



Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School Ngruki Sukoharjo, “The Misunderstood Islamic School”

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini berawal dari kegelisahan peneliti terhadap penyebaran informasi di media massa, baik cetak maupun elektronik di tingkat nasional dan internasional tentang sikap dan tindakan intoleransi yang dilakukan oleh sejumlah alumni Pondok Pesantren Al-Mukmin, Ngruki, Sukoharjo (PPIM). Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti akan fokus pada kurikulum PAI dan muatan pembelajaran toleransi beragama di PPIM Ngruki. Metode penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan objek berupa kurikulum dan pelaksanaan pembelajaran toleransi beragama Islam. Dalam pelaksanaan pembelajaran, PPIM Ngruki memiliki dua orientasi yaitu orientasi konservatif dan orientasi moderat inovatif. Dua orientasi pembelajaran di PPIM Ngruki ini berlangsung sejak 1972-2008. Orientasi konservatif mengajarkan pentingnya kekuasaan negara bagi tegaknya Islam di Indonesia. Orientasi moderat inovatif mendorong integrasi Islam dan keindonesiaan. Orientasi kedua menanamkan nilai toleransi beragama yang dilakukan baik di dalam maupun di luar kelas. Pelajaran tersebut berisi: inklusivitas beragama, kesetaraan, menghargai dan menghormati agama lain.

Kata kunci: Salafi, orientasi konservatif, orientasi moderat-inovatif, tasammuh, inklusivitas agama.

Abstract

This research started from the researchers' anxiety about the spread of information in the mass media, both print and electronic at the national and international levels about the attitudes and acts of intolerance committed by a number of alumni of the Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School, Ngruki, Sukoharjo. In this study, researchers will focus on the PAI curriculum and learning content of religious tolerance at PPIM Ngruki. This method of this research uses a qualitative approach. Meanwhile, the object of this research is the curriculum and implementation of Islamic religious tolerance learning. PPIM Ngruki is a Salafi Islamic boarding school. In the implementation of learning, PPIM Ngruki has two orientations, namely hard line and soft line orientation. These two learning orientations at PPIM Ngruki work since 1972-2008. The lesson contains: religious inclusiveness, equality, respecting and respecting other religions.

Keywords: Salafi, hard line orientation, soft line orientation, tasammuh, religious inclusiveness.

Introduction

Pesantren is one type of Islamic educational institution that has long been exist in Indonesia. A number of experts still disagree about when the first pesantren was founded. However, experts agree that pesantren has grown rapidly since the entry of Islam into Indonesia (nugroho et al. 2021, Ditdpontren kemenag 2016). This educational institution educates their students to become people who are *tafaqqahu fi Ad-din*, polite in attitude and action, (Nugroho 2020b). Moreover, pesantren is also known as a center for Islamic da'wah and a center for piety located in rural areas, although nowadays, many pesantren have been established in urban areas. In their attitudes and actions, santri always display an inclusive attitude, equality, live in peaceful harmony side by side with other people who have different religions or views of life. It should be noted that in general the existence of pesantren begins with the difference in values between the pesantren and the surrounding community (H. et al. 2019; Rusydiyah 2017, 21-43). However, because of the wisdom and flexibility of the kyai and clerics with soft faces, the Islamic values promoted by the pesantren were very well received by the community without any significant upheaval and even then became an ideal model for their environment (Mastuhu 1994 – 95).

However, recently, the wider community has been shocked by acts of violence in the name of pesantren. These violent acts were in the form of suicide bombings in Bali I and II, the JW Ritz Caltzen bombings in Jakarta, (Nugroho 2020a; Tirto 2009), and attacks on police officers in Surakarta (Tempo 2012). A number of print and electronic media, national and international level realized the news. The headline in the headline is addressed to the Islamic Boarding School al-Mukmin, Ngruki-Sukoharjo, Surakarta. The title reads "Ngruki Islamic Boarding School a Nest of Terrorism". Sidney Jones, chairman of the "Southeast Asian Terrorism Study Center" said that all the perpetrators of the violence led to the al-Mukmin Ngruki Islamic Boarding School, Sukoharjo, Surakarta (Jones 2015).

