



**PEACEBUILDING PESANTREN:
The Study of Madurese Diaspora in Reinforcing
Social Resilience in Post-ethnic Conflicts West
Kalimantan, Indonesia**

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Abstract: Research on the involvement of the Madurese diaspora in West Kalimantan in establishing pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) and their contributions to peace resilience remains limited. This study aims to investigate why and how the Madurese diaspora engages in peace resilience through the establishment of pesantren. Data were gathered through observations, semi-structured interviews, and document analyses using a multiple-case study approach. The results suggest that pesantren have played a vital role in promoting harmony and peace among different ethnic groups through re-education, community empowerment, and interfaith dialogues. This has significant implications for social harmony, cooperation (*Handep*), social cohesion, solidarity, and the mitigation of ethnic-based provocations. The involvement of pesantren presents a novel perspective on reconstructing strategies for addressing interethnic conflicts, thereby introducing a new cultural construction approach as a framework for future conflict resolution mechanisms.

Keywords: Pesantren, Ethnicity, Madurese Diaspora, Sustainable Peacebuilding, Social Resilience, Post-Ethnic Conflicts, West Kalimantan.

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Introduction

WEST KALIMANTAN garnered international attention during the ethnic conflicts that occurred in December 1996, January 1997, and 1999, which affected this province on Borneo Island.¹ These events

¹ Historically, the ethnic conflicts in West Kalimantan have contributed to a continuum of prolonged hostilities. Documentation indicates that there were at least ten instances of violence occurring between 1933 and 1977, with

destroyed 3,883 homes, 12 cars, and nine motorcycles, leading to 1,189 fatalities, 168 severe injuries, and 34 minor injuries.² Approximately 70,000 individuals were displaced by the government to Pontianak city due to violent clashes between the Dayaks and the Madurese, as well as between the Malays and the Madurese.³ This humanitarian crisis inflicted considerable damage on the local population over nearly three decades, resulting in not only physical infrastructural devastation but also psychological trauma.⁴ Numerous academic studies express concern that the brutal, sadistic, and cannibalistic elements of these ethnic conflicts may reemerge in the future, given the persistence of tribal stereotypes within indigenous communities.⁵ Nevertheless, in the

approximately eleven conflicts recorded from 1962 to 1999 and a total of twelve conflicts noted between 1952 and 1999. Further details can be found in the accompanying sources: Yasser Arafat, "Konflik Dan Dinamika Etnik Dayak-Madura Di Kalimantan Barat" (Thesis, Yogyakarta, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1998), <https://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/penelitian/detail/3104>; Syarif Ibrahim Alqadrie, "Konflik Etnis Di Ambon Dan Sambas: Suatu Tinjauan Sosiologis," *Jurnal Antropologi Indonesia* 58 (1999), <https://lib.ui.ac.id/detail?id=20452316&lokasi=lokal#parentHorizontalTab1>; Edi Petebang, *Dayak Sakti, Pengayauan, Tariu, Mangkok Merah* (Pontianak: Institute Dayakologi Research and Developmengt, 1999).

² Verelladevanka Adryamarthanino, "Kerusuhan Sambas 1999: Penyebab, Kronologi, Dan Dampak," *Kompas.Com*, August 6, 2021, <https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2021/08/06/150000479/kerusuhan-sambas-1999-penyebab-kronologi-dan-dampak?page=all>.

³ Huub De Jonge and Gerben Nooteboom, "Why the Madurese? Ethnic Conflicts in West and East Kalimantan Compared," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 34, no. 3 (2006): 456–74, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853106778048597>.

⁴ Anika König, "The Cultural Face of Conflict Dayak-Madurese Violence in 1996/1997 in West Kalimantan, Indonesia" (Dissertation, Canberra, The Australian National University, 2012); Sarah Maddison and Rachael Diprose, "Conflict Dynamics and Agonistic Dialogue on Historical Violence: A Case from Indonesia," *Third World Quarterly* 39, no. 8 (August 2018): 1622–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1374837>; Muhammad Makki, Faryal Khan, and Syed Ali Akash, "Contested Peace: Duality of Security in Post-Conflict North Waziristan," *Asian Security* 18, no. 1 (2022): 75–91, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14799855.2021.1953991>.

⁵ Anne Schiller, "Activism and Identities in an East Kalimantan Dayak Organization," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66, no. 1 (February 2007): 63–95, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002191180700006X>; Taufiq Tanasaldy, *Regime Change and*

wake of this social catastrophe, various proactive, reconciliatory, and reconstructive initiatives have been undertaken among the ethnic groups, including religious institutions such as Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), aimed at alleviating psychological trauma and reducing the potential for enduring animosity.⁶ As a result, there has been a noticeable decline in violence following the establishment of these institutions. Consequently, these Islamic educational establishments not only provide a platform for the diaspora Madurese to engage in and contribute to social progress but also hold the potential to enhance social resilience in the post-ethnic conflict era.

Numerous studies have investigated the relationship between pesantren and ethnicity in the context of post-conflict West Kalimantan, emphasizing themes of reconciliation and the involvement of groups in peacebuilding initiatives, such as Alfath,⁷ Davidson & Kammen,⁸ Klinken,⁹ and Mirawati.¹⁰ Additionally, these studies have explored the influence of religion on conflict prevention and mitigation, such as Ubaidillah¹¹ and

Ethnic Politics in Indonesia: Dayak Politics of West Kalimantan, vol. 278 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

⁶ Heru Cahyono, "The State and Society in Conflict Resolution in Indonesia (Conflict Area of West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan)," *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities* 1, no. 1 (December 4, 2018): 151–60, <https://doi.org/10.14203/jissh.v1i1.10>; Rudi Sukandar et al., "Kapasitas Lembaga Dan Dinamika Pencegahan Konflik: Studi Kasus Kalimantan Barat Dan Nusa Tenggara Barat," Reserch Report (Jakarta: The Habibie Center, 2015).

⁷ Edlin Dahniar Alfath, "Potential Conflict between the Malay and the Dayak Ethnic Groups in the Hinterland Region of West Kalimantan," *Makara Human Behavior Studies in Asia* 19, no. 1 (July 1, 2015): 52–62, <https://doi.org/10.7454/mssh.v19i1.3475>.

⁸ Jamie S. Davidson and Douglas Kammen, "Indonesia's Unknown War and the Lineages of Violence in West Kalimantan," *Indonesia* 73 (April 2002): 53–87, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3351469>.

