COUNTER-RADICALIZATION BASED ON PESANTREN IN INDONESIA (AN EVIDANCE FROM PESANTREN SALAFIYAH SYAFI'IYAH BANUROJA GORONTALO)

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Abstract

This study elaborates and assesses at how the Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah of Gorontalo Islamic Boarding School has been fostering a movement away from radicalism among its students. Only a small subset of urban Indonesians has been reached by the state's promotion and action of structural counterradicalism. However, most people actually live in rural areas. This investigation makes use of observation, interviews, and records. Descriptive and critical analyses were then performed on the data. This study demonstrates the significant role pesantren have played in preventing radicalization in their local communities. This campaign has been going on for quite some time, and it is still going strong thanks to the efforts put into bolstering academic culture, religious culture, and social culture. Therefore, it is necessary to combine the state's counter-radicalization efforts, which have focused on structural measures, with the cultural approach exemplified by the pesantren community. Terrorism and other forms of radical thought and movement are harmful to religion and the nation as a whole, so it is important to keep and foster the synergy of all the children in the country.

Keywords: Banuroja, Counter-radicalization, Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah, Banuroja, Gorontalo

INTRODUCTION

The proliferation of violent extremism and terrorist acts committed in the name of Islam across the globe and in Indonesia has, in a sense, cast Muslims in the role of the party to blame (Astuti, 2015). It is common practice to blame the Islamic doctrine of jihad, also known as holy war, as the primary inspiration for acts of religiously motivated violence committed by Muslims (Yusuf, 2017). Institutions of Islamic higher education in Indonesia, such as madrasa or Islamic boarding schools, are inextricably linked to the allegations that are currently being leveled against them (Alhairi, 2017). The oldest Islamic educational institution in Indonesian history is often associated as a "headquarters" or central to very fundamental Islamic understanding, which later became the root of the radical movement in the name of Islam. This is because the fundamental Islamic understanding was passed down from generation to generation within the institution (Abid, et al., 2017).

It's unavoidable that the majority of radicals and terrorists who claim to be acting in the name of Islam in Indonesia are themselves products of madrasas or Islamic boarding schools. Given the different histories and trajectories of Islamic schools in Indonesia, generalizing about all schools as breeding grounds for radicals and theorists is a gross oversimplification. Further, a number of results show that Indonesian Islamic schools differ greatly from their counterparts abroad (Arjiarna et al., 2020).

As a traditional and indigenous Indonesian Islamic educational institution, *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) have made a real contribution to shaping Islamic civilization by building a comprehensive and contextual understanding of Islam in realizing the principle of *ummatan wasathan* (moderate society) in the life of the nation and state (Kholis, 2017). *Pesantren*, in addition to having the primary goal of developing a friendly and tolerant Islamic da'wah, also aims to maintain a balanced socio-cultural life (tradition), especially in carrying out social transformation for the surrounding community (Syafe'i, 2017).

Historically, Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia cannot be associated with radical movements or Islamic thought as a new form

of transnational movement (Yusuf, 2017). It is because the characteristics of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia differ from similar Islamic education institutions in other countries (Marzuki et al., 2020). In addition, Islam came to the country with complete peace because it was conveyed through the preaching of the matter of Muslim traders and not through swords or war troops helped color Islamic understanding developed in Islamic boarding schools (Falikul Isbah, 2020). As understood by *pesantren*, the teachings of jihad also differ significantly from the general view of the radical Islamic movement (Halim & Adhitama, 2021).

40   Furthermore, contra-radicalism values in Islamic boarding schools are consistently developed through the development of an accommodative and moderate religious understanding of the students. Therefore, the characteristics of moderate Islamic understanding have been rooted in the *pesantren* tradition in the form of internalizing Islamic and Indonesian values (Massoweang, 2020). The characteristics of Islamic boarding school education emphasize classical Islamic learning, and *pesantren* also have other main characteristics as independent drivers of civil society (Asrori & Syauqi, 2020).

The Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School in Gorontalo is one of the *pesantren* that has strengthened counter-radicalization in various aspects. As a *pesantren* that grows and develops in rural areas, the Salafiyah Syafiiyah has actively carried out a mission of da'wah that is *rahmatan lil-alamin* and a mission of community development that is *washatiyah*. The fact that the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah stands in a pluralistic society regarding religion, ethnicity, and culture makes this *pesantren* unique.

Literature Review

Counter-radicalization is a state program designed by the National Counter-terrorism Agency (*Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme* - BNPT). Unlike deradicalization, which is corrective in nature and targets perpetrators of terrorism and their families, counter-radicalization is a program and strategy for the wider community and is preventive in nature. The substance of counter-radicalization strategies and programs is to make radical terrorist ideology unattractive to

Indonesian society through counter-narrative, as well as to help increase love for the country and nationality through counter-propaganda. (Mohammed, 2021).