A number of incidents of violent acts above have raised disagreements between several parties. One party argues that the community does not

believe that such actions were carried out by the pesantren and its alumni and were motivated by Islamic teachings. But on the other hand, the community believes that these acts of violence were carried out by pesantren and pesantren alumni and were inspired by Islamic teachings. However, strong public opinion has already given the label that the acts of violence were driven by Islamic boarding schools or pesantren alumni who are ideologically charged. The accusation was directed at the al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School, Ngruki, Sukoharjo, Surakarta. This short article intends to discuss about the Ngruki Islamic Boarding School related to acts of violence.

Henceforth, the Islamic Islamic Boarding School al-Mukmin Ngruki is abbreviated as PPIM Ngruki. With the above background, the question that arises is the first, whether PPIM Ngruki designs intolerance learning for its students? The second, how does the PAI curriculum contain religious tolerance at PPIM Ngruki? The third, what are the paradigmatic implications of PPIM Ngruki's PAI learning of religious tolerance?

This research has 2 (two) objectives. The first objective is to explore information on religious tolerance learning at PPIM Ngruki. The second objective is to find out the PAI curriculum at the institutional level and its learning content of religious tolerance.

There are 2 (two) uses for this research, namely; theoretical-academic uses, and practical use. What is meant by academic theoretical use is to contribute academically to the learning of religious tolerance. Practical use namely participating in providing solutions to problems that develop in society according to the object of this research, namely religious tolerance education at the Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School, Sukoharjo.

In Islamic studies, there is a theoretical perspective to explain peace and violence in Islamic history. A number of sociologists of religion agree that the reality of religion that is practiced in society has 2 (two) faces, namely the face of peace that promotes love, obedience to God, and tolerance. While on the other hand, religion appears with a grim face; scary, build a conflict narrative full of threats, hostile to all groups and there is no goodness in other religions, (Naharong 2013, 594-622). The reality of the two contradictory

faces of religion always exists in society and exists in every religious adherent. The question arises, why adherents of a religion understand teachings from the same source, take different paths? That is the way of peace and the way of violence. Answering this question, the experts disagree about acts of violence in the name of religion.

In the study of the sociology of religion, related to acts of violence in the name of religion, the opinions of experts can be grouped into 3 (three) parts; (Isnaeni 2014, 213-228), the first opinion says that acts of violence in the name of religion originate from religious teachings. According to this opinion, most conflicts and violence in the name of religion always involve religious teachings. In fact, religion materially builds the supremacy of its teachings and makes its adherents the chosen people. Religious teachings serve as inspiration and motivation as well as legitimacy against acts of violence (Isnaeni 2014, 213-214). The second opinion, driven by L. Esposito, said that acts of violence in the name of religion do not originate from religious teachings but originate outside religion (external factors). Furthermore, L. Esposito argues that violence in the name of religion exists as a result of external pressure. In L. Esposito's view, violence is a response or reaction to certain external situations and conditions that are considered to threaten the existence of his religion. For example, state political policies that corner religion, the effects of globalization that promote secularization. According to this opinion, all of these are very influential on the birth of violence in the name of religion (Isnaeni, 2014, 2013-2014).

The third opinion says that the teachings of a religion can be interpreted in various ways. Basically, the most basic religious teachings are to guide and direct humans to submit and obey God the Creator. Submission and obedience in order to achieve life in God's blessing; harmony with the environment; calm and peaceful and happy in the midst of a pluralistic society. When religious adherents read their holy books and try to understand the meaning of their teachings, religious adherents will carry out translation and interpretation of the texts in the holy book. Then there was what is called

the "translation and interpretation of the scriptures" (Al-Bayan 2016, 115-130).

