

## Pesantren and Tolerance: Looking at the Faces of Santri Tolerance in Babakan Ciwaringin Cirebon

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### Abstract:

*This study seeks to capture understanding of tolerance among santris in Babakan Islamic boarding school in Ciwaringin, Cirebon. Based on the findings of various research institutions which state that the Indonesian young generation turns out to have an alarming tolerance level, we try to target santris who have the same age range as respondents from PPIM Jakarta, for example. The method used in this study is quantitative descriptive with the help of SPSS 23.0 for windows as a calculation tool. The total population of santri in three schools is 4108, and the sample taken is 843 or about 20% of the population. The results of the study showed that understanding tolerance among santri in the Babakan Ciwaringin Cirebon boarding school was very high.*

**Key Words:** *Tolerance of Santri, Babakan, Ciwaringin, Cirebon.*

### INTRODUCTION

A study conducted in Islam and Community Study Center (PPIM) of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah on tolerance in Z Generation's perspective found an astonishing result. This study involved 2,181 people as the sample, consisting of 1,522 students and 337 college students, 264 teachers, and 58 Islam Religion education lecturers. The result of research showed that instead the widely-opened internet access makes the human beings tolerant, it makes them potentially intolerant and radical. Meanwhile, the Islam religion education taught in school and college cannot open the Islamic insight comprehensively, but dulls the diversity (*Kebinekaan*) (PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2018).

Another note presented by Wahid Institute mentioned that there has been an increase in the infringement of the freedom of adhering to certain religion and belief in many regions in Indonesia, during 2011. This figure increases by 18% to 92% from 64 cases in previous year. The most frequent infringement of religion freedom is related to the prohibition or restriction of religious or worship activities to certain group with 49 cases or 48%, the intimidation and violence threat by state apparatus with 20 cases or 20%, the violence by omission with 11 cases (11%), violence and coercion of belief with 9 cases

(9%), act of sealing and prohibiting worship house with 9 cases (9%), and criminalization or victimization of belief with 4 cases (4%) (The Wahid Institute, 2011:1).

Many facts above are an alarm of hazard not only to Indonesian government but also to all elements of nation caring about peace and tolerance. As the generation inheriting the future leadership, the internet-literate Z-Generation -that is friends with not only real world but also with cyberspace and majority of which live in big cities and have high education- is instead vulnerable to the contamination of hoax issues that cannot be accountable for its truth and radicalism and religious intolerance viruses not only harmful to themselves and their own understanding, but also potentially triggering the social conflict jeopardizing the existence of nation and state. This phenomenon also presupposes that religious information in cyberspace is still dominated by the group prioritizing intolerance in behaving and it designates the defeat of moderate group in this domain. It of course becomes our duty to attempt to campaign for religious tolerance to many groups, particularly Z-generation.

Although some scholars said that radical action is the effect of failure in utilizing the peaceful message of religion (Tibi 2002, Susanto 2018, Susanto 2019, Wahid 2004, Ba'abduh 2005), the phenomenon of prevalent radicalism on behalf of religion particularly following the fall of new order repressive regime (Bruinessen, 2013; Hefner, 2010: 1031-1047; Al Makin, 2009: 21; Al Makin 2015b. 195–229) is an indisputable fact. An indicator of prevalent radicalism post-new order is the appearance of mass organization tending to be radical such as Islam Defender Front (*Front Pembela Islam* or FPI), Indonesian Mujahidin Assembly (*Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia* or MMI), Holy War (Laskar Jihad or LJ) and Indonesian Ikhwanul Muslimin Community (Jama'ah Ikhwanul Muslimin Indonesia or JAMI) (Muzaki, 2014: 2-3). The indicator of radicalism in this mass organism, according Fealy, can be seen from the similarity of attempt to change Indonesia radically, particularly in the aspect of Sharia application (Fealy, 2014: 106).

