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**Investigating Causes of the Persistent Incidents of Child Sexual Abuse in Indonesia
Islamic Boarding School (Pesantren)**

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Disclaimer:

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List of Acronyms

CSA	Child Sexual Abuse
MORA	The Regional Ministry of Religions Affairs
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
RICSA	RICSA
POW	Prisoner of War
SDGS	Sustainable Development Goals
TI	Total Institutions

Abstract

This thesis investigates the contributing factors of persistent Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) in Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) in Indonesia by applying Goffman's theoretical framework for total institutions. Although public attention and government interventions increase when high-profile cases go viral on social media, CSA remains a persistent issue in pesantren. This study seeks to recognize the cultural, structural, and socio-economic aspects in pesantren that can be contributing causes of CSA and influence its handling and reporting. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews with relevant stakeholders such as former students (four former semi-modern and modern formal pesantren students), a pesantren representative, and two pesantren activists. A broad literature review was also conducted on CSA in various religious settings globally (Religious Institutions CSA or RICA) and specific CSA factors in pesantren. The primary data provided direct experiences of the pesantren's institutional dynamics. By integrating the data types, the analysis discovered common patterns in RICA and several interconnected factors, such as religious obedience, power dynamics, authority, economic dependence, cultural silence, and insufficient reporting mechanisms. These factors contribute to a setting where CSA cases may happen and remain unreported, stressing the complexity of tackling CSA within such traditional institutions. This research provides the broader field of child protection within religious institutions by presenting insights into pesantren dynamics. It also delivers recommendations for policy developments and improved external oversight to safeguard pupils. The conclusions emphasize the significance of balancing respect for religious traditions with important reforms to safeguard children's safety and well-being.

Relevance to Development Studies

Education plays an important role in development. In Indonesia, a significant share of education is provided through pesantren, with over 34,000 units pesantren in 2024. Therefore, research on Child Sexual Abuse (CSA), especially those investigating the factors of why it is a persistent issue, is essential since pesantren are specialized educational environments where child protection and safety are a main concern. Sexual violence in pesantren can significantly impact children's development and psychological well-being. Meanwhile, CSA cases in pesantren remain prevalent in Indonesia. Therefore, discovering the causes of CSA's cases could help prevent future incidents.

An essential element of development is international agreements regarding child protection to end child abuse by 2030 as a part of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Thus, the insight gained from this study could increase awareness of the issue, identify gaps in pesantren's efforts to prevent CSA cases and contribute to achieving this SDG. This research will find the contributing causes of CSA in pesantren by investigating and focusing on the institutional context by conducting a literature review and interviews with activists, pesantren representatives, and former students. This research will provide insight for policymakers, individuals, and communities concerned about the CSA happening in pesantren, mainly of the factors that may influence such incidents.

Keywords

Sexual abuse; children; boarding schools; religions; total institutions.

Chapter 1

Understanding the Child Sexual Abuse Issue in Indonesian Islamic Boarding Schools

1.1 Introduction to the Study

According to a UNICEF report in 2020, Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) is a human rights violation and a public health issue with significant impacts on development and global health. The report highlighted the importance of international agreements regarding child protection to end child abuse by 2030 as a part of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Inclusive approaches to stop CSA are vital because, in several parts of the world, CSA is still hidden due to social stigma, unique risks, drivers, and protective factors (UNICEF, 2020b, p.3). In addition, in 2020, another UNICEF publication defined child protection as a means to respond to and prevent exploitation and violence against children in all matters. Child protection includes protection from all forms of violence, including underage marriage, female genital mutilation (FGM), lack of official birth records, child trafficking, and child labour (UNICEF, 2020a, p.6).

Furthermore, when sexual abuse occurs in a religious context, the impact could be extremely severe and possibly change the individual's religious/spiritual development and result in mental distress (Rosmarin et al., 2018, pp. 1-2). Sexual abuse in religious settings often occurs with perpetrators who are perceived to have high moral authority. The perpetrators can easily spend time alone with their victims due to their position in the community (Lusky-Weisrose et al., 2022, p.4). Meanwhile, victims of CSA often have the least understanding that the perpetrators' behavior was abusive, as sexual matters are never discussed in their religiously conservative community. Additionally, many victims who were sexually abused in a religious context were reported to have experienced a loss of faith and a phobia or avoidance response to sexual intimacy (Hurcombe et al., 2019, pp. 69-70).

CSA cases may occur in various religious settings. The offenders could be the victim's peers, seniors, spiritual and religious leaders, camp counselors, staff in religious schools, volunteers, and anyone associated with religious communities. In addition, the offenders may use emotional manipulation techniques and inducement to do CSA. Since ministers, pastors, and other clergy appear to transcend laity in all matters and are trusted by the community, children who are victims find it difficult to divulge what has happened to them (Raine & Kent, 2019, p.8).

Furthermore, Hunt (2024) presented that the Australian Royal Commission reported over 8000 institutional CSA cases globally, 58.6% of which occurred in a religious institution. The report stated that 39% of sexual abuse cases occurred at religious schools, 35.2% at out-of-home care, and 26.4% were at youth groups, religious worship services, and church-run camps. A major percentage of these incidents were linked to Catholic Church institutions (61.8% of private sessions about sexual abuse in religious places, or 36.2% of total private sessions), with reports also coming from the Jewish institutions, Anglican Churches, other Christian denominations (the Uniting Church and the Salvation Army), and fewer incidents in other religious institutions such as Islam, Hindu, and Baha'i (Hunt et al., 2024, pp. 2-3). History has also shown that rape and other types of sexual abuse were used as a strategic weapon of war, and religious leaders, adherents, and groups participated in atrocities and utilized religious fervor as a tool (Stiebert, 2021, p.5). Therefore, these cases highlight that religious dedication could also be used as a manipulation technique by the perpetrators of sexual violence.

Raine and Kent (2019) also provided an example of Ireland, where there is a possibility that the entire society may be groomed. Numerous cases were found where Catholic priests exploited the church's standing and silenced their victims during the grooming process. Additionally, CSA cases are prevalent in highly insular communities such as sectarian groups like the Seventh-day Adventists, Fundamentalist Mormonism, Jewish Hassidism, and Jehovah's Witnesses. Such conditions result in victims' reluctance to seek nonspiritual help for abuses and mistrust of societal authorities. Several unique traits of religion and religious belief also influence the grooming process. Offenders draw not only on their positions of authority as adults and their position of power but also on claims about God's will—the ultimate undoubtedly authority for religious believers and a figure that could affect fear as much as admiration and love (Raine & Kent, 2019, pp. 8–9).

1.2 Background of the Problem

This section will focus on CSA cases in Indonesia and examine specific challenges in the context of Indonesian Islamic Boarding Schools (*pesantren*). Google News was used as a tool to determine the exact number of CSA cases published, including incidents that went viral and obtained public attention and governmental responses. For specific verification and details, official news platform such as BBC News Indonesia, KOMPAS, VOA Indonesia, and TV One News are used. By combining various resources from the official new site and Google News, the approach will cross-reference reliable data. A Google News search with the keywords “*Kasus kekerasan seksual di pesantren* (sexual violence case in *pesantren*)” and a time range from 1 January 2019 to 25 July 2024 provided 30,000

results. Although Google News is not an original reference, the site helps to identify media trends on CSA issues in pesantren. Of the 30,000 results, three major cases were the top three trending on social media. First, in 2024, there were a total of 33,200 general results and 48 news sites updated about “*Kasus pernikahan santri pesantren Lumajang*,” a case where a pesantren student had an unregistered marriage to a pesantren staff without their parent's consent in Lumajang, East Java, Indonesia. That situation was revealed when the student fell pregnant, and she never told her parents about her marriage. As a result, the student’s father reported the offenders to law enforcement authorities. The Head of the Criminal Investigation Unit of the Lumajang Police Department stated they had inquired about the witnesses and the offenders and would conduct an exposition (TVone News, 2024).

Next, in 2021, there were 189,000 general results and 289 news sites that reported “*Kasus berry mirawan*”, another case of CSA in Bandung, West Java. In this case, an Islamic scholar raped thirteen female pesantren students from 2016 to 2021, and 8 of the victims gave birth to 9 babies. The victims’ ages ranged from 14 to 20 years old. The places the offenders raped the victims were in pesantren rooms, hotels, and apartments. The offender manipulated the victims with promises to help them with their school or college tuition fees or help them become policewomen. Finally, he was sentenced to capital punishment and was required to pay restitution to 13 victims, totalling IDR 300 million (KOMPAS.com, 2022).

Furthermore, in 2019, there were 221,000 general results and 300 news sites that reported on the “*Kasus Kyai Jombang*”, a rape case from the son of reputable pesantren owners and an Islamic scholar in Jombang, East Java. The arrest of the offender, named Bechy, was initially blocked by his supporters, and he was given the fugitive status. He was designated as a suspect in 2019 but never responded to the call by police. After his case went viral and was reported widely by the media, he turned himself into the police. The Regional Ministry of Religions Affairs (MORA) revoked Pesantren Shiddiqiyah’s permit when their staff and supporters blocked the police from arresting the offender. However, after three days, MORA reinstated the pesantren’s permit based on the Indonesian president’s instructions since the case involved only one staff member, not the whole institution. This case proved that religious leaders have extraordinary authority over sexual violence as they can exploit their power even to influence law enforcement (BBC Indonesia, 2024).

Many cases of sexual violence that occur in pesantren are inflicted by religious leaders who use certain beliefs to manipulate their victims to obey them. This statement aligns with the Commissioner of the Indonesian Commission for the Protection of Women, Siti Aminah Tardi’s statement, “Sexual

violence in pesantren cannot be separated from the strong power relations possessed by the perpetrators, especially because the perpetrators come from faith-based educational institutions. We implore the public and the pesantren community to report sexual violence cases.” (VOA Indonesia, 2022). In addition, Siti Mazuma, the Coordinator of the Service Provider Forum, said that perpetrators of CSA in pesantren usually have a higher hierarchal standing than the victim, which they abuse to manipulate the victims. For instance, if a teacher asks a student to visit them for a special session, it could be counted as a knowledge upgrade or learning bonus, and CSA occurs during these closed sessions. Moreover, the concept of a "closed" pesantren makes sexual violence cases go underreported, and the victims experience barriers to reporting their cases (BBCNews Indonesia, 2023). Therefore, sexual violence in pesantren inflicted by religious leaders is related to manipulating the victims' beliefs to obey the perpetrators.

According to Islamic law, the sexual violence done by perpetrators is defined as *zina*. Most interpretations of Shariah law state that *zina* includes acts such as rape. This law states that the only guilty party in sexual violence perpetrated against a victim, such as a child who was coerced into having sex against their will, is the perpetrator. According to the Qur'an, anyone who has perpetrated rape acts is the guilty party and must be punished (Bennett, 2007, p.6-7). In the Qur'an, the limits to which an act is considered sexual harassment and violence are mentioned in Al-Mu'minūn (The Believers) verse 5-7: "And they who guard their private parts except from their wives or those their right hands possess, for indeed, they will not be blamed. But whoever seeks beyond that, then those are the transgressors.”

According to an article on NU Online, Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) explained that sexual violence occurs when there is coercion (*ikrah*) and persecution (*dhalim*) against victims of violence. Only the perpetrator of violence can fall into the category of adulterer (*zâni*), not the victim. Sexual harassment and violence in sharia law are defined as “any act that goes against islamic law and is committed against a person who is under the right and responsibility of the perpetrator, or an act of adultery accompanied by a threat, or coerced intercourse that is performed not on the genital” (NU Online, 2024).

Compared to other types of abuse's definition, the definition of acts that can be defined as CSA is rarely debated. CSA could be defined as any activities with children under the age of legal conducted for the sexual gratification of an adult or older child. These activities include displaying pornography to a child or using a child in the making of pornography, exposure of sexual anatomy, hand-genital contact, genital-genital contact, oral-genital contact, hand-rectal contact, genital-rectal contact, hand-

breast contact, forced viewing of sexual anatomy, and the viewing or touching of the genitalia, buttocks, or chest by preadolescent children (Felzen Johnson, 2004, p.1).

The *pondok pesantren* is a traditional Islamic-based educational institution in Indonesia where students learn the Qur'an. In Indonesia, people usually distinguish Islamic boarding schools into three groups: small, medium, and large Islamic boarding schools (Dhofier, 2019, p.79). In *pesantren*, students learn about classical Islamic sciences, including the Qur'an and hadith, Arabic grammar, jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and mysticism (*tasawwuf*) (Azra, Afrianty and Hefner, 2007, p.4). Srimulyani (2007) stated that *pesantren* students typically start to board in these Islamic schools after they complete their primary school education since most parents believe that would be an appropriate age for their children to live apart from family. There are two categories of students, *santri mukim* (boarding student) and *santri kalong* (non-boarding student). As boarding students, they spend 24 hours a day in the *pesantren*. Although there are differences between *pesantren*, most of the *santri's* daily activities involve communal prayers, Qur'anic learning, learning the *kitab kuning* (Islamic classical textbook), formal schooling, and extracurricular activities. There is no significant distinction in the activities or curriculum between *pesantren* for boys and girls (Srimulyani, 2007, pp. 2-3).

Sexual violence in *pesantren* is a complex and sensitive issue. Meanwhile, Islamic boarding schools are important educational institutions that have play an important societal role. However, there are still issues with enforcing policies related to CSA and children's protection. These schools are a place for many children to live and learn. Therefore, it is essential to prioritize the investigation of the factors that influence sexual violence incidents in such institutions. This issue is also a concern for Indonesia, and in 2022, Indonesia's Minister of Religious Affairs issued policy Number 73 of 2022 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence. This policy is one of the Indonesian government's efforts to handle and prevent sexual violence cases in the country.

Based on the three major cases above in Indonesia, the cases are mostly unreported, and the parents know their children were victims of CSA after the students fell pregnant and were already in an underage marriage. There is also no specific data on child sexual abuse in *pesantren* in Indonesia. However, there are indications of why CSA persistently happens, such as family systems, stigma, lack of supporting facilities for children, social norms, and absence of accountability at the system levels. In addition, the lack of programs, social awareness, budget, and training to facilitate children's safety efforts to prevent CSA could influence the persistence of CSA cases. Information regarding CSA cases differ for every country. Nevertheless, there is a lack of discovery and reporting of CSA cases (Rahim

et al., 2021, p.4). Further research on what factors contribute to the persistence of CSA incidents in Indonesia's pesantren is urgently needed. Research on the intersection between CSA and child maltreatment in institutions could assist relevant stakeholders to discover mitigation factors and help in dealing with and preventing CSA in more responsible and responsive manners (Böhm et al., 2014, p.18).

1.3 Research Question

This research aims to investigate the causes that contribute to persistent Child Sexual Violence (CSA) in Indonesia's Islamic Boarding Schools (pesantren).

1.3.1 Main Research Question

What are the most prevalent causes, specifically from the institutional context, that contribute to the persistent Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) in Indonesia's Islamic Boarding Schools (pesantren)?

1.3.2 Sub-questions

- i. How do the pesantren's cultural and structural traits play a role in the reoccurrence and occurrence of CSA?
- ii. What barriers in the pesantren system hinder the reporting and addressing of CSA incidents?
- iii. How do the authority structure and power dynamics in pesantren affect the handling of CSA cases?

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis investigates the contributing factors of persistent Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) cases in pesantren as a total institution. Chapter One presents an introduction to CSA cases in religious settings and the background of the problem based on the literature and relevant sources. Chapter One also exhibits the research questions. Chapter Two explains the literature review about pesantren and the total institution theoretical framework employed in this study. Chapter Three describes the study's methodology, including the total institution theory used as the theoretical framework for this study and the qualitative approach employed to accumulate perspectives based on structural dynamics and different experiences in pesantren. This chapter will explain how and why the methodology was chosen, the data references, and how the theoretical framework will be referred to in the analysis.

