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THE RESILIENCE MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL IDENTITY IN A TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXT: THE MADRASAH TARBIYA ISLAMIYA

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Abstract

Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) in Minangkabau plays a vital role in preserving local Islamic traditions and identity amid various transnational ideological challenges. This study aims to analyze the resilience management of the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah community in facing transnational ideological challenges in Minangkabau. Using a phenomenological and sociological approach, this study seeks to explore MTI's adaptation patterns in curriculum design, teaching methods, and the role of religious scholars in preserving traditional Minangkabau Islamic values. Interviews were conducted with MTI leaders, teachers, alumni, and PERTI officials, supplemented by observations and documentation analyzed using the Miles and Huberman model. The research findings indicate that the MTI community's resilience in facing the challenges of transnational ideologies is manifested through the content of the "kitab kuning" (traditional Islamic texts), the moderate teacher-student relationship, the MTI's loyal relationship with PERTI and the Indonesian state (NKRI), and the Sufi worldview of MTI students. The implications of these findings are that the MTI community's resilience capital enables them to confront external challenges, adapt to change, enhance collaboration among madrasahs, parents, and the surrounding community, and strengthen the religious identity of MTI students. These findings indicate that the sustainability of MTI is highly dependent on its ability to balance tradition with adaptation to the dynamics of transnational ideologies in Minangkabau.

Keywords: *Transnational Ideology, MTI Community, Resilience*

INTRODUCTION

Studying the Minangkabau culture, which has its unique characteristics, is particularly intriguing, especially in relation to its religious ideology. The Minangkabau philosophy is reflected in the principle 'Adat Basandi Syara', Syara 'Basandi Kitabullah' (Aziz et al., 2020; Taufik, 2024; Wimra, 2017). This principle demonstrates the strong interconnection between customary values and Islamic teaching, which collectively form a distinctive identity within the community. However, the challenge posed by transnational ideologies including radicalization, tests the extent to which MTI communities can survive and maintain their local identity.

In the face of this challenge, the Minangkabau community, especially those who

adhere to the tradition of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) (Kosim, 2013), Minangkabau people are required to strengthen their understanding of customary and religious values, while building resilience against ideological infiltration that could threaten their social harmony and cultural integrity. Amidst the social and cultural dynamics of Minangkabau, different views on the application of Islamic teachings have emerged, leading to tensions between groups that maintain local traditions and groups that encourage change (Farah, 2019; Fitri, 2021; Rozi, 2015).

The debate between the older and the younger Muslims generations marked the beginning of the polemics and became a defining feature of Islamic discourse within the Minang region. At the beginning of the 20th century, a movement emerged in Minangkabau, led by young people who had just returned from pursuing studies in Saudi Arabia and Egypt. This movement sought to reform Islamic teachings by challenging traditions that were considered inconsistent with Islamic principles (Ashadi, 2019; Nofa & Nor, 2023).

The emergence of young generation influenced by Wahhabi ideology and movement in Saudi Arabia, initiated by Abdul Wahab, which (1784-1847). The Padri War, led by Tuanku Imam Bonjol, was a conflict stemming from this movement in Minangkabau which began in 1803. The Padri movement was not a spontaneous uprising; rather, it was a continuation of a long-standing development that erupted violently at the start of 19th century (Stark, 2023).

According to Azra(Azra, 2004) and Dobbin(Dobbin, 2008) The Padri movement marks the beginning of Islamic radicalism in Indonesia. Supporting this view, Anwar(Anwar & Shidiq, 2021) and Yahya(Yahya, 2008) and Muhtadi(Muhtadi, 2019) asserts that the Padri movement was the earliest and most radical Islamic movement in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. This movement is considered radical because its actions over of tolerance and peace. This is the reason why Laffan(Laffan, 2011) and Baskara(Baskara, 2017) concluded that thePadri movement contained radical elements.

The establishment of PERTI in (1938) West Sumatra, initiated by Inyiak Candung and several other ulama from the 'Kaum Tuo' group as the respond to the Padri movement (Sudarmoko, 2010; Zulfadli et al., 2024). The formation of PERTI as an organization began with the idea of establishing Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah, which there were 7 MTIs managed by older generation (Kaum Tuo) under PERTI at that time (Koto, 2012a; Noer, 1994). A detailed narrative about the Tarbiyah Association is in the manuscript 'History of the Establishment of Tarbiyah Islamiyah' written by Abdul Manaf, who authored and copied of 25 manuscripts. In the manuscript 'Sejarah Berdirinya Tarbiyah Islamiyah', it describes the conflict between Young generation who adhered to the Wahabiyah mazhab against the Old generation who adhered to the Shafi'i mazhab. The young generation mocked the old generation by calling them "Ancient People", and composed poems that demeaned them as individuals who only begged for a living. They criticized the traditional surau education system, which still utilized *halaqah* (a method of learning in groups).(Putra, 2011; Zulkifli, 2022).

