) that makes Islam a religion and an ideology. The interpretation developed is not only theological doctrines but also ideological. The doctrines of the founders of modern fundamentalists, such as Hasan al-Banna, Abu A'la al-Maududi, Sayyed Qutb, Rahullah Khomeini, Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr, Abd as-Salam Faraq, Sa'id Hawa and Juhaiman al-Utaibi became a reference for the next group renewal struggle movement. The characteristic of fundamentalism is spiritualism, which is a literal belief in the scriptures that are the word of God and is considered to be without error, from these beliefs developed a basic idea which states that religion is held firmly in a literal and rounded form, without compromise, use, reinterpretation, and subtraction. The definition is the same as the radical meaning in the sense of understanding religion(Malik, 2023).

Infiltration of Understanding and Radical Movement

One risk factor is the entry of radical doctrine into the pesantren community. There are several entrances to radicalism in pesantren. One of them is the acceptance of ex-radicals entering pesantren, whether as teachers or just living around the pesantren environment, and the opportunity to get along with teachers or students. Pesantren as-Salam (Salafy-jihadis) Bima is one of those at risk because the pesantren itself because managed by ex-radicals who have received prison sentences. Some young people who are seen as radicalized live around pesantren, interacting whether intense or not, with members of the pesantren community (Supriyadin, 2019).

According to this boarding school admission, their political views and attitudes are no longer as radical as before. This means they have undergone a process of de-radicalization. However, their perception of the democratic system as a product of infidels and the hope of the application of sharia by the state even though not in revolutionary ways shows that the seeds still exist. Intense contact with those who are still joining ISIS and other radical networks increases risk factors(Mujiono, 2019). In addition to the strengthening feeling (physicist) that Islam is surrounded by its enemies also adds to the risk factor. This psychological condition can be felt in Ust Zaber's statement below:

> So, don't ever dream that Islam has no enemies. Well, that's not possible. That's also what I said to my friends who were heretics. you are a dream !! In Islam looking safe, it's a dream! If we want to bring teachings taught by the Prophet, we must also be able to accept what is received by the Prophet. The Messenger of Allah was once said to be *shahirun majnun* (a

sorcerer), you are *asshobi* '(divisive). He was despised, stoned to death. Preaching in Mecca for 13 years many opposed by his family(Malik, 2020).

In addition to the intense and productive connection with the government, a protective factor that can compensate for these risk factors is the shifting of beliefs about the Islamic Khilafah that must be enforced violently to the belief that the *khilafah Islamiyyah* is a gift from Allah, who is only waiting for his arrival. The same thing is also related to the struggle to uphold Islamic law and *jihad fisabilillah*(Supriyadin, 2019).

At a lower level, the Pesantren Darul Arqam in Central Java and Banten have risk factors for the inclusion of radical understanding in the pesantren(Phlipi, 2019). Some former NII were also accommodated to teach in Pesantren. Likewise with the influence of HTI. Contact and interaction allow risk. But the existence of internal provisions of pesantren prohibits them from teaching their ideological doctrine to be a protective factor. Moreover, the control and resilience building carried out constructively by the Muhammadiyah Central board will increase resilience and hence the protective factor. Direct government intervention does not seem necessary. On the contrary, supporting and giving trust to the Center will be more promising. Moreover, in 2015 PP Muhammadiyah has seriously developed an internal resilience strategy by officially releasing the Muhammadiyah concept of the Republic of Indonesia as *Darul Ahdi Wassyahadah*. This concept seemed echoing in the explanation of several boarding school administrators regarding their attitude towards the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila as final concept that showing the level of compliance and loyalty at the official view Center(Supriyadin, 2019).

Traditional pesantren (NU) are inseparable from the risk factors for the entry of HTI influence. PP an-Nizomiyah, Banten, which is perceived to have a strong national outlook even though it does not escape the penetration of the HTI khilafah ideology. The leader admitted that the entry was not through pesantren but through the school managed by an-Nizomiyah, some teachers were identified as being influenced by radical ideology. However, the attitude of pesantren leaders who firmly reject and take firm action against teachers who violate the provisions of pesantren has the potential to increase the protective factor and hence the resilience of pesantren(Minardi, 2018). While PP Bahrul Ulum, Goa, South Sulawesi also has risk factors because quite a lot of alumni are affected by the invitation to enter the HTI movement. Their contact with students can increase risk factors in the pesantren community. It is not yet known what internal strategy of the pesantren increases the protective factor of the problem of radicalism(Maksum, 2017).

