



An Examination of Pesantren Regulatory Policy within the Framework of National Resilience

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Abstract

Purpose: This study aims to analyse the implications of Law No. 18 of 2019 concerning Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) for Indonesia's national resilience framework. The analysis focuses on how this legislation integrates pesantren within broader national development and resilience strategies.

Study Design/Methodology/Approach: A descriptive-qualitative approach is adopted, involving document analysis of the Pesantren Law, its legislative background, and related regulatory instruments. The study is further supported by a review of relevant literature on public policy and national resilience to inform and contextualise the analysis.

Findings: The findings demonstrate that pesantren have historically contributed to Indonesia's socio-political development, particularly across the ideological, economic, educational, and socio-cultural dimensions of national resilience. The enactment of the Pesantren Law provides a formal legal foundation that strengthens the role of pesantren in promoting national unity, fostering economic empowerment, advancing educational quality, and preserving cultural heritage.

Originality/Value: This study offers a distinctive perspective by linking religious education institutions with national resilience strategies through public policy analysis. Emphasising the relevance of integrating pesantren within national policy frameworks, the analysis demonstrates how such integration contributes to responding to evolving societal challenges and to reinforcing resilience across multiple dimensions.

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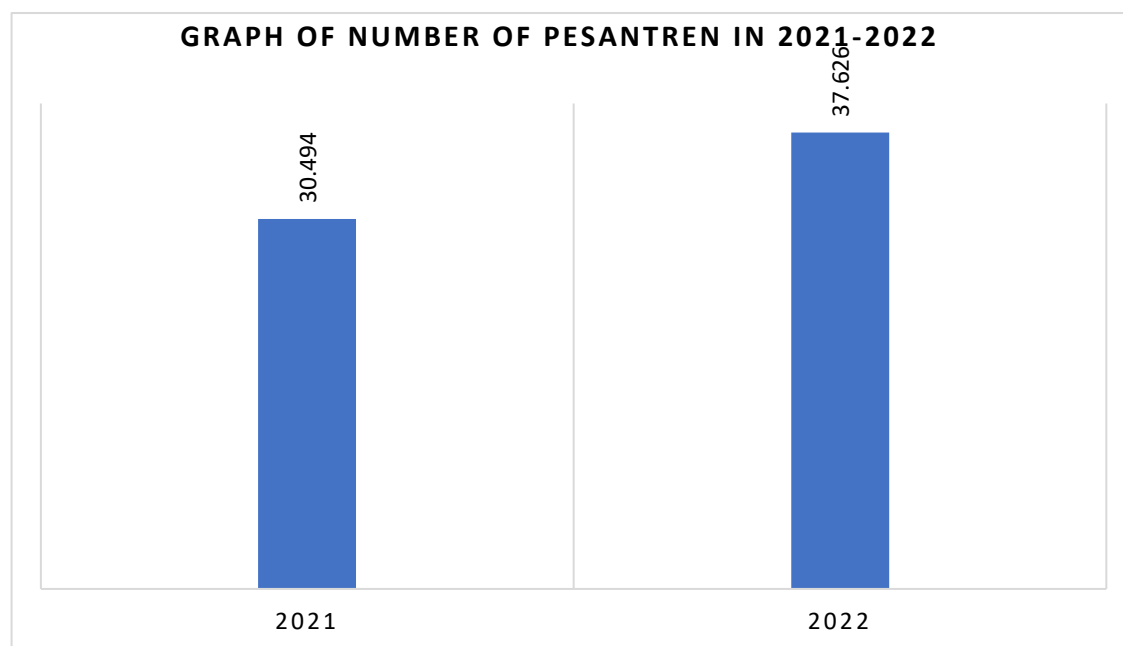
INTRODUCTION