⁹ Gerry van Klinken, "Colonizing Borneo: State-Building and Ethnicity in Central Kalimantan," *Indonesia* 81 (2006): 23–49.

¹⁰ Ira Mirawati, "Roles Mapping in Tribal Conflict Reconciliation: A Study from West Kalimantan Dayak and Madurese Case," *Media Tor: Jurnal Komunikasi* 10, no. 2 (2017): 190–200, <https://doi.org/10.29313/mediator.v10i2.2734>.

¹¹ Achmad Ubaedillah, "When Ethnicity Is Stronger than Religion: A Look into Dayaks and Madurese Conflicts in Kalimantan, Indonesia," *Refleksi* 21, no. 2 (October 14, 2022): 285–304, <https://doi.org/10.15408/ref.v21i2.34795>.

Syarif & Herlambang.¹² The majority of this research employs structural and cultural frameworks to analyze the ongoing dynamics of communal violence¹³, while also critically evaluating advancements in sustainable peace, social resilience, and emerging forms of social cohesion among indigenous populations.¹⁴ However, there has been a notable lack of focus on the contributions of the Madurese diaspora, which has been migrating since the 1970s and has established pesantren to enhance sustainable peacebuilding resilience. Although pesantren and diaspora are conceptually distinct entities, they intersect significantly in their roles in promoting Islam and shaping cultural identities.¹⁵ Pesantren, recognized as Indonesia's oldest traditional Islamic boarding schools, function as centers for religious education,¹⁶ while diasporic communities, often located far from

¹² Syarif Syarif and Saifuddin Herlambang, "Building Peace Through Qur'anic Interpretation in Muslim Communities in the Post-Conflict West Kalimantan," *Ullumuna* 27, no. 1 (June 14, 2023): 141–71, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v27i1.629>.

¹³ Gerry Van Klinken, *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars* (Routledge, 2007), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203965115>; Tanasaldy, *Regime Change and Ethnic Politics in Indonesia: Dayak Politics of West Kalimantan*; Yesi Yonefendi, Pawito Pawito, and Mahendra Wijaya, "Cultural Identity Post-Conflict: Crisis of Madurese Culture Identity In Sampit Central Borneo After Ethnic Conflict," *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding* 5, no. 5 (October 2018): 303–11, <https://doi.org/10.18415/ijmmu.v5i5.444>.

¹⁴ Abdur Rozaki, "Between Tough Voyages and Empowering Tourism: Can Muslim Bugis Seafarers Tackle the Maritime-Sector Crises in Indonesia?," *Simulacra* 5, no. 1 (June 24, 2022): 83–96, <https://doi.org/10.21107/sml.v5i1.14200>.

¹⁵ Saeful Anam et al., "The Moral Education and Internalization of Humanitarian Values in Pesantren: A Case Study from Indonesia," *Journal for the Education of Gifted Young Scientists* 7, no. 4 (December 15, 2019): 815–34, <https://doi.org/10.17478/jegys.629726>; Yanwar Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture," *Al-Jami'ah* 51, no. 1 (2014): 1–32, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.511.1-32>.

¹⁶ Muhammad Latif Fauzi, "Traditional Islam in Javanese Society: The Roles of Kyai and Pesantren in Preserving Islamic Tradition and Negotiating Modernity," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 6, no. 1 (June 1, 2012): 125–44, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2012.6.1.125-144>; Umiarso Umiarso and Muhammad Qorib, "The Practice of Religious Moderation Based on Theo-Anthropocentric in Indonesian Islamic Boarding Schools: A Phenomenological Study," *Jurnal Iqra'*:

their ancestral origins,¹⁷ utilize pesantren to maintain religious and cultural values, foster interethnic engagement, and cultivate social. This phenomenon is observable on a global scale, with diaspora-established Islamic institutions in countries such as Yemen,¹⁸ Malaysia,¹⁹ South Africa,²⁰ the United States,²¹ and Australia²² playing a pivotal role in facilitating interfaith dialogue, promoting religious moderation, and enhancing community solidarity. Nevertheless, within the Indonesian context, the function of pesantren as agents of post-conflict peacebuilding, particularly

Kajian Ilmu Pendidikan 7, no. 2 (October 14, 2022): 183–93, <https://doi.org/10.25217/ji.v7i2.2629>.

¹⁷ Lauren Rockliffe et al., “Role of Ethnicity in Human Papillomavirus Vaccination Uptake: A Cross-Sectional Study of Girls from Ethnic Minority Groups Attending London Schools,” *BMJ Open* 7, no. 2 (February 2017): e014527, <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2016-014527>; Keiphe Nani Setlhatlhanyo et al., “Developing Creative Product Designs Inspired by Ethnic Cultural Heritage: A Case Study of Design Students at the University of Botswana,” *FormAkademisk* 11, no. 6 (December 3, 2019): 1–13, <https://doi.org/10.7577/formakademisk.2489>; Ubaedillah, “When Ethnicity Is Stronger than Religion.”

¹⁸ Manal Ali Ahmed Garoon, Shahabuddin Hashim, and Nik Rosila Nik Yaacob, “The Role of Spirituality and Resilience among Yemeni Refugee Students in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia,” *International Journal of Evaluation and Research in Education (IJERE)* 11, no. 3 (September 1, 2022): 1058–65, <https://doi.org/10.11591/ijere.v11i3.22377>; Martin Slama, “Translocal Networks and Globalisation within Indonesia: Exploring the Hadhrami Diaspora from the Archipelago’s North-East,” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 39, no. 2 (2011): 238–57, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853111X565904>.

¹⁹ Charles Nyuykonge and Siphamandla Zondi, “South African Peacebuilding Approaches: Evolution and Lessons,” in *Rising Powers and Peacebuilding*, ed. Charles T Call and Cedric De Coning, Rethinking Peace and Conflict Studies (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 107–25, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-60621-7_6.

²⁰ Nyuykonge and Zondi.

²¹ Mehrdad Massoudi, “A System Theory Approach to Interfaith Dialogue,” *Intercultural Education* 17, no. 4 (October 2006): 421–37, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980600971442>.

