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TO COMBAT EXTREMISM, How to Frame Religion Matters: Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective

Takeshi Kohno

The Roots of Indonesia's Resilience Against Violent Extremism

Jamhari & Testriono

REVISITING THE DUSUN NYOIR REBELLION IN NARATHIWAT (SOUTH THAILAND), APRIL 1948

Christopher Mark Joll

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Pesantren during the Pandemic: Resilience and Vulnerability

Laifa Annisa Hendarmin, Ida Rosyidah, & Mochamad Iqbal Nurmansyah

This paper describes PPIM's research entitled "The Impact and Resilience of Senior High School Education Institutions in Islamic Boarding Schools (*Pesantren*) during the COVID-19 Pandemic Crisis: Study of 15 *Pesantren* in Jakarta, Banten, and West Java" (PPIM, 2021). This study is to observe the resilience and vulnerability of a *pesantren* towards the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition, the research also aims to explore the role of *nyai* (a wife of *kiai*, a pesantren leader) during the pandemic. The study was conducted from May to November 2021. The result of this study was presented to the public in January 2022.

The Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) Republic of Indonesia reported that the pandemic impacted around 68 million students who were forced to do online learning (Puspita, 2021). *Pesantren* are one of the educational institutions in Indonesia that focus on Islamic teaching. One of the most critical aspects of a *pesantren* is the dormitory that enables students (*santri*) to live together in one environment. The essence of *pesantren* is to train the *santri* to be independent and educate them to have Islamic values. This essence can only be achieved through direct teaching. When most schools carried out online learning to avoid transmission of the COVID-19 virus, *pesantren* continued to conduct offline learning as mandated by the joint decision of four Ministries; MEC, Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA), Ministry of Health (MOH), and Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA) (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, 2020). Even though the Indonesian government has established a set of strict health protocols, it was found that 4.328 *santri* from 67 *pesantren* in 13 provinces were confirmed positive of COVID-19 in 2021 (Putri, 2021). A recent study by PPIM UIN Jakarta in 3 Islamic Universities found that *pesantren* alumni have lower knowledge, behaviour, and perception than non-*pesantren* alumni. In addition, the study also revealed that male students have more inadequate knowledge, behaviour, and perception than females (PPIM, 2021). On that note, the role of *nyai* is essential as the messenger of *kiai* to deliver accurate information and become a role model for *santri* in enforcing the rules.

This research used a mixed-method with purposive sampling. Fifteen *pesantren* in Jakarta, Banten, and West Java were chosen. In the quantitative method, 820 respondents (*santri* and teachers) filled the questionnaires. However, only questionnaires passed the focus test and were analyzed. For the qualitative method, the informants were chosen by expert sampling. 132 people participated in this survey, 82 males and 50 females, including *kiai, nyai,* teachers, school principals, task force, and *santri* from each pesantren. Data were collected by in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), document reviews, and observation.

Determinants of *Pesantren*'s Resilience during the Pandemic

Resilience in this research project considers whether a *pesantren* can survive the pandemic through adaptation or quickly recover. This study found that *pesantren*'s have vital factors that support their strength in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic. The possession of these factors varies widely among *pesantren*'s, so the level of resilience of each *pesantren* also differs. The factors affecting health and educational resilience of *a pesantren* during the pandemic are 1) knowledge, attitude, and belief related to COVID-19; 2) leadership characteristics; 3) ability of a *pesantren* to build a network with several parties; 4) resource ownership, and 5) management of *pesantren* (Figure 1). These determinants relate to each other as an inseparable proposition in the resilience of a *pesantren* during the COVID-19 pandemic First, the knowledge of the *pesantren*'s community and *kiai* related to the risk factors of COVID-19 transmission, prevention, and treatment is an essential aspect of avoiding and handling spreading the virus in the *pesantren*. However, this study showed that the *pesantren* community has insufficient knowledge on the latest information of the COVID-19. For example, they did not understand the emergence of various virus variants with higher transmittance than the previous variant. In addition, the infodemic (misleading information) phenomenon increases the difficulty of the community in getting correct information related to the COVID-19. Therefore, the efforts to have the latest knowledge about COVID-19 are important for improving the resilience of the *pesantren* during the pandemic.