Chapter Four will present the findings, explaining an in-depth analysis of the Child Sexual Abuse dynamics in pesantren. It presents the literature review results and interviews with informants who participated in this study. In addition, Chapter Four will explore the dynamics of CSA in other religious institutions through a literature review. It will specifically explain CSA dynamics in pesantren, such as

disciplinary mechanisms, authority abuse, and the institutional and cultural that contribute to concealing and facilitating CSA. Chapter Five will continue the analysis from Chapter Four by highlighting socioeconomic and cultural obstacles in pesantren. This chapter will focus on how the socioeconomic and cultural traits factors might be ignored as the contributing factors of CSA. Chapter Six will state this study's limitations, summarise the main points of the research, and explain the implications. It will provide practical recommendations for institutional reform and policies to prevent and address CSA in pesantren. It will highlight the importance of cultural and structural improvements to empower and protect children.

Chapter 2

Total Institutions Theory and Institutional Context of Pesantren

In this chapter, the literature review will explore the theoretical frameworks of total institutions by Goffman. The explanation will cover the reason pesantren is categorized as a total institution, followed by the other religious institutions. In addition, this chapter will also cover relevant sources about child protection laws in Indonesia to see the roadmap of child protection policy, specifically in the matters of Child Sexual Abuse (CSA).

2.1 Pesantren as Total Institutions

Goffman defines a total institution as “a class of concentrated power.” The term is related to Foucault’s ideas on the power of rules, incarceration, and surveillance. A social system is considered a total institution when it controls almost all aspects of an individual’s life. Such institutions restrict their members from running away and create routines that might look unusual to outsiders. A total institution would typically isolate its members from broader society for a long time in an enclosed and formally managed environment where the organization would have the power to control the member’s daily life (Clegg, 2006, p.2).

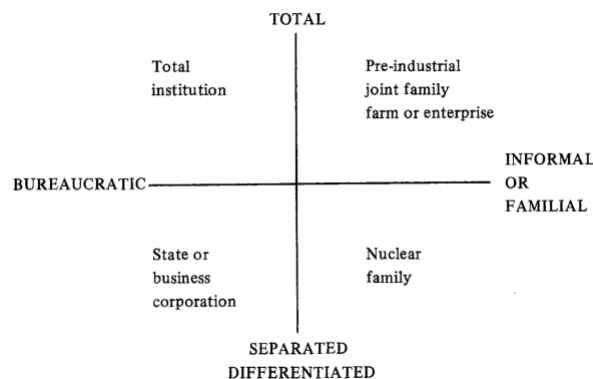


Figure 1. Diagram of a Total Institution

Source: Davies, 1989, p.4

Figure 1. divided the total institutions (TI) into two dimensions: Separated/Differentiated vs. Total and Informal/Familial vs. Bureaucratic vs. Informal/Familial. TI controls all aspects of the member’s life; on the other hand, the separated/differentiated only manages specific areas such as the state. Bureaucratic institutions are structured by formal hierarchy and in contrast, Informal/Familial

institutions resemble without strict hierarchy with family-like relationships. In addition, the quadrants are separated into four categories: nuclear family (separated-informal), corporation (separated-bureaucratic), pre-industrial joint family (total-informal), and total institution (total-bureaucratic).

In contrast to the West's seemingly liberated societies, total institutions appear oppressive to the individual. Meanwhile, some societies follow a similar model to the total institution system called a joint family model, where an individual's life cannot be separated from their office or factory work, nuclear family, and religious life. The burdens from the joint family or extended kin may make the total institution system seem freer. In pre-industrial societies, work and residence also typically occur in one place. However, as these activities are done within the family, it is not a total institution. Goffman argued that total institutions organize their members' daily lives through a formal administration system, not as a family. The total institution system also differs from modern life, which separates family and work (Davies, 1989, pp. 3-4).

Goffman divided total institutions into five criteria. First are institutions that care for harmless and incapable individuals, places to live for older adults, the indigent, blind, and orphaned. Second are institutions for people who are a threat to their community, such as leprosarium, mental hospitals, and TB sanitariums. Third are institutions that protect the community from dangerous persons, including concentration camps, Prisoner of War (POW) camps, and jails. Fourth are institutions to pursue work-like tasks, such as boarding schools, army barracks, colonial compounds, and large mansions. Fifth are institutions designed as religious training centers: monasteries, abbeys, cloisters, and convents (Goffman, 1958, p.313). Based on that explanation, peasants could be included as total institution that designed as religious training centre. The following are characteristics of total institutions by Goffman (1958, p. 331-338):

2.1.1 Totalistic Features

Total institutions exhibit totalistic features such as having all members conduct all activities in the same location and under one authority. Each member's activities are also done in a large batch, and all members must do the same things together. Another feature is that all daily activities are scheduled through a formal ruling by officials, aiming to achieve the institution's goals.

2.1.2 The Members' World

1) Mortification Processes

The members come to the institution equipped with a sense of self and their own way of life. However, upon admission, members must strip themselves of their personal possessions and identity.

A total institution has three basic characteristics for this sociological stripping process. First, the staff has the authority to discipline any member. Second, the authority rules the members' deportment, social relationships, manners, and dress. Third, the authority regulates any misbehaviors and enforces sanctions.

2) Privilege System

The members will obtain informal and formal instructions concerning the privilege system. The privilege system comprises three basic principles. First, there are formal customary proscriptions and prescriptions and explicit main prerequisites for members' behavior. Second, there are rewards for obeying the rules both in spirit and action. Third, there are punishments comprising permanent or temporary retraction of the privilege or award. Generally, in total institutions, the punishments are severe.

3) Adaptation Alignments

The members may face different phases of adjustments, such as situational withdrawal (attention withdrawal), rebellion (members challenge the institution by refusing to obey the staff), a form of colonization (where they would be convinced of the desirability of the institution compared to the outside world), and conversion (members start acting as the perfect member).

4) Consequences

Total institutions generally claim that they are concerned about rehabilitating the members by improving their self-regulatory skills so they will maintain the institution's standards when they leave the institution. However, with the possible exclusion of the resocialization effectivity of religious institutions, neither the mortification process nor the restructuring the member undergoes in the institution seems to permanently impact their lives after graduating.

2.1.3 The Staff World

1) Humane Standards

The approach employed to manage the members is typically rationalized to the institution's ideal functions or aims, ideally embodying human standards. However, such standards are usually unmet in total institutions. Therefore, total institutions' staff are usually dissatisfied with their jobs as they feel trapped in enforcing punishments per the privilege system and feel forced to ensure the members obey the institution's rules despite their own conviction that humane standards are not being met.

2.1.4 Institutional Differences

The difference between total institutions lies in the recruits' spirit when they enter the institution, ranging from prison inmates to boarding school students. Other differences include the institution's permeability, which is the degree to which social standards are managed within the institution and how the surrounding society impacts the institution's community. In addition, the most fascinating difference between total institutions is the members' social fates after graduating, where the same batch of graduates may end up in completely different walks of life.

2.1.5 Institutional Similarities

Religious institutions as training centers are included in five categories of total institutions by Goffman, which are pesantren, monasteries, and seminaries. These institutions are similar in the following core aspects:

1) Surveillance and Isolation:

- a. **Monasteries:** Frequently highlight spiritual retraction from secular life, isolating followers from wider society to encourage spiritual control. It has a close culture and strong organizational rules (Hunt et al., 2024, p.9)
- b. **Pesantren:** Although there is a level of isolation, pesantren are commonly embedded within local communities, with regular interactions with the broader society and families. The daily routines of formal pesantren combine religious and regular education, making them less strictly isolated compared to monastic life (Dhofier, 2019, p.89).
- c. **Seminaries:** Normally encourages contact with the external world through pastoral activities (Scott, 2011, p.189).

Religious institutions influence their members' lives by creating boundaries with the community, though these boundaries vary between institutions. For instance, monasteries maintain limited engagement with secular life, while pesantren adopt a model of partial isolation that integrates local communities, shaping members' perceptions of obedience and authority. Seminaries exhibit the least isolation since they prepare students for future roles. Moreover, there is a variance in the age of members: seminaries and pesantren cater to children, while monasteries serve adults. This difference in age can affect how aware individuals are of the institutions' management, as adults' approach with a sense of agency, whereas children do not share the same perspective.

2) Obedience and Authority Structure:

- a. **Monasteries:** Authority relies on the abbess or abbot, with obedience understood as a means of attaining spiritual modesty. This dynamic highlights absolute obedience within a strict hierarchy (Parkes, 2023, p.6).
- b. **Pesantren:** The *kyai* holds significant authority, with students indicating deep respect, which is established in *barakah*—spiritual blessings after obedience. This is different from the compulsory obedience in monasteries, as this trustworthiness is often culturally embedded, highlighting individual loyalty to the *kyai* (Dhofier, 2019, p.93)
- c. **Seminaries:** Ruled by a cleric bestows different statuses on priests, leading to a system dependency (McPhillips et al., 2022, p.14).

Overall, the authority structure and obedience are clear within the institution. In pesantren, *kyai* are held in high regard. Likewise, monasteries highlight obedience as a pathway to spiritual modesty. Additionally, seminaries function under clerical regulations, creating a dependency system along with various statuses among priests.

3) Gender Roles and Dynamics:

- a. **Monasteries:** Unlike Catholic monasteries, Protestants do not put authority on a central figure like the Vatican. Some of their religious leaders are women (Raine & Kent, 2019, p.6).
- b. **Pesantren:** Pesantren is one of the institutions that still hold a strong patriarchal system. Gender discrimination is experienced by women, especially regarding pesantren leadership, as the position is always inherited by sons (Fauz, 2023, p.19).
- c. **Seminaries:** Traditionally male-dominated, modern seminaries in several denominations are more inclusive since traditionally, bishops, priests, and deacons in the Catholic Church can only be male (McPhillips et al., 2022, p.14).

The gender roles and dynamics by each institution show different level of traditional norms. In pesantren and seminaries, it reflects male-oriented in the structure, while in monasteries, there is a chance for women to be leaders.

4) Social Integration and Purpose:

- a. **Monasteries:** Its primary purpose is spiritual isolation, education, with only a slight intent for societal connection (Parkes, 2023, p. 3).

- b. **Pesantren:** Balances social interactions with religious education, guides students for eventual reintegration into society by equipping them with abilities in religious and regular fields (Dhofier, 2019, pp. 186-187).
- c. **Seminaries:** Train students for community service and ministry, stressing on active engagement with social integration (Scott, 2011, p.66).

The religious institutions show a pattern of engaging with the communities, such as pesantren and seminaries by combining religious education and the community's integrations, while in monasteries, it is restricted to relation with the community.

5) Community and Cultural Influence:

- a. **Monasteries:** Work under rigorous traditions and frequently oppose modern social transformation (Parkes, 2023, p.14).
- b. **Pesantren:** Extremely rooted in local culture, the *kyai*'s power spreads influence into the community. The institution frequently mirrors local traditions and serves as a moral inspiration for the surrounding community (Dhofier, 2019, p.94).
- c. **Seminaries:** Associate more closely with wider denominational purposes than local cultural interests. They also focus on aligning with global or national religious bodies (Scott, 2011, p.71).

The pesantren and monasteries reflects similar relevance with the community that is rooted in local traditions and have an influence to the communities' morals. On the contrary, seminaries show more focus reflecting with national or international religious bodies.

2.2 Pesantren and Indonesia's Child Protection Laws

Sexual violence in pesantren is a complex and sensitive issue. Meanwhile, Islamic boarding schools are important educational institutions that play an essential societal role. However, there are still issues with enforcing policies related to CSA and children's protection. These schools are a place for many children to live and learn. Therefore, it is essential to prioritize the investigation of the factors that influence sexual violence incidents in such institutions. This issue is also a concern for Indonesia, and in 2022, Indonesia's Minister of Religious Affairs issued policy Number 73 of 2022 concerning the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence. This policy is one of the Indonesian government's efforts to handle and prevent sexual violence cases in the country. In addition, the list of laws and policies below serves as the roadmap for child protection in Indonesia, specifically in CSA issues. The presented list explain the direct reference to the transformations from the past to the current

protection, give the foundation legal context for understanding the government's efforts in handling and preventing CSA in Indonesia

The following are policies regarding CSA issues referred by Wismayanti et al., 2021, p.3:

- a. Marriage Law, Number 1/1974 (*Undang-Undang Perkawinan* No. 1/1974).
- b. Indonesian Child Protection Law, Number 35/2014 about amending Indonesian child protection law No. 23/2002 (*Undang-undang Perlindungan Anak No. 35/2014 tentang perubahan atas undang-undang No 23/2002 tentang Perlindungan Anak* No. 35/2014). Indonesia's Constitution made a statement that every child has the right to live, grow, and develop, and they are eligible for protection from discrimination and violence.
- c. The National Medium-Term Development Plan 2014–2019 (RPJMN, Book 1 & Book 2). The Indonesian government is dedicated to improving the safety of children from violence, exploitation, neglect, and another types of abuse.
- d. National Plan of Action for Child Protection 2015–2019. The Ministry of National Development Planning (KemenPPPA) has set out actions for multiple sectors and government departments. KemenPPPA has the authority to coordinate the implementation of the plan.
- e. National Strategy on the Elimination of Violence against Children 2016–2020, coordinated by the KemenPPPA.
- f. Presidential instruction.

Furthermore, there is still limited research on child protection and potential risks in religious institutions. Moreover, databases such as PsychInfo, Ebscohost, and JSTOR lacked relevant studies on mitigating, eradicating, and preventing violence against children in religious institutions, including studies on child maltreatment, child protection, religious institutions, and faith communities. Research about child and religious institutions is essential as the information obtained will help determine what efforts can be made to fulfil children's rights and benefit the policymakers in their duties. For instance, interviews of faith leaders on their awareness of child protection and which activities they believe can address, prevent, and eradicate violence against children could inform policies and practices and encourage additional research studies. In addition, exploring how religious institutions can enact child protection efforts and how to frame them could help these institutions to have a better understanding of how they could protect children, assist secular organizations in target initiatives, and improve the efficiency of outreach efforts (McLeigh & Taylor, 2020, p.6).

Pesantren have their own legal framework as outlined in Law Number 18 of 2019. This law ensures that pesantren can operate in Indonesia and fulfill its obligations to educate, *da'wah* (*the act of inviting people to Islam*), and empower their students (Maulansyah & Ahmad, 2023, p.1). The leaders or heads of pesantren are called *kyai*. They are respectable scholars in Islamic education and have expertise in prophetic teaching, Quranic, and Arabic linguistics arts. They would also usually have an honorable position in the community and lead with a charismatic authority leadership style. *Kyai* have dominant positions in the community regarding decision-making and creating policies (Karim et al., 2022, pp. 7-8).

Bloodlines are essential in pesantren's leadership inheritance or regeneration. The pesantren's leadership is often bequeathed to a son/young *kyai* (*gus*) from a *kyai*, rather than their daughters, and it will always be associated with senior scholars (Karim et al., 2022, p.13). This tradition exemplifies that men dominate the positions of authority in pesantren and how it has been internalized into pesantren culture. There is a hierarchy in pesantren that places male professors or religious teachers (*ustadz*), *gus*, or *kyai* in higher positions than pesantren administrators and male/female students (*santri/santrivati*). Consequently, the victims, who are mainly students, do not have the power to decline because of their low hierarchal position in the pesantren system (Pebriaisyah and Komariah, 2022, pp. 4-5).

In conclusion, this chapter stresses the theoretical framework of total institutions theory by Goffman and its relevance to the pesantren's context as total institutions with a unique religious and educational institution. The explanations in similarities and differences of religious total institutions are explained in this chapter, which shows some similar and contrast in some aspects. Moreover, the list of policy transformations of child protection in Indonesia shows the government's intervention in responding to the CSA dynamics in Indonesia.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

3.1 Research Techniques Applied

3.1.1 Research Methods

This qualitative research combined three key sources: books on pesantren, a literature review of relevant academic journals, and interviews with key informants such as former students, pesantren representatives, and pesantren activists. This research also referred to a book titled “*Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Pesantren Tradition: A Study of a Kyai's View of Life)” by Dhoefier. The reason the book was chosen as the one reference for this analysis is that this book is often claimed to be the obligatory text for studying pesantren. This is proven by a study from Munjahid in 2022, which shows that this book influences policy by the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs; five elements that are obligatory to determine whether pesantren fulfill the standards are dormitory (*pondok*), mosques, students (*santri*), teaching classical Islamic books, and *kyai* (Munjahid, 2022, p.9).

