



Students' Expectations and Perceptions Regarding the Policies of Sexual Violence in Islamic Boarding Schools

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Abstract: This research explores the effectiveness of the policy on addressing sexual violence in Islamic boarding schools through the Gender Analysis Pathway. The study employs a qualitative approach using methods such as interviews, literature analysis, and document reviews. Interviews were conducted with female students of the Women Ulama Cadre Education Program of Great Mosques of Istiqlal (PKUP-MI) Master and Doctoral Degrees from who have a background as alumni of Islamic boarding schools. Additionally, they have a focus on the study of women and children. The main document analyzed is the Ministry of Religious Affairs Regulation (PMA) Number 73 of 2022 concerning the handling and prevention of sexual violence in educational units under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. As this PMA does not yet have Standard Operating Procedures (SOP), it remains open to suggestions for effective implementation, which this research aims to accommodate. The research findings reflect the collective view of PKU-MI female students, who desire the PMA to be enforced with firmness and strict supervision. Furthermore, a bottom-up approach that takes into account the experiences of sexual violence victims is needed to activate feminist perspectives and promote the enforcement of gender-responsive policies.

Keywords: *Gender Analysis Pathway, Boarding School, Sexual Violence.*

Abstrak: Riset ini menjelaskan efektivitas kebijakan penanganan kekerasan seksual di pesantren melalui Gender Analysis Pathway. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode wawancara, analisis Pustaka, dan telaah dokumen. Wawancara dilakukan dengan santriwati/mahasiswi Pendidikan Kader Ulama Perempuan Masjid Istiqlal (PKUP-MI) program Master dan Doktorat yang memiliki latar belakang alumni pesantren. Selain itu juga memiliki fokus kajian perempuan dan anak. Adapun dokumen utama yang dianalisis adalah Peraturan Menteri Agama (PMA) Nomor 73 tahun 2022 tentang penanganan dan pencegahan kekerasan seksual di satuan pendidikan pada Kementerian Agama. PMA ini belum memiliki Standar Operasional Prosedur (SOP) sehingga masih terbuka untuk mendapatkan saran untuk efektivitas pelaksanaan. Hasil penelitian ini mencerminkan pandangan keseluruhan santriwati PKU-MI menginginkan PMA diterapkan dengan ketegasan dan pengawasan ketat. Selain itu, diperlukan pendekatan bottom-up yang mempertimbangkan pengalaman korban kekerasan seksual untuk mengaktifkan pendekatan feminisme dan mendorong keberlakuan kebijakan yang responsif gender.

Keywords: *Gender Analysis Pathway, Pondok Pesantren, Kekerasan Seksual*

INTRODUCTION

Islamic boarding schools prioritize education which primarily includes the study of the Al-Qur'an, Hadith, Tauhid, Fiqh, Sufism, and other general subjects. Dhofier said that Islamic boarding schools have five basic elements which include a boarding school/dormitory, mosque, teaching of classical Islamic books, santri, and Kyai.¹ The first element, namely the *Pondok* or dormitory, is mandatory because Islamic boarding schools provide 24-hour education for students from waking up to going

¹Zamakhshyari Dhofier, 'Pesantren Traditions, Cet', VI, Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011.

to sleep. The mosque is also an important element since it is used for teaching activities, congregational prayers, sermon training activities and so on.²

The third element is the teaching of classical Islamic books because Islamic boarding schools cannot be separated from the studies of previously written the ulama. In the Islamic boarding school tradition, teaching science goes through a process of verification and validation of the teacher's or ustadz's knowledge. Then the fourth element is Santri which is characterized by the presence of students who live in the dormitories that have been provided. Fifth, there are Kyai who are activators, caregivers and leaders in learning activities. Moreover, there are also modern Islamic boarding schools with a curriculum that has been adapted to suit the nowadays needs. However, both traditional and modern Islamic boarding schools are officially registered with the Ministry of Religion are Islamic boarding schools that have a national vision.³

Islamic boarding schools also receive threats due to the rise of sexual violence. Before 2023, as reported by BBC, there were four cases of sexual violence committed by Islamic boarding school leaders. The sexual violence that occurred in Bandung, Jember, and Lampung is a case that has tarnished the good name of Islamic boarding schools.⁴ Moreover, Islamic boarding schools are religious institutions that monitor the teaching of Shari'a regarding things that are ordered and prohibited. This irony

² Natsir, A. and Rohman, K., "Kekerasan di Pondok Pesantren: Aktor, Motif, dan Sebaran Geografis". *Dinamika Penelitian: Media Komunikasi Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 24(01), pp.1-18, (2024).