Along with the times, entering the reform era, Islamic educational institutions are now faced with the issue related to radicalism and terrorism (Mubarak, 2015; Nainggolan, Poltak, 2018). This condition represents a new challenge for MTI community, especially in dealing with transnational ideologies that are growing rapidly. Transnational ideologies such as Salafism, Wahhabism, and other global political Islamic movements, often carry narratives that are not always in line with local Islamic traditions

(Pischedda, 2023; Rohman et al., 2025). This phenomenon can trigger friction among the community, weaken local Islamic identity, and even threaten the harmony that has been established in Minangkabau

This challenge has become increasingly relevant with the rapid advancement of information technology that facilitates the circulation of information and the dissemination of ideology across borders. Easy access to digital media allows the entry of new religious understandings that are not necessarily in line with local values (Quintan Wiktorowicz, 2012). On the other hand, the younger generation as active users of information technology tend to be more vulnerable to the influence of this ideology and even have the potential to become its propagators.

Pesantren as traditional Islamic educational institutions, often draw attention in discussion about religious education. There are allegations regarding pesantren's involvement in radical Islamic networks raising concerns that a controlled flow of information could shape the teachings within these institutions (Kosim, 2012). This situation prompts the state to implement stricter supervisory measures to ensure that pesantren remain moderate centers of education and do not become influenced by ideologies that conflict with national principles. The emergence of transnational ideologies poses a risk of infiltrating and undermining the identity of the pesantren community, which is characterized by non-violence and a strong tolerance for diversity, potentially leading to religious radicalism in West Sumatra.

The resilience of the MTI community in facing these challenges is a very important issue to study. The ability of this community to maintain local values while adapting to global changes reflects the strength of the distinctive culture and religion in Minangkabau. The strategies employed by the MTI community such as education, the reinforcement of cultural values, and collaboration among institutions serve as responses to the influence of transnational ideologies. Therefore, examining the resilience of the MTI community in the context of these challenges is not only crucial for understanding local dynamics but also relevant in a global context. This study offers insights into how local Islamic identity can endure amid globalization and the infiltration of transnational ideologies, as well as how local values can function as a basis for strengthening social cohesion within the community.

Research on the resilience of the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah community in confronting the challenges posed by transnational ideologies is still relatively limited. However, several related studies have provided valuable insights into how religious institutions, particularly pesantren, cultivate their capacity to withstand the influence of radical ideologies. For instance, a study conducted by (Abu bakar, 2020) shows that the resilience of pesantren is highly dependent on their typology and social capital. Traditional pesantren depend on the existence of Kiai and the teaching of the yellow Islamic classic book as a stronghold of protection. Meanwhile, reformist pesantren such as Gontor and its affiliates rely on the 'Panca Jiwa' value system as an ideological grounding, while organizations like Muhammadiyah and Persis maintain their resilience through their connection to parent organizations. Salafi pesantren, on the other hand, draw upon Wahhabi theology. Further research conducted by Nafik and Suherman (Muthohirin & Suherman, 2020) at the Muhammadiyah Pesantren, Karangasem, Lamongan

Research on resistance to radicalism has also been conducted in West Sumatra, as found by Welhendri (Azwar, 2016) Within the context of Minangkabau society, local

wisdom based on the philosophy of 'Adat Basandi Syara'-Syara' Basandi Kitabullah' is a key factor in rejecting new ideas that are contrary to Islamic teachings. In addition, the role of the ulama and the critical awareness of the community are also a barrier to the spread of radical ideology.

This finding is reinforced by Farida's research(Farida, 2015), which shows that the orientation of the thinking of pesantren leaders, both Kiai, founders and senior santri, greatly determines the direction of the ideology that develops in the institution. If pesantren leaders have a radic indicates that the resilience of pesantren is built not only through an internal value system but also through the charismatic influence of the kiai. This charisma is derived not only from social status but also from the depth of religious knowledge and active participation in religious organizations. As role models, the kiai can instill moderate Islamic values in the santri. Additionally, the integration of the national curriculum with Islamic teachings, along with extracurricular activities such as scouting and the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IPM), helps to nurture a moderate and cosmopolitan mindset among the santri. As a result, pesantren not only develop individuals with deep religious knowledge but also foster inclusive communities that embrace diversity. Typically, santri tend to adopt similar mindsets as their leaders. Therefore, if the leaders hold moderate views, the values of moderation will be more prevalent within the pesantren environment.

Drawing on the various findings, it can be concluded that the resilience of pesantren communities to transnational ideologies is not uniform, rather it is significantly influenced by the social characteristics, culture, and internal structure of each pesantren. Key factors such as social capital, influential leaders, value systems, and participation in religious organizations play a significant role in forming the resilience of pesantren against radical influences. Therefore, understanding the dynamics of this resilience is essential for developing effective strategies to uphold and sustain moderate values in the pesantren environment and the broader community.

This study examines the resilience of the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) community in Minangkabau in responding to the dynamic development of transnational ideologies. Although there has been a great deal of research on Islamic boarding schools and radicalism, in-depth studies focusing on the factors contributing to the resilience of the MTI as a traditional Islamic educational institution within the distinctive cultural context of Minangkabau remain very limited.