The pesantren’s book is a socio-anthropological research written by a competent author who works as a research staff at the R&D department of the Ministry of Religion. Thus, it appropriately captures Islamic boarding schools from an anthropological and sociological perspective while referring to field data from two large and small pesantren in rural areas. The book also discusses the tradition of Islamic boarding schools, with the main focus being the kyai’s role in developing and maintaining traditional Islam in Java. It is essential to build a foundational understanding of kyai when researching pesantren due to their prominent roles for centuries in the development of Islam, politics, social systems, and culture in Indonesia (Munjahid, 2022, p.7).

Dhoefier’s book provides rich data on the cultural and religious reasonings behind the authority of Javanese Islamic leaders called kyai (Lukens-Bull, 2000, p.2). The book provides an introduction for understanding the cultural practices, traditional structure, and religious values embedded in pesantren. It also provides a comprehensive understanding of the role of *kyai* in pesantren culture, emphasizing the authority, power dynamics, and influence these religious leaders hold. This perspective facilitates contextualizing the cultural norms and religious obedience that add to the institutional structure of pesantren. However, Dhoefier only indirectly addressed Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) cases. Therefore, the interviews provided more nuanced information about CSA and helped explore sensitive matters, such as potential misuse of authority and reporting obstacles, that Dhoefier’s book does not include.

Combining Dhofier's theory with interview data gives the analysis a balanced view of the supportive structures and possible weaknesses within pesantren.

Furthermore, the literature review included studies on CSA factors in various religious institutions globally and academic studies that explained specific CSA factors in pesantren to present a dual perspective on CSA factors in Indonesian pesantren. The analysis of CSA dynamics in various religious institutions provided broader insights into factors contributing to CSA in religious institutions. Additionally, the literature review results from the global context were linked to the specific structural and cultural factors found in pesantren to provide more perspectives on how these factors influence CSA threats in pesantren. The main points from the Dhofier book were also analyzed to find specific cultural and institutional traits within pesantren that may influence CSA cases.

Moreover, this research interviewed various sources, such as former students of modern and semi-modern pesantren, pesantren representatives, and pesantren activities. These interviews explored the points of view of former students of modern and semi-modern pesantren. Meanwhile, the interview from the pesantren representative obtained insight into how the institution manages students, specifically regarding current structures, policies, and understanding of CSA. Additionally, the researcher obtained information on the obstacles in solving CSA issues through interviews with activists concerned about CSA cases in pesantren.

The interviews obtained first-hand perspectives on the factors affecting persistent CSA incidents in pesantren, the obstacles in preventing CSA cases, and the level of understanding of CSA issues and its policies by relevant stakeholders. Integrating the findings from past literature and books with the interview data provided a comprehensive understanding of how cultural factors and institutions play a role in the persistence of CSA in pesantren. Combining these sources also allowed for a multi-dimensional analysis that considers theory and actual situations. The following table describes the informants who participated in the interview.

Table 3.1 Type of Informants
Source: Author

NO	TYPE OF INFORMANTS	INITIAL	NUMBER OF INFORMANTS	REMARKS
1.	Former male student	M2	1	Semi-modern
2.	Former female student	F2	1	Formal Pesantren

(2)

NO	TYPE OF INFORMANTS	INITIAL	NUMBER OF INFORMANTS	REMARKS
3.	Former male student	M1	1	Modern Formal Pesantren (1)
4.	Former female student	F1	1	
5.	Pesantren representative	R1	1	
6.	Activist concerned about CSA cases in pesantren	A1 and A2	2	Male and female
Total			7	

Based on the informal discussions with several former pesantren students and relevant stakeholders, access to pesantren is difficult to obtain in a short period due to the research topic's sensitivity. Therefore, the researcher interviewed former pesantren students living in the Netherlands through face-to-face meetings due to the study's time limitations and the sensitivity of the research topic. Former students may also be more open about their experiences because they are no longer restricted by pesantren rules. Moreover, by being physically present during the interview, the researcher can provide immediate emotional support if any sensitive topics arise.

There are three reasons that the informants in this study are former students and not current students of pesantren. First, the accessibility in obtaining consent and permission to conduct interviews for current students, specifically for minors, is a complex and lengthy process that will require permission from students, institutions, and parents. Such a process will affect the study due to its time limitations. Second, is the possibility of triggering trauma. To date, the national pesantren system rarely has an adequate system for reporting CSA cases, interviewing current students could re-traumatize them, and ethical considerations need to be raised to avoid trauma triggering the victim. Third, from a long-term perspective, former students could provide comprehensive insight into institutional dynamics and reflect on their experiences after graduating from pesantren. The former students will understand the long-term effects of the issues they experienced in the institution.

The following are the criteria for the informants who participated in this study:

a. The criteria for former student informants

1. The informants studied in an Islamic boarding school for a minimum of 6 years.
2. The informants started studying in an Islamic boarding school from at least equivalent to junior high school/Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) until an equivalent to senior high school/Madrasah Aliyah (MA).

3. The informants either studied at a formal modern or semi-modern pesantren.
4. The informants are above 18 years old.
5. The informants studied in pesantren 10 years ago at most.
6. The informants are currently living in the Netherlands.

Based on the criteria above, the minimum of the former students were studying in pesantren for 6 years, so they have comprehensive experience in pesantren with optimal time. Referred to the speeches from one of the well-known *kyai* and owner of one of the big pesantren in Indonesia, Buya Yahya, from his official YouTube channel, the ideal age for children studying in pesantren is above 12 years old after they graduated from elementary school. The reason for the statement is that at the age of 12 years old, children already have self-reliance; it is the age of puberty since they tend to have a desire to explore something that they do not have to know. Buya Yahya stated that children studying in pesantren have limitations in exploring something that will break them, such as the internet (Al-Bahjah TV, 2020).

Moreover, the in-depth interviews with former students were paired and semi-structured based on the respondents' preferences. The study also aims to investigate how gender contributes to the CSA incidents in pesantren and the response from such institutions to these cases. Therefore, male and female students were included in this study to collect comprehensive data related to CSA. Involving multi-gender informants will help to identify gender-related risks, such as male students may face more physical harassment while female students may experience more sexual harassment. The interviews also focused on the informants' personal experiences, cultural norms, institutional practices, and the lack of CSA reporting.

However, this study's limitation is the small sample of former students in this research. Due to the sensitivity of the topic of CSA, it is difficult to find many informants willing to share their experiences. Nevertheless, this study still provided valuable findings as it explored the complexity of the experiences of pesantren students in order to prevent future CSA cases. The former students who participated in this study also come from different types of pesantren, genders, and environments. Therefore, they may provide a comprehensive insight into pesantren systems.

The pesantren representative was interviewed to obtain information on this institution's structure. Their interview focused on the institution's understanding of CSA and its policies in Indonesia, the current policies implemented and designed related to CSA, the institution's structure, and how they prevent and handle CSA cases. Meanwhile, the activist interview provided information on the obstacles to fighting CSA cases in pesantren since they do not have a conflict of interest and are not

affiliated with any pesantren or government bodies. The interviews with the pesantren representative and activists were conducted online.

3.1.2 Data Analysis

1) Total Institutions as an Analytical Framework

This study used the total institutional theory proposed by Erving Goffman as its primary framework. It is essential to clarify that the total institutional theory is not characteristically negative. The use of the total institutional theory in the pesantren context does not indicate that pesantren are harmful or problematic. The theory was used to understand the pesantren structure and as a sociological framework to reflect the elements that may contribute to the persistence of CSA. The goal of this study is not to frame pesantren as bad institutions but to investigate how factors such as power dynamics, control mechanisms, and isolation could influence the handling and reporting of CSA incidents.

Moreover, it is equally important to highlight the positive aspects of pesantren, such as moral development, religious education, and community building. Therefore, this study aims to determine aspects that can improve pesantren. The outcome of this study's analysis does not intend to characterize pesantren negatively but to address and identify the institution's vulnerabilities. The total institutional theory, as a framework, was used to investigate the causes of CSA in modern and semi-modern pesantren.

The framework was used to analyze how pesantren, with their comprehensive and closed social systems, affect CSA cases. The literature review and interviews with former students were analyzed based on the framework to investigate themes and patterns linked to the informants' experience as students and how their personal experience could contribute to CSA cases in pesantren. Moreover, the literature review provided information on the barriers in religious institutions, such as pesantren's setting, and how cultural norms and institutional practices affect victims' ability to report CSA cases, and what factors contribute to the persistent incidents. In addition, pesantren documents were examined to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the institutions' organizational structures, regulations, and formal rules. The repeating patterns and themes in the interview identified by the Nvivo software were also included to provide additional insights. However, they are not considered the main results of the interview.

Chapter 4

Institutional and Structural Influences on CSA in Religious Settings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the literature review results on global CSA cases in religious institutions and focus on CSA factors in pesantren generally. It will also analyze the institutional and structural factors influencing CSA in pesantren. Firstly, the chapter discusses international CSA dynamics to determine patterns and compares them with general CSA factors in pesantren. Then, the chapter will analyze the interviews with informants to the book “*Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Pesantren Tradition: A Study of Kyai's View of Life)” and the analytical framework chosen, namely the total institution theory by Goffman. Overall, this chapter explores the factors contributing to CSA in pesantren, focusing on institutional and structural challenges such as internalized guilt and religious manipulation, the position of religious authority figures in pesantren, institutional silence, and the lack of reporting mechanisms.

4.2 Data Collection Overview

Data was collected through a literature review and in-depth interviews with former students, a pesantren representative, and activists. The data was collected from informants that went to either modern or semi-modern formal pesantren and from male and female informants to obtain comprehensive insights. A total of 7 participants were interviewed, including four former students, one pesantren representative, and two pesantren activists. The informants were chosen to represent various ranges of experiences, sexes, ages, and types of pesantren. The interview focused on the experiences of former pesantren students, the perception of authority from the pesantren representative, the pesantren culture, and the experiences of pesantren activists. Data was collected through face-to-face interviews with activist and former pesantren students in the Netherlands and virtual meetings with a pesantren representative and activist. As a result, the diverse dataset provides multidimensional insights into the institutional dynamics that impact the handling and prevention of Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) in pesantren.

4.3 Child Sexual Abuse Dynamics in Religious Institutions on a Global Scale

This section will comprehensively explore CSA cases in religious institutional settings. The literature review in **Table 4.1 (Appendix V)** explored CSA cases from various academic sources. The data was collected through the following terms on a Google Scholar search to identify relevant studies: “CSA in religious institutions,” “child sexual madrassa,” “child sexual abuse Hinduism monastery,” and “child sexual abuse pesantren.” **Table 4.1** explores the dynamics of sexual abuse in religious institutions internationally. These studies will provide insight into the institutional and cultural factors that influence CSA. Based on **Table 4.1**, the following section highlights the key factors identified in global RICSAs dynamics:

4.3.1 Power Inequality and Religious Authority

CSA frequently occur in settings with strong power dynamics where religious leaders have significant influence over their followers. Such power imbalances lead to abuse and are evidenced in multiple religious contexts, including Islamic, Catholic, and Jewish institutions (Hunt et al., 2024, pp. 2-3). The central authority structure, such as the clerical hierarchy in the Catholic Church, creates an environment where CSA offenders can evade responsibility due to the lack of outside supervision and priority to preserve the institution’s image (McPhillips et al., 2022, pp.13-14).

4.3.2 Cultural Justification and Faith-Based Manipulation

Religious teachings are occasionally manipulated or misinterpreted to legitimize harmful actions. For instance, in Hindu monasteries, the Devadasi system abuses young girls under the guise of religious service, showing how deeply ingrained cultural justifications and low socioeconomic status can leave victims vulnerable (Deane, 2022, p.19). Similarly, CSA cases are often hidden in Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia due to cultural tolerance of faith-based authority (Basir et al., 2024, p.7).

4.3.3 Institutional Response and Reputation Management

Religious institutions may respond to CSA cases by prioritizing their reputation over the victims’ welfare by denying and minimizing the victim’s experiences, installing legal defences, and only cooperating if they are under public pressure (Ganzevoort, 2024, pp.2&9-10). Several religious institutions lack robust reporting mechanisms for CSA and prioritize the institution, community, and offenders. Such conditions prevent victims from reporting and enable institutions to use internal methods to manage the issue (Pinsker, Mendes Philip, and McCurdy, 2021, p.7).

4.3.4 Patriarchal Structures and Gender Roles

Gender inequality is deeply embedded in religious institutions, contributing to higher CSA risks. Gender influences the experience and management of GSA, and it is a central factor in social patterns of abuse, institutional response, and redress (Mcphillips et al., 2022, p.24). Therefore, women must influence the decision-making response to CSA reports to handle such cases effectively (Pinskier, Mendes Philip and McCurdy, 2021, p.24).

4.3.5 Weak or Non-Existent Reporting Mechanisms

The lack of monitoring bodies for CSA cases and sexual education in pesantren could contribute to CSA incidents (Jamaludin, 2023, p.9). Religious communities typically stress on modesty, family, hierarchy, and shame linked with CSA due to the taboo nature of sexual issues. These conditions frequently lead to the silencing of victims of sexual abuse since offenders with prominent community roles will receive leniency and face little censure when the CSA cases they committed are revealed (Sigad, 2024, pp.3-4).

4.4 Child Sexual Abuse Factors in Pesantren

The global context of RICSA above explains how religious authority, cultural norms, and power dynamics can contribute to settings where abuse cases may be abandoned or unreported. While these themes are generally observed across various religious-based institutions, there are aspects specific to pesantren regarding authority and power, cultural and institutional obstacles in reporting, isolation, and socio-economic vulnerability. The following table narrows this broader perspective to examine the characteristics of pesantren that may facilitate CSA, showing how these general factors manifest in a distinctively Indonesian Islamic educational environment. **Table 4.2** exhibits CSA factors in the Indonesian pesantren system. These factors will be linked to the explanations from the interview with representatives, activists, and former students to present a complete overview of the causes that influence CSA cases in pesantren.

Table 4.2 CSA factors in Pesantren

Source: Author

Classification	Factor	Descriptions	Source
a. Authority and Power	Religious Obedience and Authority	Pesantren culture puts a high respect on devotion to teachers and religious figures, which hinder students from speak up about abuse and questioning powers.	(Oktariani, Wuryaningsih and Lestari, 2023, p.9)
	Power Inequality	There is an essential power inequality among teachers or seniors and students or junior students to senior students, with junior students being highly fragile to harassment. The hierarchical traits of pesantren strengthen this power dynamic.	(Rahman and Maulana, 2024, p.11)
	Patriarchal Control and Norms	Pesantren frequently tuns under patriarchal norms that taught in the learning to put prioritizes the safeguards of male figures such as <i>kyai</i> and the institution's image over the wellbeing of student, especially girl students.	(Fauz, 2023b, p.19)

Classification	Factor	Descriptions	Source
	Faiths Manipulation	Religious power is used to manipulate religious teachings to condone sexual abuse such as ask for kyai's or higher authority to get blessing (<i>barakah</i>).	(Fajri, 2023, p.3)
	Power Dynamics	Inequality power relationships among students and <i>kyai</i> , bring to silence and coercion from survivors.	(Nugraha, 2022, p.7)
	Manipulation of Authority	Religious leaders misuse their authority to silence victims and suppress cases of abuse	(Fauz, 2023, p.19)
	Religious Righteousness for Abuse	In some cases, religious interpretations or teachings may be utilized to condone abusive activity or prevent reporting, with offenders framing their acts as education.	(Fajri, 2023, pp.3-4)
Cultural and Institution Obstacles in Reporting	Weak of Official Reporting Mechanisms	Majority pesantren do not have official systems to report CSA. Students afraid embarrassment, revenge, or distrust if they come forward, cause many incidents going not tracked or settled internally using mediation. Absent or restricted official channels for reporting sexual abuse, and afraid of social pressure discourage students to speak up.	(Rahman and Maulana, 2024, p.11)
	Unofficial Resolutions and Mediation	When incidents of CSA are handled, they are frequently settled by reconciliation or mediation rather than using legal channels. This blocking offenders from being held accountable and permits the violence to continuously in some incidents. Several pesantren neglect incidents of abuse to maintain the institution's image by resolve the incidents internally. Deficiency of firm action from leaders bring a culture of silence.	(Rahman and Maulana, 2024, p.7)
	Cultural Silence and Taboos	Talking sexual issues is culturally taboo in majority pesantren, bring to a culture of quietly around CSA. Survivors frequently confront pressure and stigma to keep silent to preserve pesantren's reputation. Religious values and community pressure encourage silence, making victims unwilling to report incidents or feel guilty.	(Pebriaisyah and Komariah, 2022, p.8&10)
	Weak of Child Protection Policies	Absence of apparent child protection accountability and guidelines mechanisms within pesantren.	(Amri, 2022, pp.4-5)
	Gender Inequalities	Girl students are frequently more fragile to CSA due to the pesantren's patriarchal structure. Boy students are occasionally also influenced, but the problem is more complicated by the institution's strict gender separation and roles.	(Fadhilah, 2022, p.14)
Isolation and Socio-Economic Vulnerability	Social Vulnerability and Poverty	Economic difficulty and low education status in families make students more fragile to exploitation.	(Harlen, 2022, p.12)
	Restricted interaction with outside pesantren	There is lack of facilities such as shared common facilities like bedroom and bathroom and limitation to interact with outside pesantren.	(Sefta Trihadi et al, 2023, p.8)
	Restricted Monitoring	Inadequate of right monitoring in boarding and during schedule, creating the chances of abuse.	(Moh Ashif Fuadi et al., 2024, p.9)

Table 4.2. can be divided into three classifications of the factors of CSA within pesantren, which referred to the total institution theory by Goffman. The three main themes that are identified in shaping members' experiences within the total institution: authority and power, cultural and institutional obstacles in reporting, and isolation and socio-economic vulnerability. The explanations for each classification are shown below:

4.4.1 Authority and Power

This classification stresses the hierarchical arrangement and the misuse of religious authority in pesantren, which involves respect and obedience for religious leaders, frequently leading to circumstances where abuse is either justified or normalized (Oktariani, Wuryaningsih and Lestari, 2023, p.9). Power inequality, faith manipulation, and religious obedience are emphasized, indicating a

system where power dynamics deeply support the authority figures, making it challenging for victims to report incidents of CSA (Fajri, 2023, pp.3-4).