Tolerant attitude is very important in the context of Republic of Indonesia Unitary State (NKRI), as a multicultural state, consisting of more than 300 ethnics with their own culture, and more than 250 languages used (Zada 2006, 184). Moreover, Islam and plurality in Nusantara are an indisputable historical reality. Sultanates ever existing in Nusantara have never closed themselves to the foreigners coming (Ayang Utriza Yakin, 2016:95). Therefore, the inculcation of tolerant attitude and values should be conducted absolutely. Azyumardi Azra, as cited in Mahfud MD, stated that tolerance is one of object that should be included into educational theme in Indonesia when multicultural consciousness wants to grow in our youth environment still in school environment (Mahfud MD et al, 2012:156). In other words, tolerance is the principal factor of multicultural understanding emergence in Indonesians, particularly youths.

Instead demonstrating the color of Islam that can fight against poverty and ignorance (transformative) (Susanto 2018), the data shown by PPIM and Wahid Institute above shows high intolerance rate. Regarding this, it is interesting to find out the understanding of students and santri living in Islamic Boarding School (thereafter called *pesantren*) environment. Haris said that some teachers of *pesantren* in Indonesia are indicated to have radical understanding. It is just like what occurring in *Pesantren Ngruki* under Abu Bakar Ba'asyir's leadership. Ba'asyir leading radical mass organization MMI along with his *pesantren* putatively disseminated an Ideology of Islam State establishment, sowed resentment to America, and even made terror (Haris, 2006).

Considering this, it is important to understand the santris' radicalism understanding in other *pesantrens* existing in Indonesia, one of which is Babakan. Babakan itself is the name of a village in Ciwaringin Sub District of Cirebon known as a *pesantren* or *santri* village. It is because there are 64 Islamic Boarding Schools with different caretaker or *kyai* and total number of santris of about seven thousands people coming from such regions as Indramayu, Majalengka, Kuningan, Subang, Karawang, Jakarta and even beyond Java Island. Cirebon itself was known as "Silk Track" area in the past, with Muara Jati port being the main track in this area. It also triggered heterogeneity in Cirebon because its strategic position made it the transit place for many culture (Mahrus el-Mawa, 2012:104).

As a young generation projected as the holder of future rally race, moreover with experience and knowledge capital acquiring from *pesantren*, this youths' understanding, thinking, and attitude will color and have significant effect on the community (*umat*) religiosity understanding model in the future. In line with this, this youth's tolerance or intolerance contributes to determining Indonesia's sustainability as a state composed of existing community diversity.

## DISCUSSION

### Operational Definition of Discussion

#### 1. *Pondok Pesantren, Kyai, Santri, and Santri "Negeri"*

The word *pesantren* (Islamic Boarding School) is defined varyingly by scholars either terminologically or etymologically. The word *pesantren* is composed of stem *santri* with prefix "pe-" and suffix "-an", meaning the residence of *santris*. Dhofier, for example, citing Johns, argued that the term of *santri* derived from Tamil meaning teacher teaching Quran reading (*guru mengaji*). Meanwhile, C.C.Berg, according to Dhofier, argued that the term derived from the word *shastri*, in Indian language meaning the people knowing holy books of Hindu religion, or a scholar of Hindu religion Holy Book (Zamakhsyari Dhofier, 1990:41). Therefore, Dhofier defined *pesantren* as Islamic education institution in which their students live together in a complex and learning under the guidance of one (or more) teacher called as *kyai* (1990: 50).

To Nurcholis Madjid, *pesantren* is the form of Islamic education in Indonesia that has entrenched since many centuries ago. He viewed that *pesantren* contains Islamic and Indonesian indigenous meanings all at once. The word "*Pesantren*" is defined as the residence of *santris* or students of *pesantren*. Meanwhile, the word "*santri*" putatively derived from Sanskrit term "*sastrī*" meaning "literate", but some scholars associated the word *santri* with *cantrik* (Javanese language) meaning an individual following his teacher wherever he goes (Nurcholis Madjid, 1997:13).

Abdurrahman Wahid stated that *pondok pesantren* is an educational background that can create mindset and behavior if its *santris* (Marzuki Wahid, (ed.), 1999:14). *Pesantren* is different from other educational institutions. The specificity of *pesantren*, compared with other educational institutions, lies on the *santris* or students living together with their *kyai* or teacher in certain independent complex.

