

The Scientific Sanad Tradition of Islamic Boarding Schools as a Basis for Strengthening Moderate Religion in the Post-Truth Era

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Abstract:

This article discusses the impact of new media on the dissemination of religious ideology, particularly in Indonesia, where the process of spreading Islam has traditionally been carried out through face-to-face meetings between students and teachers. With the rise of the internet, however, the transfer of religious knowledge has shifted to digital spaces such as websites, social media, and other online platforms. This has led to a proliferation of religious content and a blurring of the religious expert authorities, some of which may hold extremist and intolerant views. The objective of the study is to examine the major role of the pesantren educational tradition as the basis for strengthening religious moderation in the post-truth era. In the post-truth era, there are shifting models of Islamic da'wah which was originally at the practical level to the media level, as well as the rise of phenomenon where the objective facts do not influence public opinion. The researcher used a qualitative approach to identify the role and implications of the sanad tradition on the high index of potential for radicalism by internet users. Qualitative work steps such as observation, documentation, and literature study techniques were used by the author in this research. The researchers identified that Islamic boarding schools in their history are closely related to the scientific sanad tradition which can be a counter to extremist religious content in social media. The scientific sanad tradition in Islamic boarding schools has argumentatively not easily believed in religious doctrines without going through direct contact with spiritual teachers. The principle of continuous scientific sanad tradition between teachers and students, as well as direct scientific

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transformation, is important amid the acceptance of religious narratives circulating on social media regardless of their source and legitimacy.

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Introduction

The rise of the internet as a new public space (new media) not only causes a shift in the arena of religious ideological contestation from physical space to online space but more than that, new media also has an impact on the general public's views regarding expertise. New media (new media) is a new public space where one can freely express opinions and express or respond to what they want regardless of their background, including those related to religious narratives. The religious authority which was originally considered to belong only to mosques, pesantren, and Islamic institutions has now become the property of anyone.

In Indonesia, the process of spreading Islam which is termed da'wah has been carried out through direct meetings between students and teachers which is now incarnated in Islamic educational institutions, namely pesantren. Besides pesantren experiencing many evolutions, in its journey, its characteristics as traditional Islamic educational institutions are maintained. As stated by Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Islamic educational institutions can be called pesantren if they have a tradition of recitation of the yellow book, kiai, and santri, as well as mosques, and dormitories as a place for students to live. It is this standard that has remained attached to NU's Islamic boarding schools amid the onslaught that many rival boarding schools have emerged in the style of other Islamic groups.

Because Islamic boarding schools have a 24-hour (full-day) education system, it is certain that in the process of transferring knowledge, there will be a direct meeting between students and teachers. However, the rapid development of technology today has developed a model of da'wah, or the transfer of religious knowledge from face-to-face meetings to media such as websites, social media, and other internet media. Religious learning is no longer only obtained through Islamic educational institutions such as Islamic boarding schools and mosques but can be accessed anywhere and anytime via the Internet.

In fact, along with the development of technology and the increasing number of Internet users in Indonesia, religious service providers in the public sphere are slowly but surely spreading to the Internet world. This is of course considering and directly proportional to the fact that internet users are currently growing rapidly. Data from APJII (Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers) shows that the internet penetration rate in Indonesia has increased significantly. This is supported by APJII findings that the number of Internet users in Indonesia until the second quarter of 2020 rose to 73.7 percent of the population or equivalent

to 196.7 million of the Indonesian population of 266.9 million according to the Central Statistics Agency (BPS)¹

A large number of internet users in Indonesia is also used by religious groups, both institutional and personal, in spreading Islamic da'wah. The Internet then transformed into a new media platform for preaching. They provide several fatwas, daily questions and answers, fiqh issues, and even mandatory worship issues on the internet. So according to M. Mujibuddin and Riza, there is no doubt that Google is now a 'kiai' in the current era. Ease of internet access makes users more interested and like to find out about religion on the internet rather than asking religious leaders around, so the fact is that it reduces the role of the conventional ulama. However, we all regret the phenomenon of 'kiai or guru' google because the giver of facts or religious understanding is not known for its scientific credibility.²

Freedom and ease of access to religious learning can lead to people not knowing their origins, even more so for radical religious groups who spread their religious ideology and doctrine with extreme, radical, and violent nuances that can harbor intolerance. This is where the urgency of the pesantren's scientific sanad against the onslaught of google teachers. Because of course, with confidence in the scientific chain, especially religious knowledge, it is clear that someone will share and be careful about religious information received through the internet, one of which is extreme and radical religious doctrine.³