4.4.2 Cultural and Institutional Obstacles in Reporting

Cultural obstacles, such as a lack of formal reporting mechanisms and silence around CSA, perpetuate a culture of unreported violence (Rahman and Maulana, 2024, p.11). The reliance on unofficial mediation and the nonexistence of child protection policies discourages accountability and reporting, fostering an environment where CSA incidents can continue (Rahman and Maulana, 2024, p.7).

4.4.3 Isolation and Socio-Economic Vulnerability

Inadequate monitoring and economic difficulties within pesantren make students more vulnerable to abuse. The lack of adequate surveillance, socio-economic causes and limited access to outside support, increases students' vulnerability to CSA (Harlen, 2022, p.12). These causes show how the complex relationship between cultural norms, economic vulnerabilities, and power dynamics within pesantren (Fadhilah, 2022, p.6). The complex situation previously mentioned could contribute to constructing an environment where CSA may happen and remain unaddressed.

4.5 Analysis of Institutional and Structural Factors in Pesantren

Developing on the literature review of RICA, which stresses the factors of CSA, this section will explore how the pesantren's authority dynamics, socio-cultural expectations, and organizational framework influence CSA cases. This part aims to recognize how intersecting factors impact the prevention and handling of CSA incidents. The insights from primary data and relevant literature provide a nuanced view of how pesantren's institutional systems are formed.

4.5.1 Internalized Guilt and Religious Manipulation

Members of the total institution are frequently subjected to psychological manipulation, where they are made to blame themselves and internalize guilt for their conditions. This form of manipulation is mainly evident in religious institutions, where teachings about religious obedience are used to manipulate students to legitimize the institution's misconduct. As previously mentioned, students are taught to always obey the *kyai* in pesantren. Female former students from modern and semi-modern formal pesantren, a former modern pesantren male student, and a pesantren activist described their experiences regarding religious obedience in pesantren:

“Religious obedience is common in the pesantren, especially the traditional pesantren. We have to obey the teacher, respect the teacher, and so on. We also learn *Ta’lim Muata’allim* about how we have to behave towards the teacher and his children. But I also criticize this teaching, because it perpetuates the power relationship in pesantren, as if we are not equal.”-Female former student semi-modern pesantren

“During junior high and high school, yes, we could not differentiate whether something was right or wrong; I mean, we cannot judge things for ourselves yet. We were afraid of the teacher, and we believed everything they said. We were told to not be critical and not ask a lot of questions because we will find out about it by ourselves later.”- Female former student modern pesantren

“The doctrine about ‘*we hear and obey*’ that you need to follow whatever the religious teacher (*ustadz*) is saying about you. Nowadays, we know this is actually wrong. Because they legitimized something wrong with religious things. A child is innocent, they do not know anything. The only adult is the *ustadz*. Some parents after they send their children to pesantren felt that they are not responsible for nurturing their children. But that is wrong. So, even though their children can be students, the role of their parents should still remain. Parents have the role of looking for the right information, specifically when looking for a good pesantren.”- Male former student modern pesantren

“The term ‘*we hear and obey*’ in pesantren is too sacral for the relationship between *kyai* and the student. Students must have good manners. Yes, good manners are important, but if those manners result in blind faith, it is dangerous.”-Male activist pesantren

These pesantren activist and former students’ criticisms may have been influenced by their exposure to secular international education, which often inspires open discussion and critical thinking. For instance, F2 and A1 explained their discomfort with power dynamics and strict obedience in pesantren, linking these reflections to an open dialogue and critical thinking encountered in secular education institutions settings. Referring to response, secular education may shape a more critical of pesantren’s traditional traits, and reflecting transformations in values aligns with principles in an international, secular context. In contrast, pesantren culture traditionally highlights strict obedience to the *kyai* through the phrase ‘*we hear and obey*’ (*sami’na wa atbo’na*). This change in their educational environment likely inspired them to question parts of pesantren tradition and authority that they might have previously accepted without critique. Their perceptions reflect a unique connection of pesantren childhood with a critical, new lens from their subsequent educational experiences.

Despite the informants' criticisms, some pesantren can balance traditionalism and modernism (in Islam), such as Tebuireng pesantren. The educational reform conducted by Tebuireng was not achieved by abandoning the traditional system or reformulating Islamic doctrines to be more easily accepted by today's society. Tebuireng implemented gradual changes focused on organized teaching and kept the spirit and nature of Islamic boarding schools. However, the changes made were not without its challenges. Some Islamic scholars criticized the changes in Tebuireng, while others are still "reluctant" to accept these changes. Although this separation has not caused a grouping based on different social religions, the separation has created differences in social and intellectual activities, ways of dressing, lifestyle, community behavior, and job aspirations. Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School has succeeded in balancing traditionalism and modernism. Thus, their influence is still maintained among traditional Islamic followers, both those at the level of scholars and lay followers (Dhofier, 2019, pp.196-197).

Nevertheless, internalized guilt is commonly felt by students when they desire to adapt to modern values. Due to the stress from clerics to maintain traditional values, students tend to feel guilty when they feel that they are not religious enough or too influenced by "worldly" values. This pressure fosters an environment where students are restricted from using their critical thinking skills or exploring new ideas that may be contrary to traditional values. As Dhofier explained, these situations may create strong social pressure for students to stay obedient to the teachings and norms set. In this case, religious manipulation is seen when *kyai* or pesantren leaders use religious reasons to control students and avoid changes that are too far from traditional norms. The situation reinforces religious manipulation, where all forms of modernization are considered as "deviations" from the right spiritual path.

Religious manipulation is also used to instill respect and extreme old values, where students are convinced that deviations from norms will result in the loss of spiritual decline or blessings. This situation proves how the clerics use their positions to keep the pesantren within the religious boundaries they design and hinder students from speaking up about the CSA incidents. Students are taught to follow and respect the leaders' teachings without question, which ultimately cultivates guilt if they support innovations or changes that do not match tradition. The supervision by clerics strengthens religious manipulation, as they serve as guardians of morality that restrict the development of CSA reporting in pesantren.

4.5.2 The Position of Religious Authority Figures in Pesantren

In the pesantren system, the *kyai* has power over the pesantren and Indonesia's politics. Dhofier explains that most *kyai* believe that pesantren can be seen as a small kingdom, with them having the absolute source of authority and power over the pesantren's environment. Thus, no student (*santri*) or other people can contradict the power of the *kyai* (in his pesantren), except for other *kyai* with superior influence. Although most *kyai* live in rural areas, they are part of an elite group in the Indonesian people's social, political, and economic structure. They have this position due to their societal influence, making them an important force in Indonesian politics (Dhofier, 2019, p.94).

There is a phrase that was mentioned by all informants, '*sami'na wa atho'na*', which means '*we hear and obey*'. All informants agreed that *kyai*, seniors, and elders could discipline students who broke the rules. This finding supports Goffman's theory that someone with authority can discipline the members. The representative from a modern formal pesantren mentioned the phrase and gave the following account related to the term '*we hear and obey*':

"When I was a student, we learned the term '*we hear and obey*', which means we can never comment or dare to evaluate what the *ustadz* said because we thought what he said was true. His actions were also examples for us, and we needed to follow his teachings. But now, it is a little bit difficult to apply that term because, maybe, I personally think that most *ustadz* are less credible and there is a lack of trust between the teacher and the students. In the past, I felt confident that I can trust my teachers because they were polite and civilized. That's why I obeyed him, I never criticized, and what he said before always motivated me. I think it's different now. Maybe this is because of the teacher's lack of knowledge or the lack of mutual trust between the teacher and student, so the term '*we hear and obey*' nowadays doesn't have the same impact."

Dhofier (2019) explained that the term '*we hear and obey*' comes from *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, a guidance book for students taught in all pesantren. It taught morals and ethics to students who seek knowledge. The *Ta'lim Al-Muta'allim* states the following teachings:

"Those who seek knowledge should always remember that his knowledge will be useless unless he respects the teacher who taught it. Respect to the teacher is not limited to just obeying them."

In *Ta'lim Al-Muta'allim*, it is explained that a person should spend at least 2 months determining whether their teacher is a person who is truly wise and refrains from actions prohibited or disliked by religion. The teacher must be an experienced person. A prospective student is also recommended to

seek information and ask advice from people who have studied with the teacher before. However, the absolute obedience of a student to the teacher does not apply if students are ordered to follow actions that contradict Islamic teachings. In *Ta'allim*, it is written: "Do not obey someone whose behavior does not follow the teachings of Islam" (Dhofier, 2019, pp. 125-127).

Next, Dhofier's previous statement about *kyai's* power in influencing Indonesia politics is supported by one of the activists interviewed in this study (A1), who explained the reason behind his and his father's visits to Islamic boarding schools:

"In 4 years, my father and I visited almost all pesantren in Central and East Java and several pesantren in West Java to build political relationships. So, the discussions with the *kyai* were about politics, not just about religion. *Kyai* or Religious Authority Figures (RAF) have valuable roles in the eyes of politics because he can influence the community and determine the people's representative."

Another example related to *kyai's* power is a rape case of the son of a reputable pesantren owner and Islamic scholar, in Jombang, East Java, in 2019. The offender's name is Bechy, and his supporters blocked the police from arresting him, making him a fugitive. Consequently, the Regional Ministry of Religions Affairs (MORA) revoked Pesantren Shiddiqiyah's permit. However, three days later, MORA reinstated the permit based on the instructions of the Indonesian president since the case only involved one staff member, not the whole institution. Muhadjir Effendy, the former Minister of Religion Ad Interim, in BBC Indonesia (2022) said:

"The revocation of the permit was cancelled because this alleged sexual violence case only involved one of the administrators of the pesantren. In addition, the suspected perpetrator has also been arrested by the police. Likewise, those who have obstructed the officers (have been arrested). Meanwhile, thousands of students need to be guaranteed the continuity of their education. With the re-enactment of this pesantren permit, parents of students have again received certainty about their children's learning status and they can study with peace of mind. The Majma'al Bahrain Shiddiqiyah, Islamic Boarding School in Jombang, East Java can resume its activities as per usual. The legal process will continue to run against the son of the leader of the Islamic boarding school. I hope the public can understand the decision. The cancellation of the revocation of the operational permit of the Shiddiqiyah Islamic Boarding School is also a directive of President Joko Widodo."

This case proved that *kya'*'s power can protect them from taking accountability for CSA cases. They can exploit their power to manipulate students and influence law enforcement through the president (BBC Indonesia, 2022). Goffman argues how the staff from total institutions control their members by designing the boundaries between subordination and authority. In religious institutions, specifically in pesantren, this could be true for students. In the pesantren system, the one who has authority could hold administrative and spiritual matters over a student, similar to how monks, nuns, or priests control monasteries.

Goffman explains how the total authority in total institutions fosters a tradition of obedience. In pesantren culture, the '*we hear and obey*' saying is one of the examples of how authority is ingrained in a pesantren. Similar dynamics exist in other religious settings, such as monasteries and seminaries, where there is power centralized to RAF that led to absolute obedience and system dependency (Parkes, 2023, p.6; McPhillips et al., 2022, p.14). In addition, in this study, the pesantren representative provided a guideline document for managing students. The guideline describes the pesantren's curriculum, which includes aspects of Islamic life, science, and society, and the students' expected spiritual, intellectual, and emotional outcomes. This document proves that one authority manages all aspects of a student's (*santri*) life. These conditions could lead to obstacles in reporting incidents or questioning the authorities and foster a culture of silence.

4.5.3 Institutional Silence and Lack of Reporting Mechanisms

Goffman stresses that inadequate external monitoring is the main characteristic of a total institution. In such systems, internal mechanisms of control block members from reporting violence. This study found contrasting views from the informants as several stated that they could easily report problems in an Islamic boarding school, but others said it is difficult. Male (M1) and female (F1) former modern formal pesantren students provided the following statements:

"Well, I heard of a sexual harassment case when I was in my first year in Senior High School. It was our senior who was responsible for doing security patrols of the whole school. He would grope a junior's sensitive area multiple times since that junior was handsome and he always targeted him. I heard the story from my friends since they were the ones who reported it to the pesantren staff. However, the pesantren decided to not drop out the offender because he was in his final year and it might affect his education performance. So, the case was hidden. I also heard of a sexual harassment case involving an *ustadz* and the pesantren fired him."- M1

“I pity the victims. If a student is sexually assaulted and we report the case, the adult may not believe us, especially if it’s a minor case. But if it’s a big case like rape, perhaps they will do something. In my old pesantren, I think the adults would either not believe us or take no further action to solve the issue.”- F1

M1 and F1’s explanations present contrasting views on how pesantren addresses CSA. M1 stated an incident where a senior’s harassment of a junior was buried to protect the offender’s academic performance, proving that the pesantren prioritized academic continuity and institutional reputation. On the other hand, F1 doubts that the adults in the pesantren would take minor incidents seriously, stating that only severe cases, like rape, would result in a rapid response. These opposing perspectives uncover a gap in consistency and trust in addressing CSA, indicating that pesantren responses may contrast significantly based on institutional priorities and incidents.

Based on Goffman’s theory, authority regulates unwanted behaviors. In the pesantren context, the adults have the power to take action. However, based on the former students’ explanations above, the pesantren staff responded differently to different offenders because when the perpetrator was a teacher, they would fire them. Meanwhile, the pesantren decided to protect the senior student offender. Consequently, the victim lived and went to school in the same environment as the perpetrator. In addition, peer pressure from the stigma the victims would get in pesantren could be the reason why victims decided not to report. Below are the explanations related to the silence of report of the abuse in pesantren from female (F2) and male (M2) former semi-modern formal pesantren students:

“It is not easy to report since there is public pressure to stigmatize students who like to report. We called them madulan. For instance, there was a boy who reported to his parents that he was being bullied, and in the end he has no friends. It leads to the silence within my pesantren since they are afraid that if they report something, they might end up with no friends.”-M2

“It is confusing if there is an CSA incident, we don’t know what to do. The victim may not want to report because they may be embarrassed, especially in our society that considers the victim to be dirty. They may not report because of shame, not necessarily the system. In pesantren, the kyai will not be fired, he can't be fired and will stay in the pesantren since he owns the pesantren. Its ownership will also always be in his family as it will be bequeathed to his son.”-F2

The culture of quietness in the pesantren, as explained by M2, aligns with the pesantren's emphasis on fostering independence from one's family. Students rely on their friends to report incidents and provide social support. Reporting to external parties like family can lead to public pressure, labeling them as someone who "likes to report." This distress of isolation results in cases to be handled internally, promoting the value of resilience and self-reliance within the pesantren settings.