Furthermore, this study also found some poor attitudes and beliefs in the *pesantren*'s community during the pandemic. For instance, keeping the health protocols in a long period may produce pandemic fatigue and the idea that the virus is not dangerous. Such attitude and belief lead to the lack of implementation of the health prevention protocol, which causes a *pesantren* to be vulnerable to the transmission of COVID-19.

The second determinant is the good kiai qualities in responding to the pandemic. These characteristics include strategic leadership, collaboration, openness, brave, and independence. Strategic elements can be seen from kiai's responsiveness and adaptive attitude when a pandemic occurs, for example, by forming an information technology (IT) unit and a health experts' unit to handle the teaching process, either online or offline, in the pesantren. Collaborative characteristics can be seen from the efforts of the *pesantren* in collaborating with various parties such as local governments, health centers, and other parties in counter measuring COVID-19. Open characteristics can be seen from the transparency of the *pesantren* towards outside parties, especially the health centers and local government regarding COVID-19 cases in pesantren and the most updated information related to the COVID-19 response. Brave characteristics can be seen from the kiai's ability to make unpopular decisions, such as conducting offline learning when the pandemic is still happening. Lastly, the independent attributes of kiai are shown by his ability to create self-funding by optimizing their charity business so that they can support the *pesantren* to have adequate resources in responding to the pandemic.

The third aspect is the ability to cooperate with other parties outside the *pesantren*, such as a fellow *pesantren*; the socio-religious organization affiliated with *pesantren*; their alumni association; other community organizations (Ormas); and government. These various networks provide material support such as COVID-19 prevention facilities, testing tools, basic needs, vaccines, self-isolation facilities, treatment, and immaterial such as online training related to COVID-19 response.

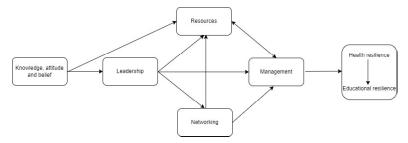


Figure 1. The framework of the resilience of *pesantren* during the pandemic.

The fourth determinant is the ownership of resources in health and education. In the health sector, resources include infrastructure to support the COVID-19 prevention protocol, education information and communication media related to COVID-19, along with testing, tracing, and treatment facilities. This study showed that some *pesantren's* already had adequate COVID-19 prevention tools and facilities. Yet, other *pesantren's* still do not have the proper COVID-19 testing, tracing, and treatment facilities.

In terms of educational resources, it includes educational technology, finance, and human resources. *Pesantren*'s have shown their efforts by providing educational technology for online learning, such as increasing teachers' digital literacy, installing a Wi-Fi network in the *pesantren*, providing laptops for students, distributing internet data packages for students and staff. Furthermore, *pesantren's have* collaborated with other educational institutions to increase the capacity of their teachers through various training both internally and externally. In addition, young teachers who are more technology literate have been able to help older teachers who tend to be less technologically proficient in some *pesantren*'s. Thus, it is hoped that all teachers will be able to organize online learning as an alternative to learning during the pandemic. In terms of finances, the tolerance of a *pesantren* for late payment of tuition fees from students is one of strategy so that there are no cases of

students being expelled from the *pesantren* due to inability of students to pay tuition fees.

The last determinant factor is the management of the *pesantren*. In the health sector, a *pesantren* will have a task force and operational standards in handling COVID-19 cases that occur in the pesantren. Nonetheless, the performance and professionalism of the task force that was formed are highly dependent on the educational background and experience of the officers. Therefore, the task force officer's with a health education background demonstrates the accuracy of the steps implemented to deal with COVID-19 in the *pesantren* environment. Furthermore, a *pesantren*'s efforts to limit the mobility and contact of their *pesantren* community with people from outside the *pesantren* are one of the keys for a *pesantren* to minimize the transmission of COVID-19. Moreover, managing to test and trace efforts for early detection of COVID-19 cases in the *pesantren* is also an important factor contributing to the resilience of the *pesantren*.

Pesantren Vulnerability

This study revealed the vulnerability of a *pesantren* during the pandemic in social and political aspects. In social aspects, there were still individuals, especially *santri*, who believed in a conspiracy related to COVID-19. About 45.3% the pesantren community believe that Chinese or Americans have created a biological weapon to conquer the world; 48.6% believe that China and the United States already owned vaccines before the pandemic began; and 63% believe that Jewish people created viruses to beat Muslim people. These conspiracies have caused disobedience against the health protocols and a refusal to get vaccinated. These conspiracy beliefs also challenge the preventive actions.