Method

This research uses a qualitative methodological approach. A qualitative approach is defined as a research method that examines a research object or a particular phenomenon holistically. Sugiyono⁴ stated that qualitative methods are also called naturalistic methods because the research is carried out in natural conditions/natural settings by collecting and analyzing the data qualitatively. Furthermore, data source problems in qualitative research include documentation of research results, supervision, evaluation, preliminary observations, and credible expert statements.⁵ Therefore, the authors in this research focus on the phenomenon of the high index of potential radicalism by internet users as reported by BNPT (National Counterterrorism Agency).⁶ In addition, the author also uses the results of research

¹ Asosiasi Penyelenggara Internet Indonesia (APJII), "Profil Internet Indonesia 2022," APJII, 2022, <https://apjii.or.id/gudang-data/hasil-survei>.

² Muhammad Mujibuddin and Muhammad Fakhru Riza, "Kontestasi Ideologi Web Keislaman Populer Di Indonesia: Antara Moderatisme, Salafisme, Dan Islamisme," Penelitian Kompetitif SBKU Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI, 2020, 21, https://simlitbangdiklat.kemenag.go.id/simlitbang/id/penelitian/detail/zAWQR_aAbx_sfAFA_lAPOW.

³ The findings of the 2020 research show that the potential index for radicalism in urban communities reaches 12.3 percent and in rural communities reaches 12.1 percent. In addition, among the younger generation, the index for potential radicalism in Generation Z reaches 12.7 percent. Netizens who are actively looking for religious content on the internet have a higher index of potential for radicalism compared to netizens who are not looking for religious content on the internet which reaches 12.6 percent, while the index of potential radicalism for those who are not looking for religious content on the internet only reaches 10.8 percent. See more Admin, "Ini Hasil Penelitian BNPT Terkait Radikalisme," Nusantaratimur.com, 2020, <https://www.nusantaratimur.com/2020/12/ini-hasil-penelitian-bnpt-terkait.html%0Afiles/795/ini-hasil-penelitian-bnpt-terkait.html>.

⁴ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif Dan R & Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif Dan R & D. Bandung: Alfabeta.*, Bandung: Alfabeta, (2016), 17.

⁵ Sugiyono, 274.

⁶ Admin, "Ini Hasil Penelitian BNPT Terkait Radikalisme."

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conducted by M. Mujibuddin and M. Fakhru Riza on the shift of Muslim public space from offline to virtual. Islamic discourse, which has been found in public spaces such as mosques, Islamic boarding schools, Islamic organizations, and religious figures, has shifted to the internet. This is not surprising because the internet is a new media that can manifest as a public space, including in the form of a website. The research focuses on the dynamics and contestation of Islamic websites in Indonesia, which have three ideological patterns: moderatism, salafism, and Islamism.⁷ The high index of potential radicalism is partly due to the dissemination of information and access to communication on digital media which is free, open, and egalitarian. This is supported as explained by Robin Thompson that social media has succeeded in radicalizing various politics and social fields. Robin Thompson states that this spread is due to the easy access to the internet.⁸

The authors use observation, documentation, and literature review techniques in examining the dissemination of radical and extremist ideas and their relevance to the pesantren education tradition in order to counter extremist ideas. Initially, the authors searched and collected some literature, such as research results in books, journals, and Islamic websites. After observing this previous literature review, the authors then begin to conduct an in-depth analysis of the literature while making comparisons with the observational facts, phenomena, and realities. The documentation was carried out in the process of searching for literature by identifying radicalism phenomena on social media. The study results are elaborated through informal techniques, namely the formulation of the study analysis through the interpretation of ordinary words. Previous studies elaborated by various researchers such as Woodward et al⁹, Reza Al Tahaj¹⁰, and R Widyaningsih¹¹ have provided valuable understanding of counter radicalism studies in Indonesia. This current research builds on previous research and offers a deeper perspective on counter-radicalism in the Indonesian context. The counter to radicalism spread through social media is elaborated based on the tradition of pesantren education, which is strongly rooted in the tradition of scientific sanad.