Academic discourse regarding the contribution of Islamic Boarding Schools (pesantren) to national resilience remains underdeveloped, particularly in terms of systematically integrating their role across the multiple dimensions of national resilience (Majid and Nurwahidin, 2025; Qomar, 2002; Wahid, 2001). Existing studies predominantly emphasise pesantren's function as religious education centres or agents of individual character formation (Fahham and Susanto, 2020), with limited exploration of their institutional role as strategic components within national resilience frameworks (Dute and Syarif, 2021). Moreover, few studies have investigated the extent to which the implementation of Law Number 18 of 2019 has transformed the role of pesantren in supporting the ideological, economic, educational, and socio-cultural dimensions of national resilience. Accordingly, this study contributes to bridging this gap by examining how pesantren's institutional development strengthens national resilience.

A robust national resilience framework necessitates a comprehensive understanding of various public policies that underpin national development, including those related to religious education. National resilience is conceptualised as a dynamic condition of a nation, encompassing ideological, political, economic, socio-cultural, defence, and security dimensions (Yusgiantoro, 2010: xi). Within this framework, Law Number 18 of 2019 (hereafter referred to as the UU 18/2019) represents a strategic policy instrument aimed at reinforcing the foundations of national resilience. The legislation directs enhancements in ideological, economic, educational, and socio-cultural dimensions through the institutional role of pesantren. In this regard, education holds a pivotal function in strengthening national character, ideology, and identity, thereby underpinning national resilience (Agus, 2022: 23).

The significance of pesantren in promoting national resilience is deeply rooted in their historical and societal roles. As Islamic educational institutions firmly embedded in Indonesia's national history, pesantren serve as critical actors in safeguarding national resilience. They foster moderate Islamic values, reinforce national character, and counter the influence of transnational ideologies that may threaten the nation's foundational values. Historically, pesantren contributed to the transmission of knowledge, moral development, and nationalism during the struggle for independence (Dhofier, 2011). This historical role provides strong legitimacy for pesantren as strategic actors in shaping national identity and ideological resilience. Through *dakwah*, education, community empowerment, and the preservation of religious values, pesantren continue to enhance their contribution to national resilience. The legal foundation for this expanded role is embedded in the Pesantren Law, which formally recognises pesantren as integral components of the national education system.

The increasing number of pesantren, as illustrated in Figure 1, reflects the growing capacity of pesantren to meet the educational needs of Indonesian society. According to data from Satu Data Kementerian Agama, there were 37,626 pesantren in 2022, comprising 16,316 pesantren focused on kitab-based education and 21,310 pesantren offering additional educational services.



Source: Author's elaboration based on Islamic Education Statistics 2022/2023, Satu Data Kemenag RI.

Figure 1. Number of Pesantren and Santri in Indonesia (2021-2022)

The continued growth in the number of santri, as illustrated in Figure 1, highlights the expanding role of pesantren in fostering the educational development of society and in reinforcing the socio-cultural dimension of national resilience. In 2023, the santri population reached 4,847,197, comprising 2,485,777 male and 2,361,420 female students. Of these, 4,487,744 were resident santri, while 359,453 were non-resident. The increasing engagement of pesantren in providing accessible education further strengthens their contribution to national resilience.

The strengthening of pesantren's role through the provisions of Law Number 18 of 2019 provides a more structured framework for their contribution to national resilience. Across four key dimensions, pesantren increasingly assume a strategic function in reinforcing societal, educational, economic, and religious resilience. In the ideological dimension, pesantren contribute to reinforcing national ideological resilience by embedding a commitment to Pancasila within the Islamic education curriculum, as stipulated in Article 6, paragraph (2), and Article 8 of the law.

In the economic dimension, the contribution of pesantren is demonstrated through the development of entrepreneurial skills among santri, the establishment of pesantren-based cooperatives, and the implementation of vocational training programmes aligned with various government initiatives, including the Pesantren Economic Empowerment Programme.