Many studies have been carried out on various scientific scales, and the results show that radicalism has existed for a long time. When radicalism is viewed in terms of movement, research by Hasnan Bahtiar and Syamsul Arifin found the phenomenon that fundamentalism and radicalism movements will continue to be a social phenomenon as long as there are social factors that encourage it (Arifin, Syamsul & Bactiar, 2013). From the perspective of mapping radicalism in Indonesia, Zuly Qodir shows that young people are the groups most prone to exposure (Qodir, 2018). Regarding potential, Khamdan's findings indicate that such movements will continue to emerge as long as the ideals of an Islamic state are not realized (Khamdam & Wiharyani).

In contrast to previous research and findings, this study will focus on developing epistemological awareness and sociological awareness of *santri* in pesantren that stand in the midst of religiously, ethnically, linguistically, and culturally heterogeneous communities. Included in this context is the role of *kiai* in counteracting the notion of religious radicalism through the design of the education curriculum in the *pesantren* they lead, the way they deliver religious education to the community, their involvement in various social activities that are intertwined with the promotion of inclusive, friendly and tolerant understanding.

Many previous researchers have also conducted research that specifically discusses the role of *pesantren* in counteracting radicalism. For example, research conducted by Kusmanto, M. Fauzi, and M. Jamil on the dialectics of radicalism and anti-radicalism in pesantren. The research findings show that in the midst of accusations that *pesantren* are the basis of radicalism, the pesantren community rejects and actively builds a tolerant religious understanding (Kusmanto et al., 2015). Another example is that Muhammad Effendy also found that *pesantren* have made mitigation efforts by building an inclusive learning approach (Effendi, 2020). Along with the digitalization era, efforts to stem the spread of radical ideas among *pesantren* through online media have also been shown by

Muhammad Zubair and friends (Muh. Zubair et al., 2021)

Another research on the contribution of *pesantren* in counteracting radicalism was conducted by Hamidah and Aijudin in Surakarta. The research mentioned that Surakarta is a city with a high potential for social conflict due to contestation between religions and economic injustice. For example, to create peace in Surakarta, the vulnerability of religiously motivated conflict must be addressed as best as possible and ultimately altered. The results of the study demonstrate that Pesantren al-Muayyad in Surakarta has made a substantial contribution to attempts to lessen conflict in the region (Hamidah & Aijuddin, 2017).

Other research states that one way to ward off radicalism in pesantren is to ground Aswajah in pesantren life (Rofiq, 2019). Other research shows that the potential to ward off radicalism can be done by developing religious moderation. Pesantren are proven to have a real contribution in this context (Massoweang, 2020), and some other research results place the multiculturalism education model developed by *pesantren* as a role model to ward off radicalism (Satori, 2018) (Ngaisah & Nurfalah, 2020), (Fauziah & Nalva, 2019).

Therefore, based on these data, it can be stated that this research academically provides *a new contribution of knowledge*, considering that studies that specifically discuss the strengthening of scientific culture, religious culture, and social culture, especially in the midst of a plural community such as Banuroja Village, are relatively non-existent. Even so, researchers must still state that previous studies are materials that directly or indirectly enrich the analysis in this study.

Conceptual Framework

A propaganda effort, the counter-radicalization narrative is a communication narrative. Therefore, this research uses communication theory as an analytical tool. According to Minzbergh, at least strategy must be seen from five interrelated aspects, namely: (1) Strategy as a plan to clarify the direction taken by the organization rationally in realizing long-term goals; (2) Strategy as a reference to tactics with regard to assessing the consistency or inconsistency of behavior and actions taken by the organization; (3) Strategy as an assessment of the pattern or point of view positioned by the organization when generating its activities; (4) Strategy as a position which concerns the integrated vision between the organization and its environment which is the limit for its activities; and (5) Strategy as a perspective in taking detailed organizational tactical steps that contain information to trick competitors (Coomber, 2005).

Genuinely, as a strategy, three fundamental aspects must be considered, namely first, the ends; second, the infrastructure (means) used to support the implementation of online and off-line counter-propaganda; and third, the ways of handling indoctrination issues related to radicalism, both hard and soft approaches.

From the perspective of communication science, propaganda is basically a form of communication that aims to make the message conveyed by the sender of the message acceptable to the target audience. In theory, put forward by Hafied Cangara, the objectives in communication are: (1) the message conveyed can be understood; (2) understand what people want others can accept the idea; (3) move others to do something (Cangara, 2018).

The elements of communication are also important factors used in analyzing the various elements that exist in the counter-radicalization strategy practiced at the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah *pesantren*, where these elements include the source, message, media, recipient, and the effects caused (this is also in line with the communication model of Harold D. Lasswell (1948) which states Who Says What. In this channel, to whom, and with what effect (Rizal, 2020). Lasswell (1948) states Who, Says What, in which channel, to whom, and with what effect) (Rizal, 2020).

RESEARCH METHOD

The goal of this research, which employed a qualitative approach in the form of a case study of the explanatory type, was to shed light on how counter-radicalization strategies are implemented in Salafiyah Syafi'iyah madrassas. Qualitative research is distinguished by its (a) naturalistic context, (b) reliance on the researcher as the primary instrument or data gathering tool, and (c)

inductive analysis of the collected data (Sugiyono, 2016).