²² Sri Seti Indriani and Deddy Mulyana, “Communication Patterns of Indonesian Diaspora Women in Their Mixed Culture Families,” *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 22, no. 4 (December 2021): 1431–48, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-021-00812-6>; Ahmad Muttaqin, Achmad Zainal Arifin, and Firdaus Wajdi, “Problems, Challenges and Prospects of Indonesian Muslim Community in Sydney for Promoting Tolerance,” *Komunitas* 8, no. 2 (September 22, 2016): 169–84, <https://doi.org/10.15294/komunitas.v8i2.5971>.

about diasporic communities, remains a relatively under-researched area.

To address the identified gap in the literature, the current study utilizes the peacebuilding theory proposed by Shank and Schirch²³ to examine the roles of diaspora and pesantren in sustaining peace within post-conflict environments, with a specific focus on West Kalimantan. This theoretical framework emphasizes grassroots peace initiatives, local empowerment, interethnic collaboration, and proactive conflict prevention, advocating for non-violent and culturally appropriate strategies.²⁴ While prior research on pesantren in Indonesia has primarily focused on themes such as religious education, social movements, and community empowerment, this study introduces a novel perspective by examining the contributions of diaspora-led pesantren to peacebuilding and interethnic reconciliation.²⁵ By analyzing the involvement of the Madurese diaspora in the

²³ Michael Shank and Lisa Schirch, "Strategic Arts-based Peacebuilding," *Peace & Change* 33, no. 2 (April 2008): 217–42, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0130.2008.00490.x>.

²⁴ Lisa Schirch, "Ritual and Peacebuilding," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Religion and Peace*, ed. Jolyon Mitchell et al., 1st ed. (Wiley, 2022), 255–63, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119424420.ch21>; Diego Fossati, "Embedded Diasporas: Ethnic Prejudice, Transnational Networks and Foreign Investment," *Review of International Political Economy* 26, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 134–57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2018.1543721>; Floya Anthias, "Evaluating 'Diaspora': Beyond Ethnicity?," *Sociology* 32, no. 3 (August 1998): 557–80, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038598032003009>; Valentina Baú, "Citizen Engagement in Peacebuilding: A Communication for Development Approach to Rebuilding Peace from the Bottom-Up," *Progress in Development Studies* 16, no. 4 (October 2016): 348–60, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464993416663052>.

²⁵ Irin Oktafiani, "The Meaning of Diasporic Identity: A Case of Indonesian Community Overseas," *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities* 9, no. 2 (December 31, 2019): 147–56, <https://doi.org/10.14203/jissh.v9i2.154>; Sumanto Al Qurtuby, "Beyond Liberal Peace: Religious Violence and Tactical Peacebuilding in Indonesia," *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 10, no. 2 (August 2023): 145–68, <https://doi.org/10.1177/23477970231173525>; Fahrudin Fahrudin, "The Existence of Pesantren in The Dutch East Indies Government Pressure," *Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 18, no. 2 (December 10, 2020): 351–65, <https://doi.org/10.21154/cendekia.v18i2.1854>; Ading Kusdiana et al., "The Pesantren Networking in Priangan (1800-1945)," *International Journal of Nusantara Islam* 1, no. 2 (June 6, 2014): 118–37, <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijni.v1i2.30>.

establishment and management of pesantren, this research clarifies how these institutions can bolster resilience and promote sustainable peacebuilding, thereby offering a new synthesis of the intricate relationships among religion, ethnicity, and peace.²⁶ Consequently, this study is significant in revealing the roles of pesantren and the Madurese diaspora in advancing sustainable peacebuilding, a topic that has been previously examined through cultural and structural mechanisms, psychological trauma, and religious frameworks.

This research employs a multiple case study methodology, focusing on four pesantrens—Darun Nasyi'in, Darul Ulum, Al Murabbi, and Walisongso—who are actively involved in promoting sustainable peacebuilding in West Kalimantan. Data collection methods included non-participant observations, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis. The authors observed participants about their activities, interpersonal communications, and attitudes. This observational process facilitated the interpretation of the interactions between place and individuals, yielding new insights into the phenomena associated with the checks and balances inherent in the interview process. Additionally, the authors collected data from seven anonymized participants (coded P1–P7). The interview data were transcribed and analyzed to uncover emerging themes related to conflict prevention and the contributions of the Madurese diaspora to peacebuilding initiatives. Participants were selected through key informants and snowball sampling, and the research was conducted over a six-month period, from June to November 2023. Subsequently, various documents were gathered, including pesantren curricula, enrollment figures, permits, community

²⁶ Bahar Baser and Élise Féron, "Host State Reactions to Home State Diaspora Engagement Policies: Rethinking State Sovereignty and Limits of Diaspora Governance," *Global Networks* 22, no. 2 (April 2022): 226–41, <https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12341>; Maria Koinova and Dženeta Karabegović, "Diasporas and Transitional Justice: Transnational Activism from Local to Global Levels of Engagement," *Global Networks* 17, no. 2 (April 2017): 212–33, <https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12128>; Giulia Liberatore, "Forging a 'Good Diaspora': Political Mobilization among Somalis in the UK," *Development and Change* 49, no. 1 (January 2018): 146–69, <https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12358>.

activities, websites, online news articles, Indonesian statistical data, and government policy documents about conflict prevention. These documents were analyzed to identify specific themes that elucidate peacebuilding and resilience, drawing from relevant notes, field observations, and interview transcriptions. Thematic analysis was systematically conducted through coding, comparing interview data with documentary evidence and existing literature to discern patterns regarding the role of pesantren in peace efforts. Finally, ethical guidelines were rigorously adhered to, ensuring informed consent, participant anonymity, and data integrity. Participants were allowed to review and refine the findings before they were finalized.

The overall structure of this article is organized into four distinct sections. Following the introduction, the second section presents initial findings on the roles of the Madurese diaspora in establishing pesantren, which contribute to the promotion of sustainable peacebuilding through educational activities. These phenomena not only facilitate the introduction of religious moderation among students from diverse ethnic backgrounds but also engage in fostering local communities through specific initiatives focused on interfaith dialogue, redesigning curricula involving alums, and promoting harmonious coexistence in multicultural societies. The third section discusses the impact of pesantren on social resilience in post-conflict ethnic contexts. In this regard, the pesantren has played a significant role in community mobilization aimed at preserving and revitalizing local traditions, thereby enhancing social cohesion through strengthened solidarity and declined provocations (*Jaga Kampung*). The final section articulates the contributions of this study to the expansion of both theoretical and practical frameworks concerning the roles of diaspora and pesantren in peacebuilding, with emphasis on social resilience and ethnic inclusivity in post-conflict areas.

