The salafiyah pesantren movement in Banten: Resistance and negotiation for institutional recognition

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Abstract:

This article analyzes the dynamics of the socio-religious movement of the Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School (Majelis Pesantren Salafiyah--MPS) in Banten in fighting for institutional recognition. Using the perspective of resource mobilization theory and framing analysis, this research explores the forms of resistance and negotiation carried out by MPS in response to marginalization by government policy. Research findings show that MPS mobilizes cultural resources based on religious values and the identity of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools as a strategy to fight against discrimination in educational policies. Through the formation of formal organizations, collective action, and policy advocacy, MPS succeeded in influencing the birth of Regional Regulation No. 7 of 2012 concerning the Implementation of Education in Banten, which includes Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools within the framework of recognized educational institutions. This research contributes to an understanding of how Islamic boarding school-based religious social movements strive for institutional recognition through a combination of cultural resistance and political negotiation strategies.

Keywords: religious social movements; resource mobilization; framing; cultural resistance, Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School**.**

INTRODUCTION

Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools, as traditional Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia have experienced marginalization in the national education system (Syafe'i, 2017). Even though they have long historical roots and significant contributions in the formation of the socio-religious order, Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools are often underestimated by government policies. This condition triggered the birth of religious social movements as a response to forms of institutional discrimination.

In Banten, this phenomenon is clearly visible with the emergence of the Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School Council (MPS) as a collective movement of kyai and managers of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools. The establishment of MPS in 2011 reflects a systematic effort to fight for institutional recognition and equality in the education system. This movement is interesting to study because it illustrates how

traditional institutions organize themselves in the face of structural marginalization through strategies of resistance and negotiation.

Much research has been conducted on religion-based social movements in Indonesia. However, studies that specifically examine the social movement of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in fighting for institutional recognition are still limited. In fact, this phenomenon presents an interesting perspective on how traditional educational institutions mobilize their cultural resources to gain legitimacy in the context of modern educational policy.

Studies on religious social movements in Indonesia have explored various forms of mobilization, ranging from the role of charismatic religious figures to institutional responses to crises. Ritonga (2023) highlights how ulama can lead faith-based social actions, while Nubowo (2022) shows how organizations like Muhammadiyah integrate fatwas with humanitarian responses during emergencies such as the pandemic. These studies illustrate the dynamics of authority and power in shaping religious movements. Other research reveals how traditional religious practices serve as tools of resistance against structural domination. Kholiq et al. (2022) present the Kalang Shaman rituals as a form of cultural defiance, while Jamaludin (2021) analyzes sectarian conflicts influenced by socio-demographic factors. These findings demonstrate the role of religion in reinforcing collective identity and expressing social resistance.

However, there is still a lack of focused studies on how Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools, as traditional institutions, mobilize to fight for institutional recognition within the formal education system. Most attention remains on large organizations or individual actors. Therefore, this study is essential to address that gap by analyzing how the Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School Council (MPS) in Banten constructs its collective identity and social movement strategies.

The research questions that are the focus of this article are: (1) How does the Banten Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School Council construct collective identity as the basis of religious social movements? (2) What resistance and negotiation strategies does the MPS use in fighting for institutional recognition? (3) How does the MPS mobilize cultural and structural resources to achieve its movement goals?

This article uses a social movement theoretical perspective developed in contemporary studies. Social movements are defined as "organized collective efforts to effect social change or resist undesirable change" (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004). This perspective emphasizes that social movements are not simply spontaneous expressions of collective dissatisfaction, but rather organized actions with a clear goal of social change.

Resource mobilization theory is the main framework for analyzing the Banten MPS movement. According to Dussault (2025), this theory focuses on the importance of access to various types of resources and the ability of actors to mobilize them to achieve collective goals. Sánchez-Bayón and Daumann (2025) emphasize that the success of social movements depends not only on the presence of dissatisfaction, but also on effective resource mobilization strategies.