The uniqueness of MTI as part of the PERTI (Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah) organization lies in its social, cultural and historical characteristics, which differ from those of other Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. This study employs an approach that combines the principles of Minangkabau customary law and Islamic teachings *"Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah"*, and analyzes how this integration provides a response to radical and transnational ideologies that frequently threaten social cohesion and local cultural identity.

This study aims to analyze the contribution of social capital, leadership and MTI-specific values to the development of ideological resilience, which not only functions as a defence mechanism but also demonstrates responsiveness to global change. This methodological approach introduces an innovative approach by combining the study of local culture, classical Islamic educational traditions, and the dynamics of international ideology within a single comprehensive analytical framework.

Therefore, this study not only fills a gap in our understanding of Islamic boarding

schools and extremism in Indonesia but also provides contextual insights into processes of resilience rooted in cultural heritage and the Islamic education system, which may serve as a reference for other communities in responding to the spread of transnational ideologies.

This study seeks to examine the resilience capital of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah in confronting transnational ideologies in the Minangkabau region. It will also explore the implications of this resilience capital on the existence of the MTI community in West Sumatra.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach that intelligently combines phenomenological and sociological methods to gain a deeper understanding of the personal experiences and social interactions within the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) community in West Sumatra. The phenomenological approach enables the researcher—acting as the primary research instrument—to interact directly with the subjects. This allows for an authentic understanding of the community's experiences and responses that is grounded in context, particularly regarding their engagement with transnational ideologies (Noeng Muhadjir, 2000).

Meanwhile, the sociological approach facilitates an analysis of the community's resilience by examining social structures, cultural aspects, and the ways members interact when confronted with challenges posed by global ideas. Integrating these two approaches offers a novel and creative methodological contribution to research on MTI pesantren (Islamic boarding schools), as such studies typically rely on a single approach.

Employing a comprehensive data collection method—involving all leaders, teachers (*ustad/ustadzah*), and students (*santri*) at MTI—helped enhance data quality by capturing diverse perspectives and accounting for the community's hierarchical structure. The data collection strategy, utilizing in-depth interviews, direct observation, and document analysis, yielded a clear and comprehensive picture of the resilience strategies being implemented.

Data analysis was conducted following the procedures outlined by Miles and Huberman (1986)—comprising data reduction, display, and verification—to ensure accuracy and clarity in identifying the patterns of ideological resilience within the MTI community.

Through this method, the study successfully gathered highly detailed information on individual and group experiences while elucidating the workings of MTI's distinctive cultural and educational resilience mechanisms, which serve as a foundation for warding off external ideological influences. These findings offer fresh insights within the field of Islamic education research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

RESULTS

The community of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah has developed a unique identity where religion and culture complement and enhance one another. In this section,

researchers will analyze two key aspects. First, they will explore the resilience capital possessed by the MTI community. Second, they will examine the implications of this resilience capital for the continued existence of the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah community in West Sumatra.

1. Resilience capital of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Community in facing Transnational ideology in Minangkabau.

Data collected in the field shows that Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah in West Sumatra possesses resilience capital to address transnational ideology. The resilience capital are:

Content of teaching materials learnt at Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah

The content of teaching materials serves as a fundamental pillar in strengthening the resilience of the MTI community against transnational ideologies. As explained by Buya Anas Khatib, the santri at MTI Candung receive an education based on the yellow book, which encompasses Aqidah, Fiqh, and Tasawwuf. In the area of Aqidah, they adhere to the beliefs of Abu Hasan Ash'ari and Abu Mansur al-Maturidi. For Sufism, they follow the teachings of Imam al-Ghazali through his book *Ihya 'Ulum al-Din*. Regarding Fiqh, they reference the works of scholars from the Shafi'i school.

The uniformity of the curriculum is a defining characteristic of the Madrasah Tsanawiyah Islamiyah (MTIs) in Minangkabau and other regions. Most of these institutions trace their scholarly lineage, or sanad, back to 'Inyiak Candung' or MTI Candung. This is supported by statements from Buya Ridwan, the leader of MTI Jaho in Padang Panjang, and Buya Mulyadi, the leader of MTI Tabek Gadang in the Lima Puluh Kota district. Even MTIs located outside of West Sumatra, such as MTI Tanjung Barulak in Bangkinang, Pekanbaru—founded by Buya H. Abdul Manaf, a disciple of Sheikh Sulaiman Ar-Rasuli—maintain the same continuity in their scholarly lineage.

Ustad Apria Putra emphasized that the resilience of the Tarbiyah community is rooted in the teachings of the yellow book. These texts not only promote the values of peace and prosperity but also help santri understand that the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) is part of the concept of an Islamic state. This concept is articulated in the book "Bughyatul Mustarsyidin," a fiqh text that compiles the fatwas of scholars from the Shafi'i school and serves as a primary reference in various pesantren (Islamic boarding schools).