In the educational dimension, pesantren strengthen their contribution by developing educational models that integrate values of faith, nationalism, and social responsibility. A quality assurance body responsible for setting and maintaining educational standards

specific to pesantren has been established under the law, known as *Majelis Masyayikh* (a council that serves as the official quality assurance body for pesantren education). In this role, *Majelis Masyayikh* provides assurance on the quality of pesantren education and oversees the implementation of teacher certification to enhance the professionalism of teaching staff within formal pesantren.

Based on the background outlined above, this study aims to provide both conceptual and practical contributions to strengthening policy frameworks for the development of pesantren as a strategic element within the national resilience framework. Accordingly, the study examines the strategic role of pesantren in contributing to national resilience through the implementation of the Pesantren Law, explores the ways in which pesantren support the ideological, economic, educational, and socio-cultural dimensions of national resilience, and analyses the challenges and opportunities they encounter in enhancing their role amidst the evolving socio-political dynamics of Indonesian society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Public Policy Perspective on Pesantren Regulation

Public policy refers to decisions formulated by state institutions or public authorities to respond to societal issues. Dwiyanto (2021); Dye, (2002) define public policy as “whatever governments choose to do or not to do”, encompassing the full range of governmental actions or inactions related to public concerns. The definition affirms that public policy functions as a strategic instrument that reflects governmental priorities and reinforces institutional responsibility. Furthermore, Dunn (2015) emphasises that public policy consists of a series of interrelated decisions made by political actors or groups of actors to achieve specific objectives within their scope of authority. This perspective positions public policy as a deliberate effort to foster desired social change. Ida (2023:1) also put forward the definition of public policy as a regulation made and established by the government to provide services to the public.

Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning Pesantren represents a key manifestation of public policy within the field of religious education. The drafting of this law involved multiple actors, including the government, The House of Representatives Of The Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI), Islamic civil society organisations, and the pesantren community. This process reflects the dynamic interaction between societal aspirations and the mechanisms of state decision-making.

The Pesantren Law reinforces the position of pesantren as an integral part of the national education system. Through this formal recognition, the state expands the role of religious education in supporting national resilience. However, existing studies have predominantly focused on the role of pesantren as institutions for moral character formation, without systematically examining their relationship with the dimensions of national resilience. In response to this gap, the present study examines how the Pesantren Law contributes to the strengthening of national resilience across ideological, economic, educational, and socio-cultural dimensions. By adopting this approach, the study aims to

enrich the public policy literature concerning the strategic role of pesantren in national development.

Prior studies increasingly recognise the role of pesantren in promoting local economic development and advancing sustainable community outcomes (Hudaefi and Heryani, 2019; Zaki et al., 2022). In addition, recent scholarship highlights the importance of integrating local wisdom and traditional institutions into contemporary policy frameworks to strengthen national resilience (Zahri et al., 2024). However, existing studies have predominantly focused on the role of pesantren as institutions for moral character formation, without systematically examining their relationship with the dimensions of national resilience. In response to this gap, the present study examines how the Pesantren Law contributes to the strengthening of national resilience across ideological, economic, educational, and socio-cultural dimensions. By building on these prior insights, the study aims to enrich the public policy literature concerning the strategic role of pesantren in national development.

Conceptualising National Resilience and the Role of Pesantren

National resilience constitutes a key concept in the study of national strategic development. Armawi (2019:123) defines national resilience as a dynamic condition that reflects a nation's perseverance and capacity in ensuring its survival and achieving national objectives. Armawi broadens this understanding by emphasising that national resilience encompasses economic and socio-cultural dimensions, as well as the ability of society to maintain independence and national integrity, alongside military strength. He conceptualised national resilience as an integrated condition comprising eight key aspects: ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, defence, and security. The strength of a nation is assessed based on the capacity of its national system to confront a wide range of internal and external challenges and threats.