Result and Discussion

Islamic Boarding Schools and Scientific Sanad Traditions

Pesantren is a traditional Islamic education dormitory where students live together and study under the guidance of one (or more) teachers better known as 'Kyai'. Some of the basic elements in the pesantren tradition include huts, mosques, santri, classical Islamic teachings, and Kiai. The boarding school or dormitory for the students is located within the pesantren

⁷ Mujibuddin and Fakhru Riza, "Kontestasi Ideologi Web Keislaman Populer Di Indonesia: Antara Moderatisme, Salafisme, Dan Islamisme," 3.

⁸ Robin Thompson, "Radicalization and the Use of Social Media," *Journal of Strategic Security* 4, no. 4 (2011): 167, <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.4.4.8>.

⁹ Mark Woodward et al., "Muslim Education, Celebrating Islam and Having Fun As Counter- Radicalization Strategies in Indonesia," *Perspective on Terrorism* 4, no. 4 (2010): 28–50.

¹⁰ Reza Al Tahaj and Jerry M. Logahan, "Counter Radicalization Analysis in Efforts to Prevent the Spread of Radical Ideology in Indonesia," *Journal of Strategic and Global Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 30, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.7454/jsgs.v2i1.1016>.

¹¹ R Widyaningsih and Kuntarto, "Local Wisdom Approach to Develop Counter- Radicalization Strategy," *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science* 255 (May 10, 2019): 012049, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/255/1/012049>.

complex where the Kyai resides which also provides a mosque for worship as well as a room for study and other activities.¹²

Agus Sunyoto said that pesantren was the result of the assimilation of Hindu-Buddhist education. This is because traditional Islamic boarding schools have similarities to the education of a wiku (prospective Shiva-Buddhist priest) in a place called Dukuh. These two aspects of education are both more focused on the formation of the character and character of students who are characterized by graduates who have a noble character, are intelligent, have a noble character, are honest, do not hate, like to help, carry out the Shari'a well,¹³ are always grateful and trying to get closer to God. So, a traditional pesantren in general in its education focuses on the behavioral aspects of students, in addition to mastering other sciences.

Historically, since Islam entered Indonesia, the Kiai have always been intertwined by unbroken intellectual chains. Dhofier emphasized that in the pesantren tradition, a *Kiai* will not have status and fame just because of his personality, but he becomes a kiai because someone teaches him. Where a kiai represents the character of the pesantren and the teacher where he studies. The validity (authenticity) of a kyai's knowledge and the guarantee that he has as a person who is recognized as a student of a well-known *Kiai* can be proven through a chain of transmissions which are usually written neatly and can be justified by other famous kiai and contemporaries¹⁴. These scientific chains continue to be preserved and become the hallmark of Islamic boarding school education. To maintain this scientific relationship or fabric, some Kiai and Islamic boarding schools make matchmaking arrangements for their descendants. Besides, of course, developing the tradition of transmitting knowledge and the chain of intellectual transmission between fellow kiai and their families. Therefore, it is not surprising that currently, Islamic boarding schools have a strong network with each other even though they are located in various regions.

This chain or intellectual network of the *Kiai* then continues to be passed on to their students and is then known as the hallmark of Islamic boarding school education. This illustrates the reality of pesantren with one another, both in one era and from one generation to the next, established intellectual relations are established, so that developments and changes that occur in the pesantren environment are actually, as well as can describe the intellectual history of traditional Islam. Well, the transmission of knowledge in this pesantren tradition is then called a sanad. According to Dhofier, this sanad has a standard, which means that in one generation (period) certain scholars are considered valid as one link, while others are considered invalid or doubtful. That's because every branch of science has its chain of standards.¹⁵

It is undeniable, the transfer of knowledge between *Kiai* and *Santri* is carried out directly without intermediaries which then gives birth to authenticity or validity. Of course, the reality of pesantren education is different from other educational institutions. It is inversely proportional to the reality of education in this contemporary era, which uses many elements of technology in the scientific process. This is an implication of the more advanced and developing

¹² Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren : Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia* (LP3ES, 2015), 79–80.

¹³ Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Wali Songo: Buku Pertama Yang Mengungkap Wali Songo Sebagai Fakta Sejarah* (Kerjasama Pustaka IIMaN, Trans Pustaka, dan LTN PBNU, 2012), 422.

¹⁴ Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren : Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*, 100.

¹⁵ Dhofier, 122.