Yang and Cao (2025) explain that the mobilization process refers to the formation of groups, associations and organizations to achieve collective goals. In the context of MPS Banten, resource mobilization analysis helps understand how Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools which previously operated independently can organize themselves in a formal forum to fight for common interests.

As a complement to resource mobilization theory, this research also uses framing analysis in social movements. Chakraborty (2024) explains that framing refers to the process by which social movement actors construct and interpret social issues to mobilize support and legitimize collective action. This process is important because, as stated by Saxonberg and Pažma (2025), the combination of framing and emotional approaches greatly influences the dynamics of social movements.

Satheesh and Benford (2020) identified three framing tasks in social movements: (1) diagnostic framing – identifying the problem and its causes; (2) prognostic framing – offering a solution to the problem; and (3) motivational framing – providing reasons to act collectively. This approach helps analyze how MPS Banten constructs narratives about discrimination against Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools and builds reasons for collective action. Snow et al. (2020) emphasize that the effectiveness of framing depends on its resonance with the values and beliefs of the targeted constituency.

This article also utilizes the concepts of resistance and negotiation that have been developed in contemporary social movement studies. Bray et al. (2019) define resistance as an act of opposition to dominant power, while negotiation includes a process of exchange, bargaining, and compromise in achieving movement goals. Rivera-Rodriguez et al. (2025) emphasize that the combination of resistance

and negotiation strategies is an important characteristic in contemporary social movements, especially when dealing with established power structures.

In the context of religious social movements, Tahir et al. (2025) stated that religion-based mobilization has the distinctive feature of utilizing cultural resources and social networks rooted in religious communities. This approach is relevant to understanding how MPS Banten utilizes religious identity, kyai authority, and Islamic boarding school networks in mobilizing support. Coley et al. (2024) added that the structure of educational opportunities also influences the form and results of activism based on religious educational institutions.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with document analysis methods as the main data collection technique. According to Njue and Odek (2025), a qualitative approach is very appropriate for analyzing the dynamics of participation in social movements because it is able to capture the complexity of the motivations and strategies of collective actors (Mustari & Rahman, 2012; Setia & Rahman, 2022). The main document analyzed is a historical narrative about the formation and struggle of the Banten Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School Council in fighting for institutional recognition. This document provides information regarding the background, the process of forming the organization, collective action strategies, and the results achieved by the movement.

Document analysis was carried out using an interpretive approach to identify patterns of resistance and negotiation strategies carried out by MPS Banten. Buyukozturk et al. (2021) emphasize that an interpretive approach allows researchers to interpret the meaning and context of collective actions carried out by movement actors, especially in the context of movements that use new and traditional media simultaneously.

To enrich the analysis, this research also utilizes secondary sources about Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in Banten and the educational policy context that surrounds them. This includes academic studies, government reports, and policy documents relevant to the research theme. Shriver et al. (2020) suggest a multi-source approach to validating findings in social movement studies, especially when analyzing dynamics of resistance and negotiation.

In analyzing the data, this research uses an analytical framework developed by Barranco and Parcerisa (2023), which focuses on three main dimensions: (1) collective identity construction and issue framing; (2) cultural and structural resource mobilization strategies; and (3) forms of resistance and negotiation in the struggle for institutional recognition. This framework was chosen because it can bridge classical and contemporary perspectives in social movement studies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Salafiyah Islamic Boarding Schools in the modern education system

Banten has a significant number of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools, in fact making up the majority of the total existing Islamic boarding schools. Data from the Ministry of Religion of Banten Province shows that of the total Islamic boarding schools in Banten, Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools number more than 2,700 institutions, far exceeding the number of modern Islamic boarding schools (362) and combination Islamic boarding schools (297). In Pandeglang Regency alone there are 983 Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools, while in Tangerang Regency there are 522 institutions.