Exclusive Attitudes & Indoctrinate Pedagogy

In addition to the alleged inclusion of radical understanding in the salfi-jihadis pesantren, other risk factors are exclusive, intolerant and the lack of pesantren is connected with differences and diversity in identity. Therefore Salafi Islamic boarding schools have a high risk factor in this case. This is reflected in their policy of not giving access to students to read books on Indonesian religious thinkers. Coupled with the attitude of those who are not connected with Islamic organizations in

Indonesia affiliated to moderate Islam. This exclusive attitude coupled with indoctrinate pedagogy will further increase risk factors. Among the literacy cultures of the Salafi-jihadi pesantren is that students are not permitted to study philosophy and Sufism as well as literature that does not fit the salafi-jihadist manhaj.

Based on field data, pesantren affiliated with salafi are Pesantren Persis Bangil, therefore the pesantren has an exclusive risk. This exclusive attitude is characterized by the lack of pesantren relations with the differences and diversity that exists. Coupled with the disconnect between PP Persis Bangil and Persis Mass Organizations increases the exclusive factor and community disconnection with more open relationships. But the emphasis of the teachers in Persis on debate and fighting argumentation becomes a balancing factor of an exclusive attitude. There are at least two salafi-jihadis pesantren literacy cultures which are often debated in the jihadist group discourse.

First; Islamic Sharia Literacy

Among the literacy identities of populist salafi jihadis are Islamic law. This means that the group makes Islamic law as the basis of movement ideology. Haedar Nasir (2007), said that Islamic law is God's law which was revealed to regulate human life in total. Such understanding is often claimed by certain Islamic groups to justify a political movement. The implication of this is that Islam becomes completely legal-formal according to the principle of *al-ahkam al-khamsah* (the five principles of Islamic law)(Umam, 2011). From a sociological point of view, it is seen that the Islamic Sharia movement is a systematic, organized religious movement that takes the top-down and bottom-up paths in synergy. Although it is a small current, but the high militancy power causes the movement to get its place in the lives of Muslims in Indonesia, more specifically Islamic groups that are considered radical. The power of militancy is formed from a world view that is combined with situational aspects. This is reminiscent of the problem of the dynamics of Islamization and Islamic ideologization in Indonesia since the beginning of the national revival until the reform era which was marked by the struggle of Islamic groups in the national political arena(Umam, 2011).

Regarding the above, not all pesantren think about and study the application of Islamic law as the main stream of political interests, but for some pesantren they believe that Islamic law is an obligation for every Muslim. Even in the view of pesantren that are pro to the application of Islamic law, to uphold Islamic values such as social justice in people's lives, it is necessary to apply Islamic law in a kaffah beforehand. Today, this is difficult to prove because so far most people have been anti-starch, fear, prejudice, and even reject the issue of applying Islamic law without understanding and knowing deeply about the benefits, goals, and values contained therein. Moreover, all this time the application of Sharia is only highlighted from the sides that are considered negative, for example the issue of cutting off hands, caning, stoning and others(Hiariej, 2010).

The discourse of the application of Islamic law is often associated politically, where the formalization of Islamic law is used as a substitute for an existing state foundation. The formalization of Islamic Sharia is an effort aimed not only at the implementation of the Shari'a itself but also

making the Sharia a source of law for all applicable laws through political decisions. The spirit of the formalization of Islamic law, especially for Islamic groups that are considered radical so far, is based on the belief that Islamic law is a perfect rule of law. Therefore, for some Islamic groups they feel that Islamic Sharia is worth fighting for. Referring to the view point of the group, then in this study Islamic Sharia is one of the fundamental teachings in Islam that continues to adhere to the image of radical groups. Whereas for certain Islamic groups, the application of Islamic law is not only seen as political interests alone but is an obligation of every believer to be carried out as a form of human obedience and submission to the command of Allah(Minardi, 2018).