A *pesantren* has limited physical facilities, consisting of primary facilities such as masjid (*mosque*) or *langgar* (small mosque) as the center of activities, *kyai* and his family's residence, hut dwelled by *santris*, and studying room. Meanwhile, *kyai* is the most essential element composing *pesantren* tradition. In *Pondok pesantren*, a *kyai* determines the policy of *pesantren*, thereby the growth and the motif of *pesantren* are dependent on *kyai*'s

ability. Therefore, it is understandable that the tide of *pesantren*'s journey is dependent on *kyai*.

In the context of current research, *santri* is defined as learners studying yellow book (*kitab kuning*) and living in *pondok pesantren*. Thus, those having been adult, when fulfilling the two elements, can be categorized into *santri*. *Santri*, according to Bizawie, is a collective definition rather than individual one just like *kyai*. With his status as the dweller of *pesantren*, *santri* is submissive and obedient to the figure of *kyai* considered as his source of knowledge. What is conveyed by the *kyai* is considered as originating from the truth of religion that should be obligatorily obeyed (Zainul Milal Bizawie, 2014:12). Meanwhile, *santri "negeri"* is a term used in this study to refer to *santri* – in addition to learning (*mengaji*) and living in *pesantren* – also studying at schools managed by the state or state (public) schools categorized into formal schools.

## 2. Tolerance

The word tolerance derived from Latin *tolerantia*, meaning looseness, gentleness, relief and patience (Hornby AS, 1995:67). Meanwhile in Arab, tolerance is called *tasamuh*, meaning the attitude of letting, humility, friendliness, softness, and kindness. *Tasamuh*, according to Zakiiyudin Baidhawiy, can be understood as the attitude of appreciating, letting, or allowing each other's stance (perspective) in contradiction with ours (Zakiiyudin Baidhawiy, 2005:77). From this attitude, tolerance and good supposition will emit, so that we will be avoided from the attitude of cursing, accusing, and looking for each other's fault (Mochamad Choliz, et al., 2010:42).

Islam as a majority religion adhered to by Indonesian people, of course, plays great role and contributes very considerably and very decisively related to tolerance issue. The understanding on the realities of multicultural nation, state, and community should remain to be campaigned for to all classes of society, so that the consciousness as a part of society with diverse ethnic, race, language, and religion backgrounds can be built and keep surviving. Moreover, in Islam tenet itself tolerance is not taboo and new.

Sayyid Qutb, for example, mentioned that inter-religion relation or tolerance indicates some matters, as follows: *firstly*, no restriction to human freedom to obtain the explanation of a religion's tenet. *Secondly*, an individual who has adhered to any religion is entitled to get freedom from such threats as slander. *Thirdly*, an individual who has religion is also entitled to get safety and protection. *Fourthly*, an individual having adhered to a religion is entitled not to be "apostatized" from his/her religion in any way, moreover with compulsion (Alifah Ritajuddiroyah, 2016:117-118).

In Arab, tolerance is called *tasamuh* meaning humility; the synonym of *tasamuh* is *tasahul* meaning simplicity. The word tolerance, according to Indonesian Language Big Dictionary (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* or KBBI), is an attitude of appreciating other's stance (e.g. opinion, view, belief, habit, and conduct) different from or in contradiction with our stance. From this definition, it can be concluded that tolerance contains such characteristics as relieved, lenient, self-control, and not forcing our wish to others. *Tasamuh* attitude can also be shown with dealing with others' beliefs, opinions, and deeds patiently, despite its contradiction with our belief and incompatibility to Islam sharia. We are also prohibited to attack, to harm, and to disgrace others having dissenting opinion (Muhammad Choliz, et al, 2013:42; Im Halimah, et al, 2013:37; Rahmat Kamal, 2018:127).