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technology. Religious learning and materials are no longer only accessible from mosques and Islamic boarding schools but can be accessed through media spread across various platforms.

Thus, there is a shift in the model of scientific transmission that is spread through social media with the internet network, besides eliminating the authenticity of the origin of religious opinions, it also makes religious thought easy to be legitimized by groups or individuals who have personal interests in social society. This is in addition to the reason that the source of religious opinion cannot be verified for its expertise. It is undeniable then because there is no verification or curator in the spread of religious teachings, religious teachings cannot be dammed and many give birth to extreme and radical religious doctrines that are far from moderate reasoning as preserved by Islamic boarding schools. traditional. However, Social media has a big role in the general public's encounter with radical religious ideologies because the religious content presented is easily accessible anywhere and anytime. Moreover, social media is very closely related to the post-truth era, where emotions play a more important role than facts in shaping public opinion so hoaxes related to religious discourse can be easily used because they have identity links.

In Islamic boarding school history, Inayah Rohmaniyah mentions that traditional Islamic schools in Indonesia especially traditional Islamic boarding schools do not promote ideological extremism and violent actions regardless of their theological orientation. Instead, Islamic boarding schools are one of Indonesia's best defenses against radicalism ideologies.¹⁶ The counter of radicalism ideologies is continued through the scientific tradition of Islamic boarding schools.

Social Media and the Challenges of Religious Moderation in the Post-truth Era

In the KBBI the word moderation itself means reducing violence or avoiding extremes.¹⁷ As for moderation, along with its development, it is always juxtaposed with the word *washatiyyah*. The word *washatiyyah* according to Quraish Shihab is a balance in all matters of worldly and hereafter life, which is always accompanied by efforts to adapt to the situation at hand based on religious indications and the objective conditions being experienced.¹⁸ Washatiyyah in Quraish Shihab's view then has many aspects, including aspects of the divine creed, aspects of the relationship of God's power with the activities of human destiny, social life, politics, and state government, economics, social relations, domestic life, thought, aspects of understanding religious texts and aspects of feeling. The understanding of moderation is based on QS al-Baqarah verse 143 as follows.

وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَاكُمْ أُمَّةً وَسَطًا لِتَكُونُوا شُهَدَاءَ عَلَى النَّاسِ وَيَكُونَ الرَّسُولُ عَلَيْكُمْ شَهِيدًا ۗ وَمَا جَعَلْنَا الْقِبْلَةَ الَّتِي كُنْتُمْ عَلَيْهَا إِلَّا لِنَعْلَمَ مَنْ يَتَّبِعُ الرَّسُولَ مِمَّنْ يَنْقَلِبُ عَلَىٰ عَقْبَيْهِ ۗ وَإِنْ كَانَتْ لَكَبِيرَةً إِلَّا عَلَى الَّذِينَ هَدَىٰ اللَّهُ ۗ وَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيُضِلَّكُمْ ۖ إِنَّمَا يَكُنَّ النَّاسُ لِرَءُوفٍ رَحِيمٍ

¹⁶ Woodward et al., "Muslim Education, Celebrating Islam and Having Fun As Counter- Radicalization Strategies in Indonesia," 29.

¹⁷ Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, *KBBI* (Jakarta, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v3i1.23524>.

¹⁸ Wasathiyyah Wawasan Islam tentang Moderasi Beragama, *Shihab, Quraisy* (Tangerang: Lentera Hati, 2019), 45–93.

Meaning: *"And thus (also) We have made you (Muslims), a just and chosen people so that you are witnesses of (deeds) of mankind and that the Messenger (Muhammad) is a witness of (deeds) you. And We have not set the Qibla to be your Qiblah (now) but that We may know (to make it clear) who followed the Messenger and who defected. And indeed (the change of Qibla) is very heavy, except for those who have been guided by Allah; and Allah will not waste your faith. Verily, Allah is Most Gracious, Most Merciful to mankind."*¹⁹

According to Siti Muliana quoted from the official social media account of the Ministry of Religion, there are at least four indicators of religious moderation including national commitment, tolerance, anti-violence, and acceptance of tradition. Moreover, Muliana also classifies the difference between radical reasoning and moderate reasoning in the following table.²⁰

Table 1: the difference between radical reasoning and moderate reasoning

No	Moderate Reason	Radical Reason
1	Truth is relative	Truth is absolute
2	Understanding the scriptures tends to be contextual	Understanding the scriptures tends to be textual
3	Refusing violence	Justify violence