Second; Literary Jihad Fisabilillah

Jihad is one of the many fundamental teachings of Islam as well as the most popular political views related to the issue of religious radicalism and the fight against terrorism. Even the name or other terms of the Al Qaeda group as global terrorism is a global jihad group. Both the concept and practice of jihad, for Muslims the term is not something foreign. In the Koran and Hadith, jihad is one of the important pillars in the teachings of Islam, therefore the word jihad is often delivered in the form of *fiil amr* or the word command (Antúnez & Tellidis, 2013). In addition, the term jihad includes words that are mentioned repeatedly by the Qur'an and Hadith in a variety of contexts and purposes. Jihad in Islam is one of the main teachings which has a very high value and position among other Islamic teachings. The word jihad in Islam has many meanings and interpretations, therefore for Muslims the concept of jihad becomes a crucial theme and at the same time invites polemic if it is associated with the current discourse of radicalism. The debate and controversy over the concept of jihad is not much different from the concept of the Khilafah. The form of the controversy over the term or concept of jihad is more a matter of the meaning of jihad, law, form, time, and context (the locus) of jihad. In subsequent developments the view of the concept of jihad depends very much on the interests of the defining group(Nuraniyah, 2018).

Referring to the opinion of Imam Samudra (2004), literally jihad means giving the best, spending energy to achieve the goal. In this case, the earnest effort of someone who seeks a path can be categorized as jihad. Jihad means doing the best to uphold the law of Allah or fight in the way of Allah (jihad fi sabilillah). Imam Samudra's opinion is not much different from the definition and agreement of the Muslim scholars especially the founder of the four schools of fiqh (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali).

While the definition of jihad in the view of the Khawarij group is a duty of "holy war" and is placed as the sixth pillar in Islam. The group believes that jihad has an important role in the development of Islam(Hitti, 2002). Most of the meaning of jihad is strictly defined by some radical Islamic groups such as Abdullah Azzam, the pioneer of international jihadists in the book "Tarbiyyah Jihadiyah" (Education Jihad), saying that jihad has the upper position of pilgrimage, fasting and prayer, meaning when the time for jihad of all worship can be suspended. Related to this, in the current context the term jihad has become so attached to radical Islamic groups, that in its

development the conception of jihad has changed along with the occurrence of radical events and terror committed by jihadists. The commands and meaning of holy jihad melt into new connotations and vocabularies such as "suicide", "war"(Hoffman, 1995), "bomb" and "sword or weapon". According to Ibn Qayyim, jihad in a broad sense is reflected in the journey of life and preaching of the Prophet Muhammad SAW during his lifetime. This was stated by Ibn Qayyim, that;

> The Prophet Muhammad, was at the peak of his mastery of jihad. He mastered all kinds of jihad. He practiced jihad in the path of Allah with all his heart and physique, through indictment and enlightenment, as well as with swords and spears. His lifetime was all dedicated to jihad, with his feelings, speeches and actions. He is a superior creation of Allah and has the most noble position on His side.

Referring to the above definition, jihad is an obligation for Muslims as a way to obey Allah. Therefore, Muslims must see, understand, and place jihad in a proportional manner, which requires awareness of the context, purpose and priorities of the jihad. This needs to be done so that jihad that is pursued by the demands of the Koran and Hadith as a duty of worship as well as a test for those who believe. In addition, jihad must be carried out solely as a form of obedience to the commands of Allah, not trapped in the behavior of religious extremism. In addition to the issue of the Islamic Khilafah and jihad above, there are still many fundamental teachings in Islam that are associated with radical groups in Islam so far, including the concept of leadership (Imamah), ukhuwah Islamiyah, and amar makruf nahi munkar, however this is not the main focus of this research is therefore not discussed in detail and depth. The culture of salafi-jihadi literacy in this study is limited to the issue of the Khilafah, jihad, and Islamic law which includes the problem of monotheism and fiqh. These three things, according to the researchers, are closely related to the issue of radicalism in pesantren education that is developing nowadays. Because of that, then the presence of the typology of the salafi-jihadis pesantren group was suspected as a representation of the political Islam movement (islamist).

Radicalism in point of view of Pesantren

The traditional pesantren studied have a different understanding of what is meant by radicalism. However, they appear to agree that radicalism is manifested in violent extremist actions, such as self-destruction bombs, destruction of people and buildings, and anarchist acts to force the will, replacing Pacasila with the ideology of the pesantren. However, there are striking differences between traditional pesantren and Salafi pesantren in interpreting radicalism. The Salafi pesantren tends to identify radicalism with rebellion against legitimate governments whether with or without violence. Because of this, not a few Salafi boarding school officials stated their opposition to HTI except salafi-jihadis pesantren. By saying this does not mean traditional boarding schools do not understand the concept of *bughat* or do not see radicalism as a *bughat* that is prohibited by religion. The Mahyal Ulum al-Azaziyah Islamic boarding school in Aceh even said that rebelling against a legitimate government was a bughat whose law was haram, because Aceh was already the Republic of Indonesia

(Kholis et al., 2020).