The methodological framework for this research is sociological. This method is utilized in elucidating the societal truths of *pesantren*. This study first bases itself on the results of interviews. Data collection techniques were carried out through direct, in-depth, and intensive interviews with respondents targeted by this study. The interviews were conducted in an unstandardized and unstructured interview but focused (Brown, 2010). Interviews were conducted with the *kiai* caregivers of *pesantren*, *ustadz* (pesantren teachers), *santri* (pesantren students), and residents around the *pesantren* who were the target of the research. This research also uses the help of a key informant, especially for collecting materials related to the description of Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah.

Aside from interviews, data collection was also carried out using the participant observation method. Observation of participation is carried out on various behaviors and social activities in Islamic boarding schools, such as recitation and extra-curricular activities. Data collection also uses secondary data tracing. Secondary data searches were conducted on various academic texts, research results, various decrees from government agencies, mass media, and relevant sources. Those related documents were identified, reviewed, and analyzed.

Multiple formats of research were used to display these data. For example, transcripts of interviews were analyzed to extract relevant information, which was then presented in the form of quotations, interpreted, and integrated into a critical narrative. Instead of relying solely on descriptive details, we compared data from our various informants to draw conclusions about their possible connections. The analysis heavily utilized describing, explaining, comparing, and interpreting data. This helped us as the researchers gain a complete comprehension of the phenomenon they were studying.

Methodologically, the data were analyzed using Huberman and Miles' (Suyitno, 2020) three-stage process: reduction, display, and verification. The information was reduced by being organized into categories according

to the questions that were being asked. The data was checked by comparing it to other sources and then analyzing the results interpretatively to determine their significance.

DISCUSSION
Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah: An Outlook

The Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School was established on the 1st of Rabiul Awwal 1405 H to coincide with November 5, 1985, located in Banuroja Village, Randangan Sub-District, Pohuwato Regency, in a radius of 3.5 kilometers from the Trans Sulawesi Road, ± 200 kilometers from the Capital of Gorontalo Province (Zaenuri & Putra Pratama, 2019).

Banuroja Village can be found within the Randangan Subdistrict of the Pohuwato Regency in the Gorontalo Province. This community, which spans 2,850 hectares, was formerly a part of a transmigration settlement and has been occupied continuously since the early 1980s. Since 1981, the region that is today known as Banuroja Village has been a part of the Transmigration Settlement Unit (*Unit Pemukiman Transmigrasi* - UPT) in Manunggal Karya. This region is designated as sub-area "B" (Faisal, 2019). By 2005, it was officially designated as an independent village (*desa swasembada*).

The name "Banuroja" is an acronym for the four dominant ethnic groups living in the village: Bali, Nusa Tenggara, Gorontalo, and Java. The name Banuroja was formulated through a meeting of community leaders when the village was to be formed. Based on the heterogeneity of the inhabitants living in it, the meeting agreed to name Banuroja. Language, in the Arabic version, Banuroja means an optimistic generation, taken from the root of *Banu* and *raja* (Faisal, 2019). Besides ethnic heterogeneity, Banuroja also has religious diversity (Pikoli et al., 2021).

In early August 1982, K.H. Abdul Ghofir Nawawi, a dai Rabithah 'Islamic nature from Cirebon West Java, undertook a mission of preaching to the Marisa Transmigration area in particular and in Gorontalo District of North Sulawesi Province in general (at that time Gorontalo Province was still part of North Sulawesi Province). While in Marisa, K.H. Abdul Ghofir Nawawi, besides giving an intense recitation of the local Muslim community, also gave a "touch" to the

management of Compulsory Education Madrasas following the update of the management who had himself driven by the approval of the local community. For better management of the madrasah, the first step is K.H. Abdul Ghofir Nawawi is transforming MWB into a Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) for those who have not received primary education and Madrasah Diniyah (MD) for those who have already occupied Elementary School (Kiai Ghofur Nawawi, *interview*, 2021). All learning activities are carried out in all-emergency buildings and existing mosques. The all-emergency learning process lasts a long time. On November 5, 1985, to coincide with 12 Rabiul Awal 1405 H, the name of the Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School began to be published even though the facilities and infrastructure were simple (Latudi, 2015).

Since its inception in 1982, the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Randangan Islamic Boarding School has had a tradition of fostering and developing Islamic religious education, which has been systematically over thirty-nine years and has given birth to thousands of alumni (Khairil Anam, *interview*, 2021).

Apart from the Pohuwato and surrounding areas, *santri* who study at the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Randangan Islamic Boarding School come from several other districts in Gorontalo Province, North Sulawesi Province, Central Sulawesi Province, West Java Province, and Central Java Province (Ali Mukmin, *interview*, 2021). To ensure the direction of education is built, the boarding school sets its vision for "the realization of improvement and development of human resources with mastery of science and technology, physically and spiritually based on faith and piety." While the mission of the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School is: (1) to form *santri* who are noble and have noble character and are physically and mentally healthy, (2) to create alumni who are helping themselves and their families, as well as society, nation, and state, have adequate knowledge and technology and skills.