Moreover, Dhofier stated that the pesantren environment develops a relationship system between students and teachers that lasts a lifetime for *kyai* and *santri*. The student's sense of deity and respect for his teacher is unbreakable and absolute. Students even respect the *kyai's* descendants. That absolute respect must be shown in all aspects of his life, including his religious, community, and personal life. Forgetting this bond with their teacher is considered a great disgrace and is believed to result in the loss of blessings (*barakah*) from the teacher. As a result, if the student leads another pesantren, he will not be able to attract many students or will be less successful than his peers who do not forget their relationship with their teachers. For a *santri*, it is "taboo" to say that he is a "former" student of a certain *kyai*, because once he becomes a student of that *kyai*, he will continue to be his student for the rest of his life. Even if the teacher has died, the student must show respect by not cutting contact with the teachers of the *kyai's* pesantren. Likewise, he must also respect his teacher's children (Dhofier, 2019, p.125).

Therefore, students must show absolute respect and obedience to their teacher, not as a manifestation of total submission to the teacher who is considered to have authority, but because the student believes in the teacher's position as a distributor of God's generosity bestowed on his students in this world and the hereafter. According to the teachings of Islam, students must view their teacher as if they were their own father, as said in the following *hadith*:

"There are actually three fathers; first, your father who has fertilised your mother; second, the father who has given you a wife; and third, the teacher who is and has taught you" "And indeed, the person who teaches you even if it is only a word in religious knowledge is your father according to the teachings of Islam." (Dhofier, 2019, p.126).

Dhofier highlights that the relationship between a student and *kyai* is not just an ordinary teacher-student relationship. It is a sacred relationship that lasts a lifetime. However, this lifelong obedience may hinder students from having the courage to report abuse or injustice. If they feel that the obligation to respect *kyai* is an "absolute" aspect of their lives, then reporting violations will be considered an act that violates the norm and betrays a figure considered a "father" in their religious

life. In addition, the fear of losing blessings (*barakah*) is a powerful psychological barrier that encourages students to remain silent and not report abuse. If reporting a *kyai*'s actions can damage this relationship, *santri* will remain silent rather than risk missing something that is considered very valuable in their social and religious lives. Therefore, this social norm strengthens institutional silence because students are afraid of the social stigma and embarrassment they will have to endure if they open the internal problems of Islamic boarding schools to outsiders. Thus, the desire to maintain the *pesantren*'s honor and their relationship with the *kyai* adds to the reporting barrier.

Chapter 5

Socioeconomic and Cultural Challenges in Pesantren

5.1 Introduction

This section will focus on the cultural and socio-economic obstacles for students and staff that further complicate the handling and prevention of CSA in pesantren. By examining these cultural and socio-economic dynamics, this chapter presents a broader understanding of the obstacles pesantren face in addressing CSA and the broader societal influences that may discourage or silence victims from formally reporting. The analysis will examine CSA cases in pesantren according to Erving Goffman's total institution theory and pesantren's book. The analysis was conducted based on the interview results with relevant stakeholders, the pesantren document gathered from the interview, and relevant literature from studies about CSA factors in pesantren and RICSA.

5.2 Social and Cultural Obstacles

Islamic boarding schools' social and cultural system stresses obedience to authority and gender roles. Such factors explain why CSA is frequently ignored or downplayed in pesantren. Moreover, most informants stated that pesantren students come from diverse socio-economic backgrounds. The students would face obstacles and need to adapt, as many of them live far from their families:

A male former semi-modern formal pesantren student (M2): "We learned how to live on our own when we were at the pesantren. By living far away from our families, we learned how to be independent. In pesantren, there students from many different backgrounds. Some are smart; some are not. This leads to difficulties in managing students. In my pesantren, they accept anyone who wants to join. There was no entrance selection test, no minimum qualifications. They only had a Quranic reading test, which was only to determine whether the child will need special assistance to recite the Quran or not. The test does not reject incoming students. So, the system makes sure that anyone can enter it. I learned to be mature from meeting many people from various backgrounds and with characteristics."

According to Goffman's total institution theory, total institutions tend to apply strict rules for their members, which could lead to clashes with the individual's background. This theory is supported by the statement from former students who mentioned there were students from different backgrounds, which led to the issue in managing students, as they needed time to adjust to the pesantren setting.

Moreover, the patriarchal teaching in pesantren could contribute to CSA cases. The statement below from a former female semi-modern pesantren student (F2) and a pesantren activist (A2) explains the patriarchal teachings at pesantren that legitimize wrongdoings and what is actually in Islamic teaching:

F2, “The material they teach in pesantren about sexual intercourse is from the lens of religious postulates that are very patriarchal, where women's rights are less than men's rights and women's obligations are more than men's obligations. However, I think there are some NGOs, like Fahmina, who teach about CSA awareness to my pesantren. They are an NGO engaged in religious and social studies and community empowerment. As a civil society organization, Fahmina is open to all ethnicities, ideologies, religions, and genders. It was established due to the struggles of students at Cirebon Islamic Boarding School, which raised the awareness of various parties to develop the social ethos of Islamic Boarding Schools in responding to contemporary development, especially on the issue of social injustice, cultural hegemony, political repression, and economic exploitation. If I am not mistaken, they came to my pesantren before to educate about CSA.”

A2, “Well, I was concerned about violence against women. So, I started reading cases about marital rape, or rape in marriage, and then sexual violence, which I then incorporated with Islamic views because I used to be a madrasa student. My interest made me explore how Islam talks about women, violence against women, justice, and so on. I delved into Islamic theology, Islam’s views on women, and different interpretations. Then, I wrote about how different interpretations of Islam, the Qur’an, and hadith protects women from injustices.”

Next, in pesantren culture, people trust that *kyai* can be a distributor of mercy and purity. However, this belief only applies if the *kyai* avoid things forbidden by Islam. Many believe that *kyai* have spiritual attributes (*karamah*) and are the successors of Allah's blessings. Therefore, most of them can become charming leaders. *Karamah*, *barakah*, and Islamic knowledge are the key elements for pesantren leadership. However, these spiritual attributes can only owned by the *kyai* after they become well-known, and this characteristic must be supported or recognized by other *kyai* to preserve the acceptance of their pesantren and attract many students. The thing that causes a *kyai* to succeed in developing pesantren is his expertise in various branches of Islamic knowledge, his organizational leadership, and his ability to develop his pesantren by developing relationships with other well-known *kyai* or by educating a group *kyai* candidates (Dhofier, 2019, p.111-112).

The community's belief that *kyai* are spiritual intermediaries who bring blessings from Allah could make it difficult for the community and students to question or report the *kyai*'s actions. They fear that questioning or resisting the *kyai* can lessen the blessings bestowed on them. In other words, the spiritual status of the *kyai* is used to instil absolute obedience in the students, hindering them from reporting injustices or incidents in the pesantren. An example would be when a *kyai*'s son's arrest was obstructed as their sympathizers blocked the police. In pesantren culture, criticism of the *kyai* can be understood as rejecting traditional Islamic values, forming an environment where reporting or criticism becomes almost difficult. Moreover, with the backing of other *kyai*, the *kyai*'s position in the pesantren remains strong since anyone who criticizes or opposes will be confronted with great social backlash. Therefore, such a system strengthens institutional silence because the community and students feel there is no safe channel to report incidents.

5.3 Isolation and Socioeconomic Dependence

In Java, an Islamic boarding school is categorized based on the number of students. A large pesantren typically has more than 3,000 students and comprises a three-story building financed by students and community donations. The student's contribution to the pesantren's maintenance is organized in different ways. For example, in 1978, at Darussalam Islamic Boarding School in Banyuwangi, students were obligated to pay IDR 6,000 a year, contribute a piece of lumber, one cubic meter of sand, and were required to make 200 bricks once a year. Similarly, Ploso Islamic Boarding School in Kediri required students to pay IDR 7,500 a year and collect by obligatory charity (*zakat*) from the wealthy people in the student's hometown during harvest season to expand the buildings in the pesantren environment. Meanwhile, Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School in Jombang required their students to pay IDR 600 monthly and 5% of the money sent by the student's parents. Therefore, wealthier students who receive more money from their parents contribute a higher amount to the pesantren's needs. To date, most Islamic boarding schools in Central Java and East Java have over 500 students (Dhofier, 2019, p.83).

There are three main reasons why pesantren must provide a dormitory for students and isolate them from the outside:

- a. A *kyai*'s fame and depth of knowledge about Islam attracts students from faraway places. Therefore, many students have to leave their hometowns and live near the *kyai*'s residence to get knowledge from him regularly and for a long time.

- b. Almost all Islamic boarding schools are located in villages. In the village, there are no boarding houses like in Indonesian cities. In general, there is no housing available to accommodate students. Thus, pesantren need to provide special dormitories for their students.
- c. There is a specific bond between *kyai* and *santri*, where students consider their *kyai* as a father figure. Meanwhile, the *kyai* believe that God has entrusted them to always protect the *santri*. This attitude also causes a sense of responsibility on the *kyai* side to provide a place for students to live. Besides that, the students would typically become devoted to their *kyai*, and in turn, the *kyai* would obtain rewards from the students as a source of manpower for the benefit of the pesantren and his family (Dhofier, 2019, p.83-84).

Furthermore, the pesantren system cultivates a strong financial dependence between them and their students. Students and their families fund the pesantren, making them feel that they have a responsibility to the pesantren. This dependence could make students to be unwilling to leave the pesantren or express the issues they experience there because of their moral responsibility. The remote location may also contribute to the student's physical isolation from outside communities, restricting their interaction with the outside world and reinforcing their dependence on the pesantren. By living in a closed environment, students only interact with pesantren's staff and fellow students, so the norms and rules of the pesantren become the only value system that they obey and understand. The isolation also makes it more challenging for students to report issues or incidents because they feel disconnected from outside helplines. Moreover, because they consider the *kyai* as a highly respected authority figure, students find it hard to report injustice or issues they face to outsiders. It makes Islamic boarding schools a "total institution" where the life of students is entirely organized by pesantren, which reinforces obedience and dependence with no room for rejection and criticism.

According to Goffman's theory, the isolation of members from the outside world could lead to the members' dependency on the institution to fulfill their needs. In the context of pesantren, students come from various backgrounds, and students from low-economic family backgrounds may depend on pesantren for their future prospects, shelter, and education. An example of a CSA case in an Indonesian pesantren related to socio-economic dependency is the Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia's published Verdict Letter of 12 CSA victims. Two of the victims were manipulated by offers of a better education:

"From December 2017 to early 2021, the defendant invited the victim to have sex by explaining that his wife rarely wanted to have sex and that his parents-in-laws states did not want to them to

have more than 2 (two) grandchildren. As a result, the defendant found another way to have more children and promised to pay for the victim's education if she was willing to take care of the Islamic boarding school. The pesantren is where the defendant half-forcibly invited and persuaded the victim to have sex. The defendant forced the victim to have sex every morning, afternoon, and night in several locations.

The defendant manipulated the victim into giving him a body massage in the living room while he spoke about his childhood and promised to pay the victim's tuition fee until they finished college. After that, the defendant invited the victim to move to the bedroom, and the defendant coerced the victim to have sex. This incident occurred at the Madani Boarding School at the Masini Cibiru Wildlife Complex, Bandung City. In around March 2021, the victim conveyed that she was pregnant, to which the defendant said, "Let the baby be born into the world, I will pay for your college tuition until the baby grows. We will fight this together."

The case above shows how isolation and economic dependence could lead to manipulation and abuse. Therefore, economic vulnerability may contribute to CSA cases since pesantren students come from various economic backgrounds. Regarding isolation dynamics, the pesantren representative (R1) explained the situation in her pesantren:

"Our pesantren restricts our relationship with the community, such that even parents are not allowed to intervene in the pesantren. They also use the '*we hear and obey*' concept for the parents, making the parents trust the pesantren's authority. The parents must be sincere in believing that whatever the pesantren does is good, so they can never interfere. Before a student is admitted into the pesantren, the parents have to sign a letter of agreement, stating that the teacher is responsible for the education they give to their student. So, the parents are not allowed to protest, and there is a mutual trust between the parents and the educational institution in the statement letter.

The pesantren is like a big fortress, and the students are prohibited from contacting the surrounding community. Although there are several houses close to pesantren, the students do not dare to interact with the surrounding community. We believe contact or input from the outside community could destroy the pesantren's system. However, over time, our pesantren managed to maintain a good relationship with the community for the students, and the leader set boundaries for how to interact with society."

5.4 Control and Surveillance in Pesantren

Surveillance is a key feature of total institutions where people are constantly monitored to ensure they abide by institutional rules. In pesantren, as in religious seminaries and monasteries, surveillance keeps individuals under control and ensures that they obey institutional rules and disciplines. The *Elements of Nurturing Activities* file from the pesantren representative stresses how pesantren operates surveillance through monitoring and regular inspections of their students' activities, creating an environment where members are constantly under institutional control. This finding is similar to the experience of members of other religious institutions, where supervision is used to prevent dissent and control behavior.

Goffman's total institution theory stresses how psychological manipulation is used to control individuals in these settings, making them believe that their suffering is justified by the teachings or institution's rules. In pesantren, this dynamic is amplified by the *kya'*'s authority, as students are taught to accept their misery as part of their religious duty. This internalization of guilt is common in religious institutions, where victims are made to feel that their misery is a result of their own spiritual failures. Below are accounts of how pesantren enacts control based on the interviews with M2, F2, and M1:

"They would check whether students were studying or playing in my High Senior School. There were compulsory study hours from 8 pm or half past 9 to 10 pm. After 10 pm, it was time to sleep."-M2

"Because I was in a small class of approximately 20 people or 30 people in the same year, there was a student who acted as a spy who was responsible for monitoring our language use because we were only allowed to talk in Arabic or English. Male students had the responsibility of patrolling the female and male dorms at night. They would only patrol the female dorm from outside the building though."-F2

"Since we must speak in English or Arabic, the student association selected "spies" in every class. For instance, there would be five spies with a minimum target to watch two or three students. They would report the result of their monitoring activities at night and alert students on the list. Each spy will not know another spy, so the spy could be on the list, too. One day in my pesantren, the monitoring was done by an *ustadz*, and because I broke the rule, I was hit with a bamboo stick as punishment."-M1

All former students mentioned that the pesantren set their daily activities, from when they woke up until bedtime. Dhofier explained the daily activities of Tebuireng pesantren students. The day starts at approximately 04.30 in the morning, with a reading of the Qur'an being played through a microphone installed on top of the mosque to wake up all residents to immediately take a bath, do ablution, and pray in the Fajr congregation. After the Fajr prayer, *dhikr* is done together for about 15 minutes. Then, it ends with a prayer from the *kyai* as a prayer leader. Between 05.30 and 06.30 in the morning, *bandongan* lectures are done with basic, intermediate, and high-level books. Between 06.30 and 07.00 in the morning, the students have their breakfast. Between 07.00 and 11.30, students attend lessons in their respective classes, while senior students attend *bandongan* classes for advanced books. The library is open between 07.00 and 11.30 for students not involved in the above activities (Dhofier, 2019, p.186).