The paradox of marginalization of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in Banten reflects what Rivera-Rodriguez et al. (2025) as an "institutional hierarchy" in public policy, where majority groups with traditional cultural capital can be subordinated by policy structures that adopt the paradigm of modernity. Structural analysis of marginalization is important to understand the context of the emergence of the resistance movement from Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools. As Dussault (2025) points out, social movements often emerge from structural inequalities that are consistently ignored by policymakers. Based on the results of discussions on Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in Banten (February 2011), four forms of structural discrimination were identified, which are interrelated and contribute to the marginalization of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools: (1) epistemological discrimination: Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools have not been fully recognized as educational institutions in the national education policy paradigm. Satheesh and Benford (2020) explain that this is a form of "epistemic violence" where knowledge and pedagogical

methods that differ from the modern mainstream are systematically marginalized; (2) financial discrimination: There is a significant inequality in funding support between institutions under the Ministry of Religion and the Ministry of Education. Njue and Odek (2025) underline that inequality in budget resource allocation is the most obvious and easily measurable form of structural discrimination; (3) discriminatory development policies: Regional development policies do not accommodate the basic values of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools, even though Banten rhetorically emphasizes its vision of development based on "Faith and Taqwa". Saxonberg and Pažma (2025) note that the contradiction between rhetoric and policy implementation is a discursive space that social movements can exploit to build delegitimization arguments; (4) discrimination in public perception: There is a negative public perception of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools as traditional institutions that are "unsold" and "backward". Coley et al. (2024) argue that this perceptual discrimination is the result of discursive hegemony that prioritizes modernity standards in the assessment of educational institutions.

This double context of discrimination (structural and cultural) became the basis for the emergence of a social religious movement based on Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in Banten. This analysis is in line with the findings of Bray et al. (2019) who identified that groups who are culturally and structurally marginalized tend to form social movements with resistance strategies that emphasize cultural legitimacy as a first step before demanding redistribution of resources.

Formation of the Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School Council

The formation of the Banten Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School (MPS) Council on May 9 2011 marked an important transformation from collective discontent into an organized social movement. This phenomenon can be analyzed through Yang and Cao's (2025) framework of "formalization of resistance" which explains that formal organizational structures provide the basis of legitimacy, visibility, and sustainability for social movements.

MPS was established by notarial deed and publicly declared on May 18 2011 at Alun-Alun Serang Banten through an istighosah event attended by more than four thousand Islamic students and kyai. Barranco and Parcerisa (2023) explain that collective rituals such as istighosah in the context of religious social movements have a dual function: (1) as a demonstration of numerical power; and (2) as a ritual to strengthen internal solidarity.

The MPS Declaration articulates the movement's goal, namely "to preserve and develop salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in Banten." The MPS organizational structure involves 18 main declarators who are kyai and leaders of leading Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in Banten, with KH. Matin Syarkowi as General Chair and KH. Wawang Munawar Halili as Secretary. The formation of this formal structure reflects what Tahir et al. (2025) as "the transformation of symbolic capital into organizational capital" in religion-based social movements.

Analysis of the resource mobilization process in the formation of the MPS revealed four main strategies implemented: (1) consolidation of cultural leadership. where MPS succeeded in gathering 18 influential kyai as declarators, utilizing what Edwards and McCarthy (2021) call the Islamic boarding school's "socio-cultural capital" which is embedded in the structure of Banten society. The cultural legitimacy of the clerics was transformed into a leadership resource for the movement; (2) symbolic-religious mobilization, namely the use of the *istighasah* ritual involving thousands of Islamic boarding school students, which is a form of "performative politics" which shows the capacity for mass mobilization and symbolically shows spiritual power as a source of collective identity (Buyukozturk et al., 2021); (3) formal institutionalization, namely the formation of MPS with a notarial deed, shows an adaptive strategy for entering the formal-legal arena, reflecting what Shriver et al. (2020) call it an "institutionalization tactic" to gain legitimacy in a system that excludes them; (4) inter-Islamic boarding school network, where MPS utilizes the Salafiyah Islamic boarding school network spread across various regions of Banten to build a broad and representative coalition. Chakraborty (2024) emphasizes that the spatial dimension of social movement networks is an important factor in the mobilization ability and resilience of movements.

