NEW TRANSFORMATION OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS AFTER THE ISSUE OF GLOBAL TERRORISM: TOLERANCE NARRATIVE STUDY OF CONSERVATIVE ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOLS IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Indonesian Islamic education institutions have thrived in the shadow of global terrorism for more than two decades. Global terrorism has now become the driving force behind the change of conservative Islamic education institutions. This study aimed to examine the new transformation of Islamic educational institutions, mainly orthodox boarding schools, prior to the issue of global terrorism. This study dove into the transformation through a shift in conservative boarding schools' arguments related to the narrative of tolerance. This study was conducted through an empirical study using a qualitative-exploratory approach to several conservative Islamic boarding schools. This study suggested that traditional Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia are becoming more tolerant than in the past. There are three distinct types of tolerance: passive tolerance, active tolerance, and transformative tolerance.

The pesantren has demonstrated tolerance thus far by essentially accepting differences and not disrupting others (passive tolerance). Currently, conservative pesantren engage in various social activities of tolerance, including assisting non-Muslims, fostering ties with other religious leaders, and permitting the construction of buildings of worship of other religions inside the Muslim community. Some of these elements are a small portion of the recently little-known active and transforming tolerance of conservative pesantren.

Keywords : *Transformation; Conservative; Islamic Education; Boarding School; Tolerance.*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, which has the world's largest Muslim population, is a potential location for the development of Islamic education institutions with diverse histories, variations, and levels[1]. In particular, Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia have distinct curricula, connections, objectives, and forms of institutions[2]. Islamic educational institutions, particularly Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, have attracted the interest and study of the majority of Muslim intellectuals around the globe since the spread of global terrorism[3]. However, Islamic educational institutions are frequently associated with extremism and terrorism. There is an intolerant mentality[4]. Over the past two decades, the number of studies on the intolerance of Islamic education institutions in Indonesia has expanded significantly. Various studies examined the association between Islamic educational institutions and terrorism cases[5]. This study

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[1] Pam Nilan, 'British Journal of Sociology of Education The " Spirit of Education " in Indonesian Pesantren', May 2012, 2009, 37–41 <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690802700321>; Raihani, 'Report on Multicultural Education in Pesantren', *Compare*, 42.4 (2012), 585–605 <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2012.672255>.

[2] Abdul Malik, 'Stigmatization of Islamic School: Pesantrens, Radicalism and Terrorism in Bima', *Ulumuna*, 21.1 (2017), 173; Dina Afrianty, 'Islamic Education and Youth Extremism in Indonesia', *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 7.2 (2012), 134–46 <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2012.719095>; Azyumardi Azra, Dina Afrianty, and Robert W. Hefner, 'Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia', in *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education* (ResearchGate, 2010), p. 285 <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/291849002_Pesantren_and_madrasa_Muslim_schools_and_national_ideals_in_Indonesia>.

[3] Florian Pohl, 'Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the Pesantren Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia', *Comparative Education Review*, 50.3 (2006), 389–409 <https://doi.org/10.1086/503882>.

[4] Malik.

[5] Jaddon Park and Sarfaroz Niyozov, 'Madrasa Education in South Asia and Southeast Asia: Current Issues and Debates', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 28.4 (2008), 323–51 <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188790802475372>; Moch Tolchah, 'The Political Dimension of Indonesian Islamic Education in the Post-1998 Reform Period', *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 8.2 (2014), 292 <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2014.8.2.284-298>.

investigated whether Islamic boarding schools are part of moderate or extremist political movements[6].

Most contemporary Islamic academics consider establishing Islamic educational institutions, especially Islamic boarding schools, as a political force of religious extremism rather than a force of moderation so long as the issue of terrorism is prevalent. Azyumardi Azra, for instance, asserted that Islamic educational institutions like pesantren and madrassas have the potential to foster radicalism[7]. Pesantren is therefore suspected of spreading narratives of intolerance, extremism, radicalism, and exclusivity[8]. These indicators are common in a number of Islamic schools[9]. According to data released by the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNTP) for 2020-2021, 198 Islamic boarding schools were suspected of harboring radicalism rooted in intolerance (https://cnnindonesia.com/nasional/2022). The previously stated views of several Muslim scholars are consistent with these findings. Such as Ngeruki boarding school in Solo [10] and Al-Islam boarding school in Lamongan, East Java[11].

Indonesia currently has a severe problem with intolerance. Several intolerance cases still require proper resolution, such as the Tanjung Balai riots, the Bogor Yasmin Church issue, and the rejection of the Ahmadiyya and Shia sects[12]. Martin van Bruinessen referred to this situation as the "return of Islamic

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[6]Robert W. Hefner, ' Muslim Education in the 21 St Century: Asian Perspectives ', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 35.3 (2015), 404–6 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2015.1083295>; Park and Niyozov.

[7]Azra, Afrianty, and Hefner; Nur Kholis and others, 'Islam Indonesia 2020', 2020, p. 296 <https://dspace.uii.ac.id/handle/123456789/25046>.