The opposite of tolerance is intolerance in the context of religiosity formulated by Bruce A. Robinson into seven categories: *firstly*, dissemination of wrong information

about belief group or practice, although the information inaccuracy can be crosschecked and corrected easily; *secondly*, spread of resentment about all groups, for example, stating or implying that all members of certain group are evil, behaving immorally, committing crime, and etc; *thirdly*, mocking and underestimating other credo groups for the belief and practice they adhere to; *fourthly*, trying to force religious belief and practice to others to make them follow their wish; *fifthly*, the restriction of human rights of religion group's members that can be identified; *sixthly*, devaluating other religions as trivial or evil; *seventhly*, inhibiting an individual's freedom to change their religion (Yenny Zannuba Wahid, et al., 2014:16). However, recalling the sample of research was *santris* constituting the students in public school/*madrasah*, the development of questionnaire referred to textbooks. Meanwhile, the perception on tolerance can be seen from some indicators accompanying: respecting, appreciating, lenience, good supposition, and care about others.

This research employed a quantitative approach. Viewed from its perspective aspect, a quantitative research uses more ethical approach, in the sense that author collected data by determining first the concept as relevant variables coming from the preexisting theory. Then indicators are found and determined for the variable. Questionnaire, answer option, and score are developed from the indicators specified only. Recalling that the sample should be treated equally, to respond to the statement about tolerance, only two columns are provide; it seems to be very rigid, but after some discussions and considerations, finally there are only two columns used: agree and disagree to respond to 30 statements about tolerance.

Research method is a scientific way to obtain data with certain objective and use. This research method belongs to Survey as it is conducted with big and small populations, but some of data studied derived from the sample taken from the populations, to find relative events, distribution, and inter-variable relation either sociologically or psychologically (Sugiyono, 2012:12). A survey is intended to reveal community's opinion, argument, or view on special issues (Sanjaya Wina, 2015:38).

Technique/method of collecting data used was questionnaire distributed to 843 sample *santris* studying in three public schools/*madrasahs* in Ciwaringin Cirebon. In addition, to understand in-depth the comprehension level, case and triangulation were presented as technique of collecting data to validate the existing data.

Technique of analyzing data used in this study was statistic descriptive one. Descriptive statistic analysis, according to Sugiyono, can be used when the author only wants to describe the sample data, and does not want to draw a conclusion applying to the population from which the sample was taken (2012:12). Descriptive data analysis is used to find the description of data distribution measurement. This measurement was conducted to explain the data group based on Tendency Central (Sugiyono dan Susanto, 2015:127). Descriptive Statistic is the statistic used to analyze data by means of describing or representing the data collected as the way it is without aiming to draw a conclusion applying generally or to generalize (2012:12).

In this study, the data was presented using table and data analysis to obtain mean, minimum, maximum scores, and number of each data group. Mean is a technique of explaining group based on the mean score of the group. The mean can be formulated as follows.

$$\mu = \frac{\sum Xi}{n}$$

Where:

$\mu$  : Mean

$\sum Xi$  : Total X value for i to n

$n$ : Total sample or data number

## General Description of Research Object

### 1. Pondok Pesantren Babakan Ciwaringin Cirebon

Babakan Ciwaringin is a village located in the Western end of Cirebon Regency and adjacent to Majalengka Regency, West Java. Cirebon itself has been known as “*kota wali* (guardian city)” for many years. It is because there was Sunan Gunung Jati or Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah constituting one of *Wali Songo* (Nine Guardians) in this city. Cirebon is also called *santri* city, because there are many pondok pesantren in Cirebon Regency. Even in a hamlet area, there are tens *pondok pesantren* such as Buntet, Gedongan, Kempek, Arjawinangun and Babakan (Ciwaringin).

Pondok Pesantren Babakan Ciwaringin Cirebon was established in 1127 H/1705 AD by the 7 (seventh) generation of syekh Syarif Hidayatullah named Pangeran Jatiraga (kiai Jatira) bin kyai Abdulatif bin Pangeran Welang Satu bin Pangeran Welang Dua bin Pangeran Butat bin Pangeran Welang Satu bin Pangeran Pasarean bin Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah. Thus, this *pesantren* has been established for more than three centuries. It is unsurprisingly that originally there was one *pesantren*, but now there are over 40 (forty) *pesantrens* in this Babakan Complex.