Within this framework, educational institutions occupy a strategic position in fostering national resilience. Pesantren, as an integral component of the religious education system, not only shape individuals with strong moral character but also function as ideological bulwarks that reinforce national identity. Through their activities, pesantren help counter the spread of transnational ideologies that may undermine the unity of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), while simultaneously strengthening social cohesion and facilitating community-based economic empowerment. Existing studies suggest that pesantren contribute to reinforcing national values and socio-cultural resilience (Majid and Nurwahidin, 2025). Moreover, recent findings indicate that pesantren-based economic initiatives contribute meaningfully to community resilience and align with broader national development goals (Hudaefi and Heryani, 2019; Zaki et al., 2022).

Nevertheless, the relationship between pesantren regulation as a public policy instrument and the enhancement of national resilience remains an underexplored domain within academic scholarship. Accordingly, this study integrates public policy theory and the concept of national resilience to analyse the role of pesantren in strengthening national resilience strategies. By adopting this approach, the study further contributes to ongoing

discussions on the integration of traditional institutions within modern policy frameworks aimed at fostering societal resilience (Zahri et al., 2024). In doing so, it offers new insights for policy development and contributes to a deeper understanding of the strategic role of pesantren within national development.

METHODS

This study adopts a descriptive qualitative approach to obtain an in-depth understanding of the meaning, social context, policy framework, and implications of Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning Pesantren for national resilience. The analysis focuses on the contribution of pesantren to strengthening the ideological, economic, educational, and socio-cultural dimensions of national resilience. This research adopts a public policy study design, informed by a national resilience perspective. The analysis not only evaluates the substance of the regulation but also examines the drafting process and assesses the impact of policy implementation on the enhancement of national resilience in a comprehensive manner (Creswell and Creswell, 2017; Krippendorff, 2018).

Data collection was conducted through three primary techniques. First, document analysis was undertaken, involving a review of the Academic Manuscript of the Draft Pesantren Law, meeting records between Commission VIII of the House of Representatives and the Government, and relevant derivative regulations (Bowen, 2009). Second, a literature review was carried out, examining prior studies on the implementation of the UU 18/2019 and the contribution of pesantren to national resilience. Third, in-depth interviews were conducted with pesantren leaders and administrators actively involved in implementing economic empowerment programmes and ideological strengthening initiatives. The interviews were conducted at three pesantren: Pesantren Al-Ittifaq (Bandung), Pesantren Darul Arqom (Garut), and Pesantren Al-Inayah (Bogor). The selection of these three pesantren is representative from traditionalist and modernist Muslim. In addition, it also considers the good experiences of these pesantren.

The data obtained were analysed systematically through data reduction, organisation of information into a structured narrative, and drawing conclusions based on emerging patterns, relationships between variables, and integration with relevant theoretical frameworks. This process was conducted concurrently with data collection, enabling a progressive deepening of understanding regarding the phenomenon under investigation. To clarify the research process, Figure 2 illustrates the stages of the research methodology applied in this study.