³Zamakhshari Dhofier, 'Pesantren Traditions, Cet'.

⁴ BBC, 'Empat Kasus Kekerasan Seksual Oleh Pimpinan Pesantren Di Jember Dan Lampung, Menanti Kesungguhan Kementerian

certainly makes the Ministry of Religion, as the party in charge of the Islamic Boarding School Education Directorate, the party that must prevent similar cases that might happen.

Sexual violence committed by Islamic boarding school leaders against female students is an irony of existing power relations. This happens because patriarchal culture still exists in the implementation of the learning process. Furthermore, the power relations seen are that Islamic boarding school leaders can rule as they wish, especially as students are designed by the system to always obey or follow their orders.⁵ This is in line with Gamble's opinion that patriarchal culture is rooted in Islamic boarding schools, not only in gender violence but also in the existence of gender stereotypes.⁶ Stereotypes here are a way of separating the characteristics and roles of men and women, men are considered brave while women are considered weak. Not only that, the patriarchal culture in Islamic boarding schools is also characterized by the existence of power relations between seniors and students, which results in perpetrators being free to do things without feeling guilty.⁷

Regarding cases of sexual violence that occur in Islamic boarding schools, the Ministry of Religion has issued regulation as *Peraturan Menteri Agama* (PMA) Minister of Religion Regulation Number 73 of 2022 concerning the handling and prevention of sexual violence in educational

⁵ BZ Fitri Pebriaisyah, Wilodati Wilodati, and Siti Komariah, 'Kekerasan Seksual Di Lembaga Pendidikan Keagamaan: Relasi Kuasa Kyai Terhadap Santri Perempuan Di Pesantren', *Jurnal Harkat: Media Komunikasi Gender*, 18.2 (2022)

⁶ 'The Routledge Critical Dictionary of Feminism and Postfeminism', *Choice Reviews Online*, 38.02 (2000)

⁷ Naila Azza Nabila, Umdatul Baroroh, and Batinuha Musyahadah Mashis, 'Facts of Sexual Violence in Islamic Boarding Schools in Pati Regency', *Al-I'timad: Journal of Da'wah and Islamic Community Development*, 1.1 (2023)

units at the Ministry of Religion. It is hoped that this Minister of Religion regulation will further strengthen legal protection for victims of sexual violence. This regulation mentions several forms of sexual violence, prevention, handling, reporting, monitoring and evaluation of cases of sexual violence that occur in the Education units of the Indonesian Ministry of Religion.⁸

Handling sexual violence in Islamic boarding schools has received legal protection through PMA Number 73 of 2022, but this research aims to examine the effectiveness of this policy. By focusing on the first batch of students from the Istiqlal Mosque Female Ulama Cadre Education Program (PKUP-MI), this research will use the Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP) to analyze the gap between the student's expectations and perceptions regarding this policy. Through interviews and a literature review, this research will link the theory of sexual violence with existing cases, to optimize the implementation of PMA in all educational units under the auspices of the Ministry of Religion. Several previous studies have shown the importance of state supervision, legal education, and additional policies to prevent and deal with sexual violence in Islamic boarding schools.

This study is qualitative research by conducting interviews with all first-generation PKUP-MI female students and a literature review that utilizes previous studies, policy-related documents, as well as updates on developments in cases of handling sexual violence that have occurred in the last two years. This research will be analyzed through the theory of

⁸M. Rusyidi, 'Ministry of Religion Issues PMA for Handling and Preventing Sexual Violence in Education Units', *Kemenag.Go.Id*, 2022 <<https://www.kemenag.go.id/nasional/kemenag-terbitkan-pma-penanganan-dan-prevention-of-sexual-violence-in-education-units-bvs1ie>>.

sexual violence and linked to several existing cases. This research aims to optimize the implementation of PMA in all education units under the auspices of the Ministry of Religion, including Islamic boarding schools.