The translation and interpretation are significantly correlated with the behavior of religious adherents. In other words, the behavior of religious adherents will greatly depend on the understanding of the texts of the holy book. The encounter of holy faith with social reality will give birth to two attitudes of intolerance and tolerance. A person's intolerant attitude is born because of the feeling of the supremacy of his religion and sees himself as a chosen person. In addition, intolerant attitudes are born because they view other religions as threats. Meanwhile, tolerance is born as an expression of one's willingness to live together with other religions. Furthermore, this opinion says that the presence of other religions is not a threat. The fact says that in other religions there are goodness that can be accommodated because it is in accordance with religious teachings. This religious attitude is known as *washatiah* (Al-Bayan 2016, 115-130).

From the description above, it can be concluded that faith which is implemented in social reality will meet social reality. The encounter will result in two things; 1. Tolerance is the tendency of the heart to be willing to live together with people of different religions. Other religions are not the enemy. 2. Intolerant attitude, namely the tendency of the heart to refuse to live together with people of different religions. Why ? Because the presence of other religions is positioned as a threat to the existence of their religion.

Previous research at the Islamic Islamic Boarding School al-Mukmin Ngruki, abbreviated as PPIM Ngruki, can be reported as follows: a number of studies on the Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School, Sukoharjo, Surakarta have been carried out by many people. Among them are Ashuri, 2013, Education at Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School, Ngruki, Dissertation, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta (Ashuri 2013). This study examines the curriculum and learning models in the pesantren above. The conclusions of the study are: 1. The curriculum model of the Al-Mukmin Islamic boarding school, Sukoharjo adheres to the separated Subject Mater Curriculum (separately). The curriculum development is Tyler's model, namely the

recipient teacher and curriculum implementer. The curriculum has not changed since 1974. 2. The learning model of the Al-Mukmin pesantren, Sukoharjo is top-down, more doctrinal than discussion and does not touch justice at all. 3. Evaluation model: MTs and MA have boarding exams and UNAS. KMI only has a boarding exam. There is no standard assessment standard, teacher subjectivity is high. Learning outcomes have not been achieved: Mujahid for religion. UNAS standards, graduation has only reached 85%.

Meanwhile, Supriyanto (2014) conducted a study of the Ideology of Islamic Boarding School Education and Its Implications for Religious Understanding (Comparative Study Between Al-Mu'ayyad Islamic Boarding School and Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School Sukoharjo), Dissertation of UIN Sunana Kalijaga, Yogyakarta. This research is motivated by the existence of symptoms of differences in manhaj in Islamic boarding schools. Pesantren al-Mu'ayyad takes the manhaj al-Islam al-thinking. The sources of Islam are the Qur'an and al-Sunnah, but the implementation of Islam may vary. Meanwhile, the Al-Mukmin Islamic boarding school, Sukoharjo, makes Islam a way of life. Implementation of Islam in the form of Harakah Islamiyah. As a result, the two pesantren have different parenting styles in managing the pesantren.

Amir Mahmud (2008) conducted a study on "Islamic Boarding Schools and Movements, Studies on Alumni of Al-Mukmin Ngruki Islamic Boarding School (IKAPPIM) Ngruki, Sukoharjo, Sukoharjo and Islamic Fundamentalism, Dissertation of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta (Mahmud 2008). Asyhuri, 2013, Education at Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School, Ngruki, Dissertation, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. The results of the research are as follows: 1. The Al-Mukmin Islamic Boarding School Alumni Family Association was not involved in acts of violence, 2. The acts of violence committed by a number of PPIM Ngruki alumni were private networks.

As far as available data, the Al-Mukmin Ngruki Islamic Boarding School, which was founded in 1972, has the ideology of the Sunnah wal

Jama'ah, adheres to the washatiyah ideology within the framework of a nation and state society. With the information on acts of violence above, has the Al-Mukmin Ngruki Islamic Boarding School changed its direction to become a frightening pesantren and build a narrative of conflict and build a narrative of hatred towards society and the state? Based on the description above, this paper will discuss the suspicions of various parties that PPIM Ngruki designed a narrative of conflict with the state and society in general.

Research Method

This research method is included in the category of qualitative research. Subject and to be able to understand human behavior and culture, this study uses a qualitative method, namely research that will produce narrative descriptive data about the nature of thought and behavior of the study subject (caregivers, PPIM Ngruki students). The results of qualitative research are in the form of descriptions and narratives about the nature of thinking, attitudes and behavior of the subject and object of study. All of that is good; nature of thinking, attitudes and behavior is always in the context of social life in the surrounding environment. It is hoped that with the qualitative method, this research will obtain in-depth information with relatively accurate conclusions.