On the other side of the traditional *dayah* and traditional Islamic boarding schools tend to accuse the cause of radicalism is Wahaby sect. They did not explicitly distinguish the variants in the Salafis from Salafi Wahabis, Salafi Haraki, to Salafi Jihadis. In their point of view all the same, which is wahaby. For those who say the Pancasila tagut is Wahaby, those who carry the slogan of the Sunnah are radical groups, takfiri groups are from Wahaby, etc. Salafi pesantren do not have many extracurricular activities. Even if there are, they choose only a few activities, especially archery and swimming activities, emulating the Prophet Muhammad's advice that invites Muslims to teach their children 3 things: archery, swimming, and horse riding. Beside, from PP Imam Syafi'i Aceh who is also a Salafi sect, other Salafi pesantren are less concerned with scouting activities. Whereas scout activities, in addition to having the function of instilling mental attitudes and skills, also function to open opportunities for students to associate with non-Muslims and friends from different identity backgrounds through camps or jamborees at various levels. A student of PP Tahfiz al-Qur'an in South Kalimantan claimed to be friends with non-Muslims when he had the opportunity to join the national jamboree. From that experience he learned that his Christian friends were doing well. He claimed not to associate with non-Muslims at the pesantren because all his friends were Muslim.

In the point of view boarding school administrators, the stigmatization of pesantren as radical is wrong. Though boarding schools have played a role in stemming radicalism. They also believe that pesantren have their way to survive radicalism. As stated above, each pesantren has a unique strategy in dealing with radicalism, ranging from emphasizing obedience to the Kyai and yellow book, upholding the values of society, connected and bound with mass organizations and governments, experiencing differences and diversity, and various extracurricular activity. Because of the uniqueness, it is not appropriate to attempt to uniform pesantren. In their view, the pesantren is a wealth that needs to be preserved and maintained together.

CONCLUSIONS

The existence of pesantren litaration culture is not the only determinant factor of a radical pesantren or not, there are still many other factors. For example, the relationship between pesantren and surrounding communities, the relationship between pesantren and the community can be an indicator to see the existence of radicalism in pesantren. Moreover, the existence of a pesantren curriculum content is closely related to the needs of the community. Generally, traditional pesantren educational institutions, fiqh material gets a more dominant portion because the community facing pesantren demands clear answers to the problems faced. This reality shows that the existence of traditional pesantren is not separate from the demands of the needs of the surrounding community. The opposite is true of traditionally suspected Islamic boarding schools which tend to keep their distance from the community. This contradictory fact is seen in pesantren which have emerged lately, which were born with an ideology, values, and culture that is different from the surrounding

community, this type of pesantren stands without emotional ties with the surrounding community, does not have a strong social base, and not based on the social cohesiveness of the community where the pesantren is located.

The pesantren was built to introduce Islamic ideas and ideologies that have been formed by its administrators, so that the institution tends to be insensitive to social problems and community culture. Pesantren like this are usually more closed to the environment, more exclusive religious understanding never involves the community in activities. As a result, it is prone to conflicts between the community and the pesantren, due to social and ideological gaps between the pesantren and the community. These conditions indicate that the traditional pesantren education pattern today is no longer homogeneous as in the early days, therefore it is not easy to create a single stigma against pesantren. Even so, there may be pesantren who have a radical view and become a "hotbed" of terrorists because they have a network with radical groups outside the pesantren.

On the other hand, the heterogeneity of pesantren education is not only related to ideology, methods, scholarship, or objectives but also the curriculum implemented in it. Salafi jihadi traditional pesantren, for example, are among pesantren that experience development and change, so these pesantren have differences with other traditional pesantren. One example is pesantren Umar bin Khatab, besides teaching fiqh for purification, fiqhi prayer, and muqlah fiqh also teaches learning jihad fiqh to chapter *ahkamudimmah* (the law of bloodshed). This is very different with traditional pesantren in general, which only teaches limited to the material jurisprudence, fiqh of prayer, and fiqh muamlah.

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