Tradition of Moderate Teacher-Student Relationship

In addition to teaching the classic yellow Islamic book, the close relationship between the buya and santri plays a crucial role in fostering resistance to radicalism. Buya Duski Samad emphasizes that this relationship is rooted in moderation, with strong obedience from the santri towards their teachers. This obedience is not blind submission; rather, it is a form of respect grounded in the scientific tradition of pesantren, where students embrace knowledge with proper manners and obedience. This creates a robust shield for santri, helping them confront various ideologies that could potentially destabilize their religious understanding.

More than just a teacher, buya in the MTI tradition take on a holistic role as shapers of the character, heart, and personality of the santri. As Ustad Zulkifli states, the

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buya's depth of knowledge positions him as an authoritative role model. In this regard, santri not only follow the buya's teachings intellectually but also spiritually and morally. Their reluctance to debate their teachers stems not from taboos, but from the belief that the blessings of knowledge arise from sincerity and respect for their teachers. Thus, this relationship not only strengthens the transmission of knowledge but also serves as a social mechanism that preserves the continuity of moderate and contextualized religious understanding.

Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah's loyalty to PERTI

The close relationship between Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) and Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah (PERTI) plays a significant role in building resilience against transnational ideologies. Buya Duski Samad emphasized that the historical and ideological connection between MTI and PERTI serves as a key asset for the Tarbiyah community in maintaining its commitment to the Republic of Indonesia while rejecting radical ideologies. Historically, PERTI was the only organization outside of Java that firmly refused to heed the call of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) to rebel against President Soekarno's government. This stance was not simply a pragmatic political choice; it stemmed from the theological beliefs of Ahlussunnah wal Jamaaah upheld by both PERTI and MTI.

As Buya Duski Samad explained, PERTI is fundamentally a forum for the leaders of MTI, all of whom adhere to Sunni Islam. In Sunni tradition, the existence of a legitimate leader or imam must be respected, and appointing another imam while a legitimate leader remains is deemed unjustified. This principle fosters a deep loyalty to the legitimate government within both PERTI and the broader Tarbiyah community. This loyalty is evident in various MTI activities under PERTI, which continue to uphold national values and do not oppose the state.This finding is reinforced by Buya Dalisman, Buya Ridwan and Buya harmaini, who affirm that the tarbiyah community is not anti-NKRI. This can be seen from various activities in the madrasah, such as commemorating national days, which show harmony between Islamic values and national commitment. Like the picture below:



Picture 1. Flag Ceremony at PP MTI Darussalam Tsalis Rao Pasaman

Flag ceremony activities, like the one depicted above, are conducted by all tarbiyah

 e-ISSN : 3090-7713

communities under PERTI. These events express love for the country and instill a sense of nationalism in the students. Therefore, the relationship between MTI and PERTI is not only a historical legacy but also a crucial foundation for maintaining religious moderation and resisting radicalism.

Sufistic worldview of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah students

Another form of resilience of the tarbiyah community to the influence of transnational ideology is their alignment with a Sufistic worldview. As explained by Buya Harmaini, the leader of MTI Darussalam Tsalis Pasaman. Since the fourth grade, MTI students have been introduced to the teachings of Sufism and Tariqah based on the thoughts of Imam Junaid al Baghdady and Imam Abu Hamid al Gazali. This Sufistic approach is not only theoretical, but also shapes the character and spirituality of santri, making them more moderate in understanding religion and more tolerant in social life.
This statement was reinforced by the leadership of PERTI West Sumatra, who confirmed that Sufism and Tariqah are taught systematically in all MTIs, starting from grade IV to grade VI. The teaching of Sufism is not just an add-on, but has become an integral part of the official curriculum of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah, as stated in the syllabus for the Wustha (grade IV) and Tsanawiyah (grade III) levels, as well as Level IV-Special. Here is an example of the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Grade 4 (Wustha)/ 3 (Tsanawiyah) & Grade IV-Special curriculum with Core competencies:

1. Believing in Allah Swt. within the framework of the Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah creed; practising according to one of the four madhhabs (Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, or Hanbali) except in issuing fatwas and ruling, which must be according to the Shafi'iyah madhhab; fulfilling all of Allah's commands and avoiding all of His prohibitions; and dhikr and awrad according to the guidance of al-Ghazali's Sufism;
2. , 3 and 4.