[8]S. Shaleh and others, 'Formulating Strategies against Student Radicalism: A Case of Madrasah in Indonesia', *International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation*, 24.10 (2020), 1503–20 <https://doi.org/10.37200/IJPR/V24I10/PR300174>.

[9]Shaleh Shaleh and others, 'Mapping the Threat of Radicalism Symptoms among Upper-Secondary Students : A Mix Methode Approach', *International Journal of Advanced Science and Technology*, 29.4 (2020), 3055–68 <http://sersc.org/journals/index.php/IJAST/article/view/24135>.

[10]Raihani.

[11]Charlene Tan, *Islamic Education and Introduction The Case in Indonesia* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

[12] Kholis and others.

conservatism." Bruinessen uses this phrase to describe how Islam has evolved from having a tolerant and conciliatory tendency to an authoritarian one[13].

Conservative pesantren refers to the fundamental principles of modern Islamic group movements[14]. Studies on conservative pesantren have not been widely publicized thus far. However, compared to other pesantren typologies, these boarding schools' typologies frequently relate them to terrorism, extremism, and radical thought[15]. Some of these concerns frequently turn into extremist indications and gauges for determining the degree of democracy and moderation in an Indonesian Islamic educational institution. Therefore, this study aimed to observe how conservative Islamic educational institutions were changing in terms of their perspectives on and comprehension of diverse and tolerant subjects.

Problems with tolerance have always accompanied religious extremism in Indonesian Islamic educational institutions. As a result, since the issue of global terrorism has gained so much attention, conservative boarding schools' views on tolerance, diversity, justice, and peace have frequently come under scrutiny. Increasingly, it is believed that a pesantren's intolerance and brutality toward accepting diverse groups increase with its conservatism. Conservative Islamic educational institutions are thought to promote hate, intolerance, and violence through their teachings and curricula. Martin van Bruinessen noted that intolerance and violence towards minority groups are signs of Islamic conservatism in Indonesia[16]. Additionally, Bruinessen underlined that Indonesian Islam is changing to become more conservative[17].

The connection between the components of Islamic education and religious extremism has become a global issue. It encourages the world community, especially the American government, a Global War on Terror (GWoT

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[13]Syamsul Arifin, 'Islamic Religious Education and Radicalism in Indonesia: Strategy of de-Radicalization through Strengthening the Living Values Education', *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 6.1 (2016), 93–126 <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v6i1.93-126>.

[14]Asef Bayat, 'Islamic Movements', *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, 2022, 1–7 <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm318.pub2>.

[15]Afrianty; Malik; Pohl.

[16]Arifin.

[17]Arifin.

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) pioneer, to promote reform and transformation of Islamic educational institutions worldwide, including Indonesia. More specifically, the curriculum and revising textbooks[18]. As a matter of global politics, US authorities frequently pressure governments in the Muslim world to eradicate Islamic doctrines that foster ideology and hatred of people of other religions[19]. Particularly in the pattern of Islamic boarding schools or educational institutions, which have thus far been scrutinized for affiliation with extreme groups or political Islam[20]. This study indicated that, contrary to what Islamic scholars believe, conservative Islamic educational institutions are not always a source of violent extremism. Consequently, this research refuted Bruinessen's previous claims and demonstrated that conservative Islamic educational institutions have experienced significant changes as the global terrorist issue has grown.

Multiple studies over the past two decades have demonstrated that Islamic educational institutions, particularly traditional pesantren, undergo an internal transition. As reported by Mouez Khalfaoui, as long as the issue of terrorism persists, numerous Islamic educational institutions implement continual reforms. Mouez Khalfaoui highlighted more; '*While an overall wish long inspired reforms in the field of Islamic education for transformation and modernization in the Muslim world, motivations changed after September 11. Since the terrorist attack of 2001, the fear of religious radicalism has driven reforms of Islamic education in Muslim countries. Accordingly, classical teaching institutions were strongly criticized and described as "terror factories." In recent years, these institutions' curricula and teaching methodologies have been under continuous "reform*"[21].

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[18]Hoda Baytiyeh, 'Have Globalisation's Influences on Education Contributed to the Recent Rise of Islamic Extremism?', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 16.4 (2018), 422–34 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2018.1456321>.

[19]Baytiyeh.

[20]Luthfi Assyaukanie, 'Religion as a Political Tool Secular and Islamist Roles in Indonesian Elections', *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 13.2 (2019), 454–79 <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2019.13.2.454-479>.

[21]Fernando Gertum Becker and others, *Nteaching Islamic Studies In The Age Of Isis, Islamophobia, And The Internet*, ed. by Courtney M. Dorroll, *Syria Studies* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2015), VII <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269107473_What_is_governance/link/548173 090cf22525dcb61443/download%0Ahttp://www.econ.upf.edu/~reynal/Civil

The change of pesantren has beyond all expectations; pesantren have become agents of empowering society [22]. Several pesantren have developed a democratic and pluralistic religious culture, according to Pohl (2006). The practice of pesantren classrooms demonstrates the development of education based on cultural differences, which Raihani also disclosed [23]. In addition, Raihani (2012) underlined that Islamic boarding schools offer courses such as Civic Education, Sociology, and Morals that allow students to examine narratives of cultural diversity and interfaith tolerance. In the spectrum of moderate Islamic boarding schools, such as pesantren affiliated with Nahdatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, which have a history of promoting moderate Islam, tolerance, and peace, these courses continue to take place[24]. The crucial question then is, what is pesantren conservatism? Can transformation be accomplished? The purpose of this study was to examine the transition that takes place in particular Islamic boarding schools, particularly conservative Islamic boarding schools[25].