Several studies examine the theme of violence in Islamic boarding schools⁹ and the need for supervisory institutions for Islamic boarding schools,¹⁰ but none has specifically discussed Minister of Religion Regulation Number 73 of 2022 concerning the handling and prevention of sexual violence in educational units at the Ministry of Religion. Therefore, this article reviews how this Ministry of Religion Regulation was responded to, as a form of support and control over cases of sexual violence in Islamic boarding schools. Apart from that, this article also provides a Santri perspective on the Istiqlal Mosque Ulama Cadre Education program as a form of presence from Santri, not just from bureaucracy.

METHOD

The Gender Path Analysis Method (GAP) is a tool for understanding gender differences and inequality by considering access, participation, control and benefits obtained by both women and men in development programs.¹¹ GAP helps planners integrate gender considerations in planning development policies and programs. Through GAP, gender inequality and problems can be identified, as well as

⁹ M Rifa Baihaqi dkk, "Analisis SWOT Kebijakan Pemerintah dalam Upaya Mencegah Kekerasan Seksual di Lingkungan Pesantren," *At-Taqwa*, Vol. 19 No. 2 (2023) September, hal. 181-191.

¹⁰ Muhammad Rafeillito Hudita Maulanasyah dan Muh Jufri Ahmad, "Urgensi Pengaturan Pencegahan Kekerasan Seksual di Lembaga Pondok Pesantren," *Bureaucracy Journal*, Vol. 3 No. 1 Januari-April 2023, hal. 591.

¹¹ Fithriyah, 'Pengalaman Indonesia Dalam Menerapkan Perencanaan Dan Penganggaran Yang Responsif Gender (PPRG)', *Jurnal Perencanaan Pembangunan: Bridging Knowledge to Policy*, 24.1 (2017), 78–98 <<https://doi.org/ISSN: 3709-0854>>.

formulating gender-responsive development plans.¹² GAP is an important component in formulating policies, programs or intervention activities that pay attention to gender aspects.¹³

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Islamic Boarding Schools and Sexual Violence Cases

In Zamkhasyari's notes, it is explained that the reconstruction of the early days of the Islamic boarding school tradition was between the 11th and 14th¹⁴ centuries. This happened during the transition period from the Hindu Buddhist Majapahit civilization to the Malay Archipelago civilization development period. Islamic boarding schools have become an important part of Indonesian history and culture, with the main aim of teaching Islamic religious knowledge and developing the character of *Santri* (Islamic boarding school students) under Islamic values. According to Zamkhasyari Dhofier, Islamic boarding schools have five elements, including *pondok* (the dormitory building), mosques, *santri*, teaching *kitab* (classical Islamic books) and *Kyai* (the leader)¹⁵ It is called a *pondok* because it is basically a traditional Islamic educational dormitory where students live together and study under the guidance of a teacher who is better known as *Kyai*, *Ajengan*, *Anre Guruta*, and others according to the region.

¹²Abdillah Luthfi AlHabsyi, "Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP) in the Development Planning Conference (Musrenbang) in Neglasari sub-district, Tangerang City in 2015", Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa University Thesis, 2016, p. 43.

¹³BKN, 'State Civil Service Agency', State Civil Service Agency, 11, 2019, 1–33. <https://www.bkn.go.id/unggahan/2022/12/21.-Surat-Edaran-Kepala-BKN-Nomor-21-Tahun-2022-tangan-Pedoman-Penerapan-pengarusutamaan-Gender-di-Environment-National-Personnel-Agency.pdf>, accessed on 04/10/2022, 15:16 WIB.

¹⁴ Zamakhsari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai Dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia*, Lp3Es, 2011.

¹⁵Zamakhsyari Dhofier, 'Pesantren Traditions, Cet'.