On KD : 3.6 can be seen about the study of tasauf as follows:

Table 1: Syllabus for the Ketarbiyahan Course

Basic Competence	**Indicator**
3.6. Analyze factual (al-waqi'iyyah), conceptual (al-fikriyyah), procedural (kaifiyyah alistidlal), and metacognitive (al-natijah) knowledge about the 'Main Material of Islamic Tarbiyah Education' with Sub Material III: Study of Tashauf, which includes: a. Tashauf according to the Concepts of Imam Junaid alBaghdadiy and Imam Hamid al-Ghazaliy; and b. Tariqat as the Second Level (Shari'at, Tariqat, and Haqiqat) in the Concepts of Imam Junaid alBaghdadiy and Imam Hamid al-Ghazaliy.	**Conceptual:** 3.6.1. Define Tashauf and Tariqat in language and terms 3.6.2. Formulating Tashauf and Tariqat in detail 3.6.3. Discover the theory of Tashauf and Tariqat **Procedural:** 3.6.4. Mapping Tashauf and Tariqat 3.6.5. Customising Tashauf and Tariqat as the basic foundation of the institution 3.6.6. Responding to Tashauf and Tariqat **Factual**: 3.6.7. Identifying Tashauf and Tariqat 3.6.8. Verifying Tashauf and Tariqat 3.6.9. Clarifying the Tashauf and Tariqat described **Metacognitif:** 3.6.10. Demonstrate the identity of

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	tashauf and tariqat

Although the students receive only a basic introduction to Sufism and Tariqat, this foundational knowledge is essential for them to explore these subjects further. For members of the tarbiyah tareqat community, this understanding serves as a protective measure against external influences that could harm their beliefs (aqidah). Therefore, it is crucial to recognize that those who engage in tarbiyah must also practice tareqat; being a member of the tarbiyah community without adhering to tareqat is not valid. Sufistic education at MTI serves not only as a complementary aspect of Islamic studies but also as an internal mechanism that strengthens the community's resistance to extreme ideologies. It achieves this by instilling values of civility, spiritual balance, and moral depth within their religious lives.

2. Implications of Resilience Capital for the Existence of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah Community in West Sumatra

This research has discussed how resilience capital plays an important role in maintaining the existence of the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) community in West Sumatra. Various factors such as the content of the yellow book teaching material taught to santri, the tradition of moderate teacher and student relationships, the relationship of MTI loyalty to PERTI as the parent organization that houses all MTIs in Indonesia and the Sufistic worldview of MTI santri are the main foundations in maintaining the sustainability of this madrasah amidst the challenges of the times.

Social dynamics and changes in education policy require the MTI community to continue to adapt, without losing the traditional values that have become its identity. Therefore, understanding the implications of this resilience capital is crucial in formulating strategies to strengthen madrasahs in the future. The findings show that the existence of resilience capital in Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah plays an important role in maintaining its existence, especially in West Sumatra as the embryonic region where MTI was born. Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah with strong resilience capital will be better able to face external challenges, both from social, political and economic aspects, without sacrificing the essence of education. Moreover, resilience capital also strengthens MTI's ability to maintain religious values and character education, so that it remains relevant and competitive in the midst of changing times.

Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah is capable of adapting to change. Communities within Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah that possess resilience are able to quickly adjust to shifts in the educational environment or society. They can implement innovative learning approaches and modify the curriculum to meet contemporary needs. The establishment of MTI in West Sumatra, which represents a transformation from the traditional surau with a halaqah learning system to a madrasah with a classroom setup that includes benches and tables, demonstrates the commitment of the tarbiyah community to evolve with the times. Even in responding to modernisation (Muwafiqoh & Ulum, 2023) The MTI community adopted the general education curriculum into the pesantren as a result of the SKB 3 ministerial agreement while maintaining the deep-rooted Islamic tradition in

Minangkabau (Satria, 2019).

The existence of MTI in West Sumatra was realised due to the collaboration and support of the community towards Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah. With resilience capital in place, collaboration between madrasahs, parents and the surrounding community can be enhanced. Community support can help madrasahs overcome obstacles and strengthen their mission in shaping students' character and morals. The existence of community support for MTI has started since the first MTI was established (Lubis et al., 2023). Some people are even willing to have their empty houses occupied by MTI students. The santri, who are called 'änak siak' by the community, are very integrated with the surrounding community, and they are even able to colour the lives of the community (Hariadi, 2014). An educational institution is usually established by the community, in the midst of the community and for the benefit of the community. An institution that advances and continues to exist because it has high support and participation from the community (Qomar, 2003). The same goes for the presence of MTI. The establishment of MTI-MTI in West Sumatra is a form of strong support from the community. This is because the figure of the charismatic kiyai or buya in MTI is a role model for the community (Rahman, 2015).

The resilience capital of the MTI community will also strengthen the religious identity of santri. In the face of pressure from secular environments or multiculturalism, Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah as a pesantren-based religious school that has resilience capital can strengthen their students' religious identity. The buya/ustadz/ustadzah can communicate religious values in a relevant and inclusive way.

Discussion

Each Islamic educational institution has different capital to be resilient to radical or transnational ideologies. So is the case with the Islamic education institution Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah in West Sumatra. This MTI Islamic education institution has its own capital to be able to survive radical ideologies or deviant ideologies such as transnational ideologies.

Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) is an Islamic educational institution under the PERTI organization that adheres to moderate views (Kosim, 2015; Syam, 2018) among the developing understandings is the understanding of ahl al sunnah wa al jama'ah. So that the teaching material studied by santri is material based on the Qur'an, sunnah, Ijma' and Qiyas. The teaching material starts from Tasauf by studying the book by Sheikh Muhammad Jamil jaho 'Tazkiratul qulub', the Book 'Ihyaulumuddin' by Imam al Gazali. In the field of fiqh using the books of Syafiiyah scholars and monotheism following the understanding of Abu Hasan al Ashari and Abu Mansur maturidiyah (which is a little rational) is very moderate. This means that the learning material that takes place in formal institutions at school and the material presented to the community in preaching, is generally a line of moderation. This can be seen from the curriculum of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah. Both perti born from the womb of nyiak candung, or other perti that are only affiliated with understanding. This means that it is their scientific genealogical

network that gives them staying power. According to Moh Salik and Ali Masoed, choosing moderate books is an effort to avoid radicalism (Salik & Mas'ud, 2020).

Determining the teaching material that will be studied by students is a very important thing to do by MTI considering that through teaching materials transnational understanding can enter and will affect the way students think and behave. Teaching material is a very effective medium for shaping one's understanding. If a person's understanding is narrow, not moderate, then he will easily blame others and find it difficult to accept diversity (Irham, 2015; Syafei, 2019). This is reinforced by research findings conducted by Fathur Rahim (2022) and also Nana et al (2020) in his book 'Management of Islamic Boarding School Curriculum Development in Winning Radicalism', explaining that the need for pesantren to develop their curriculum to anticipate the emergence of radicalism because the curriculum is a learning experience for students.

Studying classical books or yellowclassical books has become the identity of santri in pesantren. Studying the yellowclassical books can be a guideline for the pesantren community on religious procedures, as a universal reference source in addressing all issues. Pesantren with a religious identity are seen as exclusive and cannot be compromised to produce santri who are anti-radical, non-violent, moral and polite and honest (Paisal et al., 2021; Taher, 2020).

In addition to capitalising on the content of teaching material through the yellow book, the community of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah also has a tradition of moderate student-teacher relations that are considered to be able to fortify against radicalism. The tradition built in Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah is a moderate tradition that gives more respect to the teacher. The bond between teacher and student means that the bond between buya and santri will remain even if the santri no longer study with the buya. The teacher in the pesantren forms the heart not just the mind. There is an interesting expression related to obedience to this teacher 'be you in front of your teacher like a corpse in the hands of the person who is bathing'. The santri in the boarding school is controlled by the teacher/buya. Do not refuse his orders, do not argue with him, because if you argue with the teacher, you will lose the blessing of knowledge, if you lose the blessing of knowledge, you will lose faith when you die. Student respect for the teacher tends to be an individual cult. There is no courage for santri to argue about any matter with the kiai or refute him because they could be disgraced (Scott, 1972).. When there is a strong relationship between teachers and students, it becomes challenging for certain individuals or ideologies to influence the santri. In Turmudi's view, the teacher-student relationship is called a patron-client relationship (Turmudi, 2003) This pattern is also adopted by transnational groups.

Syamsul asserts in his research that pesantren has become a powerful institution for legitimizing the authority and power of the kiai. Through the education system in pesantren, the kiai can establish hegemony and indoctrinate a set of values in the santri. Consequently, the santri become both individually and socially dependent on the kiai. Ultimately, the relationship between kiai and santri in pesantren fosters a very strong

patron-client dynamic. (Ma'rif, 2010).

This pattern of relationship is justified by Romas (2003) The relationship between a kiai and his santri is characterized as one between autocratic individuals and subservient individuals. This dynamic fosters absolute obedience from the santri to the kiai, as the kiai is seen as a source of blessings in life. Due to the strength of this relationship, santri often remain resilient against other people or groups that attempt to instill their ideologies. In fact, according to Dhofier (1985), the book 'Taklim al Mutakalim' is an educational literature used as a reference in pesantren that influences the unique relationship pattern between kiai and santri.

It is important to maintain the loyalty of Madrasah Tarbiyah to PERTI, as PERTI is fundamentally a collective of madrasah leaders. This association has existed since before 1930. The establishment of Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah is closely linked to the growth and development of Tarbiyah Islamiyah madrasas in Minangkabau. Initially, MTI functioned as a surau educational institution but later transformed into a madrasa in response to the efforts of young individuals who founded 'Sumatra Thawalib.' (Muhtadi, 2021). PERTI exists primarily because of the Tarbiyah Islamiyah madrasas. This differs from organizations like Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, which first established their organizations and then created educational institutions, including schools, madrasas, and pesantren. PERTI is an organization rooted in the old Minangkabau groups. In terms of beliefs, it adheres to Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah, and in matters of worship, it follows the Shafi'i school of thought.