At approximately 12.30, a Zuhur congregational prayer would be held, followed by *dhikr* and prayer. Between 13.00 and 18.00, junior high and senior high school students and Hasyim Asy'ari University, students attend lessons in their respective rooms. The library is open between 14.00 and 16.00. At around 16.00, the congregational prayer of 'Asar is held, followed by *dhikr* and prayer. After that, several *bandongan* classes were done for basic and intermediate-level books. Before performing the Maghrib congregation prayer, students would gather in the mosque. At around 18.15, they would perform the Maghrib congregational prayer, followed by *dhikr* and prayer. After the Maghrib prayer, the students would do their *bandongan* readings. At around 19.30, they would pray Isya' congregationally, followed by *dhikr* and prayer. Between 20.00 and 21.00, there are two (or sometimes three) *bandongan* classes for those who did not participate in the joint discussion earlier. Between 22.30 and 04.30 am, the students must sleep. Daily activities, as described above, apply to Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Wednesday and Thursday; Friday and Tuesday are holidays for Madrasah, Junior High School, and Senior High School. However, students still have to participate in community activities at 5 pm and *jam'iyah* (student organization) between 8 and 12 pm on their days off (Dhofier, 2019, p.187). This similar schedule was explained by male modern formal pesantren (M1):

"I think the environment in Islamic Junior High School/ Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) is bad for growth. There is an activity called *Jasus*, which means spy in Arabic. At the pesantren, we had to speak only in English or Arabic from 06:00 a.m. until 05:00 p.m. Between those times, if someone spoke Bahasa Indonesia, they broke the rules. So, to get data on the students who spoke Bahasa Indonesia during those hours, the pesantren had spies everywhere. The student council had a

Language Division; they spread spies in every class and prohibited telling everyone they were spies so each spy would not know the other. From grade 7 to grade 9, five spies were distributed in every class, and they had to report at least two to three students who spoke in Bahasa Indonesia. Later at night, the spies were told to report the students talking in Bahasa Indonesia. One day, the monitoring was done by the *ustadz*, and many students violated the rule, including me. So, they *ustadz* beat me with a thin bamboo stick.

We would also be hit by a bamboo stick on our hands if we were late to the mosque for prayer time. When I was late, I explained that it was because I had something to do, and the Ustadz said, “Come on, you are just a newbie, so do not act like you know it all.” I also participated in local olympiad competitions, but the pesantren had no facilities for us. Everything depended on the person participating. Because I was competing at the local level, it was still okay, and we could still use books. I read everything though and even though I was still in 2nd grade, I read at a 3rd-grade level. I won first place, and when I went to the provincial level, the training was at public Senior High School in the city. We practised once every week, and there were no textbooks. Finally, I bought a cellphone. I used it illegally in the pesantren to practice for the competition. But I also used the phone for entertainment, like for songs or Instagram. This cellphone was confiscated, and I was shaved bald by my teacher. So, at the competition, I was bald when I won 1st place. This led me to the conclusion that pesantren prohibited us from something but did not give any solution. In my case, I needed facilities to compete, but they did not approve and did not give any solution for the issue.”

The schedule shows a strict control system through a specified time arrangement. The student has little or no free time for individual activities or events outside the direct monitoring of the pesantren. Their lives are supervised through structured shared activities so the pesantren can ensure that students keep following the religious values and norms of the institution. The use of a religious schedule in pesantren assists in instilling a sense of religious obedience in students. By directly controlling their spiritual activities, pesantren use religious rituals to affirm their control and reinforce the students' feelings that they are constantly being supervised. This busy schedule encourages an environment that diminishes students' involvement in the lives of the general public, which strengthens the pesantren's control over their students. Therefore, the pesantren becomes the students' only source of norms and values. This isolation functions as an extra form of supervision. However, not all pesantren restrict their contact with the community. Nevertheless, the packed routine

ensures that students have a pattern of activities that follows the institution's objectives. This schedule amplifies the concept of "total institution," where the students' lives are fully controlled and supervised by the pesantren. Therefore, students may internalize obedience as a norm without questioning the pesantren's authority.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Limitations

One of the main limitations of this research was the complexity of obtaining primary data on Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) in pesantren. Due to the variety of the institutional structures of pesantren, the data could not represent all pesantren types. Additionally, the power dynamics and hierarchical nature of pesantren, made it challenging to find unbiased perspectives, as some informants might still hesitate to speak out about these issues. The limitations influenced the breadth of perceptions regarding the systemic nature of CSA cases within the pesantren context.

Another limitation was the absence of official records and comprehensive reporting mechanisms on incidents of CSA cases in pesantren. The inadequate formal documentation made it difficult to validate some research features. Thus, the study depended heavily on personal experiences, pesantren documents, and anecdotal proofs. This situation is similar to research from the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (IICSA) in the UK, which highlights concerns within numerous institutions where insufficient documentation and closed cultural norms obstruct transparency and accountability (IICSA, 2020). This limit affected the ability to illustrate definitive conclusions about the institution's responses and prevalence of CSA in pesantren.

6.2 Conclusions

In conclusion, this study's findings align closely with previous research on Religious Institutions Child Sexual Abuse (RICSA). Firstly, this study stresses that the cultural norms and hierarchical structure within pesantren could contribute to the persistence of CSA cases. This finding is similar to Pebriaisyah & Komariah's (2022) study that concluded the high incidents of CSA in pesantren are done by kyai, ustadz, and gus due to power imbalances as a cultural trait in pesantren. Secondly, the focus on the power of the kyai and the other authority figures and strict disciplinary traditions cultivate an environment where victims feel incapable of reporting abuse. Jamaludin (2023), p.20, stated that the offenders would exploit their power by promising marriage or using religious doctrine to perform CSA.

Next, the stigmatization and cultural taboos of discussing sexual issues constrain victims from looking for help, strengthening the cultural silence, which could be seen from the other religious institutions in the CSA context. Rahman and Maulana (2024) found that pesantren students still have low knowledge regarding CSA and how to handle the incident. They stated that the biggest obstacles in reporting are social stigma, fear of retaliation, and lack of institutional response. Additionally, the data confirms the argument that total institution characteristics— isolation, rigid social norms, and centralized control, contribute to cultivating conditions conducive to abuse.

Finally, while there are signs of some attempts to solve the matter, such as awareness campaigns, the institution's accountability and lack of formal reporting mechanisms remain significant obstacles to transformation. Some pesantren have already taught sex education based on classical Islamic books. However, the sex education provided fails to address CSA awareness (Pebriaisyah and Komariah, 2022, p.11). Though from the major conclusions, this study finds similar dynamics in another study about RICSA. It highlights differences in the critical reflections from former pesantren students who have already experienced both the secular and traditional forms of education. They critically value religious obedience and authority in pesantren. Therefore, these conclusions highlight the urgency for strengthening child protection by performing complete reforms within pesantren, including providing support systems for victims, clear reporting protocols, developing a framework that protects students, and assessing the institutional power dynamics that permit abuse.

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Appendix I. Interview Guideline

Former Santri of Modern and Semi-modern Pesantren Interview Guideline

Education Background and Personal Experience

1. Educational Background:

- Can you explain what a typical day in the pesantren? What was the daily routine schedule at your pesantren?
- How long did you study in pesantren?
- After graduating from Senior High School, did you go to pesantren again while in college?
- What was the daily routine schedule at your pesantren (modern/semi-modern)?

2. Personal Experiences:semi

- Can you tell me specific experiences when you were male/female students (*santri/santrivati*) at the pesantren that stood out to you, both negative and positive? For instance, the tight schedule or you have limitation to meet with your family and limitation time to play.
- Did you ever experience or witness any types of abuse or unwanted behavior when you were a student at the pesantren? For instance, your *kyai* do physical or verbal abuse when gave punishment to you or your peer when the santri broke the rules in pesantren.
- How did you and other *santri/santrivati* react to such cases? Were there any common feelings or responses among the *santri/santrivati*?

Institutional Culture and Structure

3. Pesantren Environment:

- Could you describe the general culture and environment at the pesantren? Were there any particular behaviors or norms that were expected of *santri/santrivati*?
- How did the environment different for female and male students?
- What kind of relation did students (*santri/santrivati*) have with the teachers, *kyai*, (*ustadz/ustadzah*) and other staff members? Were there any markable exceptions to these relationships?

4. Power Dynamics:

- Can you discuss the power dynamics and hierarchy within the pesantren? For example, can you explain a situation where a *santri/santrivati* was punished or by a staff member or teacher? How was this solved, and what was the response of other *santri/santrivati*?
- How were discipline and authority preserved in the pesantren?

Awareness and View

5. Awareness of CSA:

- Was there any discussion or awareness about harassment or sexual abuse at the pesantren? For instance, were there any seminars, classes, or seminars addressing these problems?
- Were there any guidelines or teachings provided on how to handle these situations?
- There have some CSA in pesantren that went viral on social media. Can you give comment on your point of view of these cases and why that happened in that pesantren?
- How usually the pesantren community response on these cases, reaction, and were there measure were taken?

6. View of Authorities:

- How did students usually sense the authorities (e.g. *ustadz*, *kyai*) regarding protection and safety?
- Did you feel that the authorities were trustworthy and approachable when it came to reporting issues such as physical, verbal, sexual abuse e.g bullying, cat calling? Could you give an example?

Reporting Procedure and Obstacles

7. Reporting Cases:

- Were there any official mechanisms in place for reporting cases of harassment or abuse?
- Did you or your friend ever report a case of abuse? If so, what was the result?

8. Obstacles s to Reporting:

- What do you think are the main obstacles that block students from reporting incidents of abuse in pesantren?
- How do religious norms and cultural within the pesantren impact on the reporting of such cases?

Community and Social Support

9. Friend Support:

- How supportive were friend when someone faced problems?
- Were there any initiatives or peer support groups in the pesantren? Like a psychology session

10. External Support:

- Did you have access to any organizations or external support systems when you were student at the pesantren?
- How did the surrounding community interact and view with the pesantren?

Suggestions and Solutions

11. Preventive Measures:

- Based on your view, what procedures can be taken to prevent CSA in pesantren?
- How can the pesantren improve its method to preventing and handling abuse?

12. Personal Reflections:

- How has your experience in the pesantren formed your interpretations on education and safety in religious institutions?
- Do you have any other experiences or thoughts you'd like to share regarding CSA issue?

Concluding Questions

11. Final Thoughts:

- Is there anything else you think is essential for me to understand about the environment and culture of pesantren?
- Do you have any additional experiences or insights related to CSA in pesantren that you think it would be helpful for my research?

Pesantren's Activist Interview Guideline

General Experience and Observations

1. Reason to be Activist:

- What is the reason that you become pesantren activist?
- Were the activities that you work done individually or collectively (who do you represent)?

2. Tour Background:

- Can you share an summary of your tours to various pesantren over the years?
- What was the main reason of your visits to these pesantren?

3. General Impressions:

- What are some common characteristics you have examined across the pesantren you have visited?
- Have you seen any important differences between modern and semi-modern pesantren?

Institutional Environment

4. Policies and Structures:

- Based on your reflections, how do pesantren usually structure their educational and administrative systems?
- What kinds of practices and policies have you seen in place to safeguard student safety and welfare?

5. Student-Teacher Relationships:

- How would you describe the relationship between teachers and students in the pesantren you have visited?
- Have you seen any practices that mainly hinder or foster a supportive and safe environment?

Awareness and Handling of CSA

6. General Awareness:

- Even if not your primary focus, have you come across awareness or discussions initiatives in the context of Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) in any pesantren?
- How do you observe the general awareness of CSA among pesantren students and staffs?

7. Reporting and Response Procedures:

- Have you observed any policies or procedure for reporting misconduct or abuse within the pesantren?
- In your experience, how effectively do these procedure work in practice?

Cultural and Social Dynamics

8. Cultural Norms and Attitudes:

- How do religious norms and cultural within pesantren effect teacher-student interactions and student behavior?
- Are there any societal barriers or cultural that might effect the addressing or reporting of CSA in these settings?

9. Community and Parental Involvement:

- How do pesantren occupy with wider community and parents he regarding student welfare problems?
- Have you seen any community-based initiatives that aim to facilitate student well-being and safety?

Prevention and Support Measures

10. Preventive Measures:

- What preventive measures, if any, have you witnessed in pesantren to guard students from any types of abuse?
- How do pesantren teach students about appropriate boundaries and personal safety?

11. Support Systems:

- What kinds of support systems are accessible for students facing any types of abuse or distress in the pesantren?
- How do pesantren safeguard that students feel supported and safe when coming forward with their concerns?

Reflections and Insights

12. Key Challenges:

- What are the principal obstacle you have observed in pesantren regarding student welfare and safety?
- How do these obstacles vary between different forms of pesantren?

13. Areas for Improvement:

- Based on your observations, what improvements do you think are essential to improve the well-being and safety of students in pesantren?
- Are there any successful initiatives or best practices or you have seen that could be more widely applied?

Concluding Questions

14. Final Thoughts:

- Is there anything else you think is essential for me to understand about the general environment and practices in pesantren?
- Do you have any additional suggestions or insights regarding practices and policies to prevent CSA in pesantren?

Pesantren's Representatives Interview Guideline

Policies and Institutional Structure

1. **Organizational Structure:**

- Can you explain the organizational structure of your pesantren?
- How are responsibilities spread among teachers, staff, and administrators?

2. **Policies on Student Welfare:**

- What policies does the pesantren have in place to ensure the well-being and safety of students?
- How are these policies communicated to staff, students, and parents?

3. **Code of Conduct:**

- Is there a code of conduct for staff and students? If so, can you elaborate on its main points? If there is, can I have the access to full document?
- How is the code of conduct applied and what are the penalties of violations?

Understanding and Awareness of CSA

15. **Awareness and Training:**

- How aware are the teachers and staff about problems of child sexual abuse (CSA)?
- What kind of awareness or training programs are facilitated to students and staff regarding CSA?

16. **Reporting Procedures:**

- What procedures are in place for students to report instances of harassment or abuse?
- How are these procedures made known and accessible to the students?

17. **Handling Reports:**

- Can you explain the process followed when a report of abuse is found?
- Who is in charged in handling such reports and what steps are taken to resolve and investigate the incidents?

Prevention and Support Measures

18. **Preventive Measures:**

- What preventive measures are applied to reduce the risk of CSA in the pesantren?
- How does the pesantren inform students about personal boundaries and safety?

19. **Support for Victims:**

- What support services are existing for students who report abuse?

- How does the pesantren ensure protection and confidentiality for victims who come forward?

Community and Cultural Context

20. Cultural Norms and Attitudes:

- How do religious norms and cultural within the pesantren effect the tackling of CSA issues?
- Are there any cultural difficulties that get in the way the reporting or tackling of CSA?

21. Engagement with Parents and Community:

- How does the pesantren occupy with the local community and parents on issues of student welfare and safety?
- Are there any collaborations or community outreach programs with external organizations?

Evaluation and Improvement

22. Evaluation of Policies:

- How often are the practices and policies related to student safety and CSA updated and reviewed?
- What criteria are used to measure the effectiveness of these policies?

23. Challenges and Improvements:

- What are the major obstacles faced by the pesantren in tackling CSA?
- What improvements do you think are essential to better prevent and handle CSA in the pesantren?

Concluding Questions

24. Final Thoughts:

- Is there anything else you think is essential for me to understand about the pesantren's approach to tackling CSA?
- Do you have any additional suggestions or regarding policies and practices to prevent CSA in pesantren?

Appendix II. Research Ethics Form

Research Ethics Form Naufal Libna Dawiya (676470)

A) Project/Proposal details

1. Project/Proposal Title	Investigating Causes of the Persistent Incidents of Child Sexual Abuse in Indonesia Islamic Boarding School (Pesantren)
2. Name of MA student (applicant)	Naufal Libna Dawiya
3. Email address of MA student	676470@eur.nl
4. Name of Supervisor	Roy Huijsmans
5. Email address of Supervisor	huijsmans@iss.nl
6. Country/countries where research will take place	Netherlands
<p>7. Short description of the proposed research and the context in which it is carried out:</p> <p>Sexual violence against children in religious educational institutions, such as in Indonesia Islamic Boarding School (pesantren) is a complex and serious matters that affects children's development and psychology and violates human rights principles. This research aims to investigate on factors that influence why Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) in pesantren is persistent. The context of the study includes pesantren in Indonesia on a national scale, which are Islamic educational institutions where a lot of children spend their time learning and having their daily life.</p> <p>This research will be conducted through a qualitative research, by conducting interview with former student of pesantren who currently living in Netherlands, online interview with representatives from pesantren, and activist for CSA in pesantren and get perspectives from them. The results of the study are expected to provide comprehensive insight into the causes of the persistent incidents of CSA in pesantren and its obstacles of implementing child protection actions in preventing CSA in pesantren, and the recommendations to strengthen child protection from sexual violence in pesantren. This research has strong relevance in actions to improve deep understanding and action to protect children from CSA, align with Indonesia's commitment to applied the UNCRC. The results of the study are also expected to make a substantial contribution to literature and policies related to child protection in religious institutions.</p>	

B) Research checklist

The following checklist acts as a guide to help you think through what areas of research ethics you may need to address. For explanations and guidance please refer to the background document 'ISS Research Ethics Guidelines for MA students'. Please complete both sections (B1 and B2)

Please tick the appropriate box	YES	NO
B1: LOW-SENSITIVITY		
1. Does the research involve the collection and or processing of (primary or secondary) personal data (including personal data in the public domain)?	✓	
2. Does the research involve participants from whom voluntary informed consent needs to be sought?	✓	
3. Will financial or material incentives (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?	✓	
4. Will the research require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for access to the groups, communities or individuals to be recruited (e.g., administrator for a private Facebook group, manager of an institutions, government official)?	✓	
5. Does the research include benefit-sharing measures for research which takes place with people who could be considered vulnerable? – please revise the background document (Guidelines) for more information.		✓

If you have ticked 'yes' to any of the above boxes (1-5), please discuss with your supervisor and include more information in your RP design describing the issue raised and how you propose to deal with it during your research.