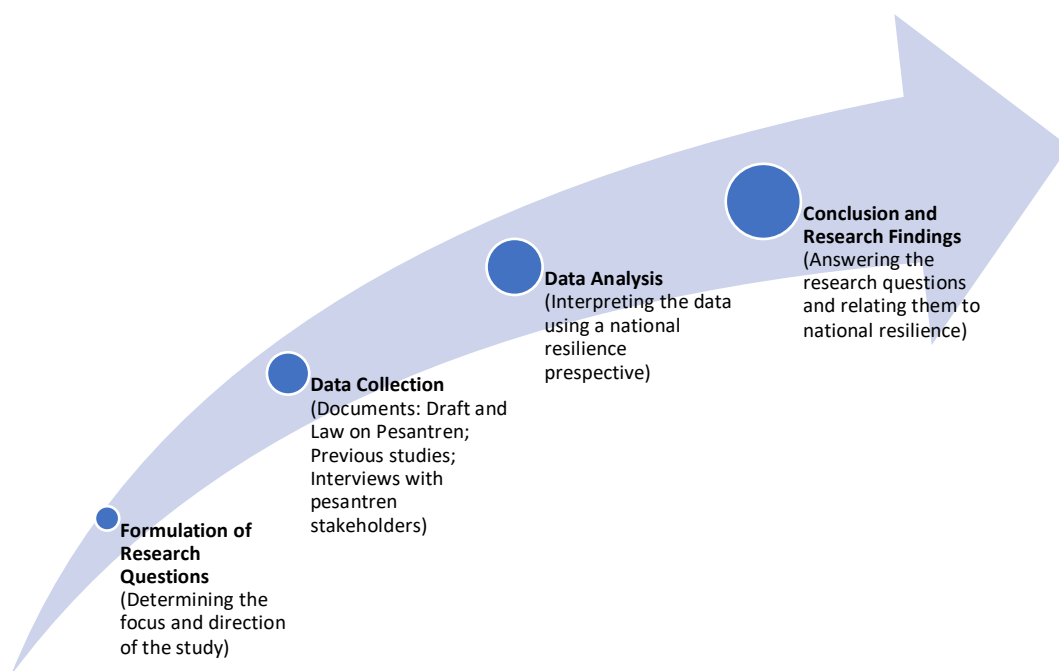


Figure 2. Research Process Flow

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

The Pesantren Law as an Instrument of National Religious Policy

Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning Pesantren marks a pivotal development in public policy within the realm of religious education, as it provides formal recognition of pesantren while reinforcing their strategic contribution to national development. The legislative drafting process engaged key stakeholders, including the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI), Islamic civil society organisations, and the pesantren community, thereby ensuring that the distinctive identity, institutional autonomy, and socio-educational functions of pesantren were preserved in the final legal provisions (Azra, 2013). Rather than functioning merely as a symbolic recognition, the law establishes a comprehensive legal foundation aimed at enhancing institutional capacity and ensuring a more equitable distribution of funding. Consequently, pesantren are positioned as strategic agents within the broader national development agenda. The policy's implementation demonstrates tangible contributions to national resilience, which this study examines through four key dimensions: ideological, economic, educational, and socio-cultural.

Ideological Resilience

Pesantren contribute strategically to the enhancement of national ideological resilience. The Pesantren Law explicitly mandates that pesantren education shall be guided by the principles of *Islam rahmatan lil alamin* (a blessing for all creation,

promoting peace, tolerance, and social harmony), and shall remain aligned with the state ideology of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

In operationalising the mandate, pesantren implement diverse programmes aimed at fostering national values and reinforcing ideological resilience. At Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah Garut, national character education integrates into both formal and non-formal curricula, where activities like Tapak Suci martial arts and Hizbul Wathan scouting function as vehicles for cultivating civic responsibility. Similarly, Pesantren Al-Inayah Bogor promotes ideological grounding through structured involvement in the national Scout Movement (Gerakan Pramuka) and the observance of national holidays, which together nurture a shared sense of national identity and social cohesion. The integration of character-building initiatives within broader pedagogical and extracurricular frameworks exemplifies how pesantren contribute substantively to strengthening ideological resilience across student populations and their surrounding communities.

Economic Resilience

The contribution of pesantren to national economic resilience is increasingly evident through their expanding role in community-based economic empowerment. The Pesantren Law encourages pesantren to engage actively in fostering local economic development through cooperative models, entrepreneurship, and training initiatives.

An illustrative example is provided by Pesantren Al-Ittifaq in Bandung, which has developed a cooperative-based agribusiness in horticulture. The data in Table 1 demonstrate a steady growth in both production volume and sales value over the past three years. Production increased from 1,342 tonnes with sales of IDR 11.47 billion in 2022 to 1,564 tonnes generating IDR 17.47 billion in 2024, demonstrating the pesantren’s enhanced capacity to strengthen local economic resilience.