According to Koto (2012), Throughout history, PERTI has shown strong loyalty to the government. This loyalty can be illustrated by the events during the Soekarno era, particularly with the formation of a counter-government called the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRRI) in Sumatra. This movement was primarily composed of members from the Masyumi Party, including figures such as Syafrudin Prawiranegara, Boerhanuddin Harahap, and M. Natsir. At that time, PERTI was invited to join the opposition against the Soekarno government but firmly opposed the PRRI rebellion for the following reasons:

"Islam prohibits its followers from having two imams. Once one imam is appointed, it is not permissible to appoint another. If a second imam is appointed, the first must be opposed. This principle is underscored by the conference of Islamic scholars in Cipanas, which appointed President Soekarno as Wali al-Amri al-Dharuri bi al-Syaukah."

Upon closer examination, it is evident that PERTI's position on rebellion mirrors the political beliefs of the Sunnis, who strictly prohibit any rebellion against a legitimate government. This indicates that the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah community, aligned with PERTI, will remain loyal to the current legitimate government and will not engage in rebellion like some transnational groups.

There is a narration that says 'sixty years of the life of an unjust leader is better than one night without leadership', meaning that let's remain loyal under the rule of the unjust. The thinking of the people at Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah reflects a moderate

approach, which contrasts with that of transnational groups. This is evident in all Tarbiyah Islamiyah Madrasahs, where national activities are regularly observed, such as flag ceremonies every Monday and celebrations for significant national days like Pancasila Day, Independence Day, Youth Pledge Day, and Heroes' Day. There is no community within the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah that is anti-NKRI (the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia).

The establishment of PERTI was aimed not only at nurturing Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah but also at serving as a protective force for the Shafi'i and Sunni madhabs. Gazali (2015) noted in his writings that the presence of Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah in Minangkabau acted as a bulwark against the encroachment of radical ideas and became a valuable asset in preparing a generation capable of thriving within society. Koto (2012), further emphasized that adhering to the Shafi'i school of thought helps to preserve national unity and the integrity of ukhuwah Islamiyah (Islamic brotherhood). Thus, it can be concluded that PERTI, as an organization overseeing all Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah, strongly supports the Republic of Indonesia and rejects radicalism. Therefore, all communities within Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah remain loyal to the legitimate government.

The Sufistic worldview of MTI (Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah) students must be preserved within the learning process at all Tarbiyah Islamiyah Madrasahs in West Sumatra, as it embodies the identity of the MTI community. Sufism, which refers to a form of spirituality in Islam, emphasizes personal experience and a direct relationship with God. It seeks to achieve a profound understanding of the nature of religion and the purpose of life through mystical practices and contemplation. The community within the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Madrasahs embraces this Sufistic worldview. It is considered invalid for one to be a true practitioner of tarbiyah without engaging in tariqah (Sufi orders), as tariqah is viewed as the most effective path. This perspective stands in contrast to that of the Salafi-Wahabi group and modernist interpretations of Islam. (Khamami, 2016). The tradition of pesantren is Sufistic and ubudiyah, so many kiai are affiliated with tariqahs and teach their followers typical Sufistic worship and practices (Bruinessen, 1995).

In Mansyuri's view (2017), Pesantren and surau are currently undergoing changes not only in the learning process but also in the content and materials being developed. These changes remain grounded in the core principles of tarekat (Sufi orders) and utilize technology as a medium for sharing information. This approach aims to create a world of Sufism that meets the needs of tarekat adherents within each community. Some tariqah kiyai (leaders) are using social media to coordinate all activities of the tariqah, indicating that it has become an integral part of the pesantren community's life. This includes the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah community in West Sumatra.

With a sufistic worldview, it offers solutions to intolerant issues (Mansyuri, 2023; Sahri & Hali, 2023). Ashgar Ali Engineer once proposed that embracing Sufism and its values could help address the issues posed by Salafi groups, including incidents like the Bali bombing, the September 11, 2001, World Trade Center attack, Isis, and the Taliban. He suggested that Sufism could also counter the opposition to modern social forms and

other related challenges. (Asghar Ali Engineer, 2005).

Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah, as an institution dedicated to developing the religious ideology of Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah (Ash'ariyah and al-Maturidiyah), consistently teaches the fifty creeds of Ilmu Tauhid. A logical consequence of understanding these creeds is the study of Tashauf, or Sufism. Therefore, it is essential to explore the technique of remembrance with the heart, which is specifically taught in the study of Tashauf along the path of Tariqat Sufiyah.

Historical evidence shows that the establishment of Pondok Pesantren Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (PPMTI) Batang Kabung in Padang City, West Sumatra as a collaboration between Khatib Imam Maulana Abdul Munaf and Tuanku Salif. Khatib Imam is known as a charismatic cleric who follows the Shattariyah tariqat, and many students at PPMTI Batang Kabung learn this tariqat under his guidance. (Kustati & Sepriyanti, 2023).

This study indicates that every Islamic educational institution, including the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) located in West Sumatra, possesses a unique wealth of social, cultural and educational resources that serve as a foundation for countering radical ideologies and transnational movements. Within the context of the PERTI organization, the MTI adheres to the moderate teachings of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* and implements a curriculum grounded in the Qur'an, the Sunnah, and the intellectual heritage of the Shafi'i school of thought, combined with a moderate Sufi approach. This approach represents a crucial innovation in efforts to counter radicalization, as MTI provides a learning environment that integrates between traditional elements and moderate values, thereby maintaining a balance between tradition and the need to adapt to changing times.