The character of radical reasoning in the table above is still in line with radical Islamists according to Muhammad Iqbal and Harun Nasution as expressed by Badrut Tamam. Where, the radical Islamist character tends to regard Islamic life and the state system that already exists in the Muslim world as a deviation, and must be changed fundamentally. Second, pro-violence, where deviant conditions must be straightened out either through da'wah or through jihad (war). Third, militant fanatics believe absolutely that the teachings they profess as a single truth and must be disseminated in any way. Fourth, anti-Western because it considers the West as the cause of the destruction of the Islamic system of life. Fifth, political because they believe that the political power of the state must be achieved because it is a religious obligation. Sixth, placing the sunnah as obligatory, making the *furu'* as *ushul*, turning everything sacred.²¹

As already mentioned, social media is a child of the impact of the rapid pace of development of technology and information. This is in line with the development of the internet which is used as a means of public communication, as well as influencing public religiosity. This phenomenon can be seen especially in upper-middle-class people such as celebrities, who are rarely found to be religious and are witnessed in droves to study religion from authoritative clerics in their fields. However, it is more often seen that the people of this upper-middle city tend to learn the religion from interesting immigrant clerics who are known through social

¹⁹ "Surat Al-Baqarah 143-144," Qur'an.com, 2023, <https://quran.com/al-baqarah/143-144>.

²⁰ Siti Muliana, "Grounding Wasathiyah Islam on The Internet Da'wah Islam Wasathiyah In Mainstream Website Of Moderate Islam Indonesia," *Jurnal Studi Sosial Keagamaan Syekh Nurjati* 2, no. 1 (May 31, 2022): 49–67, <https://doi.org/10.24235/sejati.v2i1.13>.

²¹ B. Tamam, *Pesantren, Nalar Dan Tradisi: Geliat Santri Menghadapi ISIS, Terorisme, Dan Transnasionalisme Islam*. Pustaka Pelajar., *Pesantren, Nalar Dan Tradisi: Geliat Santri Menghadapi ISIS, Terorisme, Dan Transnasionalisme Islam*. (Pustaka Pelajar, 2015), 140.

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media or television. In addition, it is often witnessed that they study religion through religious sites scattered on the internet because it is easier to access.²²

This public religiosity is of course part of the impact of the internet as a new public space. There are at least three important areas of public space described, one of which is public space as an agent. The point is that the public space is an important agent/tool in conveying aspirations from the grassroots to the bottom.²³ Moreover, the internet as a new public space undeniably has an important role in the formation of public opinion because it has sown the deliberation of democratic values such as volunteerism (voluntarism), equality (egalitarian), as well as networking practices that are spread and accepted widely by the community.²⁴

It is the deliberation of democratic values that radical religious groups then use in spreading their doctrines and religious ideas. Of course, this opportunity is also closely related to the conditions of the post-truth era. Post-truth is defined to indicate a situation where objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than emotions and personal beliefs. The widespread post-truth phenomenon in Indonesia is also supported for four reasons. First, the advancement of information technology is asymmetrical with the adaptive capacity of the government and society. Second, there is endless political competition. Third, there is support from certain people for the anti-Pancasila ideology. Fourth, there is anxiety about changes and improvements to the current government system.²⁵

In Indonesia, radical groups are manifested by several religious groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood, HTI (*Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia*), FPI (Islamic Defenders Front), and other groups with the characteristics of thought as previously mentioned. Even in 2022, Islamic boarding schools are associated with radicalism. These religious groups massively and systematically spread their religious doctrines and understandings not only through personal da'wah in practical scope. More than that, it is also through online media such as social media Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and Islamic websites. It's no wonder then that social media that spread religious doctrines currently each display and represent their religious understanding.²⁶ This coincided with the emergence of statements from the BNPT institution regarding the number and names of Islamic boarding schools considered radical.

Although the number of index groups categorized as radical is small, the influence and impact on the stability of people's lives are quite significant. These radical religious groups not only use the internet as a medium of modern da'wah but also take advantage of the existence of Islamic boarding schools that originally belonged to the Islamic groups NU and Muhammadiyah to become theirs. This is done by creating rival boarding schools and

²² Ulya Ulya, "Post-Truth, Hoax, Dan Religiusitas Di Media Sosial," *Fikrah* 6, no. 2 (December 27, 2018): 293, <https://doi.org/10.21043/fikrah.v6i2.4070>.