The Role of Pesantren in Sustainable Peacebuilding

Drawing upon data obtained through comprehensive fieldwork employing a multiple case study approach, this research delineates three interconnected thematic findings that collectively

elucidate the evolving functions of pesantren in promoting peacebuilding within multicultural contexts. Firstly, the re-educational framework embedded in the Islamic studies curricula of pesantren signifies a deliberate transition towards the cultivation of inclusive values, with a pronounced emphasis on religious tolerance and civic engagement as fundamental components of Islamic pedagogy. Secondly, pesantren actively advocates for the instruction of coexistence and social harmony, not solely through theoretical frameworks but by integrating these principles into everyday practices and communal rituals, thereby fostering a lived experience of pluralism among their students. Thirdly, the proactive engagement of pesantren in community development illustrates their capacity as grassroots agents of social cohesion, adept at addressing local grievances and mediating potential conflicts. Finally, pesantren serve as pivotal actors in facilitating interfaith dialogue, leveraging their religious legitimacy and moral authority to engage with non-Muslim communities and promote interreligious understanding. These themes are not discrete; instead, they are mutually reinforcing, highlighting how pesantren amalgamate theological, educational, and socio-political dimensions to nurture sustainable peace and resilience within diverse societal frameworks.

The authors diverge from a singular theme to examine the re-education of religious knowledge within a multicultural framework. The engagement of pesantren across various geographical settings—rural, semi-urban, and urban areas—reflects broader academic discussions regarding the interplay between Islamic education and multicultural citizenship. For instance, Pesantren Darun Nasyi'in, located in rural West Kalimantan, exemplifies what Azra²⁷ describes as the "indigenization of Islam," wherein religious education is intricately linked with local socio-cultural values, thereby fostering communal solidarity. In semi-urban areas, institutions such as

²⁷ Azyumardi Azra, "Genealogy of Indonesian Islamic Education: Roles in the Modernization of Muslim Society," *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage* 4, no. 1 (July 8, 2015): 85–114, <https://doi.org/10.31291/hn.v4i1.63>.

Darul Ulum and Al Murabbi reflect Hefner's²⁸ the argument that pesantren have transformed into "civic institutions," which incorporate vocational and cooperative models to address regional development needs while preserving religious orthodoxy. In urban environments, pesantren like PP Walisongo can be categorized as reformist reforms that Martin describes,²⁹ where these institutions merge formal curriculum design with character education to effectively navigate the complexities of urban diversity and ethnic plurality. The adaptive strategies of the Madurese diaspora further underscore what Kawakip³⁰ identifies as the "transformative function" of pesantren in addressing ethnic stigma through inclusive and dialogical religious practices. Collectively, these examples affirm that pesantren are not uniform entities; instead, they represent contextually responsive educational ecosystems that are capable of cultivating pluralistic and harmonious Islamic identities within a multicultural society.

Table 1. Categorizing Pesantren based on Regional Settings

Characteristic Regions	The Name of Pesantren	Categorizing Pesantren in Peacebuilding	Explanations
Rural	Darun Nasyi'in	Indigenization of Islamic Studies	Cultural brokers, such as kiai or religious leaders, engage in tours or village visits to convene with ethnic leaders through lectures, ethnic assemblies, community outreach, and various other activities. These engagements serve to cultivate trust among varied ethnic communities, motivating them to enroll their children in pesantren.

²⁸ Robert W. Hefner, "Islamic Schools, Social Movements, and Democracy in Indonesia," in *Making Modern Muslims*, ed. Robert W. Hefner (University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 55–105, <https://doi.org/10.21313/hawaii/9780824832803.003.0002>.

²⁹ Martin van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia," in *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages*, ed. Farish A. Noor and Yoginder Sikand (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 227–46.

³⁰ Akhmad Nurul Kawakip, "Globalization and Islamic Educational Challenges: Views from East Javanese Pesantren," *Ulumuna* 24, no. 1 (June 17, 2020): 105–31, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v24i1.385>.

Semi-Urban	Darul Ulum <hr/> Al Murabbi	Civic Institutions	By incorporating history and local culture into educational curricula, students have the opportunity to explore and comprehend the cultural heritage and history of their communities. This method not only enhances their understanding of the roots and evolution of local cultures but also nurtures a sense of pride and awareness regarding their cultural identity. Consequently, the examination of history and local culture serves as a crucial mechanism in molding younger generations to be knowledgeable and accountable for safeguarding their nation's cultural legacy.
Urban	Walisongo	Modernist Reforms	Modern pesantren have gained popularity among communities that are increasingly embracing multiculturalism. These educational institutions offer a curriculum that extends beyond religious studies to encompass general knowledge and promote values of tolerance and respect. This holistic approach attracts parents who seek to provide their children with a well-rounded education that combines religious teachings with the skills needed to thrive in a diverse society. As a result, modern pesantren play a vital role in nurturing a generation of individuals with robust character and a competitive edge in the face of cultural diversity.

Source: Authors’ elaboration, 2024.

As illustrated in Table 1, cultural brokers, including *Kiai* (religious leaders)³¹ and overseers of the Darun Nasihin pesantren play a pivotal role in fostering trust among various ethnic communities by collaborating with local ethnic leaders. The activities carried out by *Kiai* Abdus Syukur (deceased), such as sermons, ethnic gatherings, and community dialogues, have significantly contributed to building trust among ethnic groups in

³¹ See, Hiroko Hirokoshi, *Kiai Dan Perubahan Sosial*. (Jakarta: P3M, 1987), 211; Ahmad Izudin, “From Prophetic Leadership to Sustainable Community Development: Contributing *Kiai* Najib Salimi in Contemporary Pesantren,” *Al-Balagh: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 6, no. 2 (2021): 273–302, <https://doi.org/10.22515/al-balagh.v6i2.3392>.