One of the unique aspects of this study is its emphasis on a curriculum centred on classical works with moderate undertones, serving as a shield of thought to counter the infiltration of radical ideologies. This research supports the view of Moh Salik and Ali Mas'ud (2020) that the deliberate selection of moderate learning content is an effective strategy for countering ideology within the context of MTI, an approach that is rarely discussed in depth in relation to *pesantren* in the Minangkabau region.

The tradition strength of teacher-student interactions within the MTI context serves as a highly effective social asset. The bond between the *kiai* (teacher) and the *santri* (student) not only fosters loyalty but also acts as an effective social mechanism for countering the spread of radical ideologies. This tradition is reflected in a pattern of total obedience to the teacher, which integrates spiritual elements (blessings) and intellectual authority, as outlined by Dhofier (1985) within the framework of classical *pesantren* literature. This approach offers a fresh perspective in both methodological and cultural terms by demonstrating how the hierarchical structure within the *pesantren* can function as a psychological and social safeguard against radicalization, in contrast to formal or institutional models of resistance.

The loyalty of the MTI community to its parent organization, PERTI, is a crucial factor in this study. Unlike other Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah,

which emerged before the existence of educational institutions, PERTI was formed as a collective response by MTI communities; consequently, the bonds within the organization are stronger and more comprehensive. PERTI's firm rejection of rebellion and its support for the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (*NKRI*) reflect a moderate stance that shapes the political and social culture within the MTI communities. This research reveals a new finding: the organizational identity of MTI *pesantren* has a significant influence on strengthening ideological resilience, as reflected through loyalty to the state and moderation in religious practice.

The Sufi perspective, which is a hallmark of MTI, is also regarded as an intrinsic resource that strengthens cultural and spiritual resilience. By emphasizing spiritual aspects and a mystical relationship with God, MTI differs from Salafi-Wahhabi groups and modernist Islamic movements, which tend to place greater emphasis on texts and norms. This research offers a new perspective on how Sufism in *pesantren* education can serve as an alternative method for countering radicalization through the cultivation of tolerance, a sense of solidarity and self-discipline, similar to the approach proposed by Asghar Ali Engineer (2005).

Furthermore, exploring the background of the collaboration between charismatic figures during the early formation of the MTI in West Sumatra provides a historical perspective in research on the resilience of *pesantren*. This historical element enriches our understanding of how the Syattariyah Sufi order and the crucial role of the *ulama* have shaped a moderate outlook and a profound spirituality, a perspective that is often overlooked in studies of *pesantren* and radicalization.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah (MTI) community in West Sumatra has demonstrated a remarkable resilience to radical ideas since its establishment. This resilience stems from the community's ability to adapt both mentally and emotionally to internal and external pressures. The MTI community effectively utilizes its resources, strengths, and skills to navigate the challenges posed by transnational ideologies. This study affirms that Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah serves as a compelling example of how Islamic educational institutions can sustain cultural identity amid transnational dynamics. The madrasah's resilience management is not merely reactive but proactive, encompassing strategic adaptation, value-based decision-making, and intergenerational transmission of cultural and religious norms. By harmonizing tradition with contextual responsiveness, the institution safeguards its identity while remaining relevant to contemporary societal demands. The findings contribute to broader discourses on cultural resilience, Islamic education, and transnational governance, offering valuable insights for policymakers, educators, and scholars concerned with identity preservation in an increasingly globalized world. Based on the results of the research that has been conducted, it can be concluded that:

1. The resilience management of the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah community in confronting transnational ideologies in Minangkabau is characterized by the

following aspects: a) The content of teaching materials in Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah, b) The tradition of student-teacher relationships, which emphasizes mutual respect and a moderate approach to education, c) The relationship between Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah and PERTI, an organization that has historically supported both the madrasah and the Republic of Indonesia since its independence, d) The Sufistic worldview held by the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah community, which recognizes beretareqat (a Sufi practice) as the optimal way of life for those in the tarbiyah community. These elements collectively contribute to the community's resilience against external ideological influences.

2. The implications of resilience capital for the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Madrasah Community in West Sumatra are significant. Madrasahs that possess resilience capital are better equipped to: a) face external challenges, including social, political, and economic changes; b) adapt quickly to shifts in the educational landscape or community needs; c) enhance collaboration among madrasahs, parents, and the surrounding community; and d) strengthen the religious identity of santri (students)

This study presents an approach that combines moderate education based on classical texts, the relationship between *kiai* and *santri* as a form of strong social capital, the organization's adherence to PERTI, and Sufi spirituality as a specific strategy in ideological resistance within the Madrasah Tarbiyah Islamiyah community in Minangkabau. This holistic approach makes a new contribution to research on Islamic boarding schools and radicalism, particularly in the context of local culture and the challenges posed by foreign ideologies in Indonesia.

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