Counter-radicalization in the Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah through strengthening academic culture

The implementation of strengthening the academic culture in the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School environment can be seen clearly in the curriculum structure they refer to in the learning process. The curriculum is a set of plans and arrangements pertaining to the objectives, content, and learning resources that serve as guidance for the implementation of learning activities in order to attain educational goals (Saifuddin, 2016). Therefore, Islamic boarding schools as educational institutions need a dynamic, democratic, flexible, open curriculum and, by the times, people's needs (Ansori, 2021). Being aware of the demands of such a curriculum, according to Kiai Ghofur, curriculum design developed in the *pesantren* is dynamic and actual and sides with empowering and strengthening religious values that are integrated with national values (Kiai Ghafur, *interview*, 2021).

As a figure who has long struggled in the world of education, Kiai Ghafur is well aware that the development of science and technology and the flow of information in the era of globalization requires all areas of life to adjust so as not to be consumed by the times. Such adjustments change the order in the macro and micro systems, including the education system. Therefore, according to him, the education system in the Salafiyah Syafiiyah was indeed developed by the needs and developments that occurred at the local, national, and global levels (Faisal, 2019).

The *kiai* is aware that the education curriculum occupies a strategic position and is a foundation used to guide the development of students' abilities optimally under the development of society. The chaplain always reminds us that the curriculum is designed and integrated with the abovementioned aspects to achieve the expected educational goals. In addition, the curriculum must be compiled and developed by involving various components that do not only require technical skills but must be understood by various factors that influence it. Thus, curriculum development conducted in Islamic boarding schools should be able to provide the foundation, content, and guidance for the development of student's abilities optimally according to the demands and challenges of community development by focusing on specific competencies in the form of intact and integrated knowledge, skills and attitudes, and can be demonstrated by *santri* as learning outcomes (Kiai Ghafur, *interview*, 2021).

Related to learning in Islamic boarding schools, the level of *santri* is a place to carry out and test the curriculum through learning, concepts, principles, values, knowledge, methods, and tools. Through learning, the teacher's ability is tested by actions to realize the tangible and living curriculum form. Therefore, the real teacher, planner, implementer, appraiser, and curriculum developer plays a vital role as the key holder of the implementation and success of the actual curriculum (Ilham & Suyatno, 2020). In this context, kiyai was very aware of this, so the recruitment of teachers and educators was very selective while still considering the nuances of diversity which indeed became the culture of the Salafiyah Syafiiyah Islamic Boarding School from the start. For example, according to Ali Mukmin, as long as it is for learning purposes, the recruitment of teachers with non-Muslim backgrounds is not considered taboo in the Salafiyah Syafiiyah. Evidently, to this day, two non-Muslim teachers are teaching at the *pesantren* (Ali Mukmin, *interview*, 2021).

The primary identity of an Islamic boarding school is that of a hospitable educational institution. The scientific tradition of Islamic boarding schools is distinct from the scientific tradition of madrasas and other Islamic day schools. The *pesantren* is a type of Islamic school that is distinguished from others by its emphasis on the study of classical texts (*kitab kuning*) (Yusri, 2020). Among the many components of a boarding school's curriculum, the *kitab kuning* plays an important role. Because of its central role, it is also what sets pesantren apart from other forms of Islamic education (Ardiansyah, 2021).

The contents of the *kitab kuning*, which is used as a reference as a *pesantren* curriculum, can be grouped into two categories in terms of the material that is included in it. To begin, the Qur'an and the hadith make up the primary teaching group that is present in Islam. On the other hand, the teachings are derived from the Islamic scholars' interpretations of the fundamental teachings that can be found in the Qur'an and the hadith. Second, the studies that enter Islam as a result of the development of Islam throughout history, such as books that discuss social institutions, culture, and scientific methods, are referred to as studies that enter the Islamic teachings group. This is in contrast to the *kitab kuning* group, which is not included in the Islamic teachings group. At the same time, the processes that are utilized in the global processing of kitab kuning material can be mapped into three distinct categories: deductive, inductive, and dialectic (Rosi & Azisi, 2021).

The *kitab kuning* ('yellow books'; that is, traditional Islamic books and sources) taught in the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School can be grouped into several field studies, namely *nahwu and sharaf* (grammar and morphology), *fiqh*, *ushul fiqh*, *tasawuf* and *akhlak*, *tafsir*, *hadith*, *tauhid*, and other branches of knowledge such as history. In addition, the kitab kuning s taught in the Salafiyah Syafiiyah can also be classified into three levels: essential, intermediate, and significant, which are adjusted to the levels of the class (Kiai Ghafur Nawawi, *interview*, 2021).