Kubu Raya Regency. This cultivated trust has encouraged various ethnic communities to enroll their children in the pesantren. Since its establishment in 1977, the pesantren has educated approximately 525 students, consisting of 315 males and 210 females.³² Additionally, pesantren located in semi-urban areas, such as Darul Ulum and Al Murabbi, have integrated peace values into their educational curricula, thereby enhancing students' understanding of diversity and the significance of tolerance. This approach has enhanced multicultural experiences and mitigated negative ethnic stereotypes. Conversely, Pesantren Walisongo, situated in an urban setting, has actively promoted ethnic concord and mutual understanding. This inclusive strategy has bolstered social cohesion within a heterogeneous society. A participant remarked:

"West Kalimantan currently accommodates a diverse multi-ethnic community, encompassing not only Dayak and Malay populations but also other ethnic groups like Madura, Bugis, Javanese, and various others. The distinctive educational approach provided by pesantren institutions has the potential to foster intercultural harmony by promoting inclusive and tolerant religious principles, thereby mitigating the risk of social unrest."³³

A notable other theme addressed in this study pertains to the promotion of tolerance and harmony within pesantrens. This theme is essential for the development of a cohesive and inclusive society. The four pesantrens analyzed have implemented policies that prioritize a diverse teaching staff, thereby allowing students to engage with a variety of ethnic backgrounds and understand the importance of respecting differences. Moreover, the admission policies that do not consider ethnicity significantly contribute to the early instillation of lessons in tolerance. Evidence of this commitment to fostering tolerance is also reflected in scholarship programs aimed at Malay children, such as those offered by Pesantren Al-Murabbi, which explicitly supports children from divorced families. This dedication to providing education without discrimination fosters solidarity and mutual support among diverse ethnic groups. These policies underscore the pivotal

³² Observational Notes, 21 November 2023

³³ Interview with P2, 23 July 2023.

contribution of pesantren in advancing tolerance and nurturing harmony within a multicultural society. As indicated by the statements provided by both participants below.

“In my capacity as a manager at the pesantren, it is imperative to prioritize an inclusive approach that accommodates a diverse range of ethnic backgrounds. Currently, I oversee a team of approximately 20 educators representing various ethnicities, with the majority actively participating in pesantren activities being Malays, alongside a smaller representation from the Chinese community. The presence of three Malays and one Chinese educator significantly contributes to broadening students’ perspectives, particularly given the diverse tribal affiliations present in West Kalimantan”³⁴ *Additional remarks were made: “... Al-Murabbi is dedicated to pursuing significant opportunities for scholarship awards without regard to ethnic background. This approach is a valuable initiative that offers substantial opportunities to all individuals who are qualified to receive scholarship funding, thereby promoting inclusivity in the administration of pesantren...”*³⁵

The last contribution of pesantren to peacebuilding initiatives is exemplified through interfaith dialogue. Based on findings from fieldwork studies, the authors elucidate the role of pesantren in fostering dialogue among diverse ethnic groups, which includes intercommunal collaboration and the engagement of local women’s groups. For instance, Pesantren Darul Ulum and Walisongo have commemorated the “Hari Santri” anniversary in 2022, 2023, and 2024. These Islamic institutions have extended invitations to various stakeholders, including the Forum for Religious Harmony (*Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama* - FKUB) and the White Red Association (*Perkumpulan Merah Putih* - PMP). In this context, teachers, students, and administrators from these pesantren participate in ceremonial inaugurations to honor national heroes and their contributions to regional development.³⁶ Notably, these events are typically held on October 22 each year, which is recognized as a national day. Additionally, Pesantren Al-Murabbi has actively involved local women in its Haul anniversary celebrations. This initiative has attracted a diverse

³⁴ Interview with P6, 18 September 2023.

³⁵ Interview with P3, 19 September 2023.

³⁶ Interview with P7, 25 August 2023.

group of women from the surrounding community of ‘Nipah Kuning Dalam’ to participate in *Memasak for Haul*, where they prepare and serve a variety of dishes for the guests. Through these two case studies, the authors underscore the importance of contextual Islamic interpretations in fostering interreligious understanding within pluralistic societies. These grassroots initiatives align with Afsaruddin’s advocacy for dialogical ethics grounded in classical Islamic principles of mutual respect (*ta’āruḥ*) and cooperation (*ta’āwun*).³⁷ Collectively, these pesantren-based practices represent a dynamic form of Islamic educational reform that transcends doctrinal instruction to address the intricate realities of interfaith and intercultural coexistence.

Ultimately, the initiatives aimed at fostering interfaith dialogue, promoting tolerance and harmony within environmental pesantren, and redesigning educational curricula significantly contribute to peacebuilding efforts. The authors contend that pesantren have experienced a metamorphosis, transformation, and modernization, thereby expanding their roles beyond traditional Islamic educational institutions that primarily impart monotheistic values, ethics, and morality. These institutions have evolved to play a vital role in facilitating social change. A notable aspect of this social transformation is the active participation of pesantren in community development, the promotion of religious moderation, and the enhancement of socio-religious roles in fostering peace within a diverse society. In contrast to previous studies such as Fahrudin,³⁸ Muslim,³⁹ and Wiwied.⁴⁰ The role of pesantren in

³⁷ Asma Afsaruddin, “Valorizing Religious Dialogue and Pluralism Within the Islamic Tradition,” in *Pluralism in Islamic Contexts - Ethics, Politics and Modern Challenges*, ed. Mohammed Hashas, vol. 16, Philosophy and Politics - Critical Explorations (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 37, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66089-5_2.

³⁸ Fahrudin, “The Existence of Pesantren in The Dutch East Indies Government Pressure.”

³⁹ Ahmad Bukhori Muslim et al., “Indonesian Pesantren-Affiliated Higher Education: Universal Islamic Values to Develop Locally Engaged but Globally Oriented Multilingual Graduates,” *Research in Post-Compulsory Education* 29, no. 1 (January 2, 2024): 138–57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13596748.2023.2285633>.

West Kalimantan is significantly influenced by the contributions of the Madurese diaspora, who migrated to and settled in the region, establishing cultural networks that support the development of pesantren. Consequently, the Madurese diaspora in West Kalimantan has not only been instrumental in founding pesantren as Islamic educational institutions but also in shaping the development of these institutions. However, it has also taken a leading role in post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives.