Table 1. Volume and Sales Value (2022–2024)

Year	Volume (tonnes)	Sales Value (IDR)
2022	1342	11.474.738.000
2023	1480	13.249.722.097
2024	1564	17.473.321.253

Source: Author’s elaboration (2025)

This growth trajectory is complemented by the substantial expansion in community engagement, as shown in Table 2. The number of farmers involved rose from 760 in 2022 to 1,028 in 2024, while the number of partners pesantren increased markedly from 17 to 110 during the same period. These developments highlight the strategic role of pesantren in fostering community-based economic empowerment through robust cooperative networks.

Table 2. Farmers and Partner Pesantren Cooperatives (2022–2024)

Year	Farmers (persons)	Partner Pesantren
2022	760	17
2023	798	41
2024	1028	110

Source: Author’s elaboration (2025)

Pesantren Darussalam Gontor operates 50 business units across various economic sectors, while Pesantren Al-Inayah Bogor incorporates local micro-enterprises into its economic ecosystem. Together, these initiatives illustrate the shifting role of pesantren as catalysts for inclusive and sustainable economic development, contributing significantly to the advancement of national economic resilience.

Educational Resilience

Pesantren occupy an increasingly important position in strengthening educational resilience within Indonesia’s national education system. The Pesantren Law formally recognises the diversity of pesantren educational models, encompassing kitab kuning-based education, *muallimin*, and formal education streams. The establishment of Ma’had Aly, an Islamic higher education institution (Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam, PTKI) rooted in the pesantren tradition, reflects the state’s recognition of pesantren as a vital contributor to advanced Islamic scholarship. Ma’had Aly focuses on the mastery of Islamic sciences (*tafaqquh fiddin*) through rigorous study of classical Islamic texts (kitab kuning), thereby reinforcing the scholarly tradition of pesantren within the national higher education landscape.

In support of quality assurance, the Pesantren Law mandates the creation of the Majelis Masyayikh, an official body responsible for safeguarding and enhancing educational quality across pesantren institutions. Through its governance and quality assurance processes, this body ensures that the distinctive identity of pesantren education is preserved while promoting continuous improvement. Furthermore, the law requires that educators within formal pesantren obtain professional certification, thereby advancing teaching competence and reinforcing educational standards.

The continuing growth of pesantren and the increasing societal interest in pesantren-based education provide further indication of the sector’s expanding role within the national educational landscape. By integrating spiritual, national, and social values, pesantren education fosters graduates equipped to make meaningful contributions both within their local communities and to broader national development.

Socio-Cultural Resilience

Pesantren contribute to strengthening socio-cultural resilience. The UU 18/2019 mandates the principle of multiculturalism and promotes the use of arts and cultural approaches in *dakwah* activities. Pesantren Kaliopak in Yogyakarta demonstrates this

approach by developing arts-based *dakwah* through performing arts, while Pesantren Darul Arqam Garut preserves the traditional martial art of pencak silat through cultural festivals (Satria, 2022 and Zamzami, 2015). These approaches illustrate the strategic contribution of pesantren to fostering social cohesion and preserving the nation's cultural identity.

Based on the findings across the four dimensions, Table 3 summarises the principal contributions of pesantren to national resilience as identified in this study. The synthesis presented in Table 3 highlights the strategic role of pesantren as a multidimensional actor in national resilience, integrating contributions across education, economy, ideology, and socio-cultural spheres.

Table 3. Summary of Pesantren Contributions to National Resilience

Dimension of National Resilience	Pesantren Contributions
Ideological Resilience	Education of national values and Pancasila, fostering nationalism through extracurricular activities and national day celebrations
Economic Resilience	Development of cooperatives, micro-enterprises, pesantren-owned enterprises (BUM-Pes), and community-based economic empowerment programmes.
Educational Resilience	Recognition of diverse educational models (<i>kitab kuning</i> , <i>muallimin</i> , formal), advancement of higher education (Ma'had Aly), quality assurance and teacher certification.
Socio-Cultural Resilience	Preservation of local culture through arts-based <i>dakwah</i> , strengthening social cohesion through multicultural values.

