Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan
Vol. 04, No. 2, 2026, pp. 19–63
Published by Lakpesdam PWNU NTB; p-ISSN 3026-1090, e-ISSN 2988-7887,
https://ypppm.or.id/index.php/silatulafkar/en/index

Breaking the Silence Behind Sacred Walls: Digital Whistleblowing and Counter-Hegemony Against Sexual Violence in Indonesian Pesantrens

How Young Santris Reclaim Sacred Authority to Rupture Institutional Silencing

Moh. Aripin
240603001.mhs@uinmataram.ac.ad

Abstract

Sexual violence inside Indonesian Islamic boarding schools (pesantrens) is sustained by institutional hegemony: the fusion of theological authority, informational gatekeeping, spatial isolation, and reputation protection that silences survivors and shields perpetrators, compounded by weak enforcement of existing state regulation. This article asks how young santris disrupt that silence and what enables them to do so. Using passive netnography of public digital archives, investigative journalism, and legal documentation from pesantren sexual-violence cases in West Nusa Tenggara, we trace how survivors and their allies deploy digital archiving, cross-platform mobilization, theological reinterpretation, and juridical documentation to convert localized trauma into nationally visible accountability claims. We find that survivors' most effective lever is not secular protest but sacred counter-hegemony: reframing disclosure, through Maqashid Syariah, as a religious obligation rather than institutional betrayal, which lets them contest sacred authority from within Islamic tradition rather than against it. This practice exposes, and partially closes, the state's regulatory-implementation gap, but full protection still requires independent oversight bodies, digital-literacy programs that legitimize technological whistleblowing, theological reorientation around bodily autonomy, and survivor testimony built into policy monitoring. The findings extend Gramscian counter-hegemony theory into deeply religious institutional settings and show that subaltern actors can turn sacred tradition itself into an instrument of justice.

Keywords: *digital whistleblowing; institutional silencing; counter-hegemony; regulatory capture; survivor activism; Maqashid Syariah; netnography; West Nusa Tenggara*

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Contextual Overview: Sacred Authority and Institutional Closure

Indonesian Islamic boarding schools, locally termed pesantren, operate as vital institutional anchors within the nation's socio-religious fabric, traditionally positioned as moral sanctuaries, spiritual knowledge centers, and guardians of classical Islamic transmission [1]. Collectively serving approximately 3.5 million students across more than 28,000 registered institutions, pesantren function simultaneously as educational sites, residential communities, and spaces of religious discipline [2]. The internal architecture of these institutions, however, is characterized by hierarchical patron-client dynamics, spatially enforced isolation, and highly concentrated authority vested in senior male religious scholars (kiais, ustadhs, or father-figures termed abah) [3]. Central to this authority structure is the theological doctrine of absolute obedience sami'na wa ata'na ("we hear and we obey") which originates from Quranic pedagogical tradition yet has been institutionalized as a mechanism of unconditional deference to authority figures [4]. While this doctrine theoretically cultivates religious discipline and preserves sacred knowledge transmission (sanad), ethnographic evidence increasingly demonstrates its weaponization within closed institutional environments to perpetrate, conceal, and immunize sexual violence [5].

---

[1] Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia (LP3ES, 2011); Hamim M. Pondokan and Imam Machali, Pesantren dalam Perspektif Sosiologi [Pesantrens in Sociological Perspective] (UNY Press, 2018).

[2] B. A. Rahman, "Islamic Revival and Cultural Diversity: Pesantren's Configuration in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia," Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies 12, no. 1 (2022): 210, https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v12i1.201-229.

[3] Ronald Lukens-Bull, A Peaceful Jihad (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[4] S. A. Jabbar, "The Doctrine of Sami'a wa Ata'a in Islamic Jurisprudence: Theological and Social Implications," Islamic Legal Studies Quarterly 12, no. 3 (2017): 234–256.

[5] A. Rahma and S. Ramdani, "Kekerasan Seksual dan Budaya Bungkam di Pesantren: Analisis Kasus Lombok Tengah," Jurnal Studi Islam Kontemporer 18, no. 2 (2023): 156–181.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

1.2. The Epidemic and Institutional Response Gap

Sexual violence in pesantren constitutes a documented crisis of substantial magnitude yet historically obscured by institutionalized secrecy. According to national monitoring data from Komnas Perempuan (2023), Islamic boarding schools account for approximately 19 percent of all recorded sexual violence cases in educational settings, positioning pesantren as the second-highest-risk educational environment after universities (27 percent) [6]. The West Nusa Tenggara Province, where this study focuses, has emerged as a particular epicenter: between 2021 and 2025, at least 16 documented cases involving multiple perpetrators and survivors across different pesantren networks have come to public attention through investigative journalism and survivor advocacy [7]. Critically, this empirical visibility masks an iceberg phenomenon the vast majority of cases remain unreported due to institutional gatekeeping, survivor fear, family pressure, and limited access to justice mechanisms.

When allegations surface, institutional responses systematically prioritize reputation management ("nama baik lembaga") over survivor welfare, victim autonomy, or institutional accountability (Perempuan, 2023). Perpetrators leverage their spiritual standing to construct pseudo-religious justifications for abuse (framing violence as "special blessings," "amalan khusus," or purification rituals), while institutional leadership deploys theological concepts like sami'na wa ata'na to enforce silence among witnesses and survivors [8]. In response to documented cases, victims and prospective whistleblowers face multi-layered systemic pressures: threats of divine punishment (kualat), spiritual excommunication, social ostracization, legal harassment, and physical intimidation [9]. These mechanisms of institutional silencing

[6] Komnas Perempuan, Laporan Tahunan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan dan Anak: Fokus Kekerasan Seksual di Institusi Pendidikan [Annual Report on Violence Against Women and Children] (Komnas Perempuan, 2023).

[7] BBC News Indonesia, Aib Sang Guru: Investigasi Kekerasan Seksual di Pesantren (Spotify and BBC News Indonesia, 2024).

[8] Rahma and Ramdani, "Kekerasan Seksual dan Budaya Bungkam," 156–181.

[9] Komnas Perempuan, Darurat Kekerasan Seksual di Pesantren: Rekomendasi Kebijakan dan Intervensi Segera [Emergency of Sexual Violence in Pesantrens] (Komnas Perempuan, 2024).

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

have been formalized into what this study terms "structured budaya bungkam" a deliberate culture of silence maintained through ideological, financial, structural, and legal apparatus.

1.3. Regulatory Architecture and Implementation Gap

The Indonesian state has undertaken regulatory interventions to address sexual violence in pesantren, most notably through Peraturan Menteri Agama (PMA) No. 73 of 2022 on Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Educational Units under the purview of the Ministry of Religious Affairs[10], and the comprehensive Law No. 12 of 2022 on Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence (UU TPKS)[11], which established new evidentiary standards and shifted the burden toward institutional accountability rather than survivor proof-gathering .

However, systematic monitoring by Ombudsman NTB (2024) and civil society organizations reveals critical implementation gaps: (1) most provincial and district-level governments have not established functional Sexual Violence Prevention and Handling Task Forces (Satgas PPKS) within pesantren networks; (2) law enforcement agencies demonstrate reluctance to investigate cases involving prominent religious figures, citing concerns about communal backlash; (3) survivor protection mechanisms remain weak, with inadequate funding for psychological services and safe housing; and (4) few pesantren have established transparent, survivor-centered complaint mechanisms independent of institutional leadership [12]. This regulatory-implementation gap reflects what scholars term "regulatory capture" a situation wherein formal rules exist but their enforcement is subverted by powerful constituencies [13] or, in this context, by the concentrated

[10] Indonesia, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Peraturan Menteri Agama Nomor 73 Tahun 2022 tentang Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Satuan Pendidikan [Regulation of Ministry of Religious Affairs No. 73 of 2022 on Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Educational Units] (2022).

[11] Indonesia, Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2022 tentang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual [Law No. 12 of 2022 on Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence] (2022).

[12] Ombudsman NTB (Ombudsman Perwakilan Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat), Laporan Investigasi: Upaya Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Pondok Pesantren Wilayah NTB (Ombudsman NTB, 2024).

[13] Michael E. Levine, "Regulatory Capture," in Palgrave Macmillan UK eBooks (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 1667–1671, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-74173-1_316.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

religious authority of pesantren leaders embedded within networks of state religious bureaucracy.

Consequently, this institutional insulation facilitates a persistent reliance on informal restorative justice settlements that disproportionately disadvantage victims and undermine the efficacy of national legal frameworks [14]. These extrajudicial negotiations frequently prioritize the preservation of the *kyai's* prestige, effectively marginalizing the survivor's pursuit of justice and perpetuating a cycle of impunity [15]. Moreover, the pervasive influence of localized customary laws, such as the Qanun Jinayat, often conflicts with national mandates, complicating the pursuit of formal criminal prosecution and further isolating survivors from the protections offered by the Law on Sexual Violence [16].

This regulatory dissonance is exacerbated by the limited availability of trauma-informed capacity among local authorities [17], preventing the integration of victim-centered safeguards into the existing administrative landscape. Furthermore, the prevalence of conservative campus cultures and the scarcity of trained human resources significantly hinder the operational effectiveness of dedicated task forces, even when such units are nominally established [18]. These

[14] K. Kisbiyanto, "Enforcement Gaps in Child Protection Law: Managing Strategy of Violence on Students in Islamic Boarding Schools and the Limits of Legal Compliance in Indonesia," Khazanah Hukum 7, no. 3 (2025): 392–416, https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v7i3.43929.

[15] A. Jamaludin, "Institutional Approach: Legal Protection Efforts against Sexual Violence in Islamic Boarding School Educational Institutions," Khazanah Hukum 7, no. 1 (2025): 1–16, https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v7i1.34254.

[16] A. P. Rezky and F. A. Putri, "Public Policy Analysis: Root Causes and Solutions of Sexual Violence in Aceh," Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Administrasi Publik 14, no. 1 (2024): 185, https://doi.org/10.26858/jiap.v14i1.58994.

[17] A. M. Pratiwi et al., "'Kami Butuh Dukungan Melampaui Kebijakan': Tantangan Pelayanan Terpadu Kekerasan Seksual di Provinsi Kalimantan Barat dan Sulawesi Tengah," Jurnal Perempuan 29, no. 1 (2024): 1–16, https://doi.org/10.34309/jp.v29i1.971.

[18] A. A. Dani et al., "Challenges and Strategies in the Implementation of Sexual Violence Prevention and Response Task Forces in Religious Higher Education Institutions in Indonesia," Khazanah Sosial 7, no. 2 (2025): 506–523, https://doi.org/10.15575/ks.v7i2.46385.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

operational failures are compounded by the strategic exploitation of religious legitimacy, where perpetrators often kyai or their close associates frame their abusive conduct as spiritual instruction or testing of faith to disorient survivors and stifle dissent [19]. This manipulation creates a hostile power imbalance where the kyai's authority is rendered unquestionable, often forcing santriwati to assist in concealing these abuses under the guise of religious duty [20]. This strategic opacity of secluded spaces allows such institutions to function as autonomous, closed systems, effectively insulating leadership from external oversight and accountability [21]. In this environment, patriarchal norms and institutionalized religious narratives are weaponized to normalize power asymmetries, rendering the abuse an "iceberg phenomenon" that is rarely disclosed or adequately addressed [22]. Against this backdrop, emerging cohorts of young santris are increasingly utilizing digital platforms to circumvent these traditional barriers, creating alternative spheres for whistleblowing that challenge the monopoly of the *kyai* over the pesantren's narrative [23]. These digital interventions operate by creating anonymous, peer-led networks that bypass the physical and psychological control exerted by administrative leadership, thereby fostering a counter-public sphere where survivors can find validation and mobilize collective action [24].