Pesantren's Impact on Social Resilience

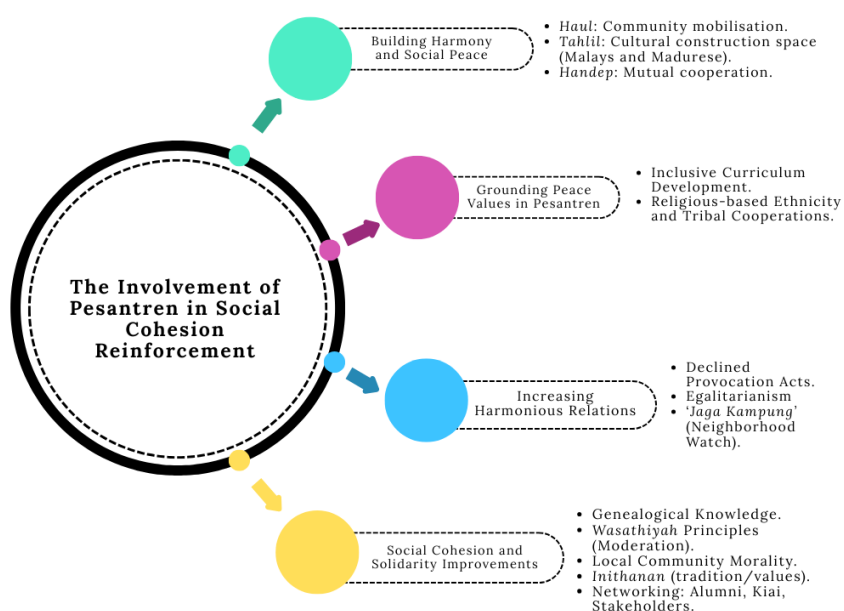


Figure 2. Narrative analysis to interpretative the pesantren contribution (Source: Authors' elaboration)

Figure 2 depicts the role of pesantren in enhancing social resilience in West Kalimantan. The study conducted by the authors identified four principal themes concerning the impact of

⁴⁰ Wiwied Widiyanti, "Cultural Resilience of Adolescent Women in Pesantren," *JOMSIGN: Journal of Multicultural Studies in Guidance and Counseling* 2, no. 1 (April 16, 2018): 37–46, <https://doi.org/10.17509/jomsign.v2i1.10825>.

pesantren engagement on social resilience. The first theme highlights the initiatives designed to foster social cohesion and peace, which require the active involvement of all pesantrens involved in the study, as well as the engagement of various community stakeholders. For instance, Pesantren Darun Nasihin organizes activities aimed at nurturing social harmony and peace. The *Haul* ceremony, which commemorates significant Islamic figures, serves as a crucial event that brings the community together to honor and commemorate religious leaders.

Additionally, activities such as *Tahlil* are frequently utilized to strengthen the ties between the Malay and Madurese ethnic groups. In the four pesantren examined, the authors also noted the concept of *Handep*, which is deeply rooted in traditions and religious customs such as *Haul*, where community members collaboratively participate in cooking and dishwashing during various socio-religious celebrations. This active engagement within the community exemplifies strong solidarity and collaboration, thereby fostering a sense of unity and reinforcing social connections among community members. Consequently, pesantren serve not only as centers for Islamic education but also as institutions that promote social harmony and peace, as articulated by the participants.

“The integration of diverse families within a familial context, facilitated by various religious traditions in the Al-Murabbi pesantren, is crucial for fostering cooperation. Gatherings that involve simulants promote a communal appreciation of our ancestors and local customs, particularly in conjunction with pesantren festivals. Many residents actively engage in pesantren traditions such as *Haul* and *Tahlil*, which significantly contribute to the concept of *Handep* (cooperation), as these practices encourage interpersonal connections among participants involved in the religious activities organized by pesantren.”⁴¹ One participant noted, “In my experience, the Walisongo pesantren held the 11th *Haul* in honor of KH Zuhri Maksudi, its founder, in October 2023. This event garnered considerable enthusiasm from residents and alumni, attracting numerous attendees, including figures from Malay and Chinese communities, thereby strengthening solidarity and fostering connections across ethnic differences.”⁴²

⁴¹ Interview with P1, 26 June 2023.

⁴² Interview with P4, 17 September 2023.

The study underscores the integration of religious values within pesantren as a critical theme. This strategic endeavor aims to foster a generation characterized by tolerance and inclusivity. In the context of pesantren, the promotion of diversity values is evident through a well-structured curriculum that includes content recognizing cultural, ethnic, and religious differences. Educational modules that encompass historical narratives, local cultural aspects, and various religious practices are designed to enlighten students about and instill an appreciation for the diversity present in their environment. Furthermore, the incorporation of religious observances into the daily routines of pesantren is of paramount significance. For instance, students are encouraged to engage in collective prayer sessions, regardless of their ethnic or cultural backgrounds, fostering an environment of inclusivity and harmony.⁴³ Rituals such as *Tahlilan*, religious education, and observance of religious festivities are orchestrated to engage the entire pesantren community, thereby fortifying a sense of unity and mutual regard. By combining inclusive educational practices with religious rituals that emphasize diversity, pesantren stands as a model for the practical application of tolerance and inclusivity in daily life while also shaping students who are capable of acknowledging and embracing distinctions within the broader societal context.

Enhancing solidarity and social cohesion in pesantren can be accomplished through various strategic approaches that integrate education, social practices, and alum networks. The *Sanad Keilmuan* (genealogical knowledge), which is rooted in the principles of *Wasathiyah* Islam (moderate Islam), serves as a fundamental basis for promoting tolerance among different ethnic groups. By embedding these teachings within social contexts, pesantren can cultivate ethical values that respect diversity and foster collaboration among communities in West Kalimantan. Events like *imtihānan* (the role of pesantren in serving as a new space for students and local communities to improve employment sectors), where students' parents convene, provide a platform to reinforce social ties between families and the pesantren

⁴³ Interview with P3, 28 October 2023.

community. These gatherings facilitate the exchange of experiences, collective problem-solving, and the strengthening of familial bonds, which in turn contribute positively to social cohesion. Consequently, by implementing the *Sanad Keilmuan* approach, organizing meetings for parents, and cultivating robust alum networks, pesantren can effectively promote social solidarity and cohesion, thereby fostering an inclusive and harmonious environment. Following the participants' statements, it was noted:

"The establishment of strong partnerships and alumni networks through regular meetings and alumni associations is crucial, highlighting the significance of maintaining relationships beyond the educational experience. Alum networks play a vital role in disseminating the values imparted by pesantren and act as conduits for preserving moral and educational continuity within the wider community. These networks are crucial for fostering collective engagement, as alums actively participate in community development initiatives through various projects and collaborations. Through these cooperative endeavors, alumni of pesantren not only reinforce the foundational values of their institutions but also make substantial contributions to local and regional advancement."⁴⁴

The development of civil society values within pesantren represents a transformative process that integrates Islamic principles with societal norms to foster a cohesive and supportive community ambiance. Pesantren, serving as hubs for Islamic education, imparts religious knowledge that fosters ethical behavior and mutual respect among students and alums. This initiative is further strengthened through partnerships with organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), a prominent Islamic institution in Indonesia, which plays a pivotal role in melding pesantren graduates. NU promotes values of inclusivity, tolerance, and social justice, thereby enriching the educational offering of pesantren.⁴⁵ For instance, Pesantren Walisongo incorporates civil

⁴⁴ Interview with P5, 12 November 2023.

