

Pesantren and Values of Peace

Study of Social Capital in Pesantren Community

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Abstract: After tragedy of the bomb attack on September 11, 2011 at the WTC building in New York, the *pesantren* community is considered by the West as teaches violence the leads to terrorism. In fact, based on various studies, *pesantren* is known as teaches values of peace. To prove that, this study looks at the social capital of the *pesantren* community, shaping it into a community that teaches values of peace. This study is taken at one of *pesantren* which is recognized as inclusive *pesantren* in Surakarta. The result of the study shows that one of the *pesantren* community in Surakarta has social capital shaping it into a community that teaches values of peace. The social capital owned by the *pesantren* community is the trust between members of the community, social norms prevailing in the community, and networks owned by the *pesantren* community.

1 INTRODUCTION

September 11th 2001 was recorded as one of the darkest history of humanity. The Twin Towers of World Trade Center in New York was attacked by hijacked airplanes brought by terrorist which not only caused infrastructure and property damage, but also killed so many lives. Beside the extensive death of people, the tragedy also caused a social tragedy of western and eastern tensions that have implications for the growing Western phobia toward Islam.

The sequence of impacts of Western phobia on Islam led to various Islamic religious institutions considered as institutions that taught violence and terrorism. In the case of Indonesia, *pesantren* institution and *pesantren* society were considered by the West as an exclusive community and taught violence that led to terrorism.

In a study conducted by Sulasman there are various opinions from Western circles that states that *pesantren* is a place of radical Islam and Islamic terrorism. That opinion comes from Hefner's research which states that after the tragedy of September 11th, 2001, Westerners accused Islamic education institutions in Southeast Asia including *pesantren* as a place for radical Islamic as well as terrorism. The Asian Affair Journal also accused traditional *pesantrens* and *madrasah* in Indonesia as

an institution that created radicalism (Sulasman, 2015).

Concerning about the allegations, the researchers tried to answer the allegations about *pesantren* as a place of nursery for radicalism and terrorism. Research conducted by Ahmad Darmadji on “*Pondok Pesantren and Deradicalization Islam in Indonesia*” answer the allegation by conveying the conclusion that *pesantren* is an educational institution having peaceful Islamic character that has contribution to nation and state (Darmadji, 2011).

Education that is going on in *pesantren* is an education based on the spirit of Islamic education that is tolerant and inclusive. This spirit is then used as a basis to counter the indoctrination of radicalism in Islamic education (Masduqi, 2013).

The spirit of tolerant and peaceful education typical of *pesantren* has been done by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, one of the important figures in *pesantren* history. Educational spirit typical of *pesantren* is one of manifestations of the practice of Islam as a universal religion of love that teaches education upholding the principle of mutual respect for difference, harmony, peace, politeness, and other moral manifestations (Masduqi, 2013).

In relation with the efforts of *pesantren* in encountering discourse on radicalism and terrorism in Indonesia, *pesantren* fosters anti-radicalism spirit based on the basic values of *pesantren*. These values

are the teachings of *Aswaja (Ahl al Sunnah wa al Jama'ah)* which teach the principles of *tasamuh* (tolerance), *tawassut* (modesty), and *tawazun* (balance) so that there is a reinforcement in ideological, political, organizational and socio-cultural in accordance with the principle of *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (Kusmanto, Fauzi and Jamil, 2015).

The principles taught in *pesantren* then form a *pesantren* into a community that builds the principles of peace. One of the *pesantren* community that builds and teach the principles of peace is *Pesantren Al Muayyad Windan*. *Pesantren Al Muayyad Windan* is well known as a *pesantren* that often applies conflict resolution and conduct peace education.

To increase the discourse on *pesantren* as a community that teaches the principles of peace, it is necessary to conduct research on the reasons why the values of peace can be established within the *pesantren* community. By looking at the social capital of the *pesantren* community, this research tries to answer the factors that form the *pesantren* community into a community that teaches the principles of peace.

2 METHODS

2.1 Case Study

A case study has been adopted to address the research question. The facts had been collected through observation, study literature and in-depth interviews. Qualitative descriptive method was used in analysis.

2.2 Social Capital

This study used the concept of social capital to see how the *pesantren* community shapes the values of peace. The concept of social capital in academic studies is one of the many concepts studied by academics.

The definition of social capital according to Putnam is the characteristics of social organizations such as networks, norms, and trust that enable coordination and cooperation more effectively in order to achieve common goals. Social capital, in short, refers to social networks, norms and trust (Slamet, 2012).

3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Pesantren Community and the Values of Peace

Pesantren is a subculture (Wahid, 2010) that has some particular aspects of life, such as a learning system with traditional structures, methods, and traditional literature and community behaviors that live together with certain values and moral standards (Nizar, 2013).

Pesantren according to Arifin (Qomar, 2006) is an:

‘Islamic educational institution that grows and is recognized by the surrounding community, with a boarding system where the students (called as *santri*) receive religious education through a recitation system or madrasah that is completely under the sovereignty of a *kiai* or more who are typically charismatic and independent in all things.’ (p. 2)

Viewed from the aspect of leadership and peculiarity, *pesantren* (Ziemek, 1986) is:

‘educational institution whose characteristics are influenced and determined by the person of the founders and their leaders, and tend not to follow a certain kind of pattern.’ (p. 97)

In line with Ziemek, Dhofier (1982) sees that *pesantren* is a typical Indonesian educational institution consisting of five basic elements that shape the tradition of education in *pesantren* that is 1.) Cottage or dormitory for residence and place of study; 2.) Mosque as a place to worship, study, and interact with the surrounding community; 3.) *Santri* which is the name for people who study in *pesantren*; 4.) *Kiai* which is the name for the person who cares and guides the *santri* during in *pesantren*; And 5.) The classical Islamic books or *kitab kuning* which is a guidance booking studying various branches of science learned in *pesantren*.

Azyumardi Azra (Malik, 2005) stated that *pesantren* has a close relationship which is inseparable from the community of the environment. As a group entity, the *pesantren* along with the surrounding community formed a community of its own with the distinctive values that developed within it.

The term *pesantren* community itself (Malik, 2005) refers to a large family of *pesantren* consisting of *kiai*, *ustadz*, *santri* and boarding school boarders who live together in an educational environment, which based their behavior on Islamic religious values along with certain norms and

customs that are different from the general public that surrounds it.

Lubis (2009) further details the definition of the *pesantren* community in two. First, in a narrow sense, the *pesantren* community consists of two main elements, namely 1.) *Kyai* with all teachers, pedagogues, mentors and instructors; And 2.) *Santri* from various levels. Secondly, in a broad sense, the *pesantren* community encompasses all living citizens and their life are influenced by the *pesantren* world.

In the sense that (Lubis, 2009):

'every person who seeks to obtain guidance on the norms of life from the world of *pesantren* and strives for his life in line with these norms can be said to be part of the *pesantren* community, even though he is permanently or temporarily living outside the *pesantren's* territory.' (p.3)

As a community different from the surrounding community, *pesantren* has a special tradition that is attached and run by the *pesantren* community. The traditions of the *pesantren* community include, among other things, the scientific *rihlah* tradition, researching, writing the book, reading the *kitab kuning*, the practice of *tariqat*, memorizing, politics, and other socially religious traditions (Nata, 2012).

Pesantren community has a life pattern that is naturally formed by the process of values internalization complete with its symbols. The pattern of *pesantren* life is also influenced by the attraction outside the community. In addition to the process of values internalization and attractiveness outside the community, the pattern of *pesantren* community life is also influenced by a process that interrelated and influence each other between the outside community and *pesantren* community (Syatibi and O, 2014).

The process of values internalization is primarily the internalization of the basic value of all life in this world that is believed as worship to Allah SWT (A'la, 2006). In addition to the basic values, the *pesantren* community also internalize Islamic characteristic values exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad such as the internalization and development of *infithah* (inclusive), *tawassuth* (moderate), *musawah* (equality) and *tawazun* (balance) values (Abdullah, 2014).

Furthermore Askar adds values that are also developed within the *pesantren* which is based on the teachings of Islam namely *salam* (peace), *'adalah* (justice), *hurriyah* (freedom), *tasamuh* (tolerance), *shura* (discussion) (Askar, 2009).

3.2 Social Capital Dimension in *Pesantren* Community

Pesantren Al Muayyad Windan located in Windan, Makamhaji, Kartasura, Sukoharjo is well-known as institution that active teach peace education. *Pesantren* Windan was founded in October 15th 1996. *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan is a branch of *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Mangkuyudan located in Mangkuyudan, Purwosari, Laweyan, Surakarta.

Pesantren Al Muayyad Windan accommodates *santri* that all of them are also scholars at the same time. They are student of higher education in Surakarta and its surroundings. Recently, the *santri* of *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan consist of 42 male *santri* and 22 female *santri*. They live at the same area but in separated building.

Life in *Pesantren* starts at the dawn of the day. *Kyai*, *nyai*, and *santri* start their day with praying Fajr together in Mosque. After doing the prayer, all *santri* do the next activities which are reciting the Qur'an led by *Nyai* and studying the *kitab kuning* led by *Kiai*. When finished, all *santri* get prepared to go to their campuses.

The activities in *pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan will continues again at Maghrib, starts with praying Maghrib together. Subsequently, they will continue to the next agenda which are reciting Quran and praying Isha together. Thereafter, they will be busy studying either religion or thematic which is directly guided by particular *santri* who are chosen to play a role as *ustadz*.

The *santri* are not only required to pray and study. Instead, they are also required to fulfill their duty as the member of *pesantren* "family". They are also taught to build self-awareness. For instance, all *santri* need to keep the whole area of *pesantren* clean, so they must sweep and mop the floor and keep the front yard clean every morning. Besides, they are taught as well to cook and prepare meals for the whole community members. They make a specific daily schedule involving all *santri* so that all the above activities are done regularly.

Thus daily activity in *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan that has been renowned for conducting several program such as conflict resolution, reconciliation, peace, interfaith dialogue, conflict mediation, negotiation and peace education (Sasmita, 2017).

Peace education which has been carried out by *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan is developing peace education by establishing several institutions such as PATIRO (*Pusat Telaat Informasi Regional/Regional Information Research Center*) Surakarta, PSP (*Pusat*

Studi Perempuan/Woman Study Center), Potlot Community, AMWINER (Al Muayyad Windan Emergency Response) SSB (*Santri Sahabat Bumi/Earth Friendly Santri*), Gesma FM radio, Al Muayyad Kindergarten, Kusuma Dewi Kindergarten, and so on (Sasmita, 2017).

Peace education established by *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan cannot be separated from its social capitals. Social capitals are trust, norm, and network. Those are significant capitals to build cooperation amongst community members in order to develop peace values within the community of *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan.

3.2.1 Trust

The first social capital owned by *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan is trust. All members of the community construct a trust that they are part of the *pesantren* community that teaches the values of education. The trust must not be separated from the role of the *pesantren* leader, K.H. Dian Nafi. *Kiai* Dian is an Islamic religious figure in Surakarta. He is known as a figure who represent Islam and often involves many conflict resolutions in regional level in Surakarta as well as national level.

The social modal of trust can be seen from how the community members call *Kiai* Dian “*Bapak/Sir*” instead of “*Kiai*”. The calling of “*Sir*” addressed to *Kiai* Dian is a manifestation of trust that the community construct. They believe that *Kiai* Dian is a figure of father to every member of the *pesantren* community. In a family, a father becomes the leader.

Similarly, *Kiai* Dian is regarded as a father who becomes the leader as well as the model for everyone in the community. Furthermore, *Kiai* Dian is considered as a figure whom always teaches and guides them all.

In leading *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan, *Kiai* Dian is not an authoritarian leader. Instead, he is a leader who always gives space to every member of the community to actively take a role in developing relationship within the community. It can be seen from the way how *Kiai* Dian gives the *santri* opportunities to share their knowledge based on their skills. He also gives them chances to enhance their self-potentials.

The trust between *Kiai* Dian who acts as a figure of father and becomes the role model and *santri* who have chances to develop their self-potentials is an important social modal for the community of *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan to establish peace education and to enhance peace values. The values

of peace inspired by Islam spirit have been internalized by *Kiai* Dian to the *santri*.

Kiai Dian teaches his *santri* the values of peace which are also taught in Islam. In Islam, peace can happen through four principles; they are justice, truth, nobility, and peace itself. These principles can be identified in Madinah Charter which is arranged during the reign of prophet Muhammad PBUH (Najmuddin, 2015).

Kiai Dian explains that Islam has four characteristics; religion of revelation (*ad-din al-ahyi*); religion of science (*ad-din at-ta'limi*); religion of humanity (*ad-din al-insani*); and religion of enhancement (*ad-din al-ishlahi*). Regarding the characteristics of Islam as the religion of humanity, *Kiai* Dian explains that Islam is built from humanity values, which means that Islam is spread through the spirit of humanity. This becomes the spirit of struggle to uphold peace (Najmuddin, 2015).

Kiai Dian always delivers the importance of peace values and Islamic doctrine regarding peace in every chance, for instance when he teaches the *santri* and when he is invited to deliver speech in any forums. Through the trust given by *santri* to *Kiai* Dian as a figure who always educates them and given them the real example of peace principles, *santri* could internalize peace values effectively. Trust amongst the member of the community enables them to actualize peace values amongst the community life.

3.2.2 Norm

The second social modal which the community of *pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan owns is norm. Norm amongst the community members is considered bond every member. Norm is the rules agreed by a certain community to maintain the life of the community itself along with sanctions or penalties addressed to whoever breaks the rules.

The norm in *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan is regulated in the *pesantren* regulations. When someone is to enroll to be a new *santri*, the *pesantren* management will inform her/him regarding *santri*'s duty and responsibility. If s/he does not fulfill her/his duty and responsibility, other *santri* will remind her/him of the duty. If it does not work, the *pesantren* management will warn her/him who does not follow the norm.

There are two kinds of norm in *pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan; written and unwritten norms. The written norm says that all *santri* must follow praying Fajr, Maghrib, and Isha together in the mosque and also follow every studying activity in *pesantren*.

Besides, *santri* must keep the surrounding environment clean by sweeping and mopping the whole area regularly. Besides, they must also involve themselves in cooking and preparing meals for all members of the community based on schedule.

Furthermore, all members of the community conduct a monthly global meeting to discuss all activities, problems, complaints, and other internal and external affairs. In the meeting, every *santri* is asked to involve in the discussion and deliver thoughts and opinions for everyone goodness. Regulations and prohibitions are not merely made by *Kiai* or the management. Instead, all members need to discuss the regulations during meeting.

Meanwhile, the examples of unwritten norms are *santri* must show respect and appreciation to other members of community, behave others humanly, and appreciate regulations in *pesantren* neighborhood, other communities, and national regulations. The concrete example of obeying national regulation is that all *santri* must wear a helmet and bring driving license and vehicle registration when riding a motorbike. This norm applies to all *santri* without exception.

The norms, both written and unwritten ones, become a social modal owned by the *pesantren* community to develop peace education in order to embed peacefulness values. Norms make the community members to obey the values of peace taught within the community.

3.2.3 Network

The third social modal owned by the community of *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan is networking developed by the *pesantren* community.

The first networking that the community has is *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Mangkuyudan which becomes the main *pesantren* in which *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan becomes a part of it.

The second networking is networking with many universities to learn peace values. In several occasions, *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan conducted several activities, such as peace education activity altogether with PSPP (*Pusat Studi dan Pengembangan Perdamaian/Peace Development and Study Center*) UKDW Yogyakarta; development and reconciliation program which is carried out together with P3RI (*Pusat Pengembangan dan Rekonsiliasi Indonesia/Indonesian Reconciliation and Development Center*) UII Yogyakarta; peaceful education program which is carried out together with PSPK (*Pusat Studi Keamanan dan Perdamaian/Security and Peace Study Center*) UGM

Yogyakarta; TIRA (*Tim Independen untuk Rekonsiliasi Ambon/Independent Team for Ambon Reconciliation*) formation Maluku; peaceful city program which is carried out by Urban Social Forum and Kota Kita Foundation, etc. (Sasmita, 2017).

Many networks that *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan has have given real impacts toward peace values development that they understood. The networks have given them to know and share information on the principles of peace. The networks, furthermore, also have strengthened the characteristics of *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan as a *pesantren* of peace education that the society may know.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The education which occurs in *pesantren* is an education which is based on the spirit of Islam education which is tolerant and inclusive. The principals taught in *pesantren* enables it to build a community which develop peace principles.

Pesantren Al Muayyad Windan as one of *pesantren* that educate the *santri* the importance of peace and internalized the peaceful values has proved that peaceful education can be applied through social capitals. The social capitals which consist of trust, norm, and network owned by *Pesantren* Al Muayyad Windan have been crucial models for *pesantren* community to spread the values of peace according to the spirit of Islam thought.

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