RESEARCH METHOD

This study investigated the new transformation of Islamic education institutions after the issue of global terrorism by focusing on changes in narratives of tolerance and diversity in conservative Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. The empirical studies used a qualitative approach and exploratory design. According to Creswell (2014), a qualitative technique is appropriate for this research, particularly in order to comprehend the evolution of conservative pesantren as a social phenomenon. Several conservative pesantren were hence the subject of this research.

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wars_12December2010.pdf%0Ahttps://think-asia.org/handle/11540/8282%0Ahttps://www.jstor.org/stable/41857625>.

[22]Mun'Im Sirry, 'The Public Expression of Traditional Islam: The Pesantren and Civil Society in Post-Suharto Indonesia', *Muslim World*, 100.1 (2010), 60–77 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.2009.01302.x>.

[23]Raihani.

[24]Charlene Tan.

[25]Robert W. Hefner, 'Which Islam? Whose Shariah? Islamisation and Citizen Recognition in Contemporary Indonesia', *Journal of Religious and Political Practice*, 4.3 (2018), 278–96 <https://doi.org/10.1080/20566093.2018.1525897>; Park and Niyozov.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Globalization, Global Terrorism, And Islamic Boarding Schools In Indonesia

The 9/11 attack had a big influence on the Islamic world, particularly the Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia. In the last two decades, the issue of global terrorism has been the most significant driving reason for the reform and transformation of educational, social, and political regimes in various areas of the world, including Indonesia. Globalization, according to Holost 2002, is a pro-market agenda. It must be understood in terms of ideological forces and planned political strategies that must be addressed and altered[26]. In this study, terrorism is therefore viewed as an aspect of globalization. Globalization enables educational institutions, such as Islamic boarding schools, to undergo forced curriculum reform and moderation because globalization is generally accepted by society [27].

There have been previous studies on the impact of globalization on the evolution of Islamic educational institutions, particularly Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. As Dhofier (1983), Steenbrink (1989), Raharjo (1974), Ziemek (1986), Kuntowijoyo (1991), and Mastuhu (1994) have done. Pesantren's discourse in academic papers during the 1970s and 1990s emphasized the position and role of pesantren in responding to change and modernity[28]. All of these works raise the question of whether Islamic boarding schools have the capacity to become agents of change or to impede development. According to these studies, all existing Islamic educational institutions were obligated to adapt to globalization as a challenge of the times.

The term 'globalization' has become a catchphrase over the past decade, and its definition and significance are fiercely contested. According to a conservative perspective, globalization can be conceptualized as a market-based driving force that contributes to the improvement of the global economic system.

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[26]Bjorn Harald Nordtveit, 'Towards Post-Globalisation? On the Hegemony of Western Education and Development Discourses', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 8.3 (2010), 321–37 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2010.505094>.

[27]Nordtveit.

[28]Satriawan Malik, Tamjidillah, 'BIDAYA LITERASI DAN INFILTRASI GERAKAN ISLAM RADIKAL DI PESANTREN INDONESIA', *ISLAMICA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 15.September 2020 (2020), 48–67 <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2020.15.1.48-67>.

Numerous definitions of globalization focus on its economic components, whereas educational, cultural, and social dimensions are viewed as the result of changes imposed by the global economy[29]. In addition, Priestley (2002) and Coleman (2005) stated that globalization had radically altered the education system and that no education system can survive its impacts [30]. After colonialism, many Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, both pesantren and madrasah, underwent significant modifications. The move from a traditional to a contemporary education system, as well as the introduction of multiculturalism, independent learning, and an active learning environment[31].

Globalization, on the other hand, is considered a driving element in the emergence of the current Islamic movement following the 9/11 tragedy. As previously stated[32];

> "Globalisation has facilitated the infiltration of Western culture into Muslim societies through modern educational modes. Some conservative Muslim communities perceive this infiltration as a threat to Islamic values, creating a culture of fear. Combined with decades of colonization social injustice, and defeat, this fear has triggered a state of hatred and anger motivating the rise of extremism, terrorism, and retaliatory attacks on education".

This study sees globalization as a catalyst for both the modernization of Islamic education and the current resurgence of conservative Islam. Global politics is marked by polarization, ideological settings, and worldviews filled with prejudice and stigmatization of various communities, particularly between the West and Islam[33]. On the one hand, through the mainstream media, globalization promotes Islamophobia in Western society as a depiction of distrust and dread of the rise of Islam[34]. Islam is frequently viewed as a non-Western religion that seeks

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[29]Nordtveit.

[30]Baytiyeh.

[31]Baytiyeh.

[32]Baytiyeh.

[33]Fazal Rizvi, 'Democracy and Education after September 11', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 1.1 (2003), 25–40 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1476772032000061806>.

[34] Tahir Abbas, 'The Symbiotic Relationship between Islamophobia and Radicalisation', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 5.3 (2012), 345–58 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2012.723448>.

to forcibly change Western culture, and it is viewed as a threat to Western values because Islam should not be allowed to exist in public education[35]. Specific cases associated with this condition include refusing to wear the hijab or niqab as a religious symbol in public, which is still controversial in Western society[36]. Meanwhile, globalization encourages and strengthens the rise of contemporary Islamic movements as a manifestation of "conservative Islamic groups'" suspicions and fears of modernism, secularism, and Western liberalism [37].

According to [38], one of the driving factors contributing to the strengthening of religious identity and the emergence of extremism is the infiltration of Western culture and the spread of secular ideology into Muslim society. The consolidation of the contemporary Islamic movement under various names and labels following September 11th demonstrated this. Conservative Islamic movements are referred to as fundamental Islam, radical Islam, extremist Islam, Islamic revivalism, Islamist, political Islam, and jihad [39]. In the context of globalization, all of these designations and terms refer to the trend of the rise of conservative contemporary Islamic movements that use Islam as the ideological foundation of the movement in managing society while rejecting other ideologies. Following September 11, 2001, the same trend was observed in Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia. At least three pesantren variants arose and represented conservative movements in Islamic educational institutions, particularly pesantren. Salafi Wahabi Islamic boarding schools, Salafi jihadist Islamic boarding schools, and Salafi Hararki Islamic boarding schools are the

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[35]Saila Poulter, Anna Leena Riitaoja, and Arniika Kuusisto, 'Thinking Multicultural Education "Otherwise" – from a Secularist Construction towards a Plurality of Epistemologies and Worldviews', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 14.1 (2016), 68–86 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2014.989964>.

[36]Rhona K. M. Smith, 'Religion and Education: A Human Rights Dilemma Illustrated by the Recent "Headscarf Cases"', *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 5.3 (2007), 303–14 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767720701661990>.

[37]Bayat; Baytiyeh.

[38]Baytiyeh.

[39]Juan Carlos Antúnez and Ioannis Tellidis, 'The Power of Words: The Deficient Terminology Surrounding Islam-Related Terrorism', *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 6.1 (2013), 118–39 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2013.765703>.

Islamic boarding schools in discussion[40]. Some of these pesantren were later referred to as conservative pesantren. Strengthening the identity of this conservative Islamic education aims to maintain and preserve the Islamic values claimed to be pure teachings, while fighting against the Western secular education model perceived as a product of globalization. Globalization is viewed as a threat to Islamic education from this perspective. The issue of global terrorism is interpreted in this context as an attack on Islamic education in the name of modernity[41]. In turn, suspicion of modernity as a globalization current has triggered and condensed several movements among Islamic groups to become more conservative.

Conservative Islamic Education Institutions in Indonesia

As the world's largest Muslim-majority nation and home to thousands of Islamic educational institutions, including Islamic boarding schools, Indonesia maintains a place in the study of global terrorism. Shiraz Thobani (2007) revealed that terrorist incidents around the world had prompted inquiries about the objectives and content of Muslim education by emphasizing the role of Islam in shaping Muslim attitudes toward others[42]. Indirectly, the aforementioned perspective emphasizes the role of Islamic educational institutions in shaping Muslim attitudes toward others.

Abdullah Saeed conveyed the same thing; Education is the key to changing attitudes. In the view of the Islamic world, both positive views, biases, and prejudice against other systems characterize the attitudes believers take. However, many other factors shape this attitude. For example, Islamic reformers such as Ahmad Khan, Muhammad Abduh, Muhammad Iqbal, Hassan al-Banna,

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[40]Abdul. at al. Abubakar, Irfan, Malik, *Resiliensi Komunitas Pesantren Terhadap Radikalisme; Social Bonding, Social Bridging, Social Linking*, ed. by Hemay Abubakar, Irfan (Jakarta: Center For The Study of Religion and Culture (CSRC), 2020) <www.csrc.or.id>.

[41]Rizvi.

[42]Shiraz Thobani, 'The Dilemma of Islam as School Knowledge in Muslim Education', *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 27.1 (2007), 11–25 <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188790601145382>.

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Ismail Faruqi, and Abu al-Ala Mawdudi emphasized the importance of reform in Islamic education[43].

Referring to Saeed's perspective, Islamic education or educational institutions play a role in altering attitudes toward others, whether the shift is toward acceptance or rejection. Both moderate and conservative pesantren have played a role thus far in altering their followers' attitudes towards others. This is why conservative pesantren are frequently perceived as influencing individuals to reject the existence of others, promoting intolerance, and even promoting extremism. Conservative Islamic educational institutions are believed to have originated from the ideas of the prominent figures mentioned by Saeed above[44]. However, it is difficult to explain the connection between the ideas of these leaders and Indonesian Islamic boarding schools that adhere to conservative principles.