⁴⁵ Pribadi, "Religious Networks in Madura Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture"; Badrus Sholeh, "Pesantren, Peace Building, and Empowerment: A Study of Community Based Peace Building Initiatives," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 43, no. 2 (November 30, 2005): 327–47, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2005.432.327-347>; Yon Machmudi, "Modernization and Changes in Kiai-Santri Relations in Three Pesantrens in Java," *ISLAMICA*:

society values into its curriculum by emphasizing social responsibilities, community engagement, and environmental awareness. This comprehensive approach not only equips students with a strong foundation in religious knowledge but also prepares them to be active and responsible members of society. By embedding these values into their educational practices and partnering with influential organizations like NU, pesantren can make significant contributions to the advancement of civil society, fostering a generation that upholds ethical standards and actively engages in community progress.

Pesantrens in West Kalimantan have emerged as significant contributors to enhancing social resilience and developing civil society by integrating religious education with community-oriented practices that foster cohesion, tolerance, and inclusivity. This research identifies four principal themes: the promotion of peace and social harmony, the integration of diversity-oriented curricula and rituals, the strategic utilization of *Sanad Keilmuan* and alums networks to bolster solidarity, and the reformation of civil society values through Islamic paradigms. Institutions such as Darun Nasihin, Al-Murabbi, Darul Ulum, and Walisongo function not only as educational establishments but also as communal venues where ethnic and religious diversity is reconciled through shared practices, including *Haul*, *Tahlil*, and *Imtihānan*. These activities are interwoven with local cultural expressions, such as *handep*, and are underpinned by moderate Islamic teachings (*Wasathiyah*) and affiliations with larger organizations like Nahdlatul Ulama. Consequently, pesantrens play a pivotal role in cultivating a new generation dedicated to ethical pluralism, thereby enhancing the institution's ability to contribute to peacebuilding and social integration within Indonesia's diverse ethnic and religious landscape.

Conclusion

By examining the research findings, this study confirms that connections between pesantren and the diaspora have had a

practical impact on social resilience in post-conflict ethnic West Kalimantan. This connection also fosters a deeper understanding of peacebuilding discussions. Pesantren and diaspora play a significant role in analyzing the scopes of peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding for a reconstruction model in post-conflict ethnic reconciliations.⁴⁶ This study sheds new light on the broader roles of pesantren. Previous discourses (see Abubakar & Hemay⁴⁷ and Fauzi⁴⁸) have focused on pesantren studies as Islamic educational institutions that preserve traditions, produce ulama, and serve as centers for Islamic studies. In contrast, the findings of this research suggest a broader adaptation, positioning pesantren as a social institution contributing to community development and social cohesion in post-conflict ethnic contexts. Pesantren has garnered significant attention in genuine discourses regarding the re-education of religious knowledge, curriculum development to promote peace and tolerance, economic empowerment, and interfaith dialogue, particularly within inter-ethnic contexts.

Concerning the specific purpose of this study, the authors contended that the *Haul* tradition becomes a space of social cooperation to bolster people's mobilities. Unlike previous literatures such as Chalik & Hamdi,⁴⁹ Setiyani,⁵⁰ and Zaki.⁵¹ These

⁴⁶ Johan Galtung, "Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding," in *War and Defense: Essays in Peace Research*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen, 1976); Qamar-Ul Huda et al., "Islam, Peacebuilding and Development," *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 6, no. 1 (June 2011): 1–5, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2011.745958627859>; Tobias Ide et al., "The Past and Future(s) of Environmental Peacebuilding," *International Affairs* (Oxford University Press, January 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiaa177>; Schirch, "Ritual and Peacebuilding."

⁴⁷ Irfan Abubakar and Idris Hemay, "Pesantren Resilience: The Path to Prevent Radicalism and Violent Extremism," *Studia Islamika* 27, no. 2 (August 3, 2020): 397–404, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v27i2.16766>.

⁴⁸ Fauzi, "Traditional Islam in Javanese Society."

⁴⁹ Abdul Chalik and Ahmad Zainul Hamdi, "New Trajectory of Kyai's Political Participation in Contemporary Indonesia: Rises, Challenges, and Opportunities," *Indonesian Journal of Political Studies (IJPS)* 2, no. 2 (October 29, 2022): 131–52, <https://doi.org/10.15642/ijps.2022.2.2.131-152>.

researchers have noted that such traditions primarily serve to facilitate community meetings to commemorate prominent figures who have passed away. *Tahlil* and *Handep* also promote social bonding, leading to cooperation that shepherds solidarity and cohesion, reflecting Islamic values such as *Wasathiyah*, which reflects the ethics and morality of communities in building networks among alums, government, and various stakeholders, thereby constructing a harmonious relationship between ethnicity and religion in a better way of life. The context of the educational lineage (*Sanad*) of the kiai and pesantren alums has implications for countering various provocations between villages. This is reinforced by the "Jaga Kampung" initiative, which alumni undertake when they become part of the community. In line with previous studies such as Rachmawati & Gunawan⁵² and Izudin⁵³ highlight how pesantren facilitates the formation of social networks among students, teachers, and alumni. Therefore, the pesantren established by the Madura diaspora in West Kalimantan actively engages in strengthening social resilience for communities who are former victims of inter-ethnic conflicts. This can be interpreted to mean that pesantren have positive implications in preventing prolonged psychological trauma, contributing to sustainable peacebuilding.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Wiwik Setiyani, "The Exerted Authority of Kiai Kampung in the Social Construction of Local Islam," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 14, no. 1 (June 1, 2020): 51, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2020.14.1.51-76>.

⁵¹ Irham Zaki et al., "Islamic Community-Based Business Cooperation and Sustainable Development Goals: A Case of Pesantren Community in Indonesia," *International Journal of Ethics and Systems* 38, no. 4 (October 13, 2022): 621–32, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJOES-12-2021-0218>.

⁵² Ranti Rachmawanti and Djarlis Gunawan, "Implementation of Cultural Products in Medical Practices at Pesantren Suryalaya – Tasikmalaya," *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 10, no. 2 (December 19, 2023): 2268389, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2023.2268389>.