### 2. Madrasah Aliyah Negeri (MAN) 2 Cirebon (2<sup>nd</sup> State Islamic Senior High school of Cirebon)

The history of MAN 2 Cirebon’s establishment is inseparable from the existence of pondok pesantren Babakan Ciwaringin Cirebon that has been more than 300 years old. There were five Madrasahs in Babakan Ciwaringin in 1960 using *Pesantren* curriculum, then on the initiative of the Chairperson of *Pesantren* Education Welfare Foundation (*Yayasan Kesejahteraan Pendidikan Pesantren* or YKPP), KH. Moh. Haririe and KH. Anwar Fathoni, MHS at Aliyah level was established, and its curriculum was adjusted with Religion Department of RI’s Curriculum.

Through hard effort and long process, the RI Ministry of Religion’s Decree No. 73 of 1970 was published on May 22, 1970 about the change of status of Madrasah Aliyah Alhikamus Salafiyah Pesantren Babakan Ciwaringin of Cirebon Regency into Madrasah Aliyah Agama Islam Negeri (MAAIN) Babakan Ciwaringin Cirebon Regency of West Java Province. And since 1978, corresponding to the RI Ministry of Religion’s Decree No. 17 of 1978 on March 16, 1978, the MAAIN was simplified for its school’s organizational form and structure and work order of RI Department of Religion, and it was renamed into MAN Babakan Ciwaringin of Cirebon Regency along with the enactment of RI Department of Religion’s curriculum in 1975.

In the attempt of improving the quality of Madrasah Aliyah, Directorate General of Islam Institution Guidance of RI Department of Religion’s Decree Number E.IV/PP.00.6/KEP/17.A/98 on February 20, 1998 was published, stating that MAN Babakan Ciwaringin of Cirebon Regency is one of MAN Models out of 30 MAN

Models throughout Indonesia equipped with PSBB (*Pusat Sumber Belajar Bersama* or Joint Learning Source Center) facilities, so that it is expected to be the example MAN particularly in 3<sup>rd</sup> area of Cirebon. This school has been renamed again into Madrasa Aliyah Negeri 2 Cirebon.

### **3. Madrasah Tsanawiyah Negeri 2 Cirebon (2<sup>nd</sup> State Islamic Junior High School of Cirebon)**

MTSN 2 Cirebon or MTSN 2 Cirebon Babakan Ciwaringin of Cirebon was established in 1968 formerly called MTsAIN. When Madrasah Tsanawiyah was changed for its status into the state school, it had 187 students divided into four classes: three male classes located in Pondok Pesantren Raudlatul Tholibin and one female class located in KH Fathoni's house. Considering the development of student number, with high sincerity, KH. Amien Sepuh had donated his land to build the learning center for students. Therefore, a building consisting of five classrooms, one teacher room, and one room for the headmaster was constructed on the community's self-help effort.

In 1976, the development of MTSN 2 Cirebon improved in the presence of Joint Decree of 3 ministers, MTSN 2 Cirebon has gotten government's aid in the form of a building consisting of six classrooms on the donated land. In 2018/2019 school year, MTSN 2 Cirebon had 34 learning groups with a total of 1345 students distributed into twelve classes of 7<sup>th</sup> grade, eleven classes of 8<sup>th</sup> grade, and seven classes of 9<sup>th</sup> grade.

### **4. Sekolah Menengah Pertama Negeri 1 Ciwaringin (1<sup>st</sup> Public Junior High School of Ciwaringin)**

There is no document informing the historical process of establishing SMPN 1 Ciwaringin. The school's document only mentions that this school was established in 1965 with ownership status of land and building belonging to Republic of Indonesia's government. Meanwhile, this school has width of 7,850 m<sup>2</sup> for its land and building, consisting of 53 rooms. Meanwhile, 990 students are enrolled in this school, divided into 25 learning room with the following details: 7<sup>th</sup> grade = 9 classes, 8<sup>th</sup> grade = 8 classes, and 9<sup>th</sup> grade = 8 classes. A total of 45 teachers are employed in SMPN 1 Ciwaringin: 24 permanent teachers, and 21 substitute teachers.