²³ Wasisto Raharjo Jati, "Cyberspace, Internet, Dan Ruang Publik Baru: Aktivisme Online Politik Kelas Menengah Indonesia," *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi* 3, no. 1 (January 25, 2016): 27, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v3i1.23524>.

²⁴ Jati, 26.

²⁵ M. Mujibuddin SM, "Kontruksi Media Dalam Gerakan Islam Populis 212," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 12, no. 2 (December 22, 2018): 271, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2018.122-05>.

²⁶ The results of M. Mujibuddin and M. Fakhru Riza's research revealed that each religious website in Indonesia has an ideological style and there is contestation in the virtual public space. The ideology of these popular Islamic websites in Indonesia can be categorized into three styles, namely moderatism, Salafism, and Islamism. See more Mujibuddin and Fakhru Riza, "Kontestasi Ideologi Web Keislaman Populer Di Indonesia: Antara Moderatisme, Salafisme, Dan Islamisme."

infiltrating ideologies into modern or semi-modern Indonesian Islamic boarding schools. It is not surprising that research revealed by BNPT at least a large number of Islamic boarding schools are categorized as radical.

Thus, it is hoped that pesantren as traditionalist educational institutions that are known to be moderate and friendly to local culture have an important basis in strengthening religious moderation. Moreover, amid significant challenges and dissemination of religious group doctrine on social media. Where the post-truth era is used to shape public opinion and polarize religious identity. As a result, this polarization can easily lead to conflicts and uproar both on social media, the internet, and its practical scope. Thus, a *pesantren* tradition is needed as a basis for countering radical and extremist religious narratives on social media because their legitimacy is unclear.

Islamic Boarding School Scientific Sanad Traditions and Its Urgency in Religious Moderation in the Post-Truth Era

According to Jazilus Sakhok, the Islamic boarding school is in line with Gus Dur's mention of a separate subculture in the cultural court of Indonesian society. Therefore, the existence of Islamic boarding schools in the historical range should always be read as heritage and also the cultural-intellectual wealth of the archipelago. Because of its historical role, in certain aspects, pesantren must also be seen as a bulwark of culture itself. This is not an exaggeration because pesantren is the result of a creative cultural struggle and dialectic between tradition, society, and the pattern of *Kiai-Santri-Kitab* kuning interaction that they foster, which in the end has unique characteristics. The uniqueness of the pesantren is seen in its acculturative nature which respects local culture and traditions subtly and creatively to avoid conflict because it can give birth to the attitudes of *tasamuh* (open-minded), *tawazun* (balanced), *tawasuth* (moderate), and *I'tidal* (fair). In this way, it is difficult to predict the extreme and radical attitude that is currently becoming a scourge for world peace and security.²⁷

The yellow book in this case is an important factor that shapes the extreme and radical characteristics of Islamic boarding schools. Apart from being a guide in religious procedures, the yellow book also functions in Islamic boarding schools as a reference and guide for universal values in responding to changing times. This pesantren which is familiar with classical treasures is what distinguishes it from other pesantren which are more inclined to adopt Western scholarship or textual-fundamentalist Islamic scholarship.²⁸

In addition, teaching the yellow book in Islamic boarding schools which requires a direct transfer of knowledge between kiai and *santri*. Of course, this is something that needs to be underlined, considering that in the post-truth era, the boundaries between honesty and dishonesty, truth and lies, reality, and cyberspace, and fiction and non-fiction are blurred. Media access to digital information has become the mainstream for the dissemination of various

²⁷ Jazilus Sakhok, *Pesantren Sebagai Subkultur Pengembangan Islam Moderat*, *Majalah Suara Pandanaran*, vol. 2 (Yogyakarta: Majalah Suara Pandanaran, 2007), 24–25.