Results and Discussion

The Basic Characters of Al-Mukmin Ngruki Islamic Boarding School, Islamic Identity: Manhaj Salaf (PPIM nd., 17). To find out the identity of PPIM Ngruki, it is necessary to trace the founders of this pesantren and the ustadz who manage it, the background of the establishment of the pesantren and the idealism of the founders as stated in the vision and mission of the pesantren. The founders of the Al-Mukmin Ngruki Islamic Boarding School can be divided into 3 (three) groups: 1. Alumni of Gontor Islamic Boarding School: Ustadz Abu Bakr Ba'asyir, Wahyudin, Farid Ma'ruf, 2. Alumni of Persis Bangil and Jami'ah Islamiyah Medina Islamic Boarding Schools, Ustadz Ahmad Husnan, Suwardi Efendi, 3. Al-Irsyad Activist: Ustadz Abdullah Sungkar. Looking at the background of the founders, it can be

concluded that PPIM Ngruki is a meeting place for the scientific culture of the Gontor (Modern) pesantren, Bangil (Salaf) and Al-Irsyad (Wahabi) pesantren. These three elements will later color the journey of PPIM Ngruki (Fuaduddin et.al. 2003, 134).

In addition, reference books can also be used to trace the identity of PPIM Ngruki. Meanwhile, the books used at PPIM Ngruk in the Parenting Unit are Abdul Majid Az-Zandany, *Kitab al-Iman*, Publisher: Darul Qalam. Damascus Edition:Third, 1984. Dr. Abdul Aziz bin Muhamma Abdul Latif, *Tauhid*, Trans. Ainul Haris, Jakarta, Darul Haq. 1998. Salih bin Fauzan bin 'Abdullah 'Ali Fauzan, *Sharh on the book at-Tawhid Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, al-Mamlakah al-'Arabiyyah as-Su'uudiyah, Muhammad bin Su'ud al-Islimiyyah, 1400 H.*

From the reference books above, there are absolutely no books written by 4 (four) Imams of the 4 major schools of thought: Maliki, Hanafi, Hambali and Shafii. Likewise, Syaich Hujjatul Islam al-Ghazali with his monumental work *al-Ihya 'Ulumuddin*, and Syaich Al-Zarnuji, *Sufism*, these two great figures did not appear as the main figures in this pesantren (Lampirann, Tabel 9. 2020). The Islamic articulation chosen by PPIM Ngruki is the manhaj salaf. What is meant by manhaj salaf is the path that has been taken by the early Islamic generation, namely the era of the Prophet Muhammad, *tabi'in* and *tabi'in-tabi'in*. In PPIM Ngruki's view, the best generation of Islam is this generation. As for the reasons, firstly, those who best understand the purpose and purpose of the Qur'an being revealed are the Messenger of Allah and his close companions. Second, in that era, the Islamic generation was very prominent in its sincerity, without any interest except all its life just to gain the pleasure of Allah swt. Third, the Salaf generation, prioritize texts over reason. Therefore, in interpreting the Qur'an, the Manhaj Salaf places revelation first. Reason must submit to revelation. To regain the glory of Islam, PPIM Ngruki always invites all Muslims to return to the Salaf era (PPIM 2020). According to PPM Ngruki, there are many perennial Islamic values that need to be elaborated and can be carried forward for the future of Muslims. What is

contained in the vision and mission of PPIM Ngruki is a representation of the ideals of its founders which will be transformed to its students.

PPIM Ngruki's response to the demands of modernity can be reported as follow: 1. Conservative and Moderate Innovative. The basic nature of PPIM Ngruki is manhaj salaf. However, in responding to the demands of the times with the spirit of modernity, PPIM Ngruki was divided into 2 (two) groups, namely the conservative group and moderate Innovative group. The Conservaive group were represented by Abu Bakr Ba'asyir and Abdullah Sungkar. While the moderate Innovative group was represented by Drs. Farid Maruf, Muhammad Amir, SH., Wahyudin and Yahya Abdurahman.

Conservative promote the importance of state power for the establishment of Islam in Indonesia. For this group, building an Islamic state is mandatory for Indonesian Muslims. In other words, for hardliners, the need for the institutionalization of Islam in the state. Meanwhile, for the Moderate Innovative group builds on the importance of integrating Islam with Indonesianism. For this group, establishing an Islamic state is not mandatory for Indonesian Muslims. This group promote Islam as an inspiration for upholding justice, defending economically weak communities, defending the truth.

It should be emphasized that the Conservative group always build a narrative of conflict with the government and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, do not believe in the Pancasila ideology to solve the nation's problems. Meanwhile, the Moderate Innovative groups always promote peace and are willing to live in a Pancasila state. Living in a Pancasila state is in accordance with Islamic law (Interview with Mu'lif 2020).

2. The Moderate Innovative Group Carrying Out Islamic Religious Education Learning that is tolerant in the nation and state. Evidence that moderate innovative groups promote religious, national and state tolerance can be reported as follows: the Islamic Islamic Boarding School al-Mukmin Ngruki has not forgotten the place where he lives. For this reason, PPIM Ngruki also builds an Indonesian identity for its students. For PPIM Ngruki,

Indonesia is a big house. In the house there are various rooms; where each race, ethnicity and religion live. In Indonesia there are rooms of Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism and Hinduism and Buddhism. Each occupant of the room contributed to the Indonesian common house.

In order to build the love of the students for Indonesia, PPIM Ngruki in their learning uses an educational curriculum as recommended by the government; KBK-KTSP and K-13 both the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Education and Culture (PPIM 2020). All types of curricula are used in learning at MTSi and at MAAM. By using the curriculum, PPIM Ngruki equips students to remain aware that they have social responsibilities, namely students who care about ummahan and national issues. For PPIM Ngruki, students must be equipped with universal Islamic values. But at the same time, good deeds demand real implementation in space and time (PPIM 2020). That is the Indonesian style of PPIM Ngruki, namely fighting for the good and the benefit of the Indonesian nation, where the struggle for the benefit of Indonesia is part of good deeds. So PPIM Ngruki's love for Indonesia is a love based on faith and piety to Allah swt.

Al-Mukmin Ngruki Islamic Boarding School reject accusations of building conflict narratives and designing violent acts As far as the available data, both the government's official curriculum and the hidden curriculum, it can be concluded that PPIM Ngruki has not developed a narrative of conflict with other religions. The author does not find any data that PPIM Ngruki learning builds hatred against other religions. Likewise, the PPIM Ngruki learning does not build a narrative of hatred towards fellow Muslims, such as NU and Muhammadiyah, Ahmadiyah and Shia.

The Islamic education paradigm at PPIM Ngruki is as far as available data, official learning based on the curricula The Islamic education paradigm at PPIM Ngruki is to build religious inclusiveness, equality of religious adherents and non-discrimination towards adherents of other religions, and also PPIM Ngruki does not at all build hatred against the government.

However, the non-formal responses of the santri and ustadz at PPIM Ngruki showed their dissatisfaction with the macro development of the

Indonesian government. Stories of dissatisfaction with the government occur everywhere, not only in the PPIM Ngruki environment. Social facts say that in the New Order era and the Reformation Era, development only targeted a small group of people. The grass-roots community who are Muslim, as long as development takes place, remain in a poor state and have not enjoyed much of the results of development. The dissatisfaction of the students and ustadz at PPIM Ngruki with the government also targeted the issue of morality. The students and ustadz PPIM Ngruki with a high level of religiosity can't stand the reality in society with the proliferation of pornography, gambling, and prostitution. It is as if the state in this case the police is powerless to deal with it all. More than that, the state seems to let it all continue. The students and ustadz PPIM Ngruki as part of the Indonesian nation were nervous and questioned the seriousness of the state in dealing with these problems. Regarding the suspicion that PPIM Ngruki has institutionally built a conflict narrative and a center for the breeding of intolerance as reported in many print and electronic media, this is completely unproven.