To date, conservative pesantren are regarded radical not only when they are actively involved in terrorist attacks, but also by their opinions and dedication to universal ideals such as tolerance, democracy, justice, and diversity. Several hardline Islamic boarding schools are deemed to have intolerance and extremism problems so long as terrorism is a concern. As the results of several polls and research that have been conducted previously. According to[45], 51.5% of students/santri are aware of intolerance against those with other religious beliefs. In a similar case described by the Setara Institute for Democracy and Peace (SIDP), 7.2% of students consented to preach hatred against people of other religions. The above statistic, according to Shaleh, is supported by a study done by the Ma'arif Institute in which 40.82 percent and 8.16 percent of respondents claimed they were "willing" or "very willing" to attack an individual or group suspected of insulting Islam. Obviously, the results of some of these surveys do

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[43]Abdullah Saeed, 'Indonesia and the Malay World Towards Religious Tolerance through Reform in Islamic Education : The Case of the State Institute of Islamic Studies of Indonesia TOWARDS RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE THROUGH REFORM IN ISLAMIC EDUCATION : THE CASE OF THE STATE INSTITU', *Indonesia and the Malay World*, June 2012, 2007, 37–41.

[44]Y. M. Choueiri, 'Theoretical Paradigms of Islamic Movements', *Political Studies*, 41.1 (1993), 108–16 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1993.tb01641.x>.

[45]S. Shaleh and others.

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not encompass the entire spectrum of existing Islamic boarding schools. Given the absence of solid information or sources, the poll results continue to be contested[46].

After the fall of Suharto in 1998, orthodox Islamic education institutions are distinguished by their ties to transnational Islamic movements in the global setting[47]. This global Islamic movement is regarded as a new Islamic organization in post-New Order Indonesia[48] due to the fact that it is viewed as distinct and even opposes the religious pattern of local communities in Indonesia. Numerous transnational Islamic movements in Indonesia are influenced by worldwide Islamic movements including Jama'ah Islamiyah (JI), global jihadis (al Qaeda/ISIS), global Salafism, and other revivalist organizations[49]. According to the spirit of globalization, all Islamic movements are global phenomena that demonstrate ideological links and activities that transcend cultural and geographical barriers.

Abubakar et al. classified conservative pesantren into three categories: Salafi Haraki, Salafi Wahabi, and Salafi Jihadist schools, which include the Al Islam Lamongan Islamic boarding school, the Ngruki Solo Islamic boarding school, and the Darussalam Ciamis Islamic boarding school[50]. Possessing an intolerant attitude, lacking a strong sense of nationality, supporting violent extremism, and being unfamiliar with local culture are the four most prominent qualities. This criterion has been created by the Indonesian government as a measure of the country's growing Islamic conservatism. Nonetheless, it is rejected by a number of Islamic boarding schools that feel disadvantaged by this measurement. This circumstance symbolizes the conflict between conservatives and moderates[51]. Nevertheless, according to this study, the Indonesian government has successfully altered the perception and narrative of intolerance in some orthodox Islamic boarding schools by mainstreaming religious moderation and supporting the conservative characteristics listed above.

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[46]Baytiyeh.

[47]Martin Van Bruinessen, 'Southeast Asian Muslims in a Globalizing World : Westernization , Arabization and Indigenizing Responses', 2016.

[48]Arifin.

[49]Bayat.

[50]Abubakar, Irfan, Malik.

[51]Rizvi.

Conservative Islamic Boarding Schools: A Narrative of Tolerance and Diversity

This article also discussed the shift of the tolerance narrative of conservative Islamic boarding schools, which have been accused of undermining religious harmony in a multi-religious country like Indonesia. Although conservative Islamic boarding schools are a small group among Indonesia's majority of moderate pesantren, their presence is considered as having the potential to lead to radicalism in the guise of religion[52]. In general, it is believed that conservative pesantren have an intolerance towards other groups. In addition, they do not acknowledge the reality of variety since they have a tendency to push their will on others. The intolerance and rejection of the diversity in question include the prohibition of Christmas greetings for Christians, the rejection of non-Muslim and female leadership, and the tendency to confirm (takfiri) Muslims who are distinct from their community. According to the table below [53];

Table 1 : Perceptions of Conservative Islamic Boarding Schools towards diversity and tolerance

No	Questions	Agree	Disagree	Total
1	In areas where Muslims are the majority, non-Muslim houses should not be permitted.	47, 3	52,7	100
2	A Muslim is not permitted to wish his Christian friends a Merry Christmas.	74,1	25,9	100
3	Siblings and parents cannot marry non-Muslims.	80,7	13,0	100
4	You are aware the existence of Ahmadiyya community group	53,0	47,0	100
5	President, governor, and leader of a community must be Muslim.	74,6	25,4	100

According to the table 1 above, various factors reflect conservative pesantren's perceptions, which include intolerant narratives. For example, 74.1% of Muslims oppose Muslims wishing Christians a Merry Christmas. Christmas greetings to Christians are rejected at a significantly higher rate than the construction of non-Muslim houses of worship in Muslim-majority areas. In terms of wishing Christians a Merry Christmas, all conservative pesantren do not agree

[52]Arifin.