²⁸ Rikhlatul Ilmiah, Taha Romadhan Zaghloul, and Depict Pristine, “Moderate Islamic Boarding School Education,” *Ijibs* 1, no. 1 (January 3, 2023): 33–42, <https://doi.org/10.35719/ijibs.v1i1.19>; Peni Catur Renaningtyas, Siti Rosilawati Ramlan, and Djunaidi Ghony, “Learning the Values of Multicultural Islamic Education as an Effort to Solve Santri Delinquency,” *IJIBS* 1, no. 1 (January 2, 2023): 23–32, <https://doi.org/10.35719/ijibs.v1i1.18>; Miftahus Sa’diyah and Maslathif Dwi Purnomo, “Grounding Aswaja: Efforts to Stem the Movement of Religious Radicalism in Nurul Islam Jember Boarding School,” *Ijibs* 1, no. 1 (January 2, 2023): 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.35719/ijibs.v1i1.1>.

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information that is not limited by anyone. This is in line with the development of increasingly widespread social media which has an impact on the ease of forming public opinion through hoax news that is far from objective facts. This phenomenon illustrates where the anomalies of reality are conditioned as something true by groups who have interests.²⁹

The post-truth phenomenon is exacerbated by a public culture that tends to require all the conveniences of interacting through online social media. The public often accepts the information as it is, with no filter and no correction. As a result, the information obtained through social media is used as the basis for truth, as well as the basis for taking attitudes and determining the behavior of oneself and others. This phenomenon is also inseparable from religious narratives circulating on social media. The public easily accepts without making corrections to these religious narratives. In fact, according to Ulya, through Adlina's findings, a person's religious pattern can be influenced by hoax news circulating on social media such as Instagram through certain accounts. For example in the post "If you are insulted by someone, please forgive him, but if Allah (Swt) and the Messenger of Allah (PBUH) are insulted by people, you have no right to forgive them." The post leads someone's opinion to justify all means, including anarchic and radical actions that are claimed to be an act of defending their beliefs.³⁰

In addition, thanks to the internet, messages with similar narrations are also often found through WhatsApp social media. For example, messages with narratives of Muslims in Palestine being attacked, the Indonesian nation being expanded by China, Muslims being persecuted, and so on. Hoax messages in the name of religion continue to intertwine and cannot be stopped on social media. The impact then is that not a few of the general public understand the message raw which has an impact on their views on other groups. This is an example phenomenon from the post-truth era. These phenomena are then used by radical religious groups and extremists to shape and influence the general public.

Therefore, the values and spirit that exist in the scientific tradition of Islamic boarding schools can be a counter to the religious phenomenon in the post-truth era. The reasoning behind pesantren education which requires the transfer of knowledge face-to-face and clear legitimacy through the teachers encountered cannot be found in the education model and the spread of doctrines of radical religious groups on social media. This of course also applies to the beliefs of students who have studied at Islamic boarding schools, who are more careful about religious teachings that are spread on social media with the belief that the validity of these sources cannot be proven. Furthermore, the suggestions in this article still have limitations because, in the current Islamic boarding school phenomenon, Islamic boarding schools have also been infiltrated by extremism and radicalism.³¹ It cannot be denied that globalization and new media factors also have a huge impact on the Islamic boarding school learning curriculum.

Conclusion

²⁹ Mujibuddin SM, "Kontruksi Media Dalam Gerakan Islam Populis 212," 272–73.

³⁰ Ulya, "Post-Truth, Hoax, Dan Religiusitas Di Media Sosial," 291–92.

³¹ Martin van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia," *The Madrasa in Asia*, no. May 2024 (2019): 217–46, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048501380-010>.

The post-truth era is closely related to the media as a result of the use of the internet. This post-truth era is a phenomenon where objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than emotions and personal beliefs. The widespread post-truth phenomenon in Indonesia is also supported for several reasons, one of which is the support from certain people for the anti-Pancasila ideology. This anti-Pancasila ideology is one of the characteristics of the parameters of radical religious groups in Indonesia. In spreading its ideology and religious doctrine, apart from mosques in practical terms, it is also massively through social media.

The unstoppable religious discourse found on social media and its impact on the formation of the religious paradigm of the Muslim community, especially the upper middle-class Muslim community. Religious narratives and doctrines on social media are accepted without curating and no filtering so that they have a radicalizing impact on the general public. This phenomenon then became the location of the urgency of the pesantren scientific tradition as the basis for religious moderation in the post-truth era. The principle of the scientific tradition that is mutually sustainable between teachers and students, as well as direct scientific transformation is certainly important amid the acceptance of religious narratives circulating on social media regardless of their validity. So the hope is that in addition to the tradition of scientific sanad, this pesantren becomes the basis for strengthening the moderation of one's religion.

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