In the political aspect, the *pesantren* vulnerability includes trust issues and the community's skepticism of the government. The trust of the *pesantren*'s community in the government regarding both the seriousness and their capability of handling pandemic are low. This distrust was mainly caused by the inconsistencies of government regulation and corruption issues during the pandemic era. The statistical analysis of this study showed that male individuals in *pesantren* had lower trust in the government than females and *santri* had lower confidence than teachers. Moreover, this study also found that individuals who access information from social media are more susceptible to having a low level of trust in the government than those who do not.

Skepticism in this study is defined as a person's vulnerability to anxiety and doubt about any policies and information issued by the authorities during the COVID-19 pandemic. Nearly half of the total respondents (43.2%) believed that the government deliberately misled the public regarding COVID-19 data, and 33.9% are skeptical of the government's explanation regarding COVID-19.

There is a common thread between belief in conspiracies, low trust in the government, and high public skepticism. Belief in conspiracy theories reciprocally affects the level of trust in government. Distrust of the government is also caused by government policies related to COVID-19 that are considered flawed. In the end, all of these variables affect the level of social cohesion in the *pesantren*. However, it does not result in the level of social cohesion in the *pesantren* being weak in all aspects.

The Role of Nyai and Women Leaders

The study discovered that the role and influence of the *nyai* and other female leaders during the pandemic was motivated and greatly influenced by their level of education. The higher the level of education means the *nyai* and other female leaders have a more outstanding agency in their influence on the strategic policies of the *pesantren*. In addition, the *nyai* and other female leaders with educational backgrounds in the health sector have strong bargaining positions because of the knowledge authority that the *kiai* does not possess.

The roles of the *nyai* and other women leaders in contributing to the pesantren's health and education resilience are to provide insights to the *kiai*. They also create networking with other institutions such as universities in procuring PCR tests, participating in regulating students' nutrition to increase immunity, becoming a valuable source of information related to COVID-19, and providing education in related to the vaccination.

Although the role of the *nyai* and other women leaders has improved a lot as modernization and globalization have encouraged women's participation in the public sphere, in general, the *kiai* is still very dominant in decision-making in the *pesantren*. However, amid the *kiai*'s domination, the *nyai* and other women leaders can still develop their agency through bargaining power.

The results of this research have received responses from various parties. Ace Syadzily, the deputy head of Commission 8 of the House of the Representatives Republic of Indonesia, and Waryono Ghafur, Director of Early Education and Pesantren, Directorate General of Islamic Education, MORA of the Republic of Indonesia, believe that this research is important for the improvement and value for the basis of policymaking. Meanwhile, Nur Rofiah, a gender expert, highlighted the results of this research from the aspect of gender, in particular the power relations between the kiai and the nyai, which could be influenced by the existence of the *pesantren* and human resources. In small and newly formed *pesantren*'s, the unequal power relations between a nyai and a kiai are generally less visible because the human resources are limited, so a kiai and a nyai work together to advance the pesantren. Meanwhile, in larger pesantren's with a complex leadership hierarchy, the gender gap is thicker because there has been a lot of tugof-war between interests. Romzi Ahmad, assistant of special staff to the vice president of the Republic of Indonesia, strengthened the findings of this study by describing various solutions to the main problems of pesantren during the pandemic with transparency, tackle digital divide, healthy lifestyle, and elevating women involvement.

The full report of this research can be further accessed on Convey websites <u>https://conveyindonesia.com/id/publikasi/laporan-convey/</u>.

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- 4. Wahid, Din. 2014. Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
- 5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
- 6. Ms. Undhang-Undhang Banten, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
- 7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

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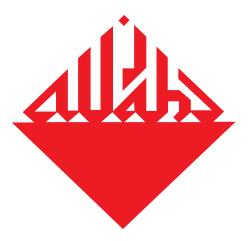
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Islamic Turn in Malay Historiography: BUSTAN AL-SALATIN OF 17TH CENTURY ACEH

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The Political Dynamics of Islamophobia in Jokowi's Era: A Discourse Analysis of **ONLINE MEDIA REPORTING**

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