The establishment of a formal MPS structure allows for more effective resource mobilization, including: (1) strengthening internal solidarity among Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools; (2) coordinating collective action for policy advocacy; (3) building legitimacy as the official representation of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in Banten; and (4) expanding support networks from various elements of society. This phenomenon

confirms Sánchez-Bayón and Daumann's (2025) thesis that organizational formalization expands the capacity of social movements to negotiate with formal state institutions.

Collective identity construction and framing strategies

MPS Banten constructs a collective identity based on the values and traditions of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools as the basis of social movements. This identity construction process is a form of "tradition-based identity politics" (Rivera-Rodriguez et al., 2025), which uses tradition as a basis for legitimacy in the face of marginalization by the narrative of modernity. In this process, MPS frames the issue with three main components, namely diagnostic framing, MPS identifies the main problem as "systematic discrimination" against Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in education policy. The cause is identified as the dominance of the modern educational paradigm which ignores the traditional values and contributions of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools. In a discussion of salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in February 2011, MPS stated that "the basic values of development in Banten have been distorted" to become "pragmatic, secularist and transactionalist" which threatens the existence of salafiyah Islamic boarding schools as "the last basis of the basic values adhered to." injustice, but also deconstructing the dominant narrative that legitimizes this injustice. MPS explicitly criticizes the "modernist" and "secularist" paradigm in development, framing the issue not only as a matter of discrimination against Islamic boarding schools, but as a threat to the fundamental values of Banten society.

Prognostic framing, MPS offers a solution in the form of legal recognition of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools as educational institutions that are equal to other educational institutions. They demanded the implementation of Law no. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System which recognizes the diversity of forms of education, and Law no. 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government which mandates community empowerment without discrimination. Then, prognostic framing, MPS shows what Barranco and Parcerisa (2023) call "frame bridging" where social movements link their specific demands to broader, universally accepted principles and legal frameworks. By linking their demands to the National Education System Law and the Regional Government Law, the MPS shows that their struggle is not for special privileges, but rather for the consistent implementation of principles that have been accepted in the national legal system. The last is motivational framing, where MPS motivates participation in the movement by emphasizing the historical role of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools as guardians of Islamic traditions and values in Banten. They emphasized that the struggle was not only for the benefit of the Islamic boarding school, but also to maintain the cultural identity and religiosity of the Banten people.

Critical analysis of MPS's motivational framing reveals the use of a "frame amplification" strategy (Snow et al., 2020), in which social movements strengthen the resonance of their claims by linking them to deeper and broader values in society. MPS not only frames the struggle as a matter of Islamic boarding school institutional interests, but also as a struggle to maintain the cultural identity and religiosity of Banten as a whole.

The triangulation of these three framing elements demonstrates what Coley et al. (2024) This is referred to as "strategic frame alignment," where the problem diagnosis, proposed solutions, and motivation to act form a coherent narrative that has strong cultural resonance with the target constituency. The MPS framing strategy succeeded in linking specific issues (institutional recognition) with broader values (cultural identity and religiosity), thereby mobilizing support from various elements of society.

Dialectics of confrontation and compromise

MPS Banten employs a combination of resistance and negotiation strategies in the struggle for institutional recognition, reflecting what Bray et al. (2019) as the "dialectic of confrontation and compromise" in contemporary social movements. The resistance strategy implemented by MPS includes: (1) forming a rival organization. Through MPS, Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools form formal organizations that are an alternative to mainstream educational structures. This is a form of institutional resistance to marginalization, which, according to Buyukozturk et al. (2021) functions as a "counter-institution" that creates a space of relative autonomy from hegemonic domination; (2) mass mobilization, the *istighosah* event at the MPS declaration, which was attended by thousands of Islamic students and kyai showed the capacity for mass mobilization as a form of symbolic resistance. Njue and Odek (2025) identified that the demonstration of numerical strength is an important strategy for groups that are structurally marginalized but have a broad mass base; (3) discursive resistance, MPS actively criticizes the "distortion of development values" and

builds an alternative narrative about the role of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools as "the final basis for basic values" amidst the current of modernization and globalization. Saxