

Societal Resilience during Pandemic: How Pesantren Supports the Vaccination Program in Indonesia

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Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic handling in Indonesia triggers top-down and bottom-up processes related to policy and program making to decrease the transmission rates. One of the most significant agendas on pandemic handling in Indonesia is mass vaccination. Besides this effort, a wave of misinformation and disinformation related to COVID-19 vaccine products becomes a challenge for the vaccination plan. The government needs more supports to succeed the mass vaccination agenda, having collaboration with broader stakeholders. One of the stakeholders that support the program is Pesantren. This study aims to describe the role of Pesantren on the vaccination program in Indonesia. This research use a qualitative approach, analyzes the phenomenon of mass vaccination, The Presidential-Pesantren dialogue forum and the #SantriSehatIndonesiaHebat movement. The result represents that Pesantren, as one of Indonesia's largest education stakeholders, supports the vaccination movement voluntarily. This support also strengthens social resilience during the pandemic. The result also proves that Pesantren has a prominent role on the national vaccination program, especially targeting Muslim and local community groups. The role of Pesantren in vaccination also strengthens the government's campaign that carries the tagline of safe and halal vaccines.

Keyword: Pesantren, Social Resilience, Pandemic, Vaccination

Abstrak

Proses penanganan pandemi COVID-19 di Indonesia memantik proses *top-down* dan *bottom-up* terkait dengan kebijakan dan upaya untuk menurunkan angka penularan. Salah satu yang menjadi agenda besar adalah memaksimalkan tingkat vaksinasi. Akan tetapi, munculnya gelombang misinformasi dan disinformasi menjadi salah satu tantangan dalam upaya tersebut. Dukungan lebih besar dibutuhkan untuk menyelesaikan agenda vaksinasi massal, salah satunya dari lingkungan Pesantren. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggambarkan peran pesantren dalam program vaksinasi pemerintah Indonesia. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, penelitian ini menganalisis fenomena vaksinasi massal yang melibatkan pesantren, forum dialog presiden, dan gerakan #SantriSehatIndonesiaKuat. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa sebagai salah satu *stakeholder* pendidikan terbesar di Indonesia, pesantren secara sukarela mendukung gerakan vaksinasi yang mampu menumbuhkan ketahanan sosial (*social resilience*). Dukungan ini juga menjadi bukti bahwa pesantren menjadi salah satu penggerak program vaksinasi nasional terutama menyasar kelompok masyarakat muslim. Peran pesantren dalam vaksinasi sekaligus juga menguatkan kampanye pemerintah yang mengusung *tagline* vaksin aman dan halal.

Kata kunci: Pesantren, Ketahanan Sosial, Pandemi, Vaksinasi

Introduction

As COVID-19 continues to spread in Indonesia, then sicken and kill peoples, the mass vaccination program becomes essential to fight the pandemic. After the government authorized the vaccine and it became available in Indonesia, the focus shifted to break the vaccination adoption barrier. Mass vaccination on the majority of the community becomes the key to fighting the COVID-19 pandemic (Dror et al., 2020). On the other hand, Ministry of Health released a survey on August 2021, and it shows that almost 20 percent of samples decided to choose "doubt," "undecided yet," and "unvaccinated" (Ministry of Health, 2021a). Based on the survey, the hesitancy may derive from some specific concern, including the long-term safety (30%), effectivity rate (22%), side effect (12%), anti-vaccine ideology (13%), and religious belief (8%).

This condition shows the crisis on mass vaccination program that held by the government. Besides that, the government faced waves of critics related to the vaccination access, corruption during pandemic, and the needs of vulnerable groups. The crisis faced by Indonesian government related to mass vaccination has made many changes in the policies issued. Several policies, derived initially from the COVID-19 task force, the

ministry of health, and Committee for Handling COVID-19 National Economic Recovery (top-down approach), have become more involved with community organizations (bottom-up movement). Policy maneuvers involving the community also try to increase support for the mass vaccination program that was initiated. The bottom-up movement in encouraging vaccination programs arises from public awareness about social conditions. The community has self-motivation to strive for the best for themselves and the surrounding environment from this movement.

Community acceptance has become the primary key to this vaccination policy. The acceptance of a new governmental program is related to the involvement of key stakeholders in the implementation of programs that meet the needs of the community. Government need to find the important resource to succeed this vaccination program. Related to the Kemenkes's survey, it should build trust on vaccine safety and religious belief. Researches also found that community stakeholder "endorsement" could increase the government trust, including on the health program acceptance. Some of it are the involvement of Ulama (Islamic religious leaders) is essential to counter anti-vaccination rhetoric in Indonesia (Arief & Karlinah, 2019). Also, the information related Zika's vaccine halal issue in media could increase community acceptance among moslem community (Harapan et al., 2019).

The process of community stakeholder involvement in handling this pandemic embraces several elements. One of the largest is Pesantren. Pesantren is one of the major centers in the COVID-19 pandemic control program. As an icon of Indonesian Muslims, the standpoint of pesantren regarding government policies also influences the wider community's perception (Sauri et al., 2018). The significance of the role of the pesantren is also found in several phenomena such as influence the community behavior (Bilal, 2019), education management (Suryana et al., 2020), politics (Tharaba, 2020), and social change (Dakir & Umiarso, 2017).

The role of Pesantren on bottom-up pandemic control policy processes also triggers the formation of societal resilience during the pandemic control. Resilience is a concept that has a positive connotation, the ability and capacity to react on external problems or threats (Chandler, 2012, McEntire, 2015: 36). Resilience is a continuous process of adaptation, and it could be seen on societal perspective as an ability of system on society to resist, accommodate, and recover from the effect of crisis (United Nations, 2009). This societal resilience also pushes the preservation and restoration of the social system, on its structures and functions.

Societal resilience encompasses strategies and implementation that taken by communities or societies. It empowers societies and builds the resilience on current and future crisis. A resilient society has the capacity to deal with adversities, adaptive capability to adjust future threats and learn from experience, then create robustness. Keck & Sakdapolrak (2013) also show that societal resilience grown the culture and society's element learn and evolve, not only depends on their readiness on current or future threats, risks and crises or management practices.

This research supports the development of a recent study of resilience. It aims to describe the role of Pesantren on the vaccination program in Indonesia, related on societal resilience to the COVID-19 pandemic. The study will reveals the ability of Pesantren to contain the pandemic and at the same time maintain its core value. This definition encompasses the capacities of Pesantren to mitigate, absorb and adapt on pandemic control, especially how they support the vaccination program.

Methods

This qualitative study is a more extensive study that explores societal resilience research and community acceptance among Pesantren and larger moslem stakeholders. This paper focuses on the Pesantren movement to succeed in the vaccination program.

All data was gathered on Pesantren collaboration related to the vaccination program, such as The Presidential-Pesantren dialogue forum publication on the Ministry of State Secretariat website and the #SantriSehatIndonesiaKuat movement on social media.

This study gathers the data from the Press Release and dialogue transcript on President-Pesantren dialogue forum that represents the vaccination program for Pondok Pesantren, how the perception on this program was built on Pesantren perspective, and how is the social condition related to vaccination aims in Pesantren perspective. The topic exploration on every message will be analyzed with secondary data on the media reportage of vaccination programs and observation of social conditions around the Pesantren.

Discourse Analysis will analyzes the dialogue and press release with Teun A van Dijk paradigm. Using Teun A van Dijk methods, this analysis will break down three dimensions: text analysis, social cognition, and social context (Waring, 2017, p. 8). These three dimensions will show the social resilience position on Pesantren related to pandemic control and vaccination.

On the other hand, Pesantren also represents their social expression via social media. The role of social media as a valuable window to public opinion and hesitation about vaccines could be further enhanced during the current COVID 19 pandemic, where vaccine-related discourse is being discussed. These data were gathered via manual search on the #SantriSehatIndonesiaHebat movement, which became the center of vaccination support. The discourses shared by Pesantren Account, Pesantren's public figure, and Santri become the database that will be analyzed.

Results

Since the government (Ministry of Religious Affair) prepared the regulation related to offline education activity on Pesantren, the vaccination program also planned. Pesantren vaccination program started last June 2021 (Pemerintah Provinsi Jawa Barat, 2021). West Java province became the pioneer area for the pesantren vaccination program, along with the third phase of the national vaccination who targeting vulnerable communities and people aged 12-17 years (Ministry of Health, 2021b). After that, the pesantren was highlighted as one of the national vaccination centers.

The incessant COVID-19 vaccination program also followed by significant increase on positive/death cases related to COVID-19. Mid-June became the initial alarm for increasing COVID-19 cases until it peaked in July to early August 2021 (Kompas, 2021). At that time, official data from the Ministry of Health also only recorded that less than 23 million people received the first vaccine or around 12.2 per cent on the target of 188 million people being vaccinated (Covid-19 Handling Task Force, 26 July 2021). The Ombudsman also pointed out several susceptibility of phase II vaccination, including limited access to vaccines in health facilities (Ombudsman, 2021).

The policy to concentrate vaccination in several Pesantren started on Phase III of vaccination. During the increase in Covid-19 cases in Indonesia, Pesantren has a role in succeeding the vaccination program. Since August 2021, President Joko Widodo has directly monitored the vaccination process (Sekretariat Kabinet RI, 2021a). At least, until September 2021, three Pesantren have been visited during the President's visit as vaccination centers for santri and the community around Pesantren.

The support started from Pesantren and the West Java Provincial Government, followed by East Java Province, to be the centre of mass vaccinations. It was the beginning of the big role of the rapids in this vaccination program. In a meeting with the East Java Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), President Joko Widodo admitted that he had received the support of many Islamic figures to expand the vaccination program. In fact, in the press release, it is written that:

“They (the Kyai who were present and the MUI) said that East Java was ready to be given the AstraZeneca vaccine and that it would soon be used in Pesantren in East Java. I think this also deserves our appreciation.” (Sekretariat Kabinet RI, 2021b. par. 2).

This quote is part of the meeting that published on the official presidential website. It became the headline of several national media such as Tempo, Liputan 6, and Kontan. President Joko Widodo's statement was written on that media to emphasize the "people's support" for the vaccination program amid the rising of COVID-19 cases at that time. From the microstructure analysis, the President's statement wants to convey a strong message, describing the support for the vaccination program from Islamic public leaders.

The statement from Islamic figures in the same report also contains messages of support for the government. The Chairperson of the East Java MUI, Hasan Mutawakkil Alallah, represented the figures and even showed a positive impression of vaccination program, including by choosing certain dictions such as: *Halalan Thayyiban Vaccine, No government will harm its people, and supported by other components of society* (Sekretariat Kabinet RI, 2021d).

President-Pesantren Dialogue Forum

Start from the end of August to September, President Joko Widodo always included an agenda for visiting the mass vaccination on Pesantren. The Pesantren also cooperates with other institutions, such as the TNI, Polri, and local governments, to be vaccination centers. During his visit, President Joko Widodo published three activities on the official website of the Ministry of State Secretariat. Both press releases for activities and a forum for dialogue between the President and representatives of Islamic boarding schools.

The Pesantren Miftakhul Falah, Kuningan, became the first destination for the pesantren's mass vaccination visiting agenda. During his visit on August 31, 2021, the President opened an interactive dialogue with representatives of Pesantren in Kuningan, Semarang, Binjai, and Sidoarjo.

In this dialogue, the statements of the representatives of Pondok Pesantren raise optimism on pandemic control. Through representatives of the Pondok Pesantren in Kuningan, from Pondok Pesantren Husnul Khotimah, the President received a report that all Santri were *"ready to be vaccinated."*

“Alhamdulillah, everyone is ready to be vaccinated, Mr. President.” (Sekretariat Kabinet RI, 2021a, para. 10).

In the same forum, representatives of santri from Semarang, representing other students, hoped that all of them could be vaccinated soon to return to offline learning (class-meetings) as before the pandemic and continue their education to the higher level. This optimism illustrates the volunteerism and internal motivation to vaccinate against COVID-19 from the santri element.

“When will all Indonesian people, especially santri and students, be vaccinated, Mr. President? So that we can all go back to the learning process as in the past before COVID-19. I also hope you can help me because I want to continue my study in Pesantren and higher education. So that I can achieve the goals that I have always dreamed of, to make my parents proud.”(Sekretariat Kabinet RI, 2021a, para. 26).

In this forum, the same spirit also emerged from every representative of the pesantren, hopes that the COVID-19 mass vaccination program on Pondok Pesantren in Indonesia could help the country get crisis of the high COVID-19 cases. The dialogue built, analyzed by the superstructure, shows the same vision in societal resilience, trying to get out together from the current pandemic crisis. In a formal forum that the President attends, these statements have been prepared to represent what the Pesantren stands. The dialogue also conveyed a clear intention in the perspective of the microstructure, regarding the government's plan to cooperate with Pesantren as vaccine centers. Then, vaccinations will be the requirement on the learning process in Pesantren, also the vaccination program that was built as a program that supports the students' dreams. Rhetorically, all messages conveyed by representatives of the Pesantren also reflect optimism, delivered with the chants and applause that several times echoed, accept the pesantren's mass vaccination program with joy.

President Joko Widodo's second visit related to vaccination in Pesantren was held in Ponorogo, Pesantren K.H Syamsuddin, on September 6, 2021. During his visit, representatives of Pesantren and Houses of Worship reported their role as vaccination centers. One is Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor, a vaccination center for santri, teachers, and local residents.

"Today 1,000 vaccinations are for students, teachers, and lecturers at Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor Campus, of which 2,000 are for the community around Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor and Ponorogo for general. Also 4,000 vaccines are from the Polri Headquarters and Alhamdulillah it has arrived today. We also received vaccine from the Kodam Brawijaya, Alhamdulillah we got 4,500 vaccines for students." (Sekretariat Kabinet RI, 2021b, para. 6)

In that forum dialogue, President and Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor COVID-19 Handling Task Force described the collaboration across institutions, starting from Pesantren, Kodam Brawijaya, Polri Headquarters, and the Indonesian Government. One thing that is emphasized is that this vaccination can encourage offline class meetings to be even more effective. The offline class meeting guide was released three days before the President visits in Ponorogo. Thus, there is a discourse that the vaccination program and the normalization of learning in Pesantren are two interrelated things. In the perspective of the superstructure, based on the ongoing dialogue, representatives of Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor also showed their role as an essential part to encourage the normalization of the Pesantren learning.

The third vaccination program visited by President Joko Widodo took place at the Pondok Pesantren/Dayah Istiqamatuddin Darul Mu'Arrif, Aceh. On this visiting, President Joko Widodo had a virtual dialogue with several Pesantren in Malang, Tanah Laut, and Bantaeng. In the dialogue, the representatives of Pesantren conveyed a similar message, that the Vaccination of Pesantren as part of the support from Santri on pandemic control.

"We from Ponpes DDI Mattoanging Ayam Jantan dari Timur support mass vaccination, always implement 3W: Wearing masks, washing hands, implement social distancing for Indonesia Kuat, Indonesia Sehat."

"We from Pondok, santri are happy, smart and brave, and also kind. Let's join the vaccination program, be safe, and so that Indonesia can quickly return to health. Salam dari para santri!"

"We are Santri Al-Rifa'ie 2 siap mengabdikan, embrace the country, be strong NKRI. I've been vaccinated. Halal! My mask protects you, your mask protects me." (Sekretariat Kabinet RI, 2021c)

The *jargon* message of the Pesantren representatives shows a response that they join the government to end the COVID-19 pandemic. Some of the dictions used are related to characteristics for the vaccination benefit of the people or the wider community, also placing the terms "Social-serve," "Dare," "Halal" and the context for accelerating the post-pandemic recovery and protecting each other.

#SantriSehatIndonesiaKuat Social Media Movement

Cultural factors become one of the important elements in the formation of Social Resilience. The strategy to increase trust related to vaccination also brings more cultural aspects to strengthen the society. When a crisis occurs, coping skills (shock) and adaptive skills (solution) become essential (Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013). Cultures such as values (institutional groupism, humanitarian and long-term orientation), norms (wearing face masks, strict social distance), and schemas (all-family mindset) become important elements besides social resources (institutional trust, political leadership).

The role of Pesantren, Santri, and Muslim public figure in supporting the vaccination program has also appeared on social media using the hashtag #SantriSehatIndonesiaKuat. The social media accounts of Pesantren, Pesantren leaders, and Santri have campaign with this hashtag, especially related to vaccinations in Pesantren.

In the perspective of social resilience, this hashtag is one of the social capitals that contain values, norms, and schema. Not just a "report post" of the vaccination program that has been done, the hashtag is also a form of collective movement and solidarity on behalf of santri and Pesantren in Indonesia. Not just photos of activities, dozens of twibbons and reposts on inter-agency social media accounts such as Pesantren-Puskesmas, Pesantren-Polres, Pesantren-Koramil, are some forms of collaboration in supporting the vaccination program.

One of highlights of the hashtag movement is the adoption of mahfudzot in the graphic or captions in posts. Mahfudzot is a series of proverbs derived from the work of prominent figures with different professions, such as sages, poets, experts in wisdom, the companions of the prophet, religious experts, and also Sufis (Sugirma, 2020).

In the upload on the hashtag #SantriSehatIndonesiaKuat, these mahfudzot (proverb) words become one of the characteristics. Mahfudzot is an important cultural element, because people need to be meaningfully involved in every step of the resilience (Saja et al., 2021). Some mahfudzot who stole a lot of attention on social media are:

Nabi bersabda, "berobatlah, karena sesungguhnya Allah tidak menurunkan penyakit, kecuali pasti menurunkan obatnya, kecuali satu penyakit (yang tidak ada obatnya)," mereka bertanya, "apa itu" ? Nabi bersabda, "penyakit tua." (HR.Tirmidzi, dalam unggahan Pondok Pesantren Al Hikmah Purwoasri, 2021)
"Umur ini adalah amanah dari Allah. Diberikan oleh Allah tapi ada limitnya, ada masanya, ada waktunya dan ada penghujungnya. Umur ini akan menjadi hujah kepada seseorang. Hujah yang baik, bukti yang baik atau sebaliknya bergantung kepada orang itu menggunakan umurnya." (Al-Habib Ali Zaenal Abidin dalam unggahan Pondok Pesantren Ribath, 2021)
Akal Yang Sehat Terletak Pada Badan yang Sehat (Ibnu Sina, dalam unggahan YPIS Sunan Ampel, 2021).

Mahfudzot can be a big culture capital with a strong pesantren identity base. Several institution such as Puskesmas, Polres, to the Koramil also re-uploaded uploads of Pesantren with mahfudzot, representing institutional collectivism and group collectivism on social media.

Mahfudzot also has a role in being a discourse against conspiracy theories and hoaxes related to vaccination. Conspiracy news, misinformation, and hoaxes have become factors in the decline in public confidence in the vaccination program. Several studies have revealed the influence of these elements on the success of vaccination programs (Earnshaw et al., 2020; Georgiou, 2020) including the latest research in Indonesia in Bali (Wirawan et al., 2021) that reveals unverified information stream with other infodemics was confusing the community. Figures in mahfudzot become the dominant factor in delivering the message. In the Pesantren culture, the figures of kyai, habib, and ulema are strategic and respected among santri and the wider Muslim community (Hannan et al., 2020). Thus, the commodification of mahfudzot can increase trust in information sources and strengthen messages, including campaigns to overcome the pandemic and support this vaccination.

Discussion

Social resilience is the ability of society to maintain its core social functions and mitigate the social impact during a crisis. Resilience involves the different scales of the social organization at various level, including individuals, families, communities and societies (Masten & Motti-Stefanidi, 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed people and communities to a complex set of stressors that raise concerns related to health issues and economic and social inequality. Indonesia adopted collective policy to control the pandemic, such as lockdowns dan mass vaccination. But, building social resilience should be a concern, because lockdown, online virtual class education, health issue, and economics inequality will bring a more significant harmful effect related on social, education, and the economic gap among society.

In crisis condition, the government cannot take the control alone. The pandemic crisis was attempted by inter-institutional cooperation, one of the biggest stakeholder is Pesantren to support mass vaccination. Pesantren also has a social support to play an active role in controlling COVID-19. The social support provided by Pesantren is a form of the function of the pesantren, as an educational function (tarbawiyah), a religious function (diniyah), and a social function (ijtima'iyah) (Naimah & Juwita, 2021).

This study reveals two things that Pesantren represents as one of the most significant stakeholders who support the mass vaccination program. The first is the discourse of supporting government programs to alleviate the crisis and as a form of community service as a major social institution in Indonesia.

Pesantren's Support

Social resilience strategy implements the logic of social structuration, it refers to social mechanisms that include existing institutions and social structures that bring the guidelines, limit the behavior, and collaborate with some social actors to support the policy or plans, a collaboration that leads to the social change.

Mass vaccination has become a “norm” that is legitimate by the government. However, even though this is a government program, initiation from community groups can drive the program's success. Pesantren as one of the elements of society can be the primary stakeholder for the success of this program. This step is strategic because pesantren has a significant function and role in the formation of society. Pesantren have experienced dealing with various types of society for a long time. Pesantrens grow on the community's support, established because of the encouragement of the demand and needs of the community so that the pesantren has a significant function in society (Candra, 2019). The number of Pesantren schools in Indonesia, which reaches 26,975 institution (Ministry of Religious Affair, 2021), certainly promises success in implementing vaccination.

Based on the dialogue and the #SantriSehatIndonesiaKuat Movement, the form of support from Pesantren is more dominant in the form of proactive resilience. Like a healthy immune system, proactive resilience can protect the social system. It requires solid anticipatory/predictive capabilities and agile response that gradually develop through experiential learning, continuous self-reflection, and strong proxy learning (Masten & Motti-Stefanidi, 2020).

One of the emphasis in the discourse is collaboration. Almost all Pesantren become vaccination centers and represent collaboration between agencies. Pondok Pesantren as a vaccination center is described as helping the vaccination process for santri, teachers, and community around and vaccine assistance provided by Puskesmas, Polres, and TNI.

The representation of Pesantren that support the vaccination program reflect the social resilience during pandemics, highlighting communities' role as the supporting core of social functions. Pesantren as a center of mass vaccination program is a part voluntary action, within santri, kyai, and all teachers also support this program. All of that aims to upgrade the social safety of the most vulnerable people and important activities, especially education. Reflecting on the long-term social impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, including health issues, inequality and worsening of poverty, seems to be the most important issue. It's all in the recovery stage for social resilience.

The support movement on vaccination also represents solidarity. This solidarity is shown through the messages to take care of oneself and others. The role of Pesantren as the center of the vaccination program is also associated with solidarity. The discourse on strengthening others that are echoed in the vaccination process becomes important as social capital. Pesantren also help to strengthen social capital in spreading positive messages related to vaccines used within the community. It also influences community trust and the utilization of vaccines and has a broader effect that impact on the program trust in the Indonesia health system, to increased health system utilization.

What Pesantren communicate during this vaccination program are social capital that the government cannot ignore. Social capital is important on community resilience. The success of the rapid vaccination program will reflect satisfaction with the policies and services, and the public can also receive fewer negative messages related to this mass vaccination program.

The vaccine is Safe and Halal

Vaccination against COVID-19 in Pesantren shows a variety of messages. From these messages, Pesantren plays a role in improving trust in Indonesia's health services and health systems, becoming the key to maintaining resilience and avoiding vulnerabilities.

Several researches highlighted key vulnerabilities related to health systems management and communication channels exacerbated by the major crisis to the health system or miscommunication (Cooper et al., 2008; Ndiaye et al., 2003; Sarriot et al., 2015). The communication channel built by Pesantren within the dialogue forum and social media movement became an upgrade to prevent this social vulnerability. Pesantren serves as a communication channel to spread information and is accessible to those who previously had no access. Pesantren also has a higher trust inn community and makes the communication message increasingly difficult to moderate and contain the spread of false information. This condition is critical to the future of trust in vaccination and the health system in Indonesia, as people increasingly turn to the internet and social media for advice and answers.

Halal status and safeness become the main issue faced by the vaccination agenda in Indonesia. Pesantrens are aware of this position and often voice messages about the safety and halal status of vaccinations in their messages to the public. The Movement to

voice that vaccines are halal and safe are implemented in various forms. For example, the results of Bahtsul Masail NU Number I of 2021 based on fiqh views regarding the use of AstraZeneca vaccines which state that the use of AstraZeneca vaccines is allowed under normal conditions, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic (Naimah & Juwita, 2021). Through jargon, captions, and other uploads on social media, the pesantren seems to reflect several important messages: Pesantren understands the major information related to the vaccination program, the communication channels and how they leverage on it.

1. Pesantren movement are also developing effective communication strategies from the grassroots levels. Pesantren message ensures accurately and trusted information about vaccines and the health system flow from the community to the national level.
2. Pesantren is also developing high levels of positive social capital within communities, representing a pandemic nationalism/vaccine nationalism.
3. Pesantren also brings on the premise that “vaccine is considered not only as just protective ways against the pandemic” or “it is not just about our santri or our education, but it is all about ours.”

Conclusion

Pesantren as education stakeholders in Indonesia have a major role in social resilience in Indonesia during the COVID-19 pandemic, especially in the safe and halal vaccine campaign. The number of Pesantren which reached 26,975 institutions became one of the determinants of the vaccination program success rate. The pesantren's support for vaccination has become a countering movement against hoax issues and news circulating in the Muslim community about the Covid-19 conspiracy theory and its vaccine. The success of the rapid vaccination program reflects satisfaction with Covid-19 policies and services.

The role of pesantren in the formation of social resilience is indicated by the existence of a proactive resilience that can protect the social system. Islamic boarding schools are actively conducting vaccine awareness campaigns with the hashtag #SantriSehatIndonesiaKuat. More than just being proactive, the pesantren collaborated with the Puskesmas, the Police and the TNI to make the mass vaccination program a success. In addition, pesantren also show solidarity with messages to take care of themselves and others by implementing new habit adaptations and vaccinations. The overall support shown by pesantren is the main social capital in the formation of social resilience during the Covid-19 pandemic. It strengthens the function of pesantren as an educational function (*tarbawiyyah*), a religious function (*diniyah*), and a social function (*ijtima'iyyah*).

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