[53]Abubakar, Irfan, Malik.

with Muslims wishing Christians a Merry Christmas for the same reason: faith. Wishing a Merry Christmas is part of the aqidah issue for orthodox Islamic boarding schools since it must be prohibited, even though the group does not agree with this perception of being intolerant and anti-diversity (Muhajir interview 2022).

Another viewpoint from conservative pesantren, suspected of harboring intolerant narratives, is that Muslim families should not marry non-Muslims. When compared to all elements evaluated, rejection of this feature is the highest, reaching 80.7%, followed by rejection of women and non-Muslim leadership, which reached 74.6%. For the same reason: disparities in aqidah, rejection of these two things remains intense among fundamentalist Islamic organizations (Interview with Sofian 2019). There are numerous specific characteristics of conservative pesantren that demonstrate intolerant attitudes and narratives. Nonetheless, based on this research, it was discovered that there was a trend of positive transformation in certain conservative pesantren about the lately pushed narrative of tolerance and diversity. Although these changes did not come gradually and holistically, the pattern of this shift demonstrates that following September 11, 2001, conservative pesantren underwent a transformation due to their attitudes that were deemed intolerant and anti-diversity.

Conservative Islamic Boarding School Transformation

Following the fall of the Suharto dictatorship in 1998, the rise of conservative organisations in Indonesia received major space[54]. During the New Order government, Islamic organisations (conservative Islam) were not granted much freedom of movement. However, following the fall of the New Order regime and the beginning of the 1998 reform phase, these conservative Islamic organisations were given ample space. According to Sidney Jones, the conservative group has the ability to destabilize the country by engaging in anti-democratic activities[55]. Furthermore, following the 1998 reform era, the existence of conservative Islamic groups was thought to be growing stronger when these

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[54]Bruinessen.

[55]Hikmah Maros and Sarah Juniar, *DEMOCRACY AND ISLAM IN INDONESIA Religion,* 2016.

groups played the role of identity politics in Indonesia's national political sphere. In December 2016, the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) participated in the 212 movements, which were protests against a non-Muslim governor[56]. The 212 movements are seen as a sign of orthodox Islamic groups' hostility for leaders who are different from them. As a result, the 212 movements event, on the other side, increases accusations of intolerance and anti-diversity against Islamic educational institutions.

Nonetheless, the 212 phenomenon does not reflect the overall attitude of conservative Islamic groups in Islamic educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools. For example, one of the Wahhabi Salafi conservative Islamic schools refuses to hold demonstrations or protests against legitimate leaders. According to one of the leaders of the Abu Hurairah Islamic boarding school with a Salafi Wahhabi background, it is illegal to protest against legitimate leadership even if the leader has made a mistake (Interview with Sidik 2021). The pesantren, despite their conservative outlook, are fiercely loyal to the legitimate government. Because this pesantren is exclusive in social relations, this sentiment was not generally understood at first. However, after September 11, the pesantren's tolerant attitude became more visible as their relationship with the government grew stronger (Arif Rahman interview 2021). Similarly, other conservative Islamic boarding schools, such as the Salafi jihadi pesantren, have undergone transformations. So far, Salafi jihadi pesantren have been known for their strong desire to reject the democratic system, accuse fellow Muslims who disagree with them, and carry out jihad against the government over issues of justice. Some of these points are regarded as essential teaching material at Salafi jihadi pesantren, such as the Umar bin Khattab Islamic boarding school and other Islamic boarding schools of a similar nature (Muhajir interview 2022). With the recent pressure and intervention of the Indonesian government on Islamic boarding schools, these intolerant views and narratives began to shift gradually (Muhajir interview 2022). According to F. Isbah, all Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, including pesantren, are under intense pressure to integrate into the national education

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[56]Assyaukanie.

system[57]. Particularly, a number of conservative Islamic boarding schools that do not adhere to government policies have taken a stand against the government in a number of ways, including by not holding national flag ceremonies, not adhering to the government's curriculum, and not participating in national holiday activities. Following the spread of global terrorism, these attitudes have shifted in accordance with the government's political will, which continues to build relationships with these conservative communities. This phenomenon, according to Jackson and Parker (2008), demonstrates that conservative pesantren are constantly faced with complex adjustments and negotiations with government policies and their values[58].

According to Florian Pohl (2006), these institutions' educational activities have been directed toward affirming thoughts and practices about nonviolence, civilization, justice, and pluralism by using classical Islamic texts. Here, Islamic Education institutions are involved in the theoretical and intellectual dimensions of building a pluralist society in a Muslim-majority country, and they prepare students to live as Muslims in diversity by empowering them in very concrete ways to participate in this social transformation process[59]. At least three types of social capital can encourage Indonesia's conservative Islamic educational institutions to transform. First, social capital takes the form of social bonding, which is defined as the presence of a sense of belonging and attachment to people who share the same identity. This possibility can serve as a form of defense against the problem of a social identity crisis. Second, horizontal social connection (social bridging), or the ability to form cross-identity connections, is a skill that can be applied to issues of social marginalization. Third, vertical social linkage (social linking), namely the ability to establish relationships with government institutions[60]. According to [61], in recent years, several researchers

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[57]Faliqul.M Isbah, 'Pesantren In The Changing Indonesian Context: History And Current Developments', *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies (QIJIS)*, 8.1 (2020), 66 <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i1.5629>.