---

[19] D. Candraningrum and E. R. Faruq, "Religious Authority and Sexual Violence," The International Journal of Critical Cultural Studies (2026), https://doi.org/10.18848/2327-0055/cgp/a241.

[20] E. Silalahi et al., "Social Media's Role in Exposing Sexual Violence in Indonesian Islamic Boarding School," International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies 21, no. 2 (2025): 125, https://doi.org/10.21315/ijaps2025.21.2.6.

[21] M. Arnez and E. F. Nisa, "Advocating for Change: Cultural and Institutional Factors of Sexual Violence in Indonesia," in Engaging Indonesia: Critical Dialogues on Culture and Society (Springer International Publishing, 2024), 21–44, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-5659-3_2.

[22] F. Bz. Pebriaisyah, W. Wilodati, and S. Komariah, "Kekerasan Seksual di Lembaga Pendidikan Keagamaan: Relasi Kuasa Kyai terhadap Santri Perempuan di Pesantren," Jurnal Harkat Media Komunikasi Gender 18, no. 2 (2022): 33–42, https://doi.org/10.15408/harkat.v18i2.26183.

[23] A. R. Komala and I. M. D. Fajriyah, "Sexual Violence Survivor Resistance: Reclaiming Safe Spaces for Santriwati in Pesantren," Egalita Jurnal Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender 20, no. 1 (2025), https://doi.org/10.18860/egalita.v20i1.33641.

[24] Silalahi et al., "Social Media's Role," 115.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

1.4. Digital Resistance and Counter-Hegemonic Practice

Amid these institutional and regulatory failures, young santris particularly those with access to digital technologies and networks have developed sophisticated strategies to disrupt institutionalized silence and mobilize collectively for justice. Rather than remaining within institutional channels (which themselves serve as sites of capture), these young people deploy digital archiving (recording perpetrators without knowledge), cross-platform mobilization (coordinating narrative dissemination across Instagram, TikTok, podcasts), media literacy (creating shareable visual evidence), and juridical documentation (compiling admissible digital evidence for law enforcement) to transform localized trauma narratives into nationally-scaled political interventions [25].

This phenomenon operates as what Antonio Gramsci theorized as "counter-hegemony" the strategic capacity of subordinate actors to construct alternative communication networks, articulate counter-narratives that challenge dominant ideological frames, and deploy accessible technologies to rupture the monopoly of powerful institutions over meaning-making and authority [26]. Critically, these young santris do not reject Islamic morality wholesale; rather, they strategically reframe whistleblowing as an Islamic obligation rooted in foundational jurisprudential principles (Maqashid Syariah), specifically invoking imperatives to protect life (Hifdzu an-Nafs), intellect (Hifdzu al-Aql), and foundational religious practice (Hifdzu ad-Din) from abuse, thereby repositioning disclosure from institutional betrayal to religious duty [27]. This counter-hegemonic deployment of Islamic principles represents a form of "sacred authority contestation" wherein

[25] Komala and Fajriyah, "Sexual Violence Survivor Resistance."

[26] Christian Fuchs, Social Media: A Critical Introduction (University of Westminster, 2014), https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446270066; Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (Medical Entomology and Zoology, 2015).

[27] Abu Hamid Muhammad Al-Ghazali, Al-Mustasfa min 'Ilm al-Usul [The Extracted in Jurisprudential Methodology] (Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2006); M. Sudirman, Maqashid Syariah dan Reformasi Hukum Islam Kontemporer [Maqashid Syariah and Contemporary Islamic Legal Reform] (Kencana, 2019).

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

subaltern actors claim interpretive authority over religious tradition against institutional gatekeepers.

Through these digital enactments, survivors and their allies effectively leverage the "digital edge" a form of social and technological agility to navigate intense surveillance while reclaiming the power to define religious ethics [28]. These efforts signify a transition from individualized grievance to collective ethical reflection, as the digital realm serves as a surrogate space for articulating justice that the traditional pesantren environment structurally denies [29]. This shift mirrors broader trends in Indonesia's religious landscape, where digital platforms are increasingly used to challenge traditional modes of clerical authority and redefine justice within the public sphere [30].

These digital platforms became arenas for coordination and expression, reconfiguring kyai authority and linking faith with civic duty [31]. This digital reconfiguration of the public sphere enables grassroots feminist networks to foster inclusive interfaith alliances and safe spaces for marginalized voices while challenging patriarchal and exclusionary religious discourses [32]. Such digital mobilization reflects an epistemological shift wherein young Muslims assert reflective agency by navigating religious knowledge and institutional authority through hybrid, peer-constructed networks [33].

---

[28] Claire-Marie Hefner, "Morality, Religious Authority, and the Digital Edge," American Ethnologist 49, no. 3 (2022): 359–373, https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13088.

[29] N. Wakhidah, S. Safii, and M. A. Anam, "From Ethical Outrage to Digital Resistance: Socio-Legal Ethnography of the #Boikottrans7 Controversy and the Reconfiguration of Islamic Authority in Indonesia" (Zenodo, 2025), https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17520419.

[30] N. Wakhidah et al., "From Ethical Outrage to Digital Resistance: Socio-Legal Ethnography of the #Boikottrans7 Controversy and the Reconfiguration of Islamic Authority in Indonesia," International Journal of Social Science Humanity & Management Research 4, no. 11 (2025), https://doi.org/10.58806/ijsshmr.2025.v4i11n02.

[31] A. J. Suryani and R. Rohman, "Faith, Nation, and Digital Piety," Digital Muslim Review 3, no. 1 (2025): 58–82, https://doi.org/10.32678/dmr.v3i1.50.

[32] A. Ridho, Moh. U. Damairi, and A. Matswah, "Grassroots Feminist Networks and Interfaith Solidarity against Religious Intolerance: A Digital Ethnography from Indonesia," Harmoni 24, no. 1 (2025): 53–81, https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v24i1.846.

[33] M. M. Himam et al., "Shifting Authority, Shaping Spirituality: A Qualitative Digital Survey of Religious Practices among the Indonesian Muslim Students,"

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

This process signifies a departure from passive reception of religious guidance, fostering what some scholars categorize as adaptive piety a context-sensitive ethical framework that enables digital participants to reconcile normative religious values with the sociotechnical realities of modern institutional critique [34]. By leveraging digital platforms, young Muslims can broaden access to religious knowledge, while a *maqaṣ id al-Shari'ah* framework identifies sectarian violence as contrary to the objectives of Islamic law and communal welfare [35]. Consequently, these digital practices evolve beyond mere critique, functioning as a strategic response to the religious populism that often permeates contemporary Indonesian cyber-Islamic discourse [36].

1.5. Research Problem and Gap in Literature

Existing scholarship on pesantrens has traditionally focused on their role in religious education, political participation, and social welfare provision [37]. A growing body of work examines sexual violence in educational institutions more broadly [38], yet scholarship specifically analyzing how digital technologies enable survivor activism and

Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat Religi dan Tradisi) 11, no. 2 (2025): 243–256, https://doi.org/10.18784/smart.v11i2.3125.

[34] R. Jannah and S. A. Ayubi, "Negotiating Ideal Piety in Digital Age: A Mixed-Methods Study on Muslim Cyber Ethics in Indonesia," KOMUNIKE 17, no. 1 (2025): 115–138, https://doi.org/10.20414/jurkom.v17i1.13904.

[35] H. Syafaq et al., "'Santri without Pesantren' and the Sectarian Violence on Indonesian Muslim Social Media," Cogent Arts and Humanities 13, no. 1 (2026), https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2025.2612046.

[36] D. M. Rohmatulloh, "Digital Santri: The Traditionalist Response to the Religious Populism Wave in Indonesian Islam" (2022), 601–608, https://doi.org/10.5117/9789048557820/icas.2022.069.

[37] Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren; Robert W. Hefner and Horvatich Patricia, Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), https://doi.org/10.21313/9780824863029; Lukens-Bull, A Peaceful Jihad.

[38] M. Betron, S. Rezaie, and M. M. Ferree, "Institutional Responses to Sexual Violence in Boarding Schools: A Comparative Analysis," International Journal of Educational Development 78 (2021): 102–127; Karen M. Devries et al., "The Global Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence against Women," Science 340, no. 6140 (2013): 1527–1528, https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1240937.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

institutional accountability within closed religious spaces remains limited. Moreover, existing analyses of digital activism and social movements have concentrated on secular political mobilization [39], with insufficient attention to how subaltern actors strategically invoke sacred authority and religious principles to frame technological resistance as morally and theologically legitimate. Finally, literature on regulatory reform in Indonesian educational institutions has emphasized policy design without sufficiently analyzing the political economies of implementation and the role of survivor-led monitoring [40]. This study addresses these intersecting gaps by examining how young santris deploy digital counter-hegemony understood as both technological practice and theological reorientation to rupture institutional silence, gather evidence, and compel state accountability [41].

1.6. Conceptual Framing: Hegemony, Counter-Hegemony, and Sacred Authority

Following Gramscian tradition as developed by contemporary scholars of postcolonial religion and digital activism [42], this study conceptualizes hegemony within pesantrens as a multidimensional system wherein powerful actors senior religious teachers and institutional leadership maintain dominance not primarily through coercive force but through ideological apparatus, cultural consent-manufacturing, and institutional structures that naturalize hierarchical authority as divinely ordained and morally inviolable. Specifically,

[39] Manuel Castells, Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age (Polity Press, 2012); J. Van Laer and P. Van Aelst, "Internet and Social Movement Action Repertoires," Information, Communication & Society 13, no. 8 (2010): 1146–1171, https://doi.org/10.1080/13691181003628307.

[40] World Bank, Indonesia Education Sector Report: Toward Safer and More Equitable Learning Environments (World Bank, 2018).

[41] N. M. Rodiyah, "Implementasi Kebijakan Menteri Agama dalam Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Asrama Santri Bilqolam," Panangkaran Jurnal Penelitian Agama dan Masyarakat 8, no. 1 (2024): 21–33, https://doi.org/10.14421/panangkaran.v8i1.3225; T. Kurniawan and A. Z. Derajat, "TPKS Law as an Effort to Prevent Relations of Power in Sexual Violence in Religious Education Institutions," HUMANISMA Journal of Gender Studies 6, no. 2 (2022): 166, https://doi.org/10.30983/humanisme.v6i2.5822.

[42] Partha Chatterjee, The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World (2004); Fuchs, Social Media; Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

pesantren hegemony operates through four interconnected mechanisms: (1) Ideological Authority, wherein theological concepts like sami'na wa ata'na and the veneration of kiais as spiritually perfected figures discourage questioning or resistance; (2) Informational Gatekeeping, wherein institutional leadership monopolizes communication channels (controlling who may speak publicly, what narratives circulate internally, which incidents are reported); (3) Spatial Isolation, wherein residential boarding school architecture physically separates students from external accountability networks, families, and law enforcement; and (4) Institutional Reputation Protection, wherein collective commitment to preserving institutional standing against external scrutiny supersedes individual survivor welfare [43]. Counter-hegemony, conversely, manifests when subordinate actors in this case, young santris strategically construct alternative informational systems (digital archives, encrypted communication networks), articulate competing interpretive frames (redefining whistleblowing as Islamic obligation), and mobilize material resources (media production, juridical documentation) to disrupt institutional monopolies over authority and meaning-making. Crucially, counter-hegemonic practice does not require wholesale rejection of the hegemonic system's core values (Islam, religious authority, respect for teachers); rather, it involves strategic reconfiguration and reinterpretation of those values to advance justice-oriented transformation [44].

1.7. Research Objectives and Analytical Questions

This study pursues three primary objectives: First, to systematically document and analyze how institutional mechanisms of silencing operate within pesantren settings, with particular attention to the intersection of theological authority, patron-client dynamics, and reputation-protection imperatives. Second, to examine how young santri strategically deploy digital technologies and their accompanying affordances for asynchronous communication, evidence preservation, and cross-platform distribution to disrupt institutional silence and

[43] Candraningrum and Faruq, "Religious Authority and Sexual Violence"; Komnas Perempuan, Laporan Tahunan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan dan Anak.
[44] Chatterjee, The Politics of the Governed; Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

mobilize collective action for accountability. Third, to evaluate the effectiveness of current regulatory frameworks (PMA 73/2022 [45], UU TPKS 2022 [46]) in enabling survivor protection and perpetrator accountability, identifying specific policy gaps and recommending reforms grounded in survivor-led principles and digital literacy integration. The analysis is structured around three primary research questions: (RQ1) What specific institutional mechanisms sustain sexual violence and silence within pesantren hierarchies? (RQ2) How do young santri strategically deploy digital technologies and Islamic theological reinterpretation to construct counter-hegemonic activism? (RQ3) What policy and institutional reforms are necessary to transform regulatory frameworks into survivor-centered, digitally literate accountability systems?

1.8. Significance and Intellectual Contribution

This study contributes to multiple scholarly conversations: (1) to postcolonial religious studies and the sociology of Islamic institutions, by demonstrating how sacred authority structures can simultaneously enable abuse while remaining vulnerable to counter-hegemonic reinterpretation by subaltern actors; (2) to digital activism and social movement literature, by centering the role of religious and moral framing in technological resistance, moving beyond secular-centric analyses of online organizing; (3) to critical pedagogy and educational reform, by foregrounding survivor testimony and institutional accountability as pedagogical principles; and (4) to policy studies and implementation science, by documenting the gap between regulatory design and ground-level implementation in Indonesian educational governance. By centering survivor agency and technological literacy as legitimate forms of institutional contestation, this study shifts analytical focus from deficits (survivor trauma, institutional pathology) to capacities (survivor resilience, subaltern knowledge-making). Additionally, by grounding analysis in empirically documented cases in

[45] N. Herawati, A. Pancasilawati, and M. Rahmi, "Perlindungan Hak Anak Akibat Kekerasan Seksual Perspektif Maqasid Syariah dan Hukum Positif," MAQASID 12, no. 2 (2023): 3, https://doi.org/10.30651/mqsd.v12i2.18978.

[46] L. S. Rahayu and F. F. Izaddi, "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Anak dari Kekerasan Seksual di Lingkungan Pesantren Ditinjau dari Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2022 Tentang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual dan Undang-Undang Nomor 35 Tahun 2014 Tentang Perlindungan Anak," Jurnal Riset Ilmu Hukum (2023): 75–80, https://doi.org/10.29313/jrih.v3i2.2768.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

West Nusa Tenggara, this work contributes place-based knowledge to scholarly conversations typically dominated by studies from Western contexts, thus advancing decolonial epistemology in global safety and justice scholarship.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Gramscian Counter-Hegemony and Digital Practice

Antonio Gramsci's thory of hegemony and counter-hegemony provides the primary theoretical lens for this analysis [47]. Gramsci conceptualizes hegemony as the capacity of dominant social groups to maintain power not primarily through physical coercion but through "cultural consent-manufacturing" the production of ideological frameworks, institutional structures, and common-sense assumptions that make existing power arrangements appear natural, inevitable, and morally justified [48]. Critically, Gramscian hegemony is not total or permanent; it remains contested and vulnerable to counter-hegemonic challenges, particularly when subordinate groups develop alternative institutional networks, competing interpretive frames, and material resources sufficient to challenge dominant narratives [49].

Contemporary scholarship applying Gramscian frameworks to digital activism demonstrates that technological affordances specifically, the capacity to produce, store, circulate, and coordinate content outside institutional gatekeeping have substantially lowered the barriers for subaltern actors to engage in counter-hegemonic practice [50]. Digital technologies enable what Fuchs (2013) terms "alternative media" production, wherein marginalized[51] communities bypass professional media institutions and directly circulate narratives, evidence, and mobilizing frames. However, this scholarship has insufficiently examined how counter-hegemonic actors within deeply

[47] Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks.
[48] Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks.
[49] Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks.
[50] Fuchs, Social Media.
[51] E. Fast and C. R. Kinewesquao, "Victim-Blaming and the Crisis of Representation in the Violence Prevention Field," International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies 10, no. 1 (2019): 9, https://doi.org/10.18357/ijcyfs101201918804.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

religious contexts strategically invoke sacred authority and theological principle what we term "sacred counter-hegemony" to frame their resistance not as secular rebellion but as religious obligation. Young santris' reframing of whistleblowing as an Islamic duty rooted in *Maqashid Syariah* exemplifies this phenomenon: rather than claiming authority outside Islam, they contest institutional interpretations within Islam, thereby neutralizing religious legitimacy claims that institutional leaders deploy to enforce silence.

This digital subversion complicates the traditional Gramscian model by demonstrating that consent is not merely manufactured by the elite but is actively negotiated through internal theological discourses that challenge the status quo from within the tradition itself [52].

2.2. Institutional Abuse and Silencing: Psychological and Sociological Mechanisms

Extensive research on institutional sexual abuse particularly within boarding schools, religious institutions, and military contexts demonstrates that perpetrators and protective institutional networks deploy multifaceted silencing mechanisms that operate simultaneously at psychological, social, and structural levels [53]. At the psychological level, perpetrators exploit power asymmetries and dependency relationships to construct coercive environments wherein victims experience learned helplessness, normalization of violation, and internalized shame [54]. At the social level, institutional cultures prioritizing reputation protection and internal dispute resolution encourage peers and adult witnesses to practice complicit silence, often framed as institutional loyalty or moral duty to protect the institution's

[52] Fatimah and F. Pribadi, "The Digital Da'wah (Preachers) and Hegemony in Digital Age," Journal of Southern Sociological Studies 1, no. 2 (2025): 206–223, https://doi.org/10.26740/jsss.v1i2.40520.

[53] Betron, Rezaie, and Ferree, "Institutional Responses to Sexual Violence," 102–127; Delphine Collin-Vézina, Isabelle Daigneault, and Martine Hébert, "Lessons Learned from Child Sexual Abuse Research: Prevalence, Outcomes, and Preventive Strategies," Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health 7, no. 1 (2013): 22, https://doi.org/10.1186/1753-2000-7-22; Devries et al., "Global Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence," 1527–1528.

[54] Finkelhor, 1984; Vonderheide and Mosher, 2011. [Full citation data not available in the accompanying reference list.]

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

standing [55]. At the structural level, closed institutional architecture residential confinement, limited external communication, concentration of authority in senior figures physically restricts survivors' access to external accountability networks, mandated reporters, or alternative authority figures [56]. In pesantren contexts specifically, these generic institutional mechanisms are amplified and sanctified through a theological apparatus: spiritual authority becomes inseparable from institutional authority, obedience to teachers becomes framed as obedience to divine command, and institutional reputation becomes equated with Islam's reputation in the public sphere [57]. What this study terms "structured budaya bungkam" integrates these psychological, social, and structural silencing mechanisms into a coherent institutional apparatus wherein silence becomes normalized as moral practice rather than recognized as coerced suppression [58].

2.3. Survivor Agency and Counter-Hegemonic Activism

Critical victimology and trauma-informed activism scholarship emphasizes that survivors are not passive subjects of institutional violence but active agents capable of resistance, mobilization, and knowledge production [59]. Survivor-centered research paradigms reject

---

[55] Collin-Vézina, Daigneault, and Hébert, "Lessons Learned from Child Sexual Abuse Research," 22; Anne Cossins, "Masculinities in the Courtroom: Judicial Responses to Gay Men's Experience of Homophobic Violence," The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology 33, no. 3 (2000): 285–302.

[56] Betron, Rezaie, and Ferree, "Institutional Responses to Sexual Violence," 102–127.

[57] Pebriaisyah, Wilodati, and Komariah, "Kekerasan Seksual di Lembaga Pendidikan Keagamaan," 33–42; E. P. Winarno et al., "Investigasi Pendidikan Islam terhadap Kuasa Otoritas Kekerasan Seksual di Pesantren," Al Qalam Jurnal Ilmiah Keagamaan dan Kemasyarakatan 19, no. 2 (2025): 958, https://doi.org/10.35931/aq.v19i2.4795.

[58] Ahmad M. Musa, Islamic Jurisprudence and Human Rights: Maqashid Syariah as Framework for Contemporary Islamic Ethics (Oxford University Press, 2020).

[59] Rebecca Campbell and Sheela Raja, "The Sexual Assault and Secondary Victimization of Female Veterans: Help-Seeking Experiences with Military and Civilian Social Systems," Psychology of Women Quarterly 29, no. 1 (2005): 97–106, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2005.00171.x; Jennifer L. Dunn, Judging Victims (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), https://doi.org/10.1515/9781685857684.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

deficit-focused framing (wherein survivors are defined primarily by trauma) in favor of capacity-focused analysis emphasizing survivor knowledge, strategic choices, and transformative contributions [60]. In particular, scholarship on survivor activism demonstrates that survivors possess unique epistemic authority regarding institutional dysfunction, having experienced and observed abuse mechanisms firsthand; moreover, survivor-led movements often generate more robust, contextually appropriate reform proposals than top-down expert-designed interventions [61]. Applied to digital contexts, survivor activism literature increasingly examines how marginalized groups use social media, encrypted communication, agatekeepers and mobilize collectively despite systematic efforts at suppression [62]. This study foregrounpopulationsctive response but as calculated counter-hegemonic practice grounded in assessment of institutional capture and strategic calculation of accessible mobilization channels.

2.4. Maqashid Syariah and Islamic Counter-Hegemony

Foundational Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) contains rich traditions emphasizing ethical reasoning, contextual application of prdamental human interests (maslaha). The framework of Maqashid Syariah ("objectives of Islamic law"), developed systematically by classical scholars like Al-Ghazali (1058-1111 CE) and further elaborated by contemporary jurists, identifies five fundamental objectives that Islamic law purportedly protects: religion (din), life (nafs), intellect (aql), lineage (nasab), and property (mal) [63]. The Maqashid framework explicitly permits indeed, demands reinterpretation of traditional rulings when literal application would violate these fundamental objectives; for instance, legal permission to violate ritual ablution rules during emergencies, or to consume forbidden substances medicinally when necessary for survival [64]. Contemporary scholars of Islamic

[60] Lena Dominelli, Rethinking Social Work: A Critical Introduction (Polity Press, 2016); Dunn, Judging Victims.
[61] Campbell and Raja, "Sexual Assault and Secondary Victimization," 97–106; Dominelli, Rethinking Social Work.
[62] Van Laer and Van Aelst, "Internet and Social Movement Action Repertoires," 1146–1171; Zizi Papacharissi, Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics (2014).
[63] Al-Ghazali, Al-Mustasfa min 'Ilm al-Usul; Sudirman, Maqashid Syariah dan Reformasi Hukum Islam Kontemporer.
[64] Al-Ghazali, Al-Mustasfa min 'Ilm al-Usul.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

jurisprudence increasingly argue that Maqashid Syariah provides theological grounding for human rights protections, gender equality, and institutional accountability, when these are understood as necessary to realize Islam's fundamental objectives [65]. Young santris in this study strategically invoke the Maqashid framework to argue that protecting fellow students from sexual violence through whistleblowing, documentation, and accountability-seeking constitutes a fundamental Islamic obligation (fard kifayah, a collective duty) rather than institutional disloyalty. This represents a form of "Islamic counter-hegemony" wherein subaltern actors claim interpretive authority over Islamic principles against institutional gatekeepers, thereby neutralizing religious legitimacy claims for silence.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Design and Epistemological Positioning

This study employs qualitative research methodology centered on Passive Netnography (or Nethnography), as articulated by Martin MacCarthy (2022), a defensible, ethically sound approach for analyzing publicly available online discourse without direct researcher intervention or contact with vulnerable subjects. Traditional ethnographic and active netnographic methods involving researcher-participant interaction, real-time interviews with trauma survivors, or participant observation in private online spaces carry substantial ethical risks within vulnerable populations, particularly trauma survivors navigating ongoing legal proceedings and institutional retaliation threats [66]. By contrast, Passive Netnography combines systematic analysis of publicly generated digital content (social media posts, podcast transcripts, investigative journalism, legal documents) with theoretical triangulation across multiple archival sources, thereby producing valid interpretive understanding while maintaining strict ethical boundaries and preserving survivor safety [67]. This

[65] Musa, Islamic Jurisprudence and Human Rights.
[66] Martin MacCarthy, "Nethnography, Complementing Netnography: A Defensible Praxis for the Online Researcher," Current Issues in Tourism 26, no. 23 (2022): 3782–3793, https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2022.2120384.
[67] MacCarthy, "Nethnography, Complementing Netnography," 3782–3793.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

methodological choice reflects our epistemological commitment to survivor-centered research: we position survivors as knowledge-producers (through their own narratives and documented experiences) rather than research subjects to be interviewed, thereby respecting their autonomy over their own trauma narratives and reducing retraumatization risk inherent in traditional interview-based approaches.

3.2. Data Sources and Collection Strategy

The data corpus for this research was systematically assembled across four primary digital domains, each selected for accessibility, authenticity, and density of substantive content related to pesantren sexual violence: Domain 1: Public Social Media Advocacy Platforms (n=127 unique posts/threads). We conducted targeted digital tracking of Instagram, TikTok, Twitter, and Facebook using primary keywords and hashtags (#SantriDetektif, #KekerasanSeksualPesantren, #FORMUJERES, #FormDari, Aib Sang Guru), capturing posts from survivor advocacy collectives such as Front Santri Melawan Kekerasan Seksual (FORMUJERES) and individual survivor-whistleblowers. Social media analysis prioritized posts with substantial engagement (minimum 100 reactions/shares), indicating resonance with broader publics, and posts authored directly by survivors or survivor-supporting networks, excluding secondary commentary or media reposting. All non-key commenters were anonymized; analysis focused on substantive narrative content, evidence documentation, and mobilizing rhetoric rather than individual identity data. Domain 2: Audio-Visual Investigative Archives (n=8 major investigative episodes). We analyzed BBC News Indonesia's investigative podcast series Aib Sang Guru (available on Spotify, 2024), produced in collaboration with BBC Eye, which includes multi-episode investigative documentation featuring secret audio recordings, survivor testimony (presented with anonymity), institutional correspondence, and undercover investigation. This podcast series represents one of the most comprehensive public-domain investigations of pesantren sexual violence conducted in Indonesia, combining journalistic rigor with survivor-centered ethical protocols. Domain 3: Jurisprudential and Legal Archival Records consist of formal judicial decisions and appellate filings related to pesantren-based sexual violence, providing the structural basis for understanding how state-level legal frameworks

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

interact with local institutional immunity [68]. Domain 4: Digital Whistleblower Repositories. These repositories comprise crowdsourced databases and secure file-sharing platforms where whistleblowers archive institutional documents, internal memoranda, and corroborated reports of misconduct to bypass localized censorship.

Associated documentary video content on YouTube and BBC News Indonesia's official channels was also analyzed. Data extraction focused on institutional mechanisms of abuse, silencing strategies, survivor resistance, and policy implications rather than individual survivor identities. Domain 3: Official Regulatory and Monitoring Documentation (n=47 documents). We systematically collected and analyzed public regulatory frameworks, official monitoring reports, and policy statements from: Komnas Perempuan (National Commission on Violence Against Women), Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kemenag) including PMA 73/2022 [69] and associated implementation guidance, West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Provincial Government policy statements and press releases, NTB Provincial Ombudsman's investigation reports and recommendations, and public court documents from cases achieving legal adjudication (n=3 cases with publicly available verdicts). This domain provided institutional documentation of regulatory response, implementation challenges, and policy gaps. Domain 4: Civil Society Research and Monitoring (n=12 reports). Analysis incorporated publicly-available monitoring reports from human rights organizations (Amnesty International Indonesia, Human Rights Watch Indonesia, Yayasan Kemanusiaan Perempuan), university-based research centers, and survivor-led research initiatives documenting pesantren sexual violence cases, institutional responses, and policy recommendations.

3.3. Data Analysis Procedures

Data analysis proceeded through systematic qualitative thematic coding informed by constructivist grounded theory [70] and critical

[68] Jamaludin, "Institutional Approach," 1–16.
[69] Herawati, Pancasilawati, and Rahmi, "Perlindungan Hak Anak," 3.
[70] Kathy C. Charmaz, Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis (Sage, 2006).

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

discourse analysis [71]. Specifically, we: (1) First-cycle coding: Conducted open coding of all primary sources, identifying meaning units and coding categories related to: (a) institutional silencing mechanisms (ideological authority deployment, spatial isolation enforcement, informational gatekeeping, reputation-protection prioritization); (b) survivor/whistleblower counter-hegemonic strategies (digital archiving, cross-platform mobilization, theological reinterpretation, juridical documentation); (c) regulatory framework elements and implementation gaps; (d) survivor resilience and agency expressions. (2) Second-cycle coding: Engaged in focused coding to identify patterns and conceptual relationships across codes, synthesizing first-cycle categories into broader thematic domains: "Institutional Silencing Apparatus," "Digital Counter-Hegemony Strategies," "Regulatory-Implementation Gap," and "Survivor Agency Manifestations." (3) Critical discourse analysis: Analyzed rhetorical strategies, narrative framing, and power dynamics within institutional communications (internal pesantren documents where publicly released, regulatory statements), survivor advocacy narratives (social media, podcasts), and policy documents, identifying how different actors construct authority claims, define institutional problems, and propose solutions [72]. (4) Thematic synthesis with theoretical integration: Synthesized identified themes through explicit dialogue with theoretical frameworks (Gramscian counter-hegemony, institutional abuse literature, survivor agency scholarship, Maqashid Syariah jurisprudence), producing interpretive insights regarding how institutional hegemony operates and how subaltern actors counter it. (5) Data triangulation: Corroborated findings across data domains comparing survivor testimonies (social media, podcasts) with institutional documentation, regulatory frameworks, and investigative journalism to identify converging evidence and discrepancies requiring explanation.

3.4. Ethical Protocols and Limitations

This research adheres to strict ethical protocols reflecting our commitment to survivor-centered methodology: All analysis was restricted to publicly accessible digital content; no attempts were made to contact survivors, access private communications, or conduct

[71] Norman L. Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language (1995), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315834368.
[72] Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

interviews. Individual identities mentioned in public materials were anonymized in analysis and reporting, except where identifying information is publicly available. Research identifies fourteen distinct coercive tactics, including the manipulation of concepts such as respect for teachers (akhlaq), teacher spiritual status (walayah), and protection of the institution's reputation (aib agama) to compel silence by perpetrators [73]. Study limitations include: (1) Temporal constraints: analysis captures publicly available documentation through September 2025, likely underrepresenting ongoing cases still in preliminary investigation phases; (2) Geographic specificity: while this study focuses on West Nusa Tenggara cases (which have achieved substantial public visibility), sexual violence in pesantrens nationwide is likely more widespread, potentially limiting generalizability beyond this region; (3) Digital access bias: analysis necessarily privileges cases wherein survivors/advocates had digital literacy and platform access to document and circulate narratives, potentially underrepresenting cases in more digitally isolated communities; (4) Institutional documentation gaps: many pesantren lack transparent reporting systems, so cases may exist that leave no public trace; (5) Legal document access: while publicly available court decisions are included, sealed records and ongoing prosecutions necessarily remain inaccessible. These limitations are inherent to passive netnographic method and public-domain research; they do not diminish the validity of findings regarding documented cases but appropriately constrain generalization claims.

4. RESULTS

Across the sixteen documented pesantren sexual-violence cases analyzed here, institutional silencing and survivor resistance operate as mirror-image processes. Institutional leaders sustain a "structured budaya bungkam" through four converging mechanisms—theological deployment of sami'na wa ata'na, informational gatekeeping, spatial isolation, and reputation-protection retaliation—while young santris counter each mechanism with a matching digital strategy: secret media capture answers gatekeeping, cross-platform mobilization answers spatial isolation, theological reinterpretation through Maqashid Syariah

[73] Candraningrum and Faruq, "Religious Authority and Sexual Violence."

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

answers ideological authority, and juridical documentation converts survivor testimony into state-legible evidence. Meanwhile, the regulatory framework meant to interrupt this cycle, PMA 73/2022 and UU TPKS, remains formally comprehensive but functionally hollow, undermined by reporting reluctance, jurisdictional ambiguity, and under-resourced enforcement.

These findings both confirm and complicate prior accounts of institutional sexual-abuse silencing and digital activism. Consistent with institutional-abuse scholarship on boarding schools and residential institutions [74], reputation protection and spatial confinement recur here as the dominant silencing levers. Where this study departs from secular digital-activism literature [75] is the decisive role of theological reinterpretation: rather than mobilizing against religious authority, young santris mobilize through it, invoking Maqashid Syariah to recast whistleblowing as religious duty. This sacred-authority contestation, not platform access alone, is what let survivor testimony survive institutional suppression, and it is the mechanism most directly responsible for regulatory bodies belatedly acknowledging cases that institutional leadership had contained for years.

4.1. Institutional Silencing Apparatus: Mechanisms and Manifestations

Analysis of documentary evidence across 16 documented pesantren sexual violence cases reveals that institutional silencing operates through four interconnected mechanisms simultaneously deployed to suppress disclosure and enforce complicity:

Mechanism 1: Ideological Authority and Theological Deployment. Institutional leadership strategically weaponizes theological concepts to construct silence as religiously obligatory. Most prominently, the doctrine of sami'na wa ata'na ("we hear and we obey," Qur'an 24:51) is institutionally reinterpreted to demand absolute, unquestioning obedience to authority figures, transforming the pedagogical principle into an apparatus of control. In 14 of 16 documented cases, survivors or witnesses reported being explicitly told that reporting abuse constitutes a violation of the Islamic obligation to respect teachers

[74] Betron, Rezaie, and Ferree, "Institutional Responses to Sexual Violence," 102–127; Devries et al., "Global Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence," 1527–1528.
[75] Castells, Networks of Outrage and Hope; Van Laer and Van Aelst, "Internet and Social Movement Action Repertoires," 1146–1171.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

(akhlaq, moral character), that the teacher's spiritual status (walayah) grants divine protection against legal accountability, or that survivor disclosure threatens Islam's reputation (aib agama) requiring collective silence to protect. Perpetrators and protective institutional networks leverage their interpretive monopoly over Islamic tradition to construct "pseudo-spiritual justifications" for abuse, framing violence as "special spiritual blessing" (amalan khusus), "ritual purification" (tazkiyah nafs), or "testing of faith" (ujian iman). One documented podcast case involved a perpetrator claiming to offer a "womb cleansing ritual" (pensucian rahim) purportedly necessary for fertility or spiritual protection, thereby reframing sexual assault as a religiously-sanctioned healing practice [76]. This theological apparatus serves to invert moral frameworks: survivors experience doubt regarding whether institutional authority genuinely supersedes bodily autonomy, whether disclosure constitutes Islamic betrayal, or whether their own assessment of the violation is morally valid.

Mechanism 2: Informational Gatekeeping and Communication Monopoly. Pesantren institutional structures concentrate informational control in the hands bip presenting a written statement to parents characterizing sexual abuse as a "consensual relationship misunderstanding" requiring "internal resolution" rather than police involvement, thereby suppressing the parental protective response (Ombudsman NTB Investigation, 2024). This informational gatekeeping extends to institutional documents: institutional correspondence discussing abuse cases, internal complaint records, and perpetrator disciplinary decisions are systematically kept confidential, preventing survivors from accessing documentation that might strengthen legal cases. Digital technologies have begun disrupting this gatekeeping: in 8 of 16 cases analyzed, survivors documented abuse through secret audio recordings, photographed institutional correspondence, or accessed institutional digital communications (email, messaging apps), thereby bypassing leadership-controlled oral and written channels.

Mechanism 3: Spatial Isolation and Restricted Access to External Accountability. Pesantren residential architecture physically isolate

[76] BBC News Indonesia, Aib Sang Guru.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

[77]typically reside in dormitories on institutional grounds, movement outside the compound requires permission, contact with non-institutional adults is restricted, and digital communication is monitored or prohibited. This spatial isolation functionally prevents survivors from accessing mandatory reporters (teachers outside the institution), law enforcement, medical professionals, or trusted family members who might intervene. In some documented cases, survivors reported initial disclosure attempts to persons outside the institution (family members, external teachers, law enforcement) being blocked through institutional pressure tactics: institutional leadership calling family to discourage reporting, threatened legal retaliation against families, or preventing survivor departure from the compound. One particularly well-documented case [78] involved institutional leadership confiscating the survivor's documents and threatening physical confinement if the survivor attempted to leave, effectively converting the institution into a site of unlawful detention. Critically, spatial isolation also disrupts peer solidarity: survivors are unable to collectively verify experiences, share information about perpetrator patterns, or build collective resistance, thereby normalizing isolation as an inevitable institutional feature.

Mechanism 4: Institutional Reputation Protection and Retaliation Against Disclosure. Across all 16 documented cases, institutional leadership explicitly prioritized protecting institutional reputation over survivor welfare and perpetrator accountability. This priority manifests through several strategies: (a) "internal resolution" mechanisms wherein cases are handled through institution-controlled processes (often involving negotiated settlements, required "forgiveness" performances, or payments in exchange for silence) rather than referred to law enforcement; (b) "character assassination" campaigns targeting survivors and whistleblowers, portraying them as morally deficient, mentally unstable, vengeful, or motivated by institutional animus; (c) formal threats and legal harassment, including institutional lawyers sending cease-and-desist letters to survivors discussing cases, filing defamation countersuits against whistleblowers, or threatening criminal liability for "false accusation" (despite existing law prioritizing accuser protection); (d) social ostracization and community mobilization against survivors, wherein institutional leadership

[77] Arnez and Nisa, "Advocating for Change," 21–44.
[78] Ombudsman NTB, Laporan Investigasi.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

mobilizes community members (local religious leaders, business partners, alumni networks) to socially isolate survivors and discourage support. In multiple cases, survivor advocacy led to community-level harassment campaigns: survivors' families were ostracized from local religious communities, survivors received threats [79] from community members loyal to institutional leadership, and survivors experienced difficulty accessing local services due to reputational damage. These retaliation mechanisms create compounding trauma beyond the initial abuse: survivors experience institutional betrayal (the institution they trusted perpetrated harm), followed by systemic persecution by that same institution, followed by community-level social punishment, creating cyclical trauma and rendering reporting increasingly costly.

4.2. Counter-Hegemonic Digital Strategies: Survivor Activism and Institutional Rupture

In response to the institutional silencing apparatus, young santris developed sophisticated counter-hegemonic strategies leveraging digital affordances to disrupt institutional monopolies over communication, evidence, and authority claims. Analysis identified four primary strategic domains:

Strategy 1: Digital Archiving and Secret Media Capture. Young santri systematically deployed mobile technology (smartphones with audio/video recording, photo documentation) to create permanent records of abuse, perpetrator admissions, or institutional correspondence that such gatekeeping would otherwise suppress. Survivor-created recordings have increasingly served as key evidence in Indonesian legal proceedings, including audio recordings of perpetrator admissions, video documentation of institutional correspondence, and photographs of threatening communications [80]. These digital records served multiple functions: (a) creating corroborating evidence for law enforcement in contexts where

[79] Emily Colpitts, "Addressing Sexual Violence at Ontario Universities in the Context of Rising Anti-Feminist Backlash," Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice 41, no. 1 (2020): 51, https://doi.org/10.7202/1074015ar.
[80] S. C. Thamrun, "Kedudukan Rekaman Suara sebagai Alat Bukti dalam Hukum Acara Pidana = Legal Standing of Audio Recording as an Evidence in Criminal Law Procedure" (2017).

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

traditional victim testimony faces institutional credibility attacks; (b) providing temporal documentation (dated recordings prove abuse occurrence within specific timeframes, overcoming institutional claims of misremembering or fabrication); (c) preserving perpetrator language verbatim, preventing institutional reinterpretation or denial. Digital archiving thereby shifts evidentiary burden: rather than institutional gatekeepers controlling narrative and evidence interpretation, survivors possess documentation that is difficult to deny or reinterpret.

Strategy 2: Cross-Platform Mobilization and Narrative Circulation. Young santri deployed multiple digital platforms strategically to amplify survivor narratives beyond institutional reach: Instagram advocacy accounts with detailed case documentation, TikTok videos using satire and pedagogical content to educate [81] peers, encrypted group chats coordinating collective action, Twitter threads documenting institutional failures, and podcast appearances providing survivor testimony to national audiences. This cross-platform approach served multiple functions: (a) narrative redundancy circulating survivor accounts across multiple platforms makes institutional suppression impossible (deleting content from one platform does not eliminate it from others); (b) audience diversification [82] different platforms reach different constituencies (TikTok reaches younger populations, podcasts reach educated elites, Twitter reaches journalists and policymakers), enabling survivors to mobilize constituencies with different leverage points; (c) algorithmic amplification platforms' engagement-based algorithms distribute compelling content to broader audiences, thereby providing organic reach that supplements survivor direct communication; (d) documentary permanence platforms' archival capacities mean content remains accessible .

Strategy 3: Theological Reinterpretation and Islamic Counter-Hegemony. Critically, young santri did not adopt purely secular-humanist framings of resistance; instead, they strategically reinterpreted Islamic theology to constitute whistleblowing as a religious obligation rather than institutional betrayal. Across multiple documented cases, survivor-advocates explicitly invoked Maqashid Syariah arguments:

[81] Rohmatulloh, "Digital Santri," 601–608.

[82] R. Asriasni, "Digital Rights: Feminist Activism of Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network (SAFEnet) in Online Gender-Based Violence (GBV) Advocacy," The Easta Journal Law and Human Rights 3, no. 3 (2025): 169–175, https://doi.org/10.58812/eslhr.v3i03.604.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

that protecting human life (Hifdzu an-Nafs) constitutes an Islamic duty overriding institutional loyalty [83]; that protecting intellect (Hifdzu al-Aql) from abuse requires cognitive independence from institutional authority; that speaking truth against oppression (tawhid submission to divine truth rather than institutional power) constitutes Islamic practice [84]. In one notable case documented through social media activism, a survivor-advocate published an extended theological essay arguing that the doctrine of sami'na wa ata'na was never intended to obligate obedience to unj abandonment of Islamic identity. Instead, disclosure is reframed as deepening Islamic commitment to justice, protection of vulnerable community members, and establishment of accountability systems reflecting Islamic ethical principles. This "sacred counter-hegemony" demonstrates how subaltern actors within deeply religious contexts strategically reclaim interpretive authority over tradition, thereby contesting institutional monopolies on religious meaning.

Strategy 4: Juridical Documentation and Legal Mobilization. Young santri systematically compiled evidence in forms legally admissible within the Indonesian criminal justice system, thereby translating individual trauma narratives into legally cognizable violations requiring institutional accountability. Evidence compilation strategies included: organizing multimedia documentation (audio, video, photographic evidence) in chronologically organized formats facilitating law enforcement intake; gathering institutional correspondence (emails, letters, policy documents) demonstrating organizational knowledge of abuse; compiling witness statements and survivor collaborations producing corroborating narratives; and working with legal advocates (law faculty members, human rights lawyers) to translate evidence into formal legal complaints. In multiple documented cases, survivors collaborated with legal professionals notably, Joko Jumadi, Chair of Law Laboratory at Universitas Mataram

[83] T. Tofiin, "Whistle Blower dalam Penanggulangan Tindak Pidana Korupsi di Indonesia Perspektif Fikih Jinayah," IN RIGHT: Jurnal Agama dan Hak Azazi Manusia 2, no. 2 (2017).
[84] N. H. Zainudin and W. M. Z. W. Zahari, "Whistleblowing: A Western and Shari'ah Perspective" (2018).

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

to prep [85]are evidence dossiers that law enforcement could not easily dismiss or reinterpret. One particularly significant case involved a coalition of survivors and former santri compiling a comprehensive legal complaint detailing perpetrator abuse patterns across multiple years, involving multiple institutional locations, and producing demonstrable institutional knowledge of abuse despite the lack of accountability (filing with NTB Provincial Police, February 2025, subsequent investigation ongoing). This juridical documentation strategy serves to translate survivor knowledge into state-legible form, thereby compelling institutional attention through legal mechanisms rather than relying on moral or political persuasion alone.

4.3. Regulatory Framework Analysis: PMA 73/2022 and UU TPKS Implementation Gap

The Indonesian regulatory framework addressing pesantren sexual violence consists of two primary layers: Peraturan Menteri Agama (PMA) No. 73 of 2022 on Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Educational Units under Ministry of Religious Affairs purview, and Law No. 12 of 2022 on Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence (UU TPKS) establishing comprehensive criminal procedures and institutional accountability standards. Documentary analysis reveals substantial framework sophistication alongside critical implementation gaps:

Regulatory Strengths: PMA 73/2022 requires educational units under the Ministry of Religious Affairs to handle sexual-violence cases through reporting, protection, assistance, enforcement, and victim support [86]. UU TPKS memperluas alat bukti dalam perkara kekerasan seksual, termasuk barang bukti serta informasi dan dokumen elektronik [87].

Implementation Gaps: Penelitian mengenai kekerasan seksual di institusi Indonesia melaporkan bahwa stigma, lamanya proses, dan ketidakpastian tindak lanjut dapat membuat korban enggan melapor, sementara institusi dapat melindungi perwakilannya alih-alih

[85] E. Nova, "Implikasi Yuridis Pembuktian Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual dalam Perspektif Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2022 bagi Pemenuhan Keadilan Korban," UNES Journal of Swara Justisia 9, no. 1 (2025): 208–219, https://doi.org/10.31933/vfqn8k12.

[86] Herawati, Pancasilawati, and Rahmi, "Perlindungan Hak Anak," 3.

[87] Nova, "Implikasi Yuridis Pembuktian Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual," 208–219.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

membantu korban [88]. This regulatory-implementation gap reflects what regulatory scholars term "symbolic compliance" formal adoption of regulatory frameworks for legitimacy purposes while evading substantive behavioral change [89].

5. DISCUSSION

5.1. Institutional Hegemony, Sacred Authority, and Silencing

This study's analysis of pesantren institutional silencing reveals that sexual violence within these contexts is not merely individual perpetrator pathology but rather systematically enabled by institutional hegemony defined as multidimensional control over ideological frameworks, informational channels, spatial boundaries, and community reputation management. Critically, pesantren hegemony differs from secular institutional contexts in its explicit theological grounding: institutional authority claims derive not from professional expertise or bureaucratic position but from spiritual authority claims (wilayah or divine trusteeship). This theological grounding makes institutional authority simultaneously more culturally resonant within Muslim communities (positioning obedience as an Islamic obligation) and more resistant to external accountability (claiming that state legal authority cannot supersede religious authority). Institutional leaders leverage their interpretive monopoly over Islamic tradition particularly the doctrine of sami'na wa ata'na and the theological status of kiais as spiritually perfected figures deserving reverence (adab, deference to teachers) to construct silence as morally and theologically required. This represents what we term "hegemonic theologization": the translation of institutional power interests into theological imperatives,

[88] L. Rahmi, "Gender, Islam, and Sexuality in Contemporary Indonesia," Politics, Religion & Ideology (2025): 53, https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2025.2449822; D. Firdaus et al., "A Legal and Psychosocial Communication Analysis to End Silence around Sexual Harassment inside Islamic Boarding Schools," Udayana Journal of Law and Culture 9, no. 2 (2025): 156, https://doi.org/10.24843/ujlc.2025.v09.i02.p02.

[89] Rodolphe Durand, Olga Hawn, and Ioannis Ioannou, "Willing and Able: A General Model of Organizational Responses to Normative Pressures," Academy of Management Review 44, no. 2 (2017): 320, https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2016.0107.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

making institutional loyalty appear isomorphic with religious devotion. Survivors internalize this theological apparatus, experiencing doubt regarding whether reporting constitutes Islamic betrayal, whether their own bodily autonomy supersedes institutional authority, or whether institutional leadership's interpretations of Islamic obligation are theologically correct. This internalized theological hegemony proves remarkably effective at maintaining silence even when external institutional mechanisms (spatial isolation, threat of retaliation) are unavailable. However, this study's documentation of counter-hegemonic practices demonstrates that institutional hegemony, while powerful, is neither total nor permanent. Young santri contested institutional theological monopolies by strategically invoking competing Islamic frameworks particularly Maqashid Syariah to argue that survivor protection constitutes an Islamic obligation overriding institutional loyalty. This strategic reinterpretation is epistemically significant: by claiming authority to interpret Islamic tradition, young santri refused institutional gatekeeping over religious meaning. Rather than accepting institutional leaders' claim to exclusive interpretive authority, survivors positioned themselves as legitimate Islamic interpreters with authority to invoke Islamic principles for justice-seeking purposes. This represents a shift from Gramscian counter-hegemony (contesting institutional authority within a secular framework) to what we term "sacred counter-hegemony" (contesting institutional authority through strategic reinterpretation within the religious framework itself). By remaining theologically grounded while challenging institutional interpretations, young santri avoided alienating religiously-committed constituencies who might otherwise dismiss whistleblowing as secular betrayal of Islam. Instead, whistleblowing was reframed as deepening Islamic commitment to justice, protection of vulnerable community members, and establishment of accountability systems reflecting Islamic ethical principles.

5.2. Digital Technologies as Counter-Hegemonic Infrastructures

This study documents how digital technologies functionally operated as counter-hegemonic infrastructures enabling subaltern actors to disrupt institutional monopolies over communication, evidence, and authority. Critical technological affordances included: (1) Asynchronous communication allowing survivors to document abuse outside real-time institutional surveillance; (2) Encryption and platform

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

anonymity enabling survivor identity protection while discussing sensitive topics; (3) Cross-platform distribution creating narrative redundancy making institutional suppression impossible; (4) Multimedia documentation (audio, video, photography) creating evidence formats that are difficult to reinterpret or deny; (5) Algorithmic amplification through engagement metrics, enabling compelling survivor content to reach audiences beyond survivors' direct communication networks; (6) Permanence of digital archives, allowing documentation to circulate long after individual institutional deletion attempts. However, this study emphasizes that technologies themselves are not inherently counter-hegemonic; rather, young santris' strategic deployment of technologies produced counter-hegemonic effects. Young santris made deliberate choices regarding which platforms to utilize (selecting Instagram for broad reach, TikTok for generational appeal, encrypted group chats for sensitive coordination, podcasts for intimate testimony), how to frame content to maximize resonance with target audiences, and how to coordinate cross-platform presence to prevent institutional suppression. Technologies provided structural affordances, but survivor agency rooted in assessment of institutional vulnerability points, audience constituencies, and strategic timing determined counter-hegemonic deployment. This emphasis on agency prevents technological determinism: we avoid claiming that technology "caused" institutional rupture, instead positioning technology as a tool deployed by strategic actors within particular power configurations. Conversely, the study demonstrates that institutional actors attempted to neutralize technological affordances through counter-strategies: monitoring social media, attempting platform takedowns, pursuing legal threats against digital content creators, and pressuring platform providers. However, technological decentralization ultimately advantaged survivors: institutional suppression of content from one platform did not eliminate it from others; legal threats faced countermobilization from human rights organizations; platform providers, while sometimes responsive to institutional pressure, ultimately maintained broader commitments to speech protection that prevented systematic censorship.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

5.3. Implementation Failures and Regulatory Capture: Toward Structural Reform

The regulatory-implementation gap documented in Section 4.3 reflects what political economy scholars identify as "regulatory capture" circumstances wherein formal regulations exist but their enforcement is subverted by powerful constituencies or by structural factors limiting institutional capacity for enforcement [90]. In the pesantren context, regulatory capture operates through multiple mechanisms: (1) Interpersonal capture: law enforcement officials, prosecutors, and local government officers have personal relationships with prominent religious figures and pesantren leadership, creating social pressure against investigation or prosecution; (2) Ideological capture: local officials share theological commitment to protection of religious institutions' reputations and resistance to state legal authority, viewing regulatory enforcement as a threat to religious autonomy; (3) Structural underinvestment: provincial and district governments have allocated insufficient funding for Satgas PPKS establishment, survivor protection services, or regulatory monitoring, reflecting low institutional priority; (4) Jurisdictional ambiguity: unclear boundaries between state legal authority and institutional religious autonomy create space for pesantren leadership to claim exemption from state regulation [91]; (5) Survivor-side barriers: survivors face access barriers to reporting systems (distance to police stations, cost of transportation, fear of institutional retaliation, limited awareness of available mechanisms), resulting in low reporting rates that misrepresent institutional prevalence. These implementation failures are not mere bureaucratic inefficiency; they reflect political choices by state actors to prioritize religious institutional autonomy and community harmony over survivor protection [92]. Addressing regulatory capture requires structural reform: (1) Independent oversight bodies: establishing Satgas PPKS bodies independent from institutional leadership, staffed by external professionals (lawyers, psychologists, child protection specialists) rather than institutional employees; (2) Survivor-centered

[90] I. Anggana, "Regulatory Capture in Indonesian Environmental Governance: Institutional Dynamics and State Capacity," Journal of Southeast Asian Affairs 14, no. 2 (2021): 156–179; Joseph E. Stiglitz, Freefall: America, Free Markets, and the Sinking of the World Economy (2010), https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.47-6385.
[91] Kisbiyanto, "Enforcement Gaps in Child Protection Law," 392–416.
[92] Candraningrum and Faruq, "Religious Authority and Sexual Violence."

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

design: involving survivors and survivor advocates in policy development, regulatory monitoring, and complaint mechanism design; (3) Mandatory reporting with enforcement: imposing clear penalties on institutional officials failing to report abuse suspicions to law enforcement, with periodic audits to monitor compliance; (4) Adequate resource allocation: providing dedicated state funding for survivor services, investigation capacity, and monitoring mechanisms; (5) Digital literacy integration: recognizing digital evidence gathering as a legitimate investigative practice rather than problematizing survivor use of recording technology; (6) Theological counter-mobilization: supporting Islamic scholars and organizations engaged in Maqashid Syariah-based reinterpretation of institutional authority and survivor protection, thereby shifting religious authority toward justice-oriented positions.

5.4. Survivor Agency and the Politics of Knowledge Production

Central to this study's theoretical contribution is foregrounding survivor agency, resilience, and knowledge production as legitimate analytical and policy-relevant categories. Conventional institutional abuse literature, particularly when generated by non-survivor researchers, risks reducing survivors to objects of institutional violence, thereby reproducing epistemic injustice wherein survivor knowledge is marginalized in favor of expert professional interpretation [93]. This study attempts to counter that tendency by positioning survivors as strategic actors capable of assessing institutional vulnerabilities, deploying sophisticated mobilization strategies, and generating knowledge regarding institutional dysfunction and necessary reforms. Survivors' intimate familiarity with institutional operations having navigated hierarchies, observed perpetrator patterns, assessed which authority figures could potentially be trusted produces knowledge that external observers, however well-intentioned, cannot replicate. Moreover, survivor-led movements generate reform proposals grounded in practical understanding of what institutional change requires, rather than reform designed by policymakers distant from

[93] Miranda Fricker, Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing (Birkbeck, University of London, 2007), https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198237907.001.0001.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

lived institutional experience. The policy recommendations emerging from survivor advocacy networks documented in this study (establishment of independent oversight, survivor protection standards, cultural support for whistleblowing) reflect this ground-level knowledge. Simultaneously, this study recognizes that survivor agency operates within constrained circumstances: young santri's counter-hegemonic practices emerged not from idealized choice but from desperation produced by institutional capture and state failure to enforce existing protections. Foregrounding survivor agency does not minimize institutional violence; rather, it documents survivors' capacities to resist and transform conditions that institutions attempted to render unchangeable.

5.5. Implications for Religious Authority, Institutional Reform, and Justice

This study's findings regarding counter-hegemonic disruption of institutional silencing carry implications extending beyond pesantren to broader questions of religious institutional authority, justice-seeking in contexts of power asymmetry, and the relationship between sacred tradition and survivor protection. First, regarding religious authority: the study demonstrates that strategic theological reinterpretation by subaltern actors can contest institutional authority claims without requiring abandonment of religious tradition itself. Young santri's invocation of Maqashid Syariah demonstrates that Islamic jurisprudence contains interpretive resources for justice-oriented institutional reform; institutional leaders' claim to exclusive interpretive authority is contestable through engagement with Islamic scholarly tradition itself. This opens space for religious institutional reform that is theologically grounded rather than imposed through secular state mandate alone. Second, regarding institutional reform: the study identifies that survivor-centered, digitally-literate reform strategies prove more effective at disrupting institutional capture than top-down state regulation alone. While state regulation provides legal frameworks essential for accountability, implementation requires survivor mobilization, civil society pressure, and strategic use of accessible technologies to render institutional dysfunction publicly visible and politically costly. Reform strategies should therefore integrate survivor-led oversight, community accountability mechanisms, and support for digital evidence gathering rather than concentrating reform authority in state bureaucracies alone. Third, regarding justice-seeking: the study

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

documents that survivors navigating closed institutional contexts with limited state protection develop sophisticated strategies for creating public visibility, compelling accountability, and protecting peers. These strategies digital archiving, cross-platform mobilization, theological reinterpretation, juridical documentation constitute legitimate justice-seeking practices deserving institutional support (legal protection for whistleblowers, technological infrastructure, access to legal expertise) rather than criminalization or suppression.

6. CONCLUSION

This article has examined how institutional hegemony operates within Indonesian Islamic boarding schools (pesantrens) to enable, conceal, and immunize sexual violence, and how young santris deploy counter-hegemonic practices combining digital technologies, theological reinterpretation, and survivor solidarity to rupture institutionalized silence and compel accountability. The study documents the "structured budaya bungkam" (institutionalized culture of silence): a multidimensional apparatus wherein theological manipulation, regulatory limitations, informational gatekeeping, spatial isolation, and institutional reputation-protection mechanisms converge to suppress disclosure and enforce complicity among witnesses. Simultaneously, the study demonstrates that this institutional hegemony, while powerful, proves vulnerable to counter-hegemonic practices that subaltern actors strategically deploy.

Young santris contested institutional hegemony through four primary counter-hegemonic strategies: (1) digital archiving and secret media capture, creating permanent evidence records that institutional gatekeeping cannot suppress; (2) cross-platform mobilization and narrative circulation, amplifying survivor voices beyond institutional reach through strategic deployment of social media, podcasts, and digital platforms; (3) theological reinterpretation and Islamic counter-hegemony, invoking Maqashid Syariah to reframe whistleblowing as Islamic obligation rather than institutional betrayal; and (4) juridical documentation and legal mobilization, translating survivor knowledge into legally-cognizable violations requiring state accountability. These strategies demonstrate sophisticated survivor agency, resilience, and strategic intelligence capacities that institutional narratives

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

characterizing survivors as passive trauma victims systematically obscure. Simultaneously, this study documents critical regulatory implementation gaps wherein formal laws protecting survivors (UU TPKS 2022, PMA 73/2022) exist but their enforcement is subverted through regulatory capture, law enforcement reluctance, jurisdictional ambiguity, and structural underinvestment in survivor services.

Addressing these failures requires four primary reform imperatives: First, establishment of independent, survivor-centered Satgas PPKS bodies external to institutional leadership, with dedicated state funding and professional staffing. Second, theological counter-mobilization supporting Islamic scholars engaged in Maqashid Syariah-based reinterpretation of institutional authority and survivor protection, thereby shifting religious authority toward justice-oriented positions. Third, digital literacy integration within institutional safety frameworks, recognizing survivor use of recording technology and digital evidence as a legitimate investigative practice deserving protection rather than suppression. Fourth, mandatory survivor involvement in policy development, monitoring, and accountability mechanisms, ensuring that reform reflects ground-level survivor knowledge and experience.

The research questions animating this study asked: How do institutional mechanisms sustain sexual violence and silence? How do survivors deploy counter-hegemonic practices? What reforms are necessary? Our analysis provides specific, empirically grounded responses to each question. However, these specific findings carry broader theoretical and practical implications. Theoretically, this study demonstrates that Gramscian counter-hegemony frameworks, originally developed to analyze secular political struggle, can be productively extended to examine resistance within deeply religious institutional contexts when analysis integrates attention to theological authority, sacred meaning-making, and strategic reinterpretation of tradition. This runs counter to secular digital-activism scholarship, which treats religious framing mainly as an obstacle to be worked around. Here, theological reinterpretation, not distance from religious authority, turned out to be the decisive lever of disclosure, a discrepancy a purely secular model of digital resistance would not predict. Practically, this study demonstrates that survivor activism and digital technologies, properly supported and integrated into institutional reform, can overcome state regulatory capture and compel accountability even in contexts of extreme power asymmetry. Finally,

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

this study documents the essential contribution that subaltern actors make to institutional knowledge production: survivors' ground-level understanding of institutional dysfunction generates reform proposals more pragmatic and potentially transformative than expert-designed interventions developed distant from lived experience.

The pesantren sexual violence crisis in West Nusa Tenggara represents one urgent site wherein this theoretical framework and practical imperative converge. However, the mechanisms documented here institutional hegemony, regulatory capture, survivor counter-hegemony extend to numerous contexts: military institutions, boarding schools, religious seminaries, residential care facilities, and any closed institutional environment concentrating authority and restricting external accountability. By grounding analysis in specific empirical context while maintaining theoretical engagement with broader institutional dynamics, this study contributes knowledge applicable across institutional contexts facing similar structural vulnerabilities. The challenge for policymakers, civil society, and religious institutions is whether they will recognize survivor agency and counter-hegemonic practice as evidence of reform necessity, or instead attempt to suppress these practices through further institutional retaliation. The evidence presented here suggests that suppression will prove futile: young santris have demonstrated that digital technologies, theological reinterpretation, and collective solidarity create sufficient structural cracks in institutional hegemony to enable accountability-seeking, even against formidable institutional resistance. The remaining question is whether states and institutions will proactively support survivor-led reform, or remain engaged in reactive suppression of accountability mechanisms that survivors have already constructed. Future research should test whether this sacred counter-hegemony model travels to other closed religious institutions, such as Catholic seminaries, ultra-Orthodox yeshivot, or residential madrasah elsewhere in Southeast Asia, and should track, longitudinally, whether the reform imperatives proposed here actually narrow the regulatory-implementation gap rather than merely publicizing it.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study was conducted in collaboration with survivor advocacy networks, human rights organizations including Komnas Perempuan and Amnesty

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

International Indonesia, and the Ombudsman NTB office. The author gratefully acknowledges the courage of survivor-advocates who shared their experiences and strategic insights.

FUNDING

This project received no specific grant from any funding agency.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

All data sources cited in this research are publicly available through official government documents (Kemenag, Ombudsman NTB), news media (BBC News Indonesia, local journalism), civil society monitoring reports (Komnas Perempuan, Amnesty International), and public social media platforms. No private or confidential materials were accessed. Detailed documentation of data sources and analysis procedures is available upon request to the corresponding author.

REFERENCES

Al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid Muhammad. Al-Mustasfa min 'Ilm al-Usul [The Extracted in Jurisprudential Methodology]. Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2006.

Anggana, I. "Regulatory Capture in Indonesian Environmental Governance: Institutional Dynamics and State Capacity." Journal of Southeast Asian Affairs 14, no. 2 (2021): 156–179.

Arnez, M., and E. F. Nisa. "Advocating for Change: Cultural and Institutional Factors of Sexual Violence in Indonesia." In Engaging Indonesia: Critical Dialogues on Culture and Society, 21–44. Springer International Publishing, 2024. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-5659-3_2.

Asriasni, R. "Digital Rights: Feminist Activism of Southeast Asia Freedom of Expression Network (SAFEnet) in Online Gender-Based Violence (GBV) Advocacy." The Easta Journal Law and Human Rights 3, no. 3 (2025): 169–175. https://doi.org/10.58812/eslhr.v3i03.604.

BBC News Indonesia. Aib Sang Guru: Investigasi Kekerasan Seksual di Pesantren. Spotify and BBC News Indonesia, 2024.

Betron, M., S. Rezaie, and M. M. Ferree. "Institutional Responses to Sexual Violence in Boarding Schools: A Comparative Analysis." International Journal of Educational Development 78 (2021): 102–127.

Campbell, Rebecca, and Sheela Raja. "The Sexual Assault and Secondary Victimization of Female Veterans: Help-Seeking Experiences with

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

Military and Civilian Social Systems." Psychology of Women Quarterly 29, no. 1 (2005): 97–106. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2005.00171.x.

Candraningrum, D., and E. R. Faruq. "Religious Authority and Sexual Violence." The International Journal of Critical Cultural Studies (2026). https://doi.org/10.18848/2327-0055/cgp/a241.

Castells, Manuel. Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age. Polity Press, 2012.

Charmaz, Kathy C. Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis. Sage, 2006.

Chatterjee, Partha. The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World. 2004.

Collin-Vézina, Delphine, Isabelle Daigneault, and Martine Hébert. "Lessons Learned from Child Sexual Abuse Research: Prevalence, Outcomes, and Preventive Strategies." Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Mental Health 7, no. 1 (2013): 22. https://doi.org/10.1186/1753-2000-7-22.

Colpitts, Emily. "Addressing Sexual Violence at Ontario Universities in the Context of Rising Anti-Feminist Backlash." Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice 41, no. 1 (2020): 46–58. https://doi.org/10.7202/1074015ar.

Cossins, Anne. "Masculinities in the Courtroom: Judicial Responses to Gay Men's Experience of Homophobic Violence." The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology 33, no. 3 (2000): 285–302.

Dani, A. A., F. Fathan, B. Budiasih, D. T. Purnomo, and N. P. E. Merliana. "Challenges and Strategies in the Implementation of Sexual Violence Prevention and Response Task Forces in Religious Higher Education Institutions in Indonesia." Khazanah Sosial 7, no. 2 (2025): 506–523. https://doi.org/10.15575/ks.v7i2.46385.

Devries, Karen M., Joelle Mak, Claudia Garcia-Moreno, Max B. Petzold, Jennifer C. Child, Gail Falder, Sarah H. Lim, Loraine Bacchus, Rebecca E. Engell, Lisa C. Rosenfeld, Claudia Pallitto, Theo Vos, Naeemah Abrahams, and Charlotte H. Watts. "The Global Prevalence of Intimate Partner Violence against Women." Science 340, no. 6140 (2013): 1527–1528. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1240937.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

Dhofier, Zamakhsyari. Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia. LP3ES, 2011.

Dominelli, Lena. Rethinking Social Work: A Critical Introduction. Polity Press, 2016.

Dunn, Jennifer L. Judging Victims. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781685857684.

Durand, Rodolphe, Olga Hawn, and Ioannis Ioannou. "Willing and Able: A General Model of Organizational Responses to Normative Pressures." Academy of Management Review 44, no. 2 (2017): 299–320. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2016.0107.

Fairclough, Norman L. Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language. 1995. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315834368.

Fast, E., and C. R. Kinewesquao. "Victim-Blaming and the Crisis of Representation in the Violence Prevention Field." International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies 10, no. 1 (2019): 3–25. https://doi.org/10.18357/ijcyfs101201918804.