The dragging of PPIM Ngruki's big name related to the violence because: 1. A number of PPIM Ngruki alumni were involved in the action. 2. The two founding figures of PPIM Ngruki, namely Ustadz Abu Bakr Ba'sir and Ustadz Abdullah Sungkar are most suspected of being involved in terrorism cases in Southeast Asia. Sidney Jones, International Director of the Crisis Group (ICG) in an article entitled *Al Qaeda in Southeast Asia: the case of the Ngruki network* in Indonesia, introduced the phrase *Ngruki Network*. The article was published on the ICG website, dated August 8, 2002. He said that a number of people involved in acts of terror in Indonesia led to the *Al Mukmin Ngruki Islamic Boarding School*,

A number of data in the field inform that PPIM Ngruki in its curriculum and implementation of learning does not teach violence in the name of religion at all. PPIM Ngruki is very aware that if they teach violence and carry a narrative of conflict with the government and the wider community, both secretly and openly, they will definitely face the state and

the wider community. This is not very beneficial for the sustainability of PPIM Ngruki. For PPIM Ngruki, the articulation of Islam with a tone of conflict and threats, let alone acts of violence, is not an option. Normatively, building a narrative of conflict and the tone of threats and acts of violence is not only prohibited by Islam, but also frightens many people. In other words, the articulation of PPIM Ngruki's Islam that was taken from the start was the *tasammuh* way, namely building an inclusive narrative, building equality and comparative and competitive educational excellence. PPIM Ngruki admitted that there were a number of PPIM Ngruki alumni involved in acts of violence. But they do not represent PPIM Ngruki alumni, which number in the tens of thousands. In addition, the acts of violence they committed were outside the institutional responsibility of PPIM Ngruki. PPIM Ngruki has never educated *santri* to act violently against others, let alone carry out bombings without any sense of humanity. Their actions are personal and let them be held accountable for their actions according to what they have done.

The results of the author's interviews with a number of community members around PPIM Ngruki can be concluded that if PPIM Ngruki reproduces conflict narratives and commits violence with the surrounding community, the community has asked the government to close the *pesantren*. The residents of Ngruki Hamlet and its surroundings are actually grateful to PPIM Ngruki because: 1. The economic impact of the people, namely the residents around the *pesantren* can increase family income because of the existence of the *pesantren*. 2. A number of living witnesses say that there has been a very significant change in the Ngruki community and its surroundings since the 1970s until 2020s. At the beginning of the establishment of PPIM Ngruki, it can be informed that every Friday night the smell of incense always stings to the *pesantren* and there are many dishes for spirits. In addition, almost every night, the Ngruki Hamlet is always lively with minimal drinking and lots of drunk people. But in 2020, the atmosphere has changed. Ngruki Hamlet currently has many beautiful mosques with very good quality buildings as a result of non-governmental organizations. Another fact is that nowadays in Ngruki Hamlet, *taklim majlis* are mushrooming everywhere.

These are undeniable sociological facts. Is the change in the community in Ngruki Hamlet which is becoming more religious the result of da'wah by means of violence or terrorizing the community? Readers are welcome to answer themselves honestly.

Conclusions

From the description above, it can be concluded as follows: *Firstly*, PPIM Ngruki from the beginning continued to carry out learning well according to the curriculum that was announced. This means that PPIM Ngruki has never shifted from its original goal of educating students to become tafqquhu fi-ddien human beings. *Secondly*, PPIM Ngruki has never transformed the idea of intolerance and acts of violence against its students in the name of religion. Intolerance and acts of violence committed by some PPIM Ngruki alumni are not the responsibility of the institution. What they are doing is a personal net-work, not an institutional PPIM Ngruki design.

In the future, PPIM Ngruki must strictly control the activities of teachers and ensure that the official curriculum is embedded in students. Don't let PPIM Ngruki be infiltrated by group activities outside of PPIM Ngruki institutionally. Research has limitations on internal conditions during education in pesantren, while alumni are an important factor that has not been touched. This can be an important point for further research.

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