⁵³ Izudin, "From Prophetic Leadership to Sustainable Community Development: Contributing Kiai Najib Salimi in Contemporary Pesantren."

⁵⁴ Karin Aggestam and Linda Eitrem Holmgren, "The Gender-Resilience Nexus in Peacebuilding: The Quest for Sustainable Peace," *Journal of International Relations and Development* 25, no. 4 (December 2022): 880–901, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41268-022-00269-9>; Huda et al., "Islam, Peacebuilding and Development"; Zamroni Zamroni, Akmal Mundiri, and Hanifatur Rodiyah,

In the broader discussion, the roles of pesantren and the diaspora have become a discursive debate in creating sustainable peacebuilding.⁵⁵ This discourse pattern emerges due to the evolving studies in pesantren, which are increasingly metamorphosing in response to various social changes, such as instilling inclusive religious values in the younger generation and linking cultural heritage with the Islamic values taught in pesantren.⁵⁶ Although pesantren have developed into inclusive and moderate educational institutions, some issues have escaped the review of scholars,⁵⁷ allowing this study to contribute to the development of the analytical framework theory. Issues such as inter-ethnic dialogue and community reconciliation are alternative paths to fostering a spirit of togetherness and development at the grassroots level.⁵⁸ Therefore, this study provides a new perspective

"Quantum Attraction of Kyai's Leadership in Indonesian Pesantren," *Dinamika Ilmu* 22, no. 1 (June 30, 2022): 187–99, <https://doi.org/10.21093/di.v22i1.4212>.

⁵⁵ Basri Basri et al., "Dayah on the Move: Social Engineering through Islamic Education Reformation in Post-Conflict Aceh, Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 23, no. 1 (February 20, 2023): 60–87, <https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v23i1.15695>.

⁵⁶ Auliya' Fatahillah, Chuanchen Chuanchen, and Abdul Wahid Zaini, "Cultivating Cultural Synergy: Unifying Boarding Schools, Local Wisdom, and Authentic Islamic Values for the Enhancement of Islamic Identity," *Managere: Indonesian Journal of Educational Management* 5, no. 2 (August 11, 2023): 187–97, <https://doi.org/10.52627/managere.v5i2.339>; Jusubaidi Jusubaidi et al., "A Model of Transformative Religious Education: Teaching and Learning Islam in Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor, Indonesia," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 1 (February 29, 2024): 171–212, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol23.iss1.art6>.

⁵⁷ Dodi Suryana and Tito Handoko, "Islamic Commodification in Representation of Political Development in Indonesia: A Systematic Literature Review," *Hayula: Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies* 7, no. 1 (January 29, 2023): 51–76, <https://doi.org/10.21009/hayula.007.01.04>; Abdul Malik, "The Resilience of Literacy Culture in Salafi Jihadis Pesantren; Study on Traditional Islamic Boarding School in Indonesia," *Journal on Education* 6, no. 1 (May 22, 2023): 121–37, <https://doi.org/10.31004/joe.v6i1.2925>.

⁵⁸ Toyosi Olugbenga Samson Owolabi and Adeniyi Olalekan Hassan, "Building a Culture of Peace and Conflict Resolution Through Indigenous Language Media (ILM)," in *Indigenous African Language Media*, ed. Phillip Mpofu, Israel Ayinla Fadipe, and Thulani Tshabangu (Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2023), 401–18, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-0305-4_23; Baú, "Citizen Engagement in Peacebuilding"; Beatrice Dube and Sinenhlanhla S. Chisale, "Decolonising Peacebuilding for Development in South Africa: African

on the role of pesantren and the diaspora in conflict mitigation, which can reshape social cohesion and resilience in Indigenous communities.

This study reveals that the Madurese diaspora has directly been involved in promoting sustainable peacebuilding. Although they are predominantly victims of inter-ethnic conflict in West Kalimantan, their contributions to the establishment of pesantren, which strengthen social resilience through various programs, dispel the notion that conflict victims perpetually remain in a state of suffering and distress. The presence of the Madurese diaspora highlights that conflict victims can effectively contribute to the creation of a new peace framework that enhances social resilience. The pesantren curriculum, which emphasizes inclusive education and multicultural perspectives, has raised awareness among alumni, students, and parents about the significance of engaging openly with multi-ethnic societies. The re-education in religious knowledge, promotion of tolerance towards different ethnic groups, economic empowerment through activities such as go-farming and cooperatives, and facilitation of inter-ethnic dialogues are tangible examples of how pesantrens established by the Madurese have fostered social cohesion and resilience. These pesantren play a crucial role in promoting harmony, peace, respectful religious practices, strengthening networks and partnerships with diverse stakeholders, and mitigating provocations that could incite ethnic tensions. Consequently, the combined efforts of pesantren and the Madurese diaspora represent a novel approach in advocating for values of harmony.

By empirical studies, this research makes a significant contribution to the advancement of theories concerning the engagement of the diaspora and pesantren, thereby expanding the scope of topics and issues relevant to peace advocacy. Traditionally, pesantren have been perceived as Islamic educational establishments that advocate for values of tolerance

Traditional Spiritual Leaders as Critical Assets," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Religion, Peacebuilding, and Development in Africa*, ed. Susan M. Kilonzo, Ezra Chitando, and Joram Tarusarira (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023), 435–53, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-36829-5_25.

and reconciliation within a limited framework, such as counteracting terrorism, fostering inclusive values, and countering religious revivalist movements. Nevertheless, this study introduces novel sub-thematic, suggesting that pesantren can assume a more extensive role in fostering social resilience in regions susceptible to ethnic conflicts. Additionally, they can establish new local networks to encourage inclusivity that acknowledges ethnic diversity. This theoretical input extends the discourse on pesantren studies, moving the focus from solely preventing religious radicalization and cultivating a revivalist Islamic ethos to examining the interplay between the diaspora and pesantren in the realm of post-ethnic conflict peacebuilding. However, the researcher acknowledges that this study has not yet contextualized broader aspects, particularly concerning the research location and the limited timeframe. The limitations in methodology and data analysis due to a small sample size may lead to weaknesses in interpreting the revealed meanings and phenomena. The authors suggest that further studies covering different objects, settings, and contexts would deepen the understanding of issues related to ethnicity, pesantren, and diaspora through various research approaches and perspectives.

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