B2: HIGH SENSITIVITY	YES	NO
6. Does the research involve the collection or processing of <i>sensitive</i> (primary or secondary) personal data? (e.g. regarding racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, biometric data, data related to health or a person's sex life or sexual orientation)	✓	
7. Does the research involve participants for whom voluntary and informed consent may require special attention or who can be considered 'vulnerable'? (e.g., children (under 18), people with learning disabilities, undocumented migrants, patients, prisoners)?		✓
8. Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the research without their knowledge and consent (covert observation of people in non-public places)?		✓

9. Will the research be conducted in healthcare institutions, in healthcare settings, or will it involve the recruitment or study of patients or healthcare personnel?		✓
10. Could the research induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences for research participants, researchers, or persons and institutions connected to them?	✓	
11. Could the situation in one or several of the countries where research is carried out put the researcher, individuals taking part in the research, or individuals connected to the researcher, at risk? Presence of an infectious disease such as COVID-19 is considered a risk – please provide information as outlined in the background document (Guidelines).	✓	
12. Does the research require ethical approval or research permission from a local institution or body?		✓

If you have ticked ‘Yes’ to one of the above (5-11), please complete section ‘C’ below describing how you propose to mitigate the risks you have identified. After discussion with your supervisor, please submit the form to the Research Ethics Committee. In addition, if you have ticked ‘Yes’ to a question on any kind of personal data, please also complete the privacy questionnaire.

YOU ONLY NEED TO COMPLETE THIS SECTION IF YOU HAVE ANSWERED YES TO ONE OF THE QUESTIONS IN SECTION B2 ABOVE (Questions 5-11)

C) Statement of Research Ethics

Using the background document ‘ISS Research Ethics Guidelines for MA students’, please address how you are going to deal with the ethics concern identified, including prevention measure to avoid them from manifesting, mitigation strategies to reduce their impact, and preparedness and contingency planning if the risks manifest.

Please number each point to correspond with the relevant checklist question above. Expand this section as needed and add any additional documentation which might not be included in your RP design, such as consent forms.

The research will be conducted by interviewing former students of pesantren who currently living in the Netherlands. The findings will be shared with relevant stakeholders for their assessment. To protect the participants, their names, institutions, and locations will remain confidential, this to preventing any potential negative consequences.

Participants who experience psychological distress during the interviews will receive compensation. Additionally, they will be assured access to professional support from physicians or psychologists until they fully recover. Before scheduling the interviews, participants will be informed that the topic concerns to sexual violence in pesantren and will have the right to drop participation.

During the interviews, contributors will be given the chance to terminate or pause the session at any time and may choose not to response particular questions. The parts of the compensation for any mental impact resulting from the interviews will be described beforehand. Participants will be knowledgeable of their right to seek expert session and choose the treatments they prefer.

D) Approval from Research Ethics Committee

Approved by Research Ethics Committee:

Date:

Appendix III. Consent Form

Consent form and Information

INVESTIGATING CAUSES OF THE PERSISTENT INCIDENTS OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE IN INDONESIA ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL (PESANTREN)

Introduction

Dear Participant,

I am Naufal Libna Dawiya, a master's student of Social Policy for Development at the International Institute of Social Studies, Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands. I am conducting research for my thesis on "Investigating Causes of the Persistent Incidents of Child Sexual Abuse in Indonesia Islamic Boarding School (Pesantren)". An Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education Agency (LPDP) scholarship funds the research. However, the financial contribution will not affect the result of this research.

Below is the explanation of the study. If you have any questions, you can always ask me. While reading, you can mark parts of the text that are unclear.

If you are willing to participate in the study, you can indicate this at the end of this form.

What is the research about?

This study seeks to investigate what are the factors that cause persistent Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) incidents in Pesantren. This research will be conducted through qualitative research, by interviewing former students of Pesantren who currently living in the Netherlands, online interview with representatives from Pesantren, and activists for CSA in Pesantren and getting perspectives from them. The results of the study are expected to provide comprehensive insight into the causes of the persistent incidents of CSA in pesantren the obstacles to implementing child protection actions in preventing CSA in pesantren, and the recommendations to strengthen child protection from sexual violence in pesantren. The results of the study are also expected to make a substantial contribution to literature and policies related to child protection in religious institutions.

Why are we asking you to participate?

We ask you to participate because your opinion and experience as a former student/pesantren representative/pesantren activist.

What can you expect?

The study lasts from July 2024 to October 2024. If you agree to participate, you will be involved in the following activities:

An interview:

We will make an appointment for the interview. Each interview will last approximately 1.5 hours. These interviews will be conducted at a location for former students of Pesantren and online via video conferencing for Pesantren representatives and Pesantren activists. You are free to not answer the question that you are not comfortable with. I will make an audio recording of the conversation, but if there's something to be out of the record, you can tell us and we will delete the information.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You can stop at any time and would not need to provide any explanation.

What are the potential risks and discomforts?

During the interview, personal questions will be asked about potentially upsetting events you may have experienced. These may trigger unpleasant memories and emotions. You may therefore wish to invite a close friend or family member to attend the interview. Should you feel uncomfortable with this, please remember that you can withdraw from the study at any time or choose not to answer.

Participants who experience psychological distress during the interviews will receive compensation. Additionally, they will be assured access to professional support from physicians or psychologists until they fully recover. Before scheduling the interviews, participants will be informed that the topic concerns Child Sexual Violence (CSA) in Pesantren and will have the right to drop participation. During the interviews, contributors will be given the chance to terminate or pause the session at any time and may choose not to respond to particular questions. The parts of the compensation for any mental impact resulting from the interviews will be described beforehand. Participants will be knowledgeable of their right to seek expert session and choose the treatments they prefer.

What do you get for participating?

There is no financial compensation and your participation is voluntary. We will just give you a little gift. However, your participation is invaluable in helping to document and discovering the factor of persistent Child Sexual Violence cases in Pesantren.

What data will I ask you to provide?

During the interviews and focus groups, I will ask for information related to the experience as former student/pesantren representative/pesantren activist and your opinion related to CSA. To protect the participants, the names, institutions, and locations will remain confidential, to prevent any potential negative consequences. The data will be used to write a final thesis and you can access the final document here: <https://thesis.eur.nl/org/5>

We will send you the results of the research. Please write your email address, to send the results of the research to you.

Who can see your data? / What will happen to my data?

Your data will be stored securely, and only I will have access to it. Personal data such as your name, address, and direct personal data will be stored separately from your answers/ transcription.

If you have anything to discuss about the study or your privacy rights, such as accessing, changing, deleting, or updating your data, please contact me.

Name: Naufal Libna Dawiya

Email: 676470nd@eur.nl (student email)/naufallibna@gmail.com (personal email)

Do you regret your participation?

You have the right to withdraw your consent at any time without any consequences. If you wish to do so, please feel free to contact me directly, and I will ensure that your data is deleted, provided it has not been anonymized or published in a way that makes it impossible to remove.

Declaration of Consent

I have read the information letter. I understand what the study is about and what data will be collected from me. I was able to ask questions as well. My questions were adequately answered.

By signing this form, I:

1. consent to participate in this research;
2. consent to the use of my data
3. confirm that I am at least 18 years old;
4. confirm that I understand that participating in this research is completely voluntary and that I can stop at any time;
5. confirm that I understand that my data will be anonymized for publication, educational purposes, and further research;

Check the boxes below if you consent to this.

Data

I consent to participate in this study

☐

Audio recording

I consent to [the interview] being audio recorded.

☐

Video recording

I consent to [the interview] being audio recorded.

☐

Picture

I consent to give my picture.

☐

Name of participant :

Email of participant :

Participant's signature:

Date:

You will receive a copy of the complete information and consent form.

Appendix IV. Table of Key Findings for Themes Identified

No.	Code	Sources	References
1.	Activism and Advocacy	0	0
2.	Challenges in Activism	0	0
3.	Resistance from Authorities	0	0
4.	1. Feudal		1
5.	2. No trauma care for victims		2
6.	3. The power is centralized in one <i>kyai</i>		2
7.	4. The resolution of CSA only ends in mediation		1
8.	5. There is no legal regulation in Indonesia		1
9.	6. There is no report mechanism		1
10.	7. Various background of <i>kyai</i>		1
11.	Social and Cultural Barriers		0
12.	1. Bullying in pesantren		1
13.	2. Gender relations		1
14.	3. Lack of Awareness of CSA		1
15.	4. Limitations on interactions between females and males		1
16.	5. Marital rape		1
17.	6. Objectification of women		1
18.	7. Seniority in pesantren		2
19.	8. The accusation that Islam is a patriarchal religion		1
20.	9. The difficulty of standardizing diverse types of pesantren		2
21.	10. Unreasonable security regime in the pesantren		0
22.	11. Various background of students		2
23.	12. Violence against women		1
24.	Public Campaigns and Awareness		0
25.	1. Awareness Campaigns		0
26.	2. Role of Social Media		0
27.	Role of NGOs		0
28.	Policy Advocacy		0
29.	1. Advocating for the Sexual Violence Policy		1
30.	2. Building networks		1
31.	3. Knowledge production		1
32.	Victim Support		0
33.	1. Provide economic assistance to the victims		1
34.	2. Resolution of a sexual violence case in a particular Islamic boarding school		2
35.	Dynamics of Child Abuse		0
36.	Perpetrators of Abuse		0
37.	1. Boyfriend		1
38.	2. Fellow Students		10
39.	3. Pesantren Staff		1
40.	4. Senior		5
41.	5. Teachers		2
42.	Types of Abuse		0
43.	Physical Abuse		0
44.	1. Beaten		7
45.	Psychological Abuse		0
46.	1. Bullying		4
47.	2. Interrogation		2
48.	Sexual Harrasment		1
49.	1. Body Shaming		0
50.	2. Grooming		3
51.	3. Groping breasts		1
52.	4. Groping sensitive areas		2
53.	5. Nude		1
54.	6. Peeking at female students through the window		1
55.	7. Rape		1

No.	Code	Sources	References
56.	Victims of Abuse		0
57.	Emotional and Psychological Impact		0
58.	Reactions to Abuse		0
59.	1. Report to Parents		1
60.	2. Report to Pesantren Staff		3
61.	Victim Characteristics		0
62.	1. Boy		2
63.	2. Girl		7
64.	3. Junior		3
65.	4. Layout with Vulnerabilities to Sexual Violence		1
66.	Experiences and Perception of Former Student		0
67.	Influence on Post-Pesantren Life		0
68.	Long-term Impact		0
69.	1. Close-knit relationship		1
70.	2. Cyclical physical punishment		2
71.	3. Dependence		1
72.	4. Flexible		1
73.	Views on Religious Education		0
74.	1. Set boundaries with the opposite sex		2
75.	Perceptions of Pesantren		0
76.	Perception of Authorities		0
77.	1. Ability to influence people		1
78.	2. Controlled food		2
79.	3. Kyai hold more value in politics		1
80.	4. Lack of support for competition		1
81.	5. Prohibition of physical punishment		1
82.	6. <i>Sami'na wa atlo'na</i> (We Hear and Obey)		8
83.	7. The kyai holds a higher social status than the surrounding community		1
84.	8. The smoking culture among kyai		1
85.	Perception of Social Environment		1
86.	1. Apart from family		2
87.	2. Contagious illness		1
88.	3. Diverse background		2
89.	4. Homesick		4
90.	5. Inadequate nutrition		1
91.	6. Lack of empathy		1
92.	7. Lonely		2
93.	8. Loss of self		1
94.	9. Maintained social interactions		3
95.	10. Forcing sexual orientation		2
96.	11. Needs a role model		3
97.	12. Quarantine system		2
98.	13. Seniority		3
99.	14. Sisterhood		2
100.	15. Small institution		1
101.	16. Supporting friend		5
102.	Personal Experiences		0
103.	Daily Life in Pesantren		0
104.	1. Afternoon Nap		1
105.	2. Break		3
106.	3. Congregational prayer		8
107.	4. Day off		2
108.	5. Free time		3
109.	6. Go out		2
110.	7. Meal time		5
111.	8. Perform dhikr		2
112.	9. Play		1
113.	10. Prayers Preparation		4
114.	11. Recite Qur'an		12
115.	12. School Preparation		3
116.	13. School time		5

No.	Code	Sources	References
117.	14. Sleep time		2
118.	15. Study time		4
119.	16. Studying classical Islamic texts		2
120.	17. Workout		2
121.	Experiences of Abuse		0
122.	Institution Structure		0
123.	Power Dynamics and Hierarchy		0
124.	Role of Kiyai		0
125.	1. A sacralized figure		2
126.	2. Consultation once a year		1
127.	3. High level of expertise		0
128.	4. Teach Islamic studies		1
129.	5. The power is centralized in one <i>kyai</i>		1
130.	Student-Teacher Relationships		0
131.	1. Close with Teacher		1
132.	2. Consult if there is an issue		6
133.	3. Daily attention		1
134.	4. Distant from the <i>kyai</i>		1
135.	5. Frequently meeting		1
136.	6. Powerless		2
137.	7. View teacher as parental figure		1
138.	Supervision and Discipline		0
139.	Disciplinary Mechanisms		0
140.	1. Beaten with a sarong		2
141.	2. Clean the bathroom		3
142.	3. Drop out		5
143.	4. Parent-Institution Discipline Agreement		1
144.	5. Physical punishment		4
145.	6. Pinched		1
146.	7. Poured with dirty water		1
147.	8. Push up		1
148.	9. Reciting Quran while standing		3
149.	10. Run		2
150.	11. Salt-eating punishment		1
151.	12. Shaved the student's head		1
152.	13. Sprayed with water		1
153.	14. Stamp duty fine		2
154.	15. Standing in front of the office		2
155.	16. Suspension		2
156.	17. Take out the trash		1
157.	18. Wearing a brightly colored hijab		2
158.	19. Wearing a disciplinary collar		1
159.	20. Writing hundreds of sentences		2
160.	Supervision of Students		0
161.	1. Security patrol		5
162.	2. Spy		2
163.	3. Student monitoring notes		1
164.	4. Sudden inspection		2
165.	Teaching and Parenting Models		0
166.	Formal Curriculum		0
167.	1. Teaching Division		1
168.	2. Unable to develop their own curriculum		1
169.	Moral and Religious Values		0
170.	Moral Values		1
171.	1. Character education		7
172.	2. Discipline		2
173.	3. Leadership		1
174.	4. Learning to live		3
175.	5. Maturity		0
176.	6. Self-reliant		2
177.	7. Valuing time		1