The Islamic education system in Indonesia is comprised of two inseparable components: Islamic boarding schools and *kitab kuning*. Islamic boarding schools can be traced back to the book literature that documents the ideas of Salaf scholars beginning around the 9th century (Thoriqussu'ud, 2012). This has been the case ever since Islamic boarding schools were first established in history. It is possible that the educational institution known as *pesantren* would be considered defunct if the *kitab kuning* did not exist and were not taught in it (Mustofa, 2019). This is the information that was discovered out in the field. In this particular setting, Kiai Ghofur provided confirmation by stating that the *kitab kuning* has evolved into one of the value systems that are integrated into the daily life of the pesantren. However, in order to meet the requirements of reality, the *pesantren* that had previously only studied the *pesantren* curriculum were required to also master the curriculum that was used in formal education. As a result, the curriculum of the student's learning burden is getting bigger because, in addition to having to study the books of yellow as a characteristic of *pesantren*, *santri* must also study the formal education curriculum. For Kiai Ghofur, these two things are not something that must be contested, but each other enriches each other's knowledge of the santri (Kiai Ghofur, *interview*, 2021).

The development of the *pesantren* curriculum can be understood as an effort to renew the *pesantren* in the field of curriculum as a result of changing people's lives to support the existence of Islamic boarding schools that can fulfill the needs of students (Fauzan, 2017). Given the complexity faced by *pesantren*, developing the *pesantren* curriculum can use strategies that uphold the characteristics of *pesantren* as traditional Islamic religious education institutions (Nanang Qosim, 2019). Among the strategies that have always been considered as non-formal education institutions and managing formal education, the development of the *pesantren* curriculum should remain within the framework of the national education system (Abror, 2020). That is, the books used are tailored to the needs of students in the formal education they manage. Thus, the learning carried out by the *pesantren* is integrated with the learning done in formal education so that the characteristics of the *pesantren* are maintained. In addition, the development of the *pesantren* curriculum as part of improving the quality of national education must be carried out comprehensively, meticulously, and comprehensively (*kaffah*), especially concerning the quality of *pesantren* education and its relevance to the needs of the community and the workplace by referring to kitab kuning. He maintained the *kitab kuning* as a curriculum reference because the content needed to be more credible, the content and depth of his Islamic studies (Solihin, 2018).

For many *pesantren*, the *kitab kuning* is essential to facilitate the process of deep religious understanding to formulate a fresh but not ahistorical explanation of the teachings of Islam (the Koran and the Hadith of the Prophet) (Taher, 2020). The *kitab kuning* reflects religious thinking that was born and developed throughout the history of Islamic civilization. To make Islamic boarding schools remain the center of Islamic studies, the development of the *pesantren* curriculum in modern *pesantren* while maintaining and maintaining the *kitab kuning* which is integrated with the formal education curriculum tailored to the needs of the *santri*, namely the *pesantren* curriculum which is characterized solely by teaching religious knowledge originates from the kitab kuning (classical book), balancing between the science of religion and general science (which

is taught in formal education), providing knowledge of skills with the pressure of the science of religion, and carrying out the study of classical books, education in a madrasa, and education in public schools (Khoiruddin & Ferisal, 2018) As a manifestation of this awareness of scientific integration and curriculum, the Salafiyah Syafiiyah not only teaches the religious sciences but even there is a Vocational School education level to back up the needs of students for technical skills that are linear with the demands of life.

As part of the NU pesantren, which adheres to the philosophy of *al-muhafazah ala al-qadim al-salih wa al-akhzu bi al-jadid al-aslah*, the management of the *pesantren* curriculum, in addition to maintaining the *pesantren* tradition is still open by opening formal education through the curriculum developed is based on the principle as mentioned earlier. Thus, the character and uniqueness of salafi *pesantren* are still preserved as a distinctive feature of the NU-based education system (Prasanti, 2017).

In the substance aspect, especially the discourses relating to the issue of radicalism, Kiai Ghafur always reminded us to truly understand religion comprehensively so that the understanding used was not uprooted from the concept of *maqashid al-sharia*. Because of this, when teaching and discussing the issue of jihad, the Kyai Ghafur tried to describe it thoroughly and chronologically (Kiai Ghafur, *interview*, 2021).

In the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, the meaning of jihad is defined by three perceptions (KBBI, 2014). *First*, jihad is an effort with all efforts to achieve the second well, jihad is a genuine effort to defend Islam at the expense of property, soul, and body, and the third jihad means the holy war against the infidels to defend Islam. Jihad means fighting in the way of Allah. From this understanding, it is understood that jihad requires strength, energy, thought, and wealth. On the other hand, it is understood that jihad generally carries the risk of difficulties and fatigue in its implementation.

Meanwhile, the term ijtihad is a terminology in the science of jurisprudence that means pouring out the mind to establish a religious law about a case that does not have an explicit law in the Koran and hadith. At the same time, the meaning of *mujahadah* is a term

in Sufism that means the struggle against lust to get closer to Allah SWT (al-Khatib, 2019).

