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The Reformation Era in Indonesia: Santri's Polarization and The Developmental Dynamics of Pesantren

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Abstract: *Since the fall of Suharto's regime in 1998, Indonesia has entered a new era of democracy dubbed the Reformation era. Religious ideology grew throughout this period, both locally and as a result of globalization. As a result, the polarization of students can no longer be read through classical or conventional typologies. The classic typology of students in the style of Clifford Geertz, followed by Yon Machmudi and Ahmad Najib Burhani's typology of students, also needs to represent the reality of students in the reform era fully. So, the literature study supported by interview data offers a new typology of santri divided into four forms, namely ideological, sociological, academic, and political santri. These four typologies color students' polarization and impact the dynamics of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. However, this polarization in many cases experienced a "mess of polarization", so it was difficult to read the direction of the dynamics of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia during the reform era except with high monitoring intensity. Generally, the dynamics of the rapid trend are split into two big poles, moderatism and fundamentalism or radicalism, but they are still very flexible.*

Keywords: *pesangren, polarization, santri*

Abstrak: *Pasca tumbangnya rezim Soeharto pada tahun 1998, Indonesia memasuki babak baru demokrasi yang disebut sebagai era reformasi. Pada era ini, paham-paham keagamaan baik yang bersifat lokal maupun yang impor sebagai konsekuensi globalisasi turut bertumbuh subur. Alhasil polarisasi santri tidak lagi dapat dibaca melalui tipologi-tipologi klasik maupun konvensional. Tipologi klasik santri ala Clifford Geertz juga dilanjutkan oleh tipologi santri versi Yon Machmudi dan Ahmad Najib Burhani, juga belum seutuhnya dapat mewakili realitas santri pada era reformasi. Sehingga studi kepustakaan yang didukung oleh data wawancara ini menawarkan tipologi baru santri yang terbagi ke dalam empat bentuk yakni santri ideologis, sosiologis, akademis, dan politis. Keempat tipologi inilah yang mewarnai polarisasi santri dan membawa pengaruh terhadap dinamika pesantren di Indonesia. Akan tetapi, polarisasi tersebut dalam banyak kasus mengalami "kekacauan polarisasi" (mess of polarization) sehingga sulit membaca arah dinamika pesantren di Indonesia pada era reformasi kecuali dengan intensitas pemantauan yang tinggi. Secara umum dinamika pesantren terbelah pada dua kutub besar yakni moderatisme dan fundamentalisme atau radikalisme, namun itu sifatnya masih sangat fleksibel.*

Kata Kunci: *pesantren, polarisasi, santri*

INTRODUCTION

Discussions about the polarization of santri necessitate the upgrading accompanied by sharp reading and analysis because the country's political dynamics very quickly influence its development. In addition, the effects of globalization and democratization simultaneously in the reform era in Indonesia have also opened up space for the growth of transnational Islamic ideologies. The typology of formal santri as stated by Zamaksyari Dhofier, namely santri mukim and kalong (two specific terms to differentiate the santri who stay in Pesantren and not), seems to be no longer appropriate as material in reading the polarization of contemporary santri. The mention of santri is very easily addressable. For example, Sandiaga Uno was called a santri in the era of post-Islamism by the PKS President at that time, Luthfi Hasan Ishaq. Likewise, the phenomenon of "Sudden Kiai" in Noorhaidi Hasan's terminology, is called "new ulama" (Hasan, 2012: 368-390) who just because he founded a pesantren is immediately nicknamed Kiyai even though he has never been a student in Pesantren, and it is for his background to be a former thug.

The concept of Clifford Geertz's trichotomy in mapping the religious model of Javanese society, namely *santri*, *abangan*, and *priyai*, has contributed to creating new typologies of santri. The classical classification of santri divided by Geertz into two forms, namely traditionalist and modernist, are no longer suitable for reading the current polarization of santri. Some of Yon Machmudi's previous writings, for example, entitled "The Emergence of New Santri in Indonesia," mapped santri into three typologies, namely global, convergent, and radical students (Machmudi, 2008b). Likewise, Ahmad Najib Burhani's writing entitled Geertz's Trichotomy of Abangan, Santri, and Priyai: Controversy and Continuity, apart from criticizing the concept of priyai, which is categorized by Geertz as a religious classification when in fact it is classified as a social classification, Burhani also offers a new typology of students including: traditionalists, modernists, neomodernists, neorevivalists, radicalists, and liberalists (Burhani, 2017: 329-350). However, the typology formed by both Yon Machmudi and Burhani still maps students based on their different religious ideologies. Meanwhile, the category of santri based on their socio-political activism needs to be included there.

This paper presents a new typology of *santri* that emerged in the reform era. This typology is based on the polarization that occurs in the santri body. Based on this polarization, the dynamics of Islamic education, especially pesantren, can be read in which direction its development is going. If the development flow leads to modernization, generally these pesantren are influenced by the ideology of modern education developing in the West. Meanwhile, Islamic boarding schools with salafi education are generally influenced by educational traditions from the Middle East. These two influences have consequences for forming the faces of students with very varied ideologies. Not to mention the phenomenon of borrowing Noorhaidi Hasan's term, political Islam, which also influences the world of Islamic education in the formation of students who are oriented towards establishing a *Khilafah* (Islamic state). Because of this, this paper discusses the emergence of a new typology of santri and an overview of the form of polarization of the santri in coloring the dynamics of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia in the reform era. So, on the scientific aspect,

this paper will really help the road map for the development of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia in the future as well as find the root causes of the emergence of radicalism in the body of students.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article's research approach is library research. Because numerous scholars have studied the primary data required, literature research is used. As a result, library work dominates this research, namely collecting data by reading, recording, and processing information sharing as research material (Zed, 2004: 3-5). It is through the content of the materials that the analysis of this research is carried out scientifically and philosophically so that interpretations are necessitated. However, to support the sharpness of this paper's analysis, the authors add interviews and views of figures as additional information related to the polarization of students and the dynamics of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia in the reform era.

In terms of interviews, the author uses Guntur Romli (Gus Romli), a pesantren activist, as the sole source. Moreover, the author uses the character of Prof. Dr. Azyumardi Azra, M.A as an Islamic education expert, especially Islamic boarding schools, during a lecture session at UIN Imam Bonjol Pandang Postgraduate. Thus, using this methodology will be very helpful in reading the form of student polarization and the dynamics of Islamic boarding schools in the reform era in Indonesia in real terms. Then, these real data serve as reinforcing material in reconstructing the concept of the polarization of students and the dynamics of the development of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia in the reform era.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Historical Traces of Santri and Islamic Boarding Schools in Indonesia. It is crucial to define santri first before briefly discussing the historiography of santri in the archipelago. One was advanced by C. C. Berg, who claimed that the word santri derives from the Indian language, specifically from the word shastri, which means academics or persons who comprehend Hindu texts. It differs from A. H. John, who considers the word santri to be taken from the Tamil language, which the teacher recites (Suhartini, 2016: 429-444). It differs from Nurcholish Madjid, who put forward the origin of the word santri based on two perspectives. First, santri comes from Sanskrit, namely satri, which means literacy. This connotes students in Arabic language literacy classes among Javanese people. While the second perspective says that students come from the Javanese language, namely "beautiful" which means people always follow their teacher wherever they go and stay (Yasmadi, 2005: 61).

The most commonly used academic definition of santri is as described by Zamakhsyari Dhofir, who separates santri into two classes, namely mukim pupils who study religion at Islamic boarding schools. Simultaneously, the second group is the kalong students, who were interested in Islamic boarding schools but only stayed for a short time. In the following changes, the meaning of santri has extended sociologically and anthropologically. Clifford Geertz, for example, defines santri as people who diligently pray the obligatory prayers day and night, fast during

Ramadan, make pilgrimages, and are affiliated with Islamic organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah, and Masjumi. In this case, Geertz seems to have shifted the true meaning of santri from being a learner to being a practitioner. These different terminologies find their synthetic meaning in the opinion of Abdul Munir Mulkhan who divides the meaning of santri into two forms, first, people who deliberately study and live in Islamic boarding schools, and second, people who practice Islamic teachings in their social life (Mulkhan, 2003: xii).

The historical context of the santri cannot be understood in isolation from associated elements. For instance, Yanwar Pribadi claimed in his research that Madura's santri culture cannot be dissociated from the presence of Islamic boarding schools, Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), and Kyai (Pribadi, 2013: 1-32). In the general portrait, the santri, pesantren and kyai are three triune components with colored Indonesian history. Pesantren as a student educational institution is the oldest Islamic education in Indonesia. In this institution, the santri are guided by the kiyai to study religion and *akhlakul karimah*. In fact, parents' motive to send their children to Islamic boarding schools is none other than because they want their morals to be better. At the pesantren, their children will be taught discipline and controlled activities. In addition, they will also be taught religion and recite the Koran. That's why in Islamic boarding schools there, are always mosque or musallah facilities as places of recitation along with the walls of the pesantren area so that students cannot go in and out freely because leaving is feared to damage their morals (Suhartini, 2016; Dhofier, 2011; Azra, 2013).

Since Islamic boarding schools are crucial to santri, the solution to the question of when santri first existed is also the conclusion to the controversy surrounding the birth of Islamic boarding schools. This essay, however, wishes to avoid getting further into the controversy. Undoubtedly, the santri's historical path is strongly tied to the story of how Islam expanded over the archipelago and the pesantren. While the pesantren itself was first established in Surabaya by Sunan Ampel. Only then did the students develop Islamic boarding schools throughout the archipelago (Irham, 2016: 1-18). Since the beginning of its journey, especially during the colonial era, pesantren were marginalized educational institutions. Even after the end of colonialism, pesantren still received marginalized treatment. However, pesantren as Islamic educational institutions continue to move dynamically and productively to meet the needs of society. In this context, the role of the kiyai is significant, not only because the kiai is a caretaker of the pesantren, but also the central element in the pesantren. That's why the growth and development of pesantren is very dependent on kiyai, including overseeing expansion and modernization since the early 20th century. Among the existing pesantren, Tebuireng was the first traditional pesantren which morphed into a modern direction as a political implication of Dutch colonial ethics and Islamic reformism (Yusuf & Taufiq, n.d.; Burhanudin, 2004; Dhofier, 1985; Lukens-Bull, 2004).

Even though these current positions involve delegating authority for teaching kyai to other teachers, kyai's potency in pesantren still needs to be determined. The community also recognizes the kiyai as the pesantren's political epicenter. Kiyai play a significant part in moving santri in various political dynamics. *Jihad's* resolution to save Indonesian independence proves the national role of kiyai and santri. The

pinnacle of santri politics was most felt after the election of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid alias Gus Dur as President of the Republic of Indonesia in 2000. Despite the fact that his tenure was brief, the santri have gradually colored the axis of Indonesian power, and have spread to numerous public work areas. This is gradually being complemented by initiatives to upgrade the pesantren, with the end outcome being roughly one million. In recent decades, there has been a surge in public interest in sending their children to Islamic boarding schools.

A. New Typology of Santri in The Reformation Era

If you want to see students in a large spectrum, Khaled Abou El Fadl's classification adequately explains that. He divided Muslims into two forms: *moderate Muslims* and puritanical Muslims. These two major groups include small groups of splinters, such as the moderate group as the big house of progressive, modernist, and reformist groups. While puritanical groups in most perspectives are considered manifestations that describe fundamentalists, extremists, militants, jihadists, radicals, fanatics, not a few also call them Islamists. The equality of these groups is because it has a meeting point of exclusive religious attitudes and the spirit of revitalizing the formalization of Islam. In other words, such groups exclude the role of ratio in interpreting religious texts. So that the text (scripture) appears to be outside the historical reality that is inevitably developing (Fadl, 2006).

Following the fall of the Soeharto tyranny in 1998, Muslim groups in Indonesia were more vociferous and explicit in their sentiments. Several phrases emerged, ranging from the insistence on formalizing Shari'a to the bravery to advocate for a caliphate state. Indeed, the Islamization agenda, in many forms, has gradually begun to find a foothold in the hearts of Indonesian Muslims. This is most evident in the expressions of Muslims on social media. sosial (Machmudi, 2008a). This phenomenon has an impact on the student typology in the field of contemporary Islamic education. Especially since, terminologically, the meaning of the santri opens up space for the expansion of meaning, so that the santri typology develops. According to the author's investigation, at least four forms of santri evolved throughout the Reformation era (current).

The first category is academic santri, which are santri who formally study at Islamic boarding schools. In this situation, Santri has a relationship with kiyai because a person can be considered a Kiayi if he has pesantren and santri who study the yellow book. As a result, separating terminological relationships between kiyai, santri, pesantren, and Kitab kuning is challenging (Haedari & et al, 2005: 35). However, as the transformation of pesantren towards modernity has spread in Indonesia, categorizing the yellow book (*Turats*) in Islamic boarding school learning is no longer entirely appropriate.

Based on terminology, the academic students can be divided into two models: *santri mukim*, namely people far away who come to study at the pesantren and settle there. In general, the students who have been in the pesantren for a long time are tasked with helping with the pesantren's medical affairs and educating young students to be able to read basic and secondary books.

Santri kalong, or community members who live near the pesantren and learn every day but do not reside there. They commute from their respective families to the Islamic boarding school every day. In general, if the pesantren is large, the number of pupils in the battalion is limited, but the mukim has a large number of students. If the pesantren is tiny, the number of students in the battalion is considerable, but the number of students in the mukim is modest. (Dhofier, 1985).

Most of these academic students' study at the Tsanawiyah and Aliyah education levels. However, several universities in Indonesia also organize student boarding schools. For example, the Indonesian Islamic University in Yogyakarta offers Islamic boarding schools for outstanding students by organizing formal learning. Likewise, Islamic boarding schools at the tertiary level named *Ma'had Aly*. Those are some forms of students who can be grouped as academic students.

The second typology is sociological santri, a Muslim who earns the title of santri from community leaders due to the strength of his social capital and capacity to carry out elan prophetic. People like this are seen as capable of shining a light in social situations. The sociological recognition he received was no longer predicated on whether he was a pesantren alumni, but rather on applying standards in social life. Borrowing Azra's term, what is meant by sociological students is "Muslim practice or people who carry out Islamic teachings." For example, James S. Coleman emphasises the primacy of norms in analysing social capital on economic growth and development (Ritzer et al., 2003: 280).

In this case, Muslim practice entails more than only following proper instructions such as prayer, fasting, zakat, pilgrimage, reading the Koran, and so on. Nonetheless, social piety is a criterion of the essence of religious teachings in Islam. As a result, sociological students refer to at least three markers in the context of social change: public trust, consistent execution of social norms, and productively organized social networks. This suggests that individual activities have consequences for the greater good. According to Kenneth Newton, someone who acts public interest does so not because they understand other people but because they have a growing belief that their activities will result in "rewards" through beneficial developments in communal relations. (Newton, 1999: 8).

The simplest example of this sociological nickname is when PKS President Sohibul Iman during the 2019 presidential election called Sandiaga Solahuddin Uno a santri figure in the post-Islamic era. The nickname was based on his spirituality and Islamic considerations amid today's modern life. That means that Sandi is not only a santri, but because of the process of spiritualization and Islamization that occurs within him, as a result the nickname santri is pinned on him. This is inseparable from the influence of Clifford Geertz's theoretical construction regarding the classification of the diversity of Javanese society which is divided into three, namely santri, priyayi, and abangan, which is based on considerations of religious quality, not because of formal educational background (Islamic boarding school). Referring to Gus Romli's opinion, the meaning of the santri group in this case can no longer be understood narrowly but has undergone an expansion. However, the question of whether Sandi deserves to be called a santri or not, of course, requires more serious research.

The third santri is an ideological santri, a Muslim thinker categorized in a particular religious ideological group. Some of them have a pesantren background, some don't. Therefore, to understand the map of ideological santri in Indonesia, it is necessary to dive into their thoughts and ideological pathology. Various forms of ideology have developed along with their derivatives in terms of Islamic thought. Yon Machmudi classifies students in the New Order era into three forms, namely convergent, radical, and global students. Concurrent students are members of traditionalist and modernist activists and tend to experience merging with one another. Next are the "radical" santri, namely those who have undergone radical changes in Indonesia. Meanwhile, "global" santri have been influenced by trans-national movements originating from the Middle East, but are still regarded as traditional and modernist santri (Machmudi, 2008b).

In the current reform era, the santri's thought is influenced by at least four major ideologies: conservative, modernist, liberal, and secular. Traditionalist santri are mainly those who used to study in traditional pesantren. Despite leaving the pesantren, they preserve their educational system and practices. Such Islamic boarding schools are simple to find in Indonesia, as evidenced by the daily lives of their students, who live, learn selflessly and responsibly, and have a strong link of solidarity among themselves (Geertz, 1981). The food, they eat daily is obtained from working in the fields owned by the Kyai or in the areas of other Muslim leaders in the community, or working as cloth dyers, cigarette rollers, tailors, and not a few who receive rice and money. from families in the village (Geertz, 1981). An additional harsher assessment is that learning in traditional Islamic boarding schools does not respect holidays, implying that learning and practice of knowledge take place at all hours of the day and night throughout the year. (Siddiq, 1983).

However, not all alumni of traditional Islamic boarding schools have traditionalist views. There are also, for example, like Harun Nasution, even though he had studied at a traditional Islamic boarding school, but through his works, not a few people consider him liberal and even Shia. Likewise Said Aqil Siraj, apart from being an alumnus of traditional Islamic boarding schools, his undergraduate education and doctoral degree were also completed in the Middle East. Still, through his thoughts he is often considered liberal and "Shia lackeys", and not a few consider him an infidel even in his position as General Chairman of the Nahdlatul Executive Board. Ulama (PB NU) at that time.

Next is the modernist santri, a group of Muslim intellectuals whose Islamic thought is responsible for modern reality. Generally, they come from modern pesantren. In understanding modernist Islamic groups, the typology put forward by Budhy Munawar Rachman seems important to note. According to him, there are three characteristics of this modernist Islamic group: rational Islam, whose research and Islamic studies are directed to meet the needs of universal opinion, eliminate doubts and are oriented towards strong beliefs about Islam. What is the object of seeking rational Islam is knowledge (cognition) that is fundamental to the essentials of Islam (its epistemological rationality considerations are very strong). Harun Nasution and Johan Efendi are Muslim intellectual personalities that represent this group. Second, there are civilizational Islamic groups that want to gain practical significance from actual manifestations in the Koran. In another sense they try to

transform Islamic history with contemporary social reality. Muslim intellectuals who can be categorized into this group include Nurcholish Madjid and Kuntowijoyo. While the third is a transformative Islamic group, namely Muslim thinkers whose thoughts are "emancipatory" with a radical social science background. Their thinking generally revolves around lawsuits against the causes of poverty, ignorance, and physical and moral oppression. So, the movement is carried out to free the community from that situation. Muslim thinkers who tend to be in this transformative group include M. Dawam Raharjo and Adi Sasono (Rachman, 1995).

Meanwhile, liberalist students are based on the definition of liberalism, which derives from the phrase liberal-liberty, which signifies freedom (Ministry of Culture, 1988: 653). Liberalism, according to John M. Echols, is a type of thought or behavior that is founded on scientific criteria in producing adjustments and improvements (Echol & Shadly, 1995). According to Arnold Toynbee, liberalism first developed at the end of the 15th century AD. Westerners preferred to congratulate themselves rather than God for their accomplishment in overcoming Christian restriction in the Middle Ages (Toynbee, 1957; Putro, 1998: 43). In line with this, Mohammed Arkoun mentioned the emergence of liberalism in the Christian world in the 15th century AD (Putro, 1998: 49). However, there are many who distinguish between liberalism and modernism. This viewpoint was espoused, among others, by Nurcholish Madjid, who stated that modernisation or liberalization is the rationalization of the social system (Madjid, 1989).

As a political ideology, liberalism is an ideology that focuses on individuals that reflects the right to government, the right to be respected, the right to expression and act and freedom from religious and ideological attachments (Blackburn, 1996). Sociologically, liberalism is defined as a noble value that fights for freedom and equality of rights in public (Coady, 1995). The same thing was expressed by Alonzo L. Hamby, Professor of History from Ohio University, where liberalism is an economic and political understanding that emphasizes freedom, equality, and opportunity (Brinkley, 1998); Gray, 2000; Kloppenborg, 1998).

Liberalism was gradually adopted into Islamic boarding schools as the times changed. The existence of globalization and modernisation has substantially aided pesantren adaption to the liberal world (Feillard, 1995: 367). This is reflected not only in the presence of various modern facilities in Islamic boarding schools, but also in the religious learning tradition, which has begun to dare to stir up religious texts with an appropriate set of methodologies, accompanied by the reproduction of new interpretations of religious texts that are relevant to current realities (Awwaliyah, 2019: 36-62). The emergence of this phenomena cannot be viewed in isolation, but must be considered in conjunction with the West's world view, which has become the global mainstream, such as discourses on civic society, democracy, pluralism, and critical claims against the Scriptures. The Qur'an and Hadith of the Prophet (pbuh) have also reached the pesantren.

Rumadi (2000: 21-35) states that the interaction of pesantren with the liberal world can be measured in two ways. First, from the perspective of the pesantren leaders. Among the figures or leaders of the pesantren involved in liberal currents, among others (the late) KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, KH. Masdar Farid Mas'udi, and KH. Said Agil Siradj, KH is no exception. Hussein Muhammad who focuses on

Islamic discourse and gender. Second, in terms of the involvement of students in the struggle for liberal Islamic discourse. Ma'had Ali Situbondo Islamic Boarding School, for example, which according to Marzuki Wahid (1999: 45-47) has been involved in contemporary religious discourse and studies is marked by several activities: 1) Establishment of Focus on Ushul Fiqh Studies in 1998. Names of fiqh thinkers contemporaries such as Mahmoed Muhammad Thaha, Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na'im, Hasan Turabi, Jamal al-Banna, etc. are common in their studies; 2) The Center for the Study of Religion and Philosophy, which focuses on philosophical discussions both from Islamic and western sources, does not miss them also discussing the thoughts of Mao, Max Weber, Karl Marx, etc.; 3) Issuance of a weekly bulletin called "Tanwirul Afkar" which frequently discusses contemporary fiqh issues. One of his publications has become a book entitled "People's Fiqh: Linking Fiqh with Power" published by LKiS Yogyakarta.

In short, liberal students are students who are inclusive of global civilization, even including those from civilizations that are considered non-Islamic such as Christianity, Judaism, and the intellectual tradition of Greece. Several figures who can be considered to represent this group are Harun Nasution, Abdurrahman Wahid, Nurcholish Madjid, Ahmad Wahid, and others. Their thinking tries to find common ground between Islam and human values, tolerance, justice, plurality, and others (Madjid, 2005: 143-144). In addition, liberalism is also associated with a perspective on the core of Islam as *al-hanifiyyah al-samhah* (tending to truth and tolerance) and being sensitive to human ideals based on universal values (contained in every religion). In Indonesia, Ulil Absar 'Abdalah is one of the young students who expressly and even formalistically supports liberalism as marked by the establishment of the Liberal Islam Network (JIL) organization which he leads.

While secularist students share the same historical roots as liberalists. Secular derives from the Latin *seculum*, which meaning "time" in its etymological sense. As a result, secular is regarded as something "oriented to the present." Meanwhile, secularism is a doctrine, spirit, and awareness that advances principles concerning ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and personal interests that coincide with the momentum of the rise of science, technology, and science in the Middle Ages, with research results that both discredited Catholic church groups and sparked a revival. Martin Luther's Reformed Church (Rasyidi, 1972: 14-15).

As a result, secularization is viewed as an endeavor to diminish the influence of religious authority in daily life. So that, a secular society is one that marginalizes religion in their lives, including social events that do not need to be guided by dogmatic religious laws (Rasyidi, 1972). That is why many Muslim scholars are adamantly opposed to secularism; they believe Islam has no possibility for secularism. However, in many parties' views, secular groups are typically linked with liberal groups. As a result, the figures of liberal santri are also associated with secular *santri*.

The fourth typology of santri is political santri. In simple terms, political students can be understood as students who have a relationship with politics, both in the context of making politics a way of struggle (tool of struggle), or placing themselves in politics as a political tool (agent of politics). Because the interests of the santri are Islamic interests, the political struggle of the santri cannot be separated

from Islamic ideals. Referring to Syafi'i Anwar's terminology, these political students are called "old students", namely students who build relationships with established Islamic parties or groups, or in other terms they are often referred to as "political Islam". Unlike the "neo-santri" who emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, at that time the santri were more oriented towards cultural Islam. This is because the neo-santri group did not directly feel the political repression of the New Order regime. In other words, they study politics through Islamic Student organizations. Their activism tends to be pragmatic, rational and receptive, so they are not ideologically radical (Anwar, 1995: 128-133).

B. Polarization of Santri in the Dynamics of Islamic Boarding School Development in the Reform Era

The participation of the santri coloring the course of Islamic education in Indonesia is undeniable. Even Mustamar Iqbal Siregar's dissertation which has been published into a book entitled "Santri Politics in Reforming Islamic Education in Indonesia: Challenges and Prospects After the Order" emphasizes the real contribution of the santri in the reform of Islamic Education during the reform period until now. The enactment of the Islamic Boarding School Law (UUP) is the latest example of a political product of the students in Islamic Education. However, it cannot be denied that the santri community, as previously discussed, consists of various typologies, so it is not easy to unite them. In deliberating the UUP itself, for example, it also drew resistance from Muhammadiyah because the terminology and typology of pesantren contained in the law needed to accommodate Muhammadiyah's version of modern pesantren. Fortunately, the UUP was finally ratified through negotiations and accommodations without significant resistance (Siregar, 2021).

Whether we recognize it or not, the polarization of santri in contemporary Indonesian political public space has had an impact on the dynamics of Islamic educational institutions. The Islamic political arena in the country is strongly influenced by the two poles of student polarization, namely moderate students and salaf or Islamic students. The implications of this polarization can also be seen from the institutional development of Islamic education. The rise of Integrated Islamic Schools (STI) and Quran tahfiz schools in Indonesia is evidence of the introduction of salafi (global) understanding into Islamic education to become the antithesis of conventional Islamic education. Meanwhile, traditional Islamic education is influenced by modernization and globalization currents that have given rise to modern Islamic schools, both in the form of Islamic boarding schools or madrasas. As a result, traditional Islamic educational institutions can be divided into two types: traditional Islamic educational institutions and modern Islamic educational institutions.

Newcomers attend not only traditional Islamic educational institutions, but also Islamic educational institutions with a salafi model, in the form of manhaz salafi boarding schools, which differ from salaf, salafiyah, and salafi boarding schools, particularly when compared to khalaf boarding schools. This manhaj salafi Islamic boarding school already has a significant Middle Eastern network. However, in the salafi manhaj pesantren, the religious color of the santri is split into three typologies:

the purist salafi type (rejectionist, cooperative, and tanzimi), the haraki salafi type, and the jihadi salafi type. This indicates that the santri in the body of the salafi manhaj are not all the same. Similarly, the model for implementing the Manhaj Salafi Islamic boarding school is divided into two, namely the exclusive model, which is the Islamic boarding school that refuses to accept the national curriculum, and the inclusive model, which is the Islamic boarding school that accepts the implementation of the national curriculum (Irham, 2016: 1-18).

Even when Islamic educational institutions (particularly Islamic boarding schools) are structured around specific ideas, student polarization is unavoidable. In general, the variability of the santri's typology can be used to read the santri's polarization. However, in actuality, this polarization is relative, thus it can fluctuate. For instance, Santri who attend modern Islamic boarding schools have more than just traditional Islamic beliefs. Students who attend conventional Islamic boarding schools, on the other hand, may not necessarily hold liberal, modernist, or moderate Islamic views. A santri's understanding of Islam is significantly shaped by their social interactions, familial traditions, and the knowledge they consume from reading and other media.

According to Ziemek, who categorizes pesantren into five categories, the evolution of pesantren in Indonesia develops numerous varieties in the traditional mapping, namely: (a) *pesantren of Tareekat* for Sufis who teach students to reach high degrees in the sight of Allah. Santri in this pesantren live and settle in the kiai's house. So that the learning process is more spiritual, such as riyadhah, remembrance, and others; (b) classic or traditional pesantren, are Islamic boarding schools where students live and study there. In general, the student dormitories are very simple, made of wood or bamboo; (c) pesantren plus schools that still contain classical elements supported by one school or madrasa equipped with a curriculum and level of education; (d) Islamic boarding schools which are supported by skill-based education; and finally (e) Modern Islamic boarding schools which combine classical education patterns in the Islamic field with modern formal schools at various levels (Fahham, 2020: 28-29). It differs from Ridwan Abdullah Sani, who divides pesantren into three models: traditional, modern and comprehensive. Meanwhile, based on his educational pattern, Sani divides pesantren into two forms: salafiyah and khalafiyah (ashriyah) boarding schools (Fahham, 2020: 29-30).

Ridwan Abdullah Sani, on the other hand, classifies pesantren into three models: traditional, modern, and comprehensive. Meanwhile, Sani categorizes Islamic boarding schools into two types, salafiyah and khalafiyah (ashriyah), based on the educational model (Fahham, 2020: 29-30). These pesantren models change dynamically in response to the pupils' polarization. Because the push towards extreme extremes appears to be threatening the religious ideology of the santri and pesantren, there has been a movement in recent years to rejuvenate the concept of religious moderation as a manifestation of archipelago Islam. The government introduced religious moderation (Islam) to numerous Islamic education institutions in Indonesia, including pesantren, through the Ministry of Religion.

Syamsun Ni'am's (2015: 111-134) thesis in "Pesantren: The Miniature of Moderate Islam in Indonesia" that moderation is a remedy in fading the classical

polarization of students between secularism and fundamentalism does not appear to match current reality. Instead of attempting to bridge the gap, the reality that emerges demonstrates a severe clash between moderatism and fundamentalism. Fundamentalists do not consider moderation to be the core of Islam (the core of Islamic teachings). In fact, moderatism seems to be seen as a new incarnation house for liberal and secular Islamic groups. Even the NU group which resonates most with moderation becomes an easy target for resistance from fundamentalism. As a result, NU's jargon with the term "Islam Nusantara" is actually considered a new religion.

As a result, the dynamics of the current pesantren demonstrate a divide of two significant axes between moderatism and fundamentalism or radicalism based on the characteristics of movements, thoughts, and models of religious instruction. This not only colors the public environment of Islamic boarding schools, but it also colors the public space of Indonesian politics. Along with the radical stigma against particular organizations or individuals, the public is supplied with a narrative about the discourse of moderation. The narrative about the necessity of Islamic fundamentalism, on the other hand, is presented as a purification goal combined with the stigma of heresy and disbelief towards people outside of it. This dynamic continues to influence both the pesantren's educational structure and the santri's fireworks of Islamic thinking.

Although, as previously stated, the Reformation era perceived several types of santri that colored the dynamics of Islamic boarding schools, including ideological, sociological, academic, and political santri, accompanied by their respective derivative classifications, which were, of course, very diverse. However, due to recent occurrences of religious conversion and overlapping duties among santri, the polarization of santri in general in the reform era still relates to these four typologies, although in some cases it takes the form of "polarization chaos" (mess of polarization). As consequently, observing the dynamics of pesantren in the reform era requires not only the application of established typologies, but also the accompanying sociological and political events. As previously stated, pesantren dynamics are separated into two major axes: moderatism and fundamentalism or radicalism. However, given the country's dynamic currents of ideological conversion within Islamic religious organizations, this division is also fairly flexible.

These findings will considerably advantageous for scientists investigating santri and the establishment of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. This paper has disputed the concept that students are rigidly polarized depending on their religious belief through the study of santri. It turns out that there was a tangle of divisiveness among *santri* during the reform era, affected by social and political forces. Furthermore, this work contributes to the investigation of a road map for the growth of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. Based on the findings that the dynamics of Islamic boarding schools in the reform era were separated into moderatism and fundamentalism or radicalism, the future development of Islamic boarding schools has only the potential in these two directions. However, because moderatism organizations not only claim to be pesantren with a "native" Islamic style, but also enjoy political support from the government, it appears that the evolution of

pesantren in the future will be more dominated by moderatism, opening up large opportunities for modernism.

CONCLUSION

Santri and *pesantren* are inextricably linked. Both are linked and complementary. Whatever happens in the *santri* corpse will have an impact on the dynamics of the development of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. Because students (including those who have evolved into scholars and *kiai*) play an essential role in the field of Islamic education. According to the authors' research in this paper, students across the reform era were classified into four broad typologies: ideological, sociological, academic, and political. These four typologies also influence student polarization in Islamic residential schools. However, the polarization that ensued was a "mess of polarization" as a result of the *santri*'s facile conversion of religious knowledge and overlapping functions.

As a result, using established typologies makes the dynamics of *pesantren* evolution easier to understand. In general, *pesantren* dynamics have recently been divided into two major axes: moderatism and fundamentalism or radicalism. However, the cleavage remains quite fluid in character. A group of *santri*, for example, may appear to be moderate at the moment, but they might quickly become very radicalists. As a result, it requires a keen awareness of the sociological and political issues that accompany it. In this context, the author advises that the government, through the Ministry of Religion, be barred from regulating the dynamics of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. Don't let the dynamics in Islamic boarding schools lead to radicalism because of a split second's inattention.

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