Zamakhasyari also wrote that there are three main reasons why Islamic boarding schools must provide dormitories for their students.¹⁶ First; The fame of a *Kyai* and the depth of his knowledge of Islam attracted students from faraway places to come. Second, almost all Islamic boarding schools are in villages, not many like cities where there is a boarding house system. Third, there is a reciprocal attitude between the *Kyai* and the students, where the students regard their kyai as if they were their fathers, while the kyai consider the students to be a gift from God who must always be protected and provided with extensive religious knowledge.

The student population is growing over time. It can be seen that in 2022 the number of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia will reach 26,975. West Java province is the region with the most Islamic boarding schools, reaching 8,343, around 30.92% of the total national Islamic boarding schools.¹⁷ The large number of Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia makes it necessary to provide educational standards, such as teaching methods, supervision and security. The regulations in Islamic boarding schools can be better supervised by the authorities to ensure the safety and welfare of the students.

The quality of teaching requires regulations that can help ensure teaching staff in Islamic boarding schools have adequate qualifications and can provide good teaching to students. In addition, there is the protection of the rights of Santri: Islamic boarding school regulations focus on protecting the rights of Santri, including the right to education, health, and protection from forms of exploitation or harassment.

¹⁶ Zamakhasyari Dhofier, 'Tradisi Pesantren, Cet', VI, Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011.

¹⁷ Satu Data Kementrian Agama RI, *Jumlah Pondok Pesantren Menurut Tipe* <<https://satudata.kemenag.go.id/search?search=pesantren>>.

The regulations implemented must be balanced and respect the uniqueness and identity of Islamic boarding schools as traditional Islamic educational institutions. Implementing appropriate and effective regulations can help increase the role of Islamic boarding schools in society. The government has tried to issue Minister of Religion Regulation number 30 of 2020 concerning the establishment and implementation of Islamic boarding schools. However, these regulations are considered not to provide friendliness for children (students).

PKUP students hope that SOPs will be strictly implemented through gender-responsive policies. Fathia Phona emphasized the importance of a quick and firm response to cases of sexual violence to restore trust in religious education institutions. Hani Fazlin wants immediate follow-up by authorities and a prevention campaign at all levels of education. Atssania Zahroh emphasized the importance of shared perspectives from policymakers and the community to connect in efforts to prevent sexual violence.¹⁸

The National Commission on Violence Against Women (KPAI) stated that sexual violence/harassment is more difficult to handle and reveal than other violence. Because women are often associated with the concept of societal morality. Women are valued as a symbol of honour and purity, therefore when female victims experience sexual violence, for example, rape. So the victim also becomes the party who is blamed, deemed unable to maintain honour or chastity and so on.

Many of the victims are kept silent because the victim thinks they have a heavier burden. After all, the Islamic boarding house where all the

¹⁸PMA Number 73 of 2022, CHAPTER II Forms of Sexual Violence Article 5 paragraph 2.

cases are accused has a stereotype of a place close to glory and religion. Of course, the female students who were victims felt devastated several times over. Sexual violence or harassment is a complicated issue. According to the National Commission on Violence Against Women, cases of sexual violence or harassment continue to rise. Several cases of sexual violence or harassment in Islamic boarding schools provide evidence that there are involved power relations. Sexual violence at the Madani Islamic Boarding School in Cibiru, Bandung be one example since this case was successfully covered for up to six years.¹⁹

While several cases have resulted in a response by the Ministry of Religion they try to provide an explanation in Chapter IV regarding Handling, in Article 9 paragraph 2. This article states that if sexual violence is committed by the head of an Education unit, then they can report it to the Education unit organizer, such as the Masyayikh Council, the Head of the Ministry of Religion Office, the Head of the Regional Office, the Head of Center, or Director General. The following are further policies that will be discussed in the next subchapter.

Sexual Violence Policy in Islamic Boarding Schools

The Rules for Reporting Sexual Violence in Madrasas and Islamic Boarding Schools is the reporter submits a report of sexual violence to the leadership orally or in writing, directly or indirectly. If sexual violence is committed by the head of an educational unit, the reporter can submit a report of the sexual violence to; the education unit organizer, such as the

¹⁹Kholisin Susanto, Chronology of the Case of Herry Wirawan, Rapist of 13 Students Sentenced to Death, in <https://bandung.viva.co.id/news/12345-kronologi-perkara-herry-wirawan-pemeriksa-13-santri-yang-didunia-dead> (accessed July 20, 2023).

Head of the Ministry of Religion Office, Head of the Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion and so forth.

Sexual violence reports must include the identity of the reporter, victim, alleged perpetrator, type of sexual violence, as well as the time and place of the incident. Complainants with disabilities must be accompanied by a companion. The head of the educational unit that receives the report must provide clarification within 1 x 24 hours, regarding the reporter, witnesses, victims, reported parties and other related parties. If clarification indicates that sexual violence has occurred, the report must be forwarded to law enforcement officials.

Leaders of educational units are obliged to provide protection to victims, witnesses, whistleblowers and children who conflict with the law or perpetrators of violence, as long as they come from that educational unit. Protection includes confidentiality of identity, provision of information and access to protective facilities, guaranteed continuity of education and employment for educators or education personnel, as well as other protections by regulations. Especially for children in conflict with the law or perpetrators, protection also includes humane treatment.

Assistance for witnesses, victims and children who commit sexual violence must be provided, including counselling, health services, legal aid and rehabilitation. If the educational unit cannot provide a companion, the leadership must collaborate with various institutions such as the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, the Witness and Victim Protection Agency, universities, health services, social services, professional organizations, legal aid institutions, and other religious and community institutions.

If the witness or victim is a person with a disability, assistance is provided by taking into account the needs of the person with a disability.

Education unit leaders take action against those reported to sexual violence committed by educators, education staff and students who are over 18 years old. Action is carried out in the form of temporary release from duties and/or positions, temporary release from the education services of the accused and sanctions for perpetrators of sexual violence in schools, madrasas and Islamic boarding schools. Perpetrators who are proven to have committed sexual violence based on a legally binding court decision will still be subject to criminal sanctions and administrative sanctions following the law. legislation. The imposition of administrative sanctions for perpetrators of sexual violence who have civil servant status is carried out under the provisions of statutory regulations regarding civil servant discipline.

The imposition of administrative sanctions for perpetrators of sexual violence who do not have civil servant status is carried out per the provisions regulated by the education unit administrator. The leadership of the education unit carries out recovery for victims of sexual violence, carried out by assistants. Recovery is carried out on the physical, mental, spiritual and social aspects of the victim. If the educational unit cannot provide a companion, its leadership coordinates and collaborates with universities, health services, religious community organizations, religious institutions, professional organizations, social services, regional government technical units that handle child protection, and community-based child protection service providers.

If the victim is a person with a disability, recovery is carried out taking into account the needs of the person with a disability. Education unit leaders are also required to report on the implementation of preventing and handling sexual violence at least once a year. Meanwhile,

the Director General, Head of the Center, Head of Regional Offices, Head of the Ministry of Religion Offices, and education unit administrators are required to evaluate and monitor the prevention and handling of sexual violence at least once a year.

Evaluation of Sexual Violence Policies in Islamic Boarding Schools

Komnas Perempuan's records throughout 2015-2020 show that 19% of cases of sexual violence and discrimination occurred in Islamic boarding schools or Islamic-based education, ranking second after universities.²⁰ Here, as a response, the Ministry of Religion has issued Ministerial Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 73 of 2022 concerning the prevention and handling of sexual violence in education units at the Ministry of Religion. However, the situation has not changed much, because there are still many Islamic boarding schools that do not understand these rules.

According to Retno Listyarti, an education practitioner as commissioner of the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI), the Ministry of Religion should need to form an SOP (Standard Operating Procedure) as a complaint portal. Apart from that, there are still many portraits of sexual violence in Islamic boarding schools from 2022 to 2023. In the case of the Islamic boarding school in Jember, the administrator of the al-Djalil 2 Islamic boarding school in Jember said that Kyai Muhammad Fahim Mawardi was reported by his wife to the Jember Police for allegedly having an affair and molesting several students. In the case of

²⁰Editorial Team, "Four Cases of Sexual Violence by Islamic Boarding School Leaders in Jember and Lampung, Comply with the Seriousness of the Ministry of Religion." BBC News Indonesia. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cjmvzr8x1reo> . (Accessed on 07/22/2023, 11:59 WIB).

Fahim Mawardi, two things were often used as a cover, so that the process of handling the case dragged on until the victim was not just experienced by one person. Firstly, reporting cases of sexual violence is considered defamation of Islamic boarding school leaders. This is what ultimately led to the wife herself reporting the case of sexual violence.²¹ Second, Fahim Mawardi is an Islamic boarding school leader active on social media with Dakwah narratives. He had several sympathizers and was considered a straight, firm and brave person who fought against the government which was considered an oligarchy and its enemy. When there was an issue of violence, he and his sympathizers avoided the issue of criminalizing ulama.²² This narrative is something complicated and complex.

In West Tulang Bawang Regency, the caretaker of an Islamic boarding school with the initials AA abused six of his students. Three of them were raped on the pretext of receiving blessings from God if they served their teacher. Santri who live or live in Islamic boarding schools are familiar with the term *nilah berkah* and its relationship to the existence of Kyai because Kyai has an important role in Islamic boarding schools. Term *talmadzah* is known which describes how the passive attitude of students towards teachers occurs because of the education pattern of students as servants and subjects, which is explained in the book *Ta'lim Muta'allim*, a reference to the *Kitab Kuning* which is studied in Islamic boarding schools.

²¹Editorial Team, "Kiai Fahim Mawardi Officially Detained, Wife Reportedly Allegedly Abusing Santriwati and Ustadzah", <https://aceh.tribunnews.com/2023/01/17/kiai-fahim-mawardi-resmi-detained-direported-istri-diduga-cabuli-santriwati-dan-ustazah> (accessed 28 July 2023)

²²Editorial Team, "What is the Criminalization of Ulama?", <https://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/qo08jj385/apa-itu-criminalization-ulama>, (accessed on 28 July 2023).

²³ Here the author is not assessing the *talmadẓah* tradition as a bad thing, what the author is criticizing are individuals who take refuge in good traditions and culture to cover up evil things.

PMA regulation no. 73 of 2022 has been issued and still requires steps that can address sexual violence as a whole. So, the author considers PMA rule no. 73 of 2022 requires. Firstly, counselling and education provide training and counselling to teachers, staff and students about what sexual violence is, how to identify it, and the importance of reporting incidents of sexual violence.

Second, there exists policies and procedures that schools need to have a clear policy regarding sexual violence, including the actions that will be taken if there is a violation in Islamic boarding schools. Moreover, reporting and investigation must be well managed to ensure protection for victims and accountability for perpetrators. Third, there is a case-handling team. In this way, Islamic boarding schools can develop special teams or committees that are responsible for handling sexual violence. This team must consist of independent parties and be trained to address such issues with sensitivity. Fourth is the existence of psychological support which victims of sexual violence must be provided with adequate psychological support to help them overcome the emotional and psychological impact of the incident. Fifth is collaboration with external parties that are experienced in dealing with issues of sexual violence to provide additional support and guidance.

Apart from these five things, the most important thing in preparing SOPs for handling sexual violence in Islamic boarding schools

²³Zakiah, et al. "Mapping of Leading Commodities in the Plantation Sub-Sector in South Aceh District", *Agrisep Journal*, Vol. 16, no. 1, 2015, 35.

must be eliminating political issues. In Indonesia, the leader of an Islamic boarding school is a person who has influence; he can be a strong person in a political context and has sympathizers. In this case, strict SOPs are the best way to manage these cases.

Students' Expectations and Perceptions regarding the Effectiveness of Policies for Handling Sexual Violence in Islamic Boarding Schools

Santri are the next generation who are expected to continue Islamic traditions. Islamic boarding school students also have an important role in society as leaders, intellectuals and figures who contribute to nation-building. Therefore, Islamic boarding schools and the community need to support the development and welfare of Islamic boarding school students, provide facilities and opportunities to obtain great education, and appreciate their vital role in advancing Islamic boarding schools and society as a whole. In this research, the writer looks at the expectations and perceptions of female students or mahasantri from the Female Ulama Cadre Education at the Istiqlal Mosque. The effectiveness of policies to prevent sexual violence in Islamic boarding schools requires arguments from people who experience them.