According to Kiai Ghafur, in Islamic terminology, the term jihad is defined as a genuine struggle to mobilize all the potential and abilities possessed to achieve goals, especially in maintaining truth, goodness, and nobleness. Therefore, the term jihad is only sometimes or not all struggles in the way of Allah because many verses mean struggling and trying as optimal as possible to achieve the goal. For example, QS al-Ankabut, 29: 8, and Luqman, 31: 15, each spoke about the context of the relationship between children who believe and their unbelieving parents, in this case, also using the term jihad. Furthermore, jihad, which implies fighting in the way of Allah, is found in 33 verses: 13 times in the form of *fi'il madhi* (past tense verb), 5 times in the form of *fi'il mudhari* (present or future form verb), 7 times in the form of *fi'il amr* (command verb), 4 times in the form of *masdar*, and *isim fail* (noun which indicates the perpetrator) (Al-Ashfahani, 2017).

According to Kyai Ghofur, the number of these forms indicates the breadth and variety of meanings of jihad, namely, the real struggle which covers all aspects of life. It also includes physical warfare or taking up arms against dissidents or enemies. Thus, it is not appropriate to only interpret jihad as jihad, which contains the meaning of fighting in the way of Allah or, in other languages, not always, jihad connotes physical warfare. Moreover, the verses of jihad did not immediately go down after the Prophet's return, but they also turned out to have dropped since the Prophet was still in Mecca. According to him, if the verses were understood as a unity as in the *maudhu'i* method of interpretation. Kiai Ghafur said that the verses descended on Mecca still speak about planting faith and faith. For example, in Q.S. al-Ankabut / 29: 6 & 69. The patron of the word used in this verse describes a strenuous effort, or *jihad* here means *mujahadah*. *Jihad* is intended "to devote all the abilities possessed to achieve the pleasure of Allah SWT." Therefore, people who strive in the way of Allah do not know despair. Thus, the jihad referred to differs from the sense of taking up arms because fighting and lifting weapons are only permitted after the Prophet is in Medina. This verse even suras before the Prophet emigrated (Kiai Ghafur, *interview*, 2021).

As a kiai who is also an expert in the Tafsir sciences, Kiai Ghafur coherently explained that in another verse, QS al-Furqan / 25: 52, which is also a verse of Makiyah, Allah commands the Apostle to *jihad* with the Koran. In this context, jihad with the Koran is far more essential to be prepared and implemented than jihad with weapons. However, *jihad* with the Koran can only be done by people who believe in the Koran and understand it well. In addition, this verse wants to show that jihad is only sometimes related to taking up arms. For example, in many recitations or discussions of the *kitab kuning* he delivered, according to Khairil Anam's statement, Kiai Ghafur consistently reminded the *santri* and Muslims not to misunderstand the term *jihad*. Even so consistent, so firmly, Kiyai insinuated that those who understood the term *jihad* to renew their understanding immediately. He said anyone still anesthetized by the disclosure of the meaning of *jihad* that is exclusive should immediately realize it because a narrow understanding will also narrow the understanding of religious teachings (Khairil Anam, *interview*, 2021).

Regarding the curriculum model, the Salafiyah Syafiiyah Islamic Boarding School can be categorized as a collaborative *pesantren*, commonly called "*kholaf pesantren*." Learning management combines formal schools with a standard government curriculum (formal education) and madrasah diniyah with the *kitab kuning* curriculum standard (Maksum, 2016). In the implementation of learning, *santri* has to go to school twice a day, namely formal school in the morning and madrasah diniyah at night with the *kitab kuning* curriculum. It is what the researchers meant as a collaboration of "yellow book" with "white book." Thus, alumni output is expected to be a person who is *faqih fi ulumuddin*, also a *faqih fi mashalihil ummah*

According to Kiai Ghafur, this collaborative model is intended to respond to the modernization of Islamic education in Indonesia, aiming to collaborate between tafaqquh fi al-din and mastery of general science. Thus, managing the Islamic boarding school curriculum and maintaining a religion-based curriculum also complements the touching curriculum and is closely related to current problems and needs. Therefore, the design of curriculum development was

designed according to the discourse that developed in the process of integrating Islamic education, in this case, the *pesantren* educational system, into the national education system (Kiai Ghafur, *interview*, 2021).

Counter-radicalization in the Pesantren Salafiyah Syafi'iyah through strengthening socio-religious culture

As told by Kiai Ghofur, Kiai Abdul Ghafir has been the founder of the Salafiyah Syafiiyah Islamic Boarding School since the beginning and has strengthened its footing in the spirit of maintaining religious and ethnic pluralism in its environment. To the teacher who taught at his school, Kiyai Abdul Ghofir advised that the teacher's job was only to teach according to the curriculum content. Teachers are asked not to share other issues that have the potential to invite conflict. Let children grow and develop to understand differences in beliefs and solve their problems. (Kiai Ghafur, *interview*, 2021).

Many informants in the field research say that **Banuroja** is an acronym for **B**ali, **Nu**sa Tenggara, **Goro**ntalo, and **Ja**va, according to the origin of the inhabitants who inhabit it. However, for Kiyai Ghofir, Banuroja comes from Arabic, namely *Banu* and *Roja*. *Banu* or *bani* means family or generation, and *Roja* means optimistic. Those who live here are generations who are optimistic about the future (Kiai Ghafur, *interview*, 2021).