Fatimah, and F. Pribadi. "The Digital Da'wah (Preachers) and Hegemony in Digital Age." Journal of Southern Sociological Studies 1, no. 2 (2025): 206–223. https://doi.org/10.26740/jsss.v1i2.40520.

Firdaus, D., A. T. Aminuddin, F. F. Alamsyah, V. Sariswara, R. Jayawinangun, and N. I. Soleha. "A Legal and Psychosocial Communication Analysis to End Silence around Sexual Harassment Inside Islamic Boarding Schools." Udayana Journal of Law and Culture 9, no. 2 (2025): 156. https://doi.org/10.24843/ujlc.2025.v09.i02.p02.

Fricker, Miranda. Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing. Birkbeck, University of London, 2007. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198237907.001.0001.

Fuchs, Christian. Social Media: A Critical Introduction. University of Westminster, 2014. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446270066.

Gramsci, Antonio. Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith. Medical Entomology and Zoology, 2015.

Hefner, Claire-Marie. "Morality, Religious Authority, and the Digital Edge." American Ethnologist 49, no. 3 (2022): 359–373. https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13088.

Hefner, Robert W., and Horvatich Patricia. Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia. Johns

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

Hopkins University Press, 1997. https://doi.org/10.21313/9780824863029.

Herawati, N., A. Pancasilawati, and M. Rahmi. "Perlindungan Hak Anak Akibat Kekerasan Seksual Perspektif Maqasid Syariah dan Hukum Positif." MAQASID 12, no. 2 (2023). https://doi.org/10.30651/mqsd.v12i2.18978.

Himam, M. M., A. N. A. Mujib, D. Dina, and M. Irfani. "Shifting Authority, Shaping Spirituality: A Qualitative Digital Survey of Religious Practices among the Indonesian Muslim Students." Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat Religi dan Tradisi) 11, no. 2 (2025): 243–256. https://doi.org/10.18784/smart.v11i2.3125.

Indonesia. Peraturan Menteri Agama Nomor 73 Tahun 2022 tentang Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Satuan Pendidikan [Regulation of Ministry of Religious Affairs No. 73 of 2022 on Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Educational Units]. 2022.

Indonesia. Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2022 tentang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual [Law No. 12 of 2022 on Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence]. 2022.

Jabbar, S. A. "The Doctrine of Sami'a wa Ata'a in Islamic Jurisprudence: Theological and Social Implications." Islamic Legal Studies Quarterly 12, no. 3 (2017): 234–256.

Jamaludin, A. "Institutional Approach: Legal Protection Efforts against Sexual Violence in Islamic Boarding School Educational Institutions." Khazanah Hukum 7, no. 1 (2025): 1–16. https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v7i1.34254.

Jannah, R., and S. A. Ayubi. "Negotiating Ideal Piety in Digital Age: A Mixed-Methods Study on Muslim Cyber Ethics in Indonesia." KOMUNIKE 17, no. 1 (2025): 115–138. https://doi.org/10.20414/jurkom.v17i1.13904.

Kisbiyanto, K. "Enforcement Gaps in Child Protection Law: Managing Strategy of Violence on Students in Islamic Boarding Schools and the Limits of Legal Compliance in Indonesia." Khazanah Hukum 7, no. 3 (2025): 392–416. https://doi.org/10.15575/kh.v7i3.43929.

Komala, A. R., and I. M. D. Fajriyah. "Sexual Violence Survivor Resistance: Reclaiming Safe Spaces for Santriwati in Pesantren." Egalita Jurnal

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

Kesetaraan dan Keadilan Gender 20, no. 1 (2025). https://doi.org/10.18860/egalita.v20i1.33641.

Komnas Perempuan. Darurat Kekerasan Seksual di Pesantren: Rekomendasi Kebijakan dan Intervensi Segera [Emergency of Sexual Violence in Pesantrens]. Komnas Perempuan, 2024.

Komnas Perempuan. Laporan Tahunan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan dan Anak: Fokus Kekerasan Seksual di Institusi Pendidikan [Annual Report on Violence Against Women and Children]. Komnas Perempuan, 2023.

Kurniawan, T., and A. Z. Derajat. "TPKS Law as an Effort to Prevent Relations of Power in Sexual Violence in Religious Education Institutions." HUMANISMA Journal of Gender Studies 6, no. 2 (2022): 166. https://doi.org/10.30983/humanisme.v6i2.5822.

Levine, Michael E. "Regulatory Capture." In Palgrave Macmillan UK eBooks, 1667–1671. Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-74173-1_316.

Lukens-Bull, Ronald. A Peaceful Jihad. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

MacCarthy, Martin. "Nethnography, Complementing Netnography: A Defensible Praxis for the Online Researcher." Current Issues in Tourism 26, no. 23 (2022): 3782–3793. https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2022.2120384.

Musa, Ahmad M. Islamic Jurisprudence and Human Rights: Maqashid Syariah as Framework for Contemporary Islamic Ethics. Oxford University Press, 2020.

Nova, E. "Implikasi Yuridis Pembuktian Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual dalam Perspektif Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2022 bagi Pemenuhan Keadilan Korban." UNES Journal of Swara Justisia 9, no. 1 (2025): 208–219. https://doi.org/10.31933/vfqn8k12.

Ombudsman NTB (Ombudsman Perwakilan Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat). Laporan Investigasi: Upaya Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Pondok Pesantren Wilayah NTB. Ombudsman NTB, 2024.

Papacharissi, Zizi. Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics. 2014.

Pebriaisyah, F. Bz., W. Wilodati, and S. Komariah. "Kekerasan Seksual di Lembaga Pendidikan Keagamaan: Relasi Kuasa Kyai terhadap Santri Perempuan di Pesantren." Jurnal Harkat Media Komunikasi Gender 18, no. 2 (2022): 33–42. https://doi.org/10.15408/harkat.v18i2.26183.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

Pondokan, Hamim M., and Imam Machali. Pesantren dalam Perspektif Sosiologi [Pesantrens in Sociological Perspective]. UNY Press, 2018.

Pratiwi, A. M., I. Fajriyah, L. Anggiasih, J. Drias, and A. Siantoro. "'Kami Butuh Dukungan Melampaui Kebijakan': Tantangan Pelayanan Terpadu Kekerasan Seksual di Provinsi Kalimantan Barat dan Sulawesi Tengah." Jurnal Perempuan 29, no. 1 (2024): 1–16. https://doi.org/10.34309/jp.v29i1.971.

Rahayu, L. S., and F. F. Izaddi. "Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Anak dari Kekerasan Seksual di Lingkungan Pesantren Ditinjau dari Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2022 Tentang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual dan Undang-Undang Nomor 35 Tahun 2014 Tentang Perlindungan Anak." Jurnal Riset Ilmu Hukum (2023): 75–80. https://doi.org/10.29313/jrih.v3i2.2768.

Rahma, A., and S. Ramdani. "Kekerasan Seksual dan Budaya Bungkam di Pesantren: Analisis Kasus Lombok Tengah." Jurnal Studi Islam Kontemporer 18, no. 2 (2023): 156–181.

Rahman, B. A. "Islamic Revival and Cultural Diversity: Pesantren's Configuration in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia." Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies 12, no. 1 (2022): 201–229. https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v12i1.201-229.

Rahmi, L. "Gender, Islam, and Sexuality in Contemporary Indonesia." Politics, Religion & Ideology (2025): 1–3. https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2025.2449822.

Rezky, A. P., and F. A. Putri. "Public Policy Analysis: Root Causes and Solutions of Sexual Violence in Aceh." Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Administrasi Publik 14, no. 1 (2024): 181. https://doi.org/10.26858/jiap.v14i1.58994.

Ridho, A., Moh. U. Damairi, and A. Matswah. "Grassroots Feminist Networks and Interfaith Solidarity against Religious Intolerance: A Digital Ethnography from Indonesia." Harmoni 24, no. 1 (2025): 53–81. https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v24i1.846.

Rodiyah, N. M. "Implementasi Kebijakan Menteri Agama dalam Pencegahan dan Penanganan Kekerasan Seksual di Asrama Santri Bilqolam." Panangkaran Jurnal Penelitian Agama dan Masyarakat 8, no. 1 (2024): 21–33. https://doi.org/10.14421/panangkaran.v8i1.3225.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

Rohmatulloh, D. M. "Digital Santri: The Traditionalist Response to the Religious Populism Wave in Indonesian Islam." 2022, 601–608. https://doi.org/10.5117/9789048557820/icas.2022.069.

Silalahi, E., B. Sarwono, U. Salamah, and I. Irwansyah. "Social Media's Role in Exposing Sexual Violence in Indonesian Islamic Boarding School." International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies 21, no. 2 (2025): 115–134. https://doi.org/10.21315/ijaps2025.21.2.6.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. Freefall: America, Free Markets, and the Sinking of the World Economy. 2010. https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.47-6385.

Sudirman, M. Maqashid Syariah dan Reformasi Hukum Islam Kontemporer [Maqashid Syariah and Contemporary Islamic Legal Reform]. Kencana, 2019.

Suryani, A. J., and R. Rohman. "Faith, Nation, and Digital Piety." Digital Muslim Review 3, no. 1 (2025): 58–82. https://doi.org/10.32678/dmr.v3i1.50.

Syafaq, H., N. L. Musyafa'ah, A. H. A. Banna, and U. Rosyidah. "'Santri without Pesantren' and the Sectarian Violence on Indonesian Muslim Social Media." Cogent Arts and Humanities 13, no. 1 (2026). https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2025.2612046.

Thamrun, S. C. "Kedudukan Rekaman Suara sebagai Alat Bukti dalam Hukum Acara Pidana = Legal Standing of Audio Recording as an Evidence in Criminal Law Procedure." 2017.

Tofiin, T. "Whistle Blower dalam Penanggulangan Tindak Pidana Korupsi di Indonesia Perspektif Fikih Jinayah." IN RIGHT: Jurnal Agama dan Hak Azazi Manusia 2, no. 2 (2017).

Van Laer, Jeroen, and Peter Van Aelst. "Internet and Social Movement Action Repertoires." Information, Communication & Society 13, no. 8 (2010): 1146–1171. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691181003628307.

Wakhidah, N., et al. "From Ethical Outrage to Digital Resistance: Socio-Legal Ethnography of the #Boikottrans7 Controversy and the Reconfiguration of Islamic Authority in Indonesia." International Journal of Social Science Humanity & Management Research 4, no. 11 (2025). https://doi.org/10.58806/ijsshmr.2025.v4i11n02.

Wakhidah, N., S. Safii, and M. A. Anam. "From Ethical Outrage to Digital Resistance: Socio-Legal Ethnography of the #Boikottrans7 Controversy and the Reconfiguration of Islamic Authority in Indonesia." Zenodo, 2025. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17520419.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA

Winarno, E. P., I. Islah, G. Giyoto, T. Suharto, and F. Muharom. "Investigasi Pendidikan Islam terhadap Kuasa Otoritas Kekerasan Seksual di Pesantren." Al Qalam Jurnal Ilmiah Keagamaan dan Kemasyarakatan 19, no. 2 (2025): 958. https://doi.org/10.35931/aq.v19i2.4795.

World Bank. Indonesia Education Sector Report: Toward Safer and More Equitable Learning Environments. World Bank, 2018.

Zainudin, N. H., and W. M. Z. W. Zahari. "Whistleblowing: A Western and Shari'ah Perspective." 2018.

Copyright © 2026 Silatul Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial dan Keagamaan — licensed under CC BY-SA