Source: Author's elaboration from field findings, 2025

Discussion

The findings of this study reinforce perspectives in the literature that position pesantren as a strategic actor in supporting multidimensional national resilience (Armawi (2019:123). In the ideological dimension, the role of pesantren as an ideological safeguard is reflected through various national character education initiatives that have been integrated into both formal and non-formal educational processes. The findings from Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah Garut and Pesantren Al-Inayah Bogor strengthen the argument put forward by Salina et al. (2023) and Nurazmi-Nurwahidin (2025), who state that pesantren actively contribute to fostering national consciousness and maintaining an educational environment free from radical ideologies.

In the economic dimension, this study demonstrates that pesantren possess significant capacity as drivers of community-based economic empowerment. The cooperative data from Pesantren Al-Ittifaq indicate a consistent increase in sales volume and the number of partners, which provides concrete evidence of pesantren's contribution to enhancing economic resilience. These findings broaden the scope of existing literature, which has traditionally focused more on the religious functions of pesantren (Dwi,

Wahyu, Lukman, 2019:113-128), by illustrating that pesantren can also serve as inclusive and sustainable economic actors.

Within the educational dimension, the state's formal recognition of pesantren educational models, including the establishment of *Ma'had Aly* and the strengthening of quality assurance through Majelis Masyayikh, enriches the body of literature on the contribution of pesantren to national education development. The ongoing development of pesantren education aligns with perspectives outlined in the literature review, which emphasise the historical role of pesantren in advancing national education and providing alternative educational systems rooted in local traditions and Islamic spirituality.

Regarding the socio-cultural dimension, the study affirms that pesantren serve a central function in preserving and strengthening the nation's cultural identity. Arts-based *dakwah* (preaching) practices at Pesantren Kaliopak Yogyakarta and the preservation of pencak silat at Pesantren Darul Arqam Garut demonstrate the active contribution of pesantren in fostering social cohesion and safeguarding cultural heritage. These findings further support Wahid (2001) perspective that pesantren serve as socio-cultural entities that sustain local identity and national cultural resilience.

Overall, this study not only corroborates previous findings but also offers new conceptual contributions by demonstrating how pesantren regulation, as a form of public policy, systematically enhances national resilience across the four key dimensions. The integration of public policy theory with the concept of national resilience in this study provides a fresh perspective that can enrich policy discourse in the fields of religious education and national resilience.

In conclusion, the findings presented in this study indicate that pesantren, through the strategic implementation of UU 18/2019, make a significant contribution to strengthening Indonesia's national resilience. Through the integration of educational, economic, ideological, and socio-cultural dimensions, pesantren function not only as religious educational institutions but also as key actors in building a resilient and cohesive society. The following section summarises these contributions and discusses their policy implications as well as directions for future research.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study indicate that the implementation of Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning Pesantren contributes meaningfully to strengthening national resilience. Pesantren support ideological resilience through education grounded in national values and tolerance, enhance economic resilience by advancing community empowerment and developing micro-enterprise initiatives, promote educational resilience through learning models underpinned by religious values and local wisdom, and foster socio-cultural resilience by preserving traditions and integrating arts-based approaches within *dakwah* activities. These findings reinforce the view that pesantren function as strategic actors in promoting sustainable national development.

This study acknowledges several limitations, including the scope of analysis, which was confined to selected pesantren cases, and the variation in the implementation of the UU 18/2019 across different regions, which warrants further exploration. Key challenges identified include managerial capacity constraints, the need for innovation in economic empowerment models, and the ongoing task of balancing modernisation with the preservation of pesantren's distinctive institutional identity. Nonetheless, significant opportunities are evident, particularly in strengthening partnerships with government, leveraging digital technologies in education, and fostering inter-pesantren collaboration. The findings provide valuable insights for policymakers seeking to design more responsive and supportive affirmative policies, as well as for pesantren administrators aiming to formulate effective institutional development strategies. Moreover, this study highlights avenues for future research to expand and deepen understanding of the evolving contribution of pesantren to national resilience.

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