As a teacher, Kiai Ghofir still aimed to establish higher education while carrying ethnic and religious diversity. He wants Islam as the religion of *rahmatan lil'alamin* to be enjoyed by everyone. He firmly believes Indonesia is home to all people and ethnicities and should not be mutually hostile. Prominent Muslims should be role models and protect other people. Competing in goodness, building a noble civilization that benefits everyone.

Regarding the emergence of ideas and radical movements in the name of religion (Islam), Kyai Ghafir argued that this happened because of a religious understanding that needed to be more comprehensive. "Learning Islam must be perfect (perfect), not fragments. If the study takes place, the result will be like this, "Kiyai Ghafir then gave an example of the role of Wali Songo, which he valued was extraordinary in maintaining the archipelago's diversity. As spreaders of Islam, they have

never antagonized other religions or groups. Even these trustees instill a spirit of diversity and live in harmony among religious people. So, his message: "let us take care of the heritage of this civilization." Therefore, the strength of Kiyai Ghofir's social position, as shown in the community, is what causes the messages to be heard by the local community. Theoretically, this phenomenon is called authority. In social life, authority is essential and influential, especially in education. Therefore, the authority of the kyai is one of the most critical aspects of the process of educational interaction (Solichin, 2018).

Socio-religiously, Banuroja, where the Salafiyah Syafiiyah was founded, is a plural and harmonious area. Banuroja, a small village in the western hemisphere of Gorontalo Province, initially gives visitors the impression that they have arrived in a village on the island of the gods. On the homepage, we can see that we are traveling through a residential area of Bali, as represented by elegant of traditional Balinese homes complete with small temples (*sanggah*). The village administration was housed in a modest building about a kilometer into the journey, at the heart of the community. In sharp contrast to the preexisting setting, which was characterized by Balinese refusal and charm, a Syafi'iyah Salafiyah building now stands proudly in front of the village office. Nonetheless, if the camera is positioned properly on a small hill next to the village office, the subtleties of Hinduism become once more apparent: there, Hindus worship in a stunning temple. When looking in that direction, you'll see the Indonesian Protestant Church in Gorontalo (GPIG) Immanuel on the corner of the road. Just around the corner is the Indonesian Pentecostal Church.

This outstanding scene provides a first glimpse into the cultural diversity of Banuroja's inhabitants. In the context of a multiethnic society, religious communities can coexist in peace if their interactions with one another are studied more deeply. In Banuroja, multiculturalism is a way of life, but the locals have found that the best way to overcome the challenges posed by their diverse community is to invest in one another through social capital. It's lovely how the different pictures highlight different aspects of the connection.

Empirical research finding from the field shows that Muslims not only congratulated their friends and family on

Galungan and Christmas, but they also shared in the celebration by paying them a visit. The trip was planned solely so that they could find common ground with government officials, Hindus, and Christians. Kyai Ghofir claimed that the gathering always took place on Christmas and Nyepi. When Muslim groups pay a visit to a *santri*, they often bring them food gifts. According to a youth leader and a teacher, "here, the MUI fatwa does not apply to the illegitimacy of saying merry Christmas" (Mukhlis Duaini, *interview*, 2021).

Empirically, this kind of peaceful coexistence is not limited to religious celebrations. Christians and Hindus often attend the monthly recitation held at *pesantren*. Former Chair of the Village Consultative Body and Hindu Balinese native I Made Suartana acknowledged it. He claims that once a month, if there were no urgent matters, he would go to the *pesantren*'s grand recitations. "I did not question the material in the recitation because what was discussed was how to maintain harmony between Muslims and develop tolerance" (I Made Suartana, *interview*, 2021).

It's not just kind of harmony, furthermore. We have seen such religious harmony significantly contributes to the peaceful religious feeling and social togetherness. People in the Banuroja compound were eager to lend a hand to one another when it came to building places of worship. There are only a handful of Christian families in Banuroja, but two churches serving different denominations can be found here. A similar example is the Salafiyah Syafiiyah Islamic boarding school, which was constructed with the help of non-Muslims; some Hindus even donated land for the *pesantren*. Since the pesantren hired two teachers (for general subjects), a Hindu and a Christian, it is clear that they are tolerant of religious diversity. Syafiiyah Salafiiyah's presence in the multicultural Banuroja community has bolstered social cohesion and served as a foundation for the growth of religious harmony.

Further evidence of social and religious harmony in Banuroja can be enjoyed when Hindus celebrated the Nyepi with its ogoh-ogoh festival, there was also a sense of harmony in the air. For example, in Hindu Bali theology, the practice of *ogoh-ogoh* is linked to a ceremonial that is focused on the fertilization of new life. This celebration includes the practice of scattering *tawur* rice, brewing houses and entire yards, spraying houses and yards with *mesui,* and hitting any object (usually *kentongan* or *kulkul*) in order to generate noise and a crowded environment. As a consequence of this, according to Hindu religion, it is predicted that both *Bhuana Agung* and *Bhuana Alit* will have been totally purified and consecrated in advance of the start of the Saka New Year (Sudiarthi & Soper, 2013). When the ogoh-ogoh are parading through Banuroja Village as part of the carnival, a community in which Muslims make up the majority do not face any disruptions as a result of the carnival or the parade.

Even among Muslims, there are those who view the parade as an opportunity to participate in free public entertainment.

Based on the empirical evidence presented in this study, the researchers firmly believe that the peace that has been constructed in Banuroja village is a harmony of the paradigm of pluralism rather than merely tolerance or inclusivism. It's founded on a view of pluralism that starts with diversity, and that view opens the door to cooperation across differences by valuing and understanding them. There is no room in pluralism for the belief that all faiths are essentially the same. A positive outlook on diversity, on the other hand, is expressed in a way of life that fosters social cohesion for everyone's benefit. Religious peace in Banuroja's tiny village is proof of such genuine harmony.

Eventually, the research from the field shows that most santri in the Salafiyah Syafiiyah, who inherently witness the harmonious atmosphere of society, naturally have a strong awareness to maintain harmony and become active actors in conveying religious messages that are learned and felt consciously in the frame of integration between Islam and "Indonesianness" (*ke-Indonesia-an*).

CLOSING

Evidently, this study has convinced us that counter-radicalization has been taught and socialized for a long time and continuously at Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School. Through systematized teaching in the curriculum and habituation to live in a pluralist society in harmony, *santri* are automatically

formed into human beings who have epistemological awareness of religion inclusively through learning, as well as having sociological awareness of peaceful coexistence with other religious communities.

Importantly, this study provides a new perspective that the involvement of pesantren alumni in acts of radicalism and terrorism is not the result of teaching in pesantren but in the process of receiving information outside the pesantren curriculum structure. Erroneous acceptance of the meaning of jihad and the convergence of Islam and Indonesianness (ke-Indonesia-an) from sources outside the pesantren has become the basis for taking the actions of perpetrators of radicalism and terrorism. Thus, this paper emphasizes that acts of terrorism are not caused by teaching in pesantren but by other discourses and misguided responses of perpetrators and the public.

Eventually, it has to be stated that this paper has limitations in data sources that only rely on one pesantren, so it cannot be used as a comprehensive basis for policy formulation. Policy formulation as a lesson learned requires a broad survey and in-depth informant interviews to be used as a basis for policy formulation. Even so, a survey of counter-radicalization taught and cultivated in Salafiyah Syafiiyah pesantren can be a solid basis to improve perspectives and a more harmonious quality of life. Further studies that accommodate a more comprehensive sample and diverse sources of information can provide a deeper understanding and better structuring of social life.

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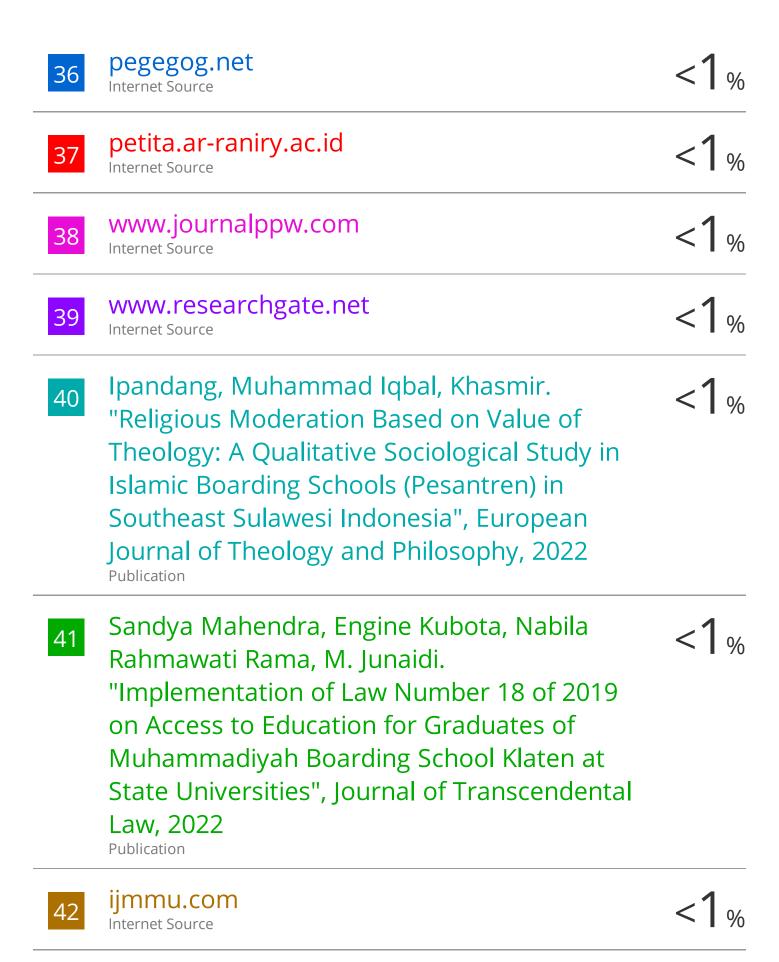
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