Twenty-four female students have been aware of sexual violence in Islamic boarding schools in the past two years. They come from their respective regional Islamic boarding schools which are selected in such a way by the Istiqlal Mosque and the board of trustees who provide their scholarships, namely LPDP RI and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (PPPA). This shows that cases of sexual violence in Islamic boarding schools are national-level cases and are a common problem. Based on the twenty-four respondents, some stated that they already knew PMA no. 73 in 2022, and some only found out after

the writer asked. This means that the PMA which was created in 2022 is not yet fully known to the students, even though the students interviewed were students who are focused on women and children issues.²⁴

PKUP students emphasize that SOPs must be strictly implemented through gender-responsive policies or activity programs. Fathia Phona hopes for a quick and firm response to every case of sexual violence to restore trust in religious educational institutions, which is currently in crisis. Hani Fazlin urges the authorities to promptly follow up on reports of sexual violence and to campaign for prevention at all educational levels, not just Islamic boarding schools. Atssania Zahroh highlights the importance of shared perspectives from policymakers and the community to connect all parties in efforts to prevent sexual violence.

Karissa Puspa Yeli, one of the informants, said, "The prevention process should prioritize handling rather than being a mere formality, and trauma healing should include coaching the surrounding community to accept victims back into their lives." Sholekhawati added that the government should collaborate with religious leaders to address complex cases. "The government should work together with religious stakeholders, especially key figures in Islamic boarding schools, to prevent, handle, and report cases of sexual harassment," she said.

Religious leaders, such as ulama and female ulama, play a crucial role, but the reporting process can also be managed through the Ministry of PPPA. Zulfadhilah expressed her hope that swift and targeted implementation of policies could reduce or eliminate sexual violence in educational institutions. Melati Ismaila R. and Lailatul Badiah shared

²⁴Interview with students from the Istiqlal Mosque Female Ulama Cadre Education (PKU-P MI), 07/28/2023.

similar views. Melati hopes PMA will recognize the importance of preventing sexual violence in Islamic boarding schools and involve external parties in socializing prevention efforts. She also stresses the need for authorities to not only make regulations but also enforce them, including monitoring educational institutions under the Ministry of Religion.

Lailatul Badiah emphasized the importance of maintaining open communication and supporting those who report sexual violence cases, so victims do not feel threatened or anxious. Karina Rahmi hopes PMA No. 73 of 2022 will focus on policies starting from the victim's perspective.

In conclusion, sexual violence policies must be victim-oriented, adopting a bottom-up approach that begins with the victim's perspective and condition. This approach helps identify the necessary elements for effective prevention by examining direct and indirect violence.²⁵

CONCLUSION

Sexual violence cases in Islamic boarding schools are trying to be prevented through PMA Number 73 of 2022, but this PMA still does not have an SOP until now. In conclusion, students of the Istiqlal Mosque Female Ulama Cadre Education are aware of cases of sexual violence in Islamic boarding schools in the past two years. However, only a few know about PMA Number 73 of 2022. Besides, there are two additional models of hope that PKU-P students need, firstly the importance of affirmation in prosecuting cases of sexual harassment in Islamic boarding schools. This model of hope is the dominant hope of PKU-P. Meanwhile, the second model of hope is that there needs to be treatment from the perspective of

²⁵Susan, McKay. "Women, Human Security, and Peace-building: A Feminist Analysis", *Conflict and Human Security: A Search for New Approaches of Peace-building*, IPSHU English Research Report Series No.19, 2004, 160.

victims who have experienced it. This will provide room for a bottom-up feminist approach when analyzing the impact of conflict. In contrast to conventional studies in the security field which tend to use top-down schemes. The purpose of bottom-up is that the analysis starts with the perspective and condition of the victim, by examining the cases. Those expected will help determine what elements are left behind in the preventive perspective so that they can be included in the evaluation later on.

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