No.	Code	Sources	References
178.	Religious Values		0
179.	1. Arabic		2
180.	2. Blessing		1
181.	3. Hadith		3
182.	4. Islamic		0
183.	5. Qur'an		4
184.	6. Relationship with God and humanity		2
185.	7. Restrictions on male and female interaction		4
186.	8. Revitalizing the mosque		1
187.	9. Sacred		2
188.	Pesantren Culture and Values		0
189.	Stigma and Taboos		0
190.	1. Affordable cost		1
191.	2. Fear of Exclusion		0
192.	3. Rehabilitation Center		2
193.	4. Social Pressure		5
194.	Views on Gender		0
195.	1. The punishment for a girl is relatively lenient		3
196.	Policies and Institutional Reform		0
197.	Impact of Policies on CSA		0
198.	1. Effectiveness of Policies		0
199.	2. Implementation Challenges		0
200.	Institutional Reform		0
201.	1. Government Involvement		0
202.	2. Reform Initiatives		0
203.	Preventive Policies		0
204.	1. Education and Training Programs		0
205.	2. Official Policies		0
206.	Reporting Mechanisms and Institutional Response		0
207.	Barriers to Reporting		0
208.	Fear of Reprisal		0
209.	1. Stigma that CSA victims are considered dirty		1
210.	2. Tattletale		1
211.	Lack of Trust in Authorities		0
212.	1. The kyai, as the owner of the pesantren, is indigible for dismissal even if they commit CSA		1
213.	Institutional Response		0
214.	Disciplinary Actions		0
215.	1. Staff terminated		1
216.	2. Tolerance		3
217.	Protection of Victims		0
218.	1. Easy access		2
219.	2. Guidance Counsellor		1
220.	Reporting Mechanisms		0
221.	Formal Procedures		0
222.	1. Administrative Office of the Pesantren		0
223.	Informal Reporting Channels		0
224.	Solutions and Recommendations		0
225.	Recommendations from Interviews		0
226.	Recommendations from Activists		1
227.	1. Asses the triggers for offenders		1
228.	2. Asses the way response for the report		1
229.	3. Assess the system		2
230.	4. Awareness about position equality		1
231.	5. Checking the credibility of the Kyai		5
232.	6. Ethnographic notes on different types of pesantren		1
233.	7. Government involvement		1
234.	8. Handling sexual violence with a victim-focused approach		1
235.	9. Involvement of female scholars		1
236.	10. Kiyai must be down to earth		1

No.	Code	Sources	References
237.	11. Kyai should develop a positive relationship with students		1
238.	12. Partnership for prevention		3
239.	13. Policy implementation mechanism		1
240.	14. Studies on gender		1
241.	15. Study about CSA triggers by minimal interaction between women and men		0
242.	16. There is interaction between males and females		1
243.	Recommendations from Former Santri		0
244.	1. Capacity building for teachers		2
245.	2. Checking of pesantren		4
246.	3. Checking the credibility of the Kyai		4
247.	4. Facilitate a psychologist for student		1
248.	5. Facilitate underage victims and offenders		1
249.	6. Listen to students' aspirations		1
250.	7. Mitigation		1
251.	8. Parental involvement		2
252.	9. Partnership for prevention		2
253.	10. Pesantren transparency		1
254.	11. Sex education		1
255.	12. Teachers' awareness of CSA		1
256.	13. The case generalization could be difficult		1
257.	14. There is interaction between males and females		2
258.	Strategies of Prevent CSA		0
259.	Enhancing Education and Awareness		0
260.	Policy and Procedural Reforms		0
261.	The Future of Pesantren		0
262.	Challenges and Opportunities		0
263.	1. Brutal release of repressed sexual desires		3
264.	2. Challenges in mitigating negative outcomes		1
265.	3. Desire to see the opposite gender		2
266.	4. Different interpretations of Islamic teachings		4
267.	5. Endowment fund for pesantren education		1
268.	6. Heightened curiosity due to restricted interaction		1
269.	7. Kyai does not practice Islamic teachings		0
270.	8. Limited sexual education		3
271.	9. Manipulation Islamic values		12
272.	10. Minimal interaction between women and men		5
273.	11. Misaligned Sexual orientation from minimal gender contact		1
274.	12. Offenders insufficient religious knowledge		2
275.	13. Parents' absence		2
276.	14. Pornography		3
277.	15. Pseudo pesantren		1
278.	16. Religious texts with strongly patriarchal views		1
279.	17. Repressed sexual desire		1
280.	18. Sexual orientation bias		1
281.	19. Significant awareness of Child Abuse		1
282.	Institutional Reform		0

Appendix V. Table of Findings in Literature of CSA in Various Religious Settings

No	Religious Settings	Key Incidents	Factors	Response from Institution	Religious/Cultural Context	Power Dynamics	Reporting Mechanisms	Gender's Role	Policy/Legal Reforms	Source
1.	Religious Organizations in Australia	71.9% CSA in Catholic Church	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Doctrinal requirements for celibacy. • Social norms around sex and sexuality. • Poor oversight, training, and screening of staff and volunteers. • Patriarchal. • Authoritarian beliefs. • The power, prestige, and special status associated with leadership, particularly men. • Closed culture. • Protecting the organization's reputation at all costs. • Church doctrine and Canon law are priorities over criminal law, civil law. 	Institutional whitewash	Silencing CSA victims	Men holds positions compared to women	There is limitation on reporting incidents	Men informed pointedly higher rates of child sexual abuse by an adult or a leader	Australian requests organizations to adopt more robust responses and preventative policies in aim to mitigate potential financial liability and legal and to comply with new regulatory frameworks	(Hunt <i>et al.</i> , 2024)
2.	Islamic Institution in Indonesia	Underage Marriage in Palembang	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many relevant stakeholders known Islam as advice Muslims to marry hurriedly. • The ultimate legalization and legitimization unregistered marriage by societal leaders, religious leaders, academics, and judges. • Rooted in mistaken and misinterpretations religious references. • Manipulative understanding to the victims • Legal literacy rates are low. • Legal dualism is an issue, both in implementation and its interpretation. • The use of religion to legitimize child marriage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In some cases, judges have declined requests. • When an out-of-wedlock pregnancy occurs, an unregistered marriage is accepted. 	Mistaken and misinterpretations of religious references.	Ultimate legalization and legitimization of judges, societal leaders, religious leaders, and academics.	The difficulties in prevent child marriage since it is allowed by religious law, even though it is clearly legislated by the State.		Law No. 16 of 2019 (amending Law No. 1 of 1974 regarding Marriage) regulated minimum age to registered marriage is nineteen years old in aim to protect children.	(Barkah <i>et al.</i> , 2023)
3.	Roman Catholic Church	CSA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The status, involvement and influence male clerics in positions of ministry and/or leadership on the day-to-day lives of survivors/and victims/and their families. • Act towards sexuality and sex alongside few or no secular sex education. • Community fear and pressures of being punished and/or ostracised. 	The Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (RCIRCSA) urged the Catholic Church to facilitate evidence of cultural change and organisational and safeguarding protocols.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the Catholic Church, a practice of reverence around clerical status meant that it was hard to reveal abuse and be trusted that the process of revelation was affected by gender. • In Catholicism, children are frequently told in virtues and sexual morality rather 	The hardship reveal the CPCSA since offenders still ministering living, and being held in high regard by the community and the families.	Survivors/ victims/ of CSA in the Australian Catholic Church often report making decisions about revelation within the context of their religious communities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Catholicism, masculinity is linked with leadership, order, logic, and leadership; femininity with motherhood and caring, humility, and receptivity. • Roles gender plays a strong contribute in the management of institutional and experience 		(Mcphillips <i>et al.</i> , 2022)

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			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obstacles created by offenders include using rituals, religious teachings, practices. • Institutional governance practices where there was no external oversight, no supervision or little. 		<p>than a comprehensive sexual ethic.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women and girls' revelation of Clergy perpetrated child sexual abuse (CPCSA) is affected in circumstances where an suppression on the virtues of sexual 'purity' shifts condemn to the victim from the perpetrator. 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When boys reveal CSA that has happened, it is likely to be after a significant postpones. 		
4.	Ultra-orthodox, Jewish communities	Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (Australia) and the Independent Inquiry Child Sexual Abuse (UK)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious conventions and cultural. • Patriarchal social norms and leadership, governance practices are contribute to the vulnerability of kids and poor result for CSA • Survivors in ultra-orthodox communities. • poor management and limited transparency and accountability. • Systemic weaknesses such as conflict of interest, problematic leadership culture and organizational. 	Council in the Australian State of Victoria (the RCV), RCV resolution, in 2010 stated that the ban of Mesirah did not valid to CSA.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Patriarchal nature of religious doctrine such as Hillul Hashem, Mesirah, Loshon Horah, and internal structures such as the Beth Din. • Religious doctrine of the Haredipose, traditional, cultural religious leadership • Reputational prioritization of communities and institutions above the well-being of the survivor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rarity of women in leadership roles, raises an excessive level of risk to children both in reporting and prevention. • Ultra-orthodox institutions will be difficult to deconstructed. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Modern Orthodox Rabbinic Council of America suggest that obligatory reporting of CSA, indeed without the prior consent of rabbinic authorities, is consistent with Jewish law. • Insufficient leadership support when reporting does happen. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The gender inequity is extremely embedded in the religious and social fabric of patriarchal. • RCIRCSA noted that the importance role of female play in effective decision-making processes when addressing to abuse reports. 	There is no such mandated governance education, of any type, for directors in UK or Australia	(Pinskier, Mendes Philip and McCurdy, 2021)
5.	Jewish ultra-Orthodox and Christian religious communities	Adult survivors of CSA by religious authority gures (RAF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offenders who are a symbol of God and faith or a parent. • When victims did reveal, the stakeholders/ receivers, some responds to the revelation with rejection incomprehension, or ignorance. • The pride they felt from their kids spending so much time with the RAF, makes reluctant to concern their kid's suffering. 	Responses to revelation ranged from expanded support for the victim and exclusion of the offenders to condemn the victim and neglect their wellbeing while stressing the offender's needs.	The offender's characteristics, before the CSA, as an admired figure, holding lofty moral standards, and idealized.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dynamic of spiritual reliance, as the offender reframed their crimes as spiritual implementation to boost the victim's spiritual standing. • Power inequality among the RAF and survivors. • The offenders' process of grooming reliably on the dependency, evident, and power trust they had in the children's lives. • Survivors cognitively and emotionally described the offenders as a symbol of faith and God, and parental symbol. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants often mentioned to interactions with formal bodies, such as welfare the police, and therapeutic systems. • Formal in-terventions were experienced as sensitive, adjusted to their needs, and helpful. On the other end, they felt opposite. 			(Lusky-Weisrose <i>et al.</i> , 2022)
6.	Jewish national religious educators	Coping with the CSA of the students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A community in silence about CSA. • The role of sex education in connecting among CSA and silence. • Educators' experiences of breaking the silence by creating their voices heard. 	Mute their suffering within their community, mute their students, and self-silencing.	Justifications; religious, personal, and familial.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustaining an educational style that did not encourage, hinder open, and honest confession. • There is no access to the personal tools or proper 	Taboo due to its linked with sexuality, the difficulties using terms such as "modesty" and the Jewish understand of "beautiful silence"	A segregation based on gender for both the teachers and the students, pointing a male teacher to perform the discussions with parents on		(Sigad, 2024)

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			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Silencing of CSA as a result of community members' afraid of negative affect for the survivors and their families. 			professional related CSA or other issues regarding to sexuality.		sexuality and sexual development.		
7.	Child Sexual Abuse in Pakistan Schools	CSA in schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> CSA is the lowest reported criminality. The victims' families usually unwilling to report since they afraid, fear face discrimination, will be stigmatized, and social segregation. The least-reported affect the impractical method for controlling the widespread incidents of CSA. 	There is no official database for reported CSA incidents and the only statistics is presented by local NGOs which the sources are from police data, official reports, and newspapers.	The offenders could be anyone, such as security guards, bus and school drivers, older boys, teachers, house servants, close relative, neighbors, and extended family relatives. The offenders utilize varieties of strategy to hide their abusive behavior and grooming.		In Pakistan, it is not obligatory by law to report CSA, which brings in false report of its lower statistic for recent legislations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Boys in Pakistan are risk starts from 6 to 15 years old. That condition because they can go outside and, in some cases, caused by poverty, which brings them to seek employment and make them more vulnerable to CSA. Girls in Pakistan are higher risk between 0–5 years old and 16–18 years old but the reason are not clear. 	Based on the law abduction section, death and rape of a child under 14 years is sentenced with death under Section 364-A of the Pakistan Penal Code. Section 376 of this code calls for similar sentence in the law of minor's rape .	(Abbas, 2021)
8.	CSA in religious settings	Sexual grooming in religious settings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Religion and legitimization. Religious authority patriarchy, and power. Obedience in authoritarian religions. Family rhetoric. 	Authoritarian religions frequently make environments that establish strict loyalty and obedience with fear, put priority on religion's authority rather than individual needs. These religions most likely adhere to literal interpretations of texts conservative and view themselves as the only legitimate belief system.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Offenders used religious narratives to authorized the abuse and grooming as part of the kid's religious "education", freeing the child from spiritual malaise. Inherent nature of trust from adults include the parents parents bring them as "enthusiastic supporters". 	Patriarchy, authority, religious power, and chance coalesce to foster conditions that some people exploit to CSA and grooming.	Previously to international and national exposure, investigative journalists, some academics local newspapers had reported cases within their communities.			(Raine and Kent, 2019)
9.	Roman Catholic Church	Sexual Abuse in Roman Catholic Church	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Systemic cover-up clergy power, lack of accountability. Powerlessness and fear. Experiences of losing trust in others and oneself. 	Denial, individualization and minimization, legal bulwark, cooperating if there is public pressure, and critical self-reflection.	In the religious matters, authority and power is essential to pass and preserve on the faith intact, though the intrinsic relation with trauma and violence is frequently overlooked.	The power of clergy, teachers, parents, and others toward the vulnerable and kids supported by institutional structures and sacred texts.	Frequently covered up, weak	Boys targeted more frequently than girls.	In the point of view the victim, even the regular legal process does not exist since the religious institution has its own forms of justice and outside the social legal order.	(Ganzevoort, 2024)

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10.	Islamic Madrassas (Pakistan)	CSA in Pakistan Schools	Children living on streets; engaged in economic activities, gender discrimination, lack of CSA awareness.	Unwilling acknowledgment of cases, minor response at institutional level.	Intense religious education surroundings, afraid of discussing sexual issues within conservative community.	Religious clerics and teachers held strong power for male students.	Restricted, families unwilling to report cases for afraid of embarrassment and public backlash.	Gender discrimination, protect girls from strangers by keeping them at home.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Based on Islamic laws, the child protection in provincial level. Specific law for rape punishable with death referred to Pakistan Penal Code Section 364-A and Section 376. Current legal reforms post-Kasur incident, such as Zainab Alert Act intended at overcome child abuse, CSA in Pakistan. 	(Rahim <i>et al.</i> , 2021b)
11.	Hindu Monasteries (India),	Violence in the Devadasi system, where girls are exploited under the name of religious traditions.	Cultural righteousness for exploitation, lack of education for girls, low economic status, poor implementing law, the caste system.	Few to no institutional response due to cultural and religious justification.	Caste system impact the exploitation of girls in Devadasi, deep-rooted in extremely religious implementation.	Most devadasis are Dalit women and are abused by higher caste men and priests.	Restricted or no authorized mechanisms; most incidents remain unreported.	Girls are the major victims, using religious service to harness them.	Law reforms such as the Devadasi Act have been implement slowly to establish effectively, Devadasi System: Exploitation of Females.	(Deane, 2022)
12.	Islamic Boarding Schools (Indonesia)	CSA in pesantren with religious manipulation.	Reconstructing religious practices, redefining religious doctrines, and repositioning religious authority.	Insufficient institutional response, with a dependency on religious precepts instead of legal frameworks.	Faiths is used to condone CSA practices such as rape, underage marriage, and restrict victims' capabilities to refuse.	Religious figures such as held strong power, making an environment where violence can happen without consequence.	Informally, with no clear reporting channels; victims frequently stressed to pardon the offenders due to religious and social pressure.	Victims are dominated by women, with girls seen as requires protection but instead manipulated and controlled.	Law No. 16 of 2019 credentials marriage age but is adverse applicable, religious courts frequently giving exemptions.	(Basir <i>et al.</i> , 2024)
13.	Islamic Boarding Schools (Indonesia)	Modus operandi of CSA cases in pesantren	CSA is type of crimes that quiet and silent, powerless, closed and restricted access to institution, inadequate supervision, limited general public's monitor and regulation.	The institution frequently hide cases to keep its reputation, causing lack of accountability.	Religious based schools are organized in a setting that there is restricted external accountability or supervision.	Kyai and teachers hold important power over students, which can be harassed to force or manipulate them.	Victims infrequently report cases due to afraid of stigma or revenge; there are no official mechanisms for reporting.	Women victims are frequently forced into quiet or blamed.	Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (UU TPKS) and relevant laws give a framework, but are badly executed.	(Jamaludin, 2023)

Table 4.1 CSA in Various Religious Settings

Source: Author's