[58]Isbah.

[59]Pohl.

[60]B. Heidi Ellis and Saida Abdi, 'Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism through Genuine Partnerships', *American Psychologist*, 72.3 (2017), 289–300 <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000065>.

have demonstrated the central role of social capital and community competence not only in helping shape the resilience of the Muslim community against violent extremism but also in assisting some conservative pesantren to carry out social transformation by using the "social connections" framework.

Active Tolerance and Transformative Tolerance Narratives

Humans are naturally diverse (in terms of gender and race), as well as in terms of social structure, religious values, and religious traditions. This plurality of life occurs and is a feature of not only modern society, but also of society at its earliest historical stages or prehistoric times. As a result, diversity requires a willingness to be tolerant and understandable such that diversity does not become a disaster but a blessing for humans.

Islam uses diversity as a means to determine who has best served in this life. The presence of diversity in human existence also provides the potential for an innate sense of tolerance in every individual. Because of this, the signs and practical principles of Islam explain tolerance in a clear and unambiguous manner. According to the Chairman of the Persis Islamic Boarding School, Tolerance in Islam is evident due to the divine origin of the concept. Theological tolerance is the capacity to respect one another's religious differences (Umar Fanani interview 2020).

According to the interview above, conservative pesantren have a normative and textual understanding of diversity and tolerance. It demonstrates that diversity and tolerance are viewed as presumptively guaranteed by the universal messages of religious dogma. On the other hand, this type of understanding is considered a source of intolerance because it is partial, formalistic, and legalistic. Conceptually, the narrative of diversity and tolerance from an Islamic point of view is deemed complete, particularly with regard to interreligious relations. Nonetheless, there are still tensions and prejudices against minorities and within-ummah groups, such as Islam versus Ahmadiyya, Islam versus Shia, and Sunni Islam versus Salafi wahabiyah.

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[61]Abubakar, Irfan, Malik.

People of different ethnic, racial, or religious backgrounds live in separate communities in traditional life. Communities are homogeneous, which means that each community has only one religion, race, and tradition. People in modern life, however, are no longer able to live in a single community due to modernization and technology, which gave birth to globalization. Although the globalization perspective in this context occasionally contains a paradox, where one side of globalization encourages and concern for multiculturalism. In modern society, therefore, a community consists of various configurations of diverse cultures and human origins. This arrangement creates a diverse life pattern that is accompanied by various challenges. Modern life is such that almost no region is devoid of diverse life. On the other hand, globalization forces various groups, including conservative Islamic groups, to confront the same global culture, namely modernity.

Various life situations are not only an undeniable reality today, but they are also problematic. It has become an important issue in light of the growing number of demands from a community in society or ethnic culture, primarily minority groups such as conservative Islamic groups, to exist and be recognized within a plurality frame. However, diversity only occasionally causes problems in practice, as do the group's transformation efforts in knitting tolerance. According to the leader of the Darul Arqam-Gombar South Sulawesi Islamic boarding school, the recent practice of tolerance in pesantren is not only to respect and acknowledge existing differences, but to manifest this recognition in the form of active tolerance. For example, the pesantren frequently invites priests to the pesantren, sends Christmas greetings, and every week allows different people to sell around the pesantren for free (Ustad Ridwan interview 2020).

According to the results of the interview, tolerance of diversity has become a way of life in Islamic boarding schools. The pesantren have an experience of diversity that reflects the active tolerance of both parties. Active tolerance is the highest point of diversity awareness. Active tolerance also requires that everyone be willing to accept and value differences as social power that can be used to activate peaceful actions that benefit humanity.

According to this study, active tolerance is evidence of conservative

pesantren transformation. There was also a type of transformative tolerance, as demonstrated by the leader of the Darul Muttaqin Parung Islamic boarding school. Non-Muslims have been compensated by this Islamic boarding school. As a result, the students are accustomed to establishing relationships with non-Muslim communities. Students in sociology are assigned to conduct research in various organizations such as Shia, HTI, and the Christian community" (Kyai Roja interview 2020). The pesantren's tolerance attitude is a proactive action that leads to the birth of transformative tolerance.

In terms of pesantren transformation, there are no barriers to building tolerance with different groups. Pesantren's model of active tolerance is transformed for students into tolerant behavior, not just tolerant knowledge. Aside from the transformation of tolerance, another level of established tolerance in society is the change in the act of tolerance into an attitude of everyday life that naturally manifests itself without any preconditions. Tolerance will be able to present justice and equality in all aspects as an embodiment of Islam's most fundamental values if it reaches the transformative stage.

Harmony should be a part of people's lives according to the two types of tolerance described previously. It is a natural process that cannot be forced, so tolerance activities occur as a result of intolerant attitudes and as they become a part of the social process. In other words, active tolerance and transformative tolerance are not like pseudo-tolerance, which is prone to provocative issues, but rather tolerance that is present in the awareness of justice for humans through attitudes that transcend religious and group identity boundaries. The issue of diversity should not be blamed for causing conflicts. It must be regarded as a divine gift containing much good for the benefit of humans.

However, in some aspects, passive, active, and transformative tolerance practices exist. It means that conservative pesantren can use transformative tolerance in some situations but not others. As a result, only a few of the conservative Islamic boarding schools could practice active and transformative tolerance. The rest, such as those affiliated with the Muhammadiya and Salafi-Wahabiyah Islamic boarding schools, were still at the level of passive tolerance. Passive tolerance occurs when one group attempts to build mutual understanding

while still believing the other group is incorrect. According to Ustadz Mukhlis, Muhammadiyah regards the Shia and Ahmadiyah sects as deviating from the actual teachings of Islam. As a result, there are numerous inconsistencies with existing Islamic teachings (Mukhlis interview 2020). It means that the response is still at the passive tolerance level, with the goal of developing mutual understanding (verstehen) with one another. Ustadz Sidik, the leader of Abu Hurairah Islamic Boarding School, claimed the same thing about Shia and Ahmadiyya. They are not a school of thought, according to Shia and Ahmadiyya Islamic boarding schools, because scholars recognize only four schools.

According to this research, the issues of diversity and tolerance are not only related to passive tolerance, as in the cases of Shia and Ahmadiyya, but a variety of other issues are thought to have the potential to cause social tensions. Every pesantren has different perceptions of tolerance practices, tolerance models, and tolerance limits in diversity. Even a few of these distinctions result in conflict. According to the previous table, conservative pesantren's acts of tolerance frequently undergo changes, especially when dealing with sensitive and specific issues.

As criteria for both the mainstreaming of Islamic educational institutions and patterns of diversity in general, at least four indicators of religious moderation are used. The first is a commitment to nationalism, the second to tolerance, the third to nonviolence, and the fourth to cultural adjustment. Some of these indicators usually indicate how effectively these Islamic educational institutions practice religious moderation. All conservative pesantren have one of these indicators. For example, some conservative Islamic boarding schools reject non-Muslim leadership and women in a majority Muslim community. It is different from the view of the Abu Hurairah Islamic Boarding School, a conservative Islamic boarding school that accepts non-Muslim leadership and women on the condition that the leader does not prohibit Muslims from freely practicing their religion.

In general, the majority of Islamic organizations oppose non-Muslim leadership. In most Muslims' eyes, this has become a separate polemic concerning non-Muslim leaders. Meanwhile, based on the preceding argument, the Abu

Hurairah Islamic Boarding School has stated quite clearly that they accept and obey when led by non-Muslims, despite the fact that Islam forbids non-believers from serving as leaders. In contrast to the Al Ikhlas Islamic boarding school, the pesantren tends to reject non-Muslim leadership issues in a predominantly Muslim community. Pesantren, on the other hand, employs an active and transformative tolerance model in which the group generally accepts the establishment of non-Muslim places of worship in Islamic community settlements. Also, Christmas greetings, as the group believes that Muslims can celebrate Christmas with non-Muslims without issue.

Al Ikhlas Islamic Boarding School, which is affiliated with Muhammadiyah, and Abu Hurairah Islamic Boarding School, which is affiliated with Salafi Wahhabiyah, believe that differences in schools of thought are the cause of diversity and religion, and that religion is more readily accepted than diversity. Due to differences in understanding and particular religious dogma interpretations. Such differences quickly result in prejudice and social tension. Active and transformative tolerance is characterized by the fact that whatever differences and diversity exist do not impede mutual understanding of differences and serve each other's differences in the direction of socially productive harmony. Apart from the fact that there are still differences in the perceptions of Islamic boarding schools about the standard of tolerance, particularly on specific issues, conservative pesantren are shifting from an intolerant attitude to passive, active, and even transformative tolerance in general. The possibility of several conservative pesantren to implement changes related to the narrative of tolerance is strongly intertwined to the willingness of several Islamic boarding schools to utilize their three social capitals, namely social bonding, social linking, and social bridging, as a means of connecting with the outside world.

CONCLUSION

After the issue of global terrorism, the conservative Islamic boarding schools' arguments regarding tolerance shifted significantly. To date, it is believed that fundamentalist Islamic educational institutions promote and even teach intolerance and hatred of other groups. Although Islamic orthodox

educational institutions in Indonesia are experiencing continual restructuring, this assumption continues to spread. This development occurred as the group's connections with the government, surrounding communities, and other groups grew more open, one of the latest transformations in the narrative of tolerance constructed by conservative groups. As an example of tolerance, several conservative Islamic boarding schools have included nationalist values into their educational and teaching operations. Then, some of these conservative pesantren initially designed a passive tolerance that later transformed into an active and transformational tolerance. The pesantren has demonstrated tolerance thus far by essentially accepting differences and not disrupting others (passive tolerance). Currently, conservative pesantren engage in various social activities of tolerance, including assisting non-Muslims, fostering ties with other religious leaders, and permitting the construction of buildings of worship of other religions inside the Muslim community. Some of these elements are a small portion of the recently little-known active and transforming tolerance of conservative pesantren.

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