## **Research Instrument Test**

### **1. Validity Test**

Before posing question to respondents officially, we conduct validity test on thirty question items with thirty respondents coming from three different schools as the object of current research: ten students of MAN 2 Cirebon, 10 students of MTSN 2 Cirebon, and 10 students of SMP N 1 Ciwaringin.

Employing those 30 (thirty) students as the respondents,  $r_{table}$  value can be found, with the following calculation:  $df = 30 - 2 = 30 - 2 = 28$ . So the degree of freedom (df) = 28 and alpha of 0.05. Considering the coefficient of correlation table, it can be seen  $r_{product\ moment} > r_{table} = 0.3061$ . The instrument used to validate the instrument of research was SPSS 23.0 for Window program.

Out of thirty items tested, 11 (eleven) were invalid, while the other nineteen were valid and could be continued in the research. Thus, in this study the author used valid question items to provide the data usable for the data analysis process.

### **2. Reliability Test**

The result of calculation of instrument reliability test using *SPSS 23.0 for*

*Windows* program is presented in the table below.

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
,775	19

Source: *SPSS 23.0 for Windows*

Considering the result of calculation, it can be seen *Cronbach's Alpha* value of  $> 0.60$  or  $0.775 > 0.60$ ; thus, it can be concluded that the research instrument is feasible.

### Descriptive analysis

#### a. Respondent of MAN2 Cirebon

The respondents taken from MAN 2 Cirebon consist of 369 students. The result of questionnaire shows a very high level of tolerance among santri enrolled in MAN 2 Cirebon, with minimum score of 57.89 and maximum score of 100. Meanwhile, the mean score of tolerance understanding among students of MAN 2 Cirebon is 93.0927.

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	Mean
MAN	369	57,89	100,00	34351,19	93,0927
Valid N (listwise)	369				

#### b. Respondent of MTSN 2 Cirebon

The respondents taken from MTSN 2 Cirebon consist of 274 students. The result of questionnaire shows a very high level of tolerance among santri enrolled in MTSN 2 Cirebon, with minimum score of 36.84 and maximum score of 100. Meanwhile, the mean score of tolerance understanding among students of MTSN 2 Cirebon is 87.8025.

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	Mean
MTSN CIREBON	274	36,84	100,00	24057,89	87,8025
Valid N (listwise)	274				

#### c. Respondents of SMPN 1 Ciwaringin

The respondents taken from SMPN 1 Ciwaringin consist of 200 students. From the calculation, it can be found the minimum score of 63.16 and maximum score of 100. Meanwhile, the mean score of tolerance understanding among students of SMPN 1 Ciwaringin is 92.5000.

**Table 4.B.2b.2**

Descriptive Statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Sum	Mean
SMPN CIWARINGIN	200	63,16	100,00	18500,00	92,5000
Valid N (listwise)	200				



## CONCLUSION

Considering the elaboration presented in previous sections and the result of calculation using SPSS 23.0 for windows, it can be concluded that the understanding level of santri in Babakan Ciwaringin Cirebon enrolled in public schools is very good, with the following order. (1). Santris enrolled in Madrasah Aliyah Negeri 2 Cirebon have highest understanding level with score of 93.0927. (2). Santris enrolled in SMPN1 Ciwaringin are on the second rank in relation to their understanding on tolerance with score of 92.5000. (3). Meanwhile santris enrolled in MTSN 2 have understanding score of 87.8025 or on the third rank.

Basically, educational institution creating synergy with educational institution from other religion, or containing and teaching tolerance values is considered as a role model for the commonness (togetherness) between religions (Ahsanul Khalikin & Fathuri (ed.),2016:138). Referring to such perspective, with inverse logic, if the result shows very tolerance level among santris, it may be because pesantrens, particularly located in Babakan Ciwaringin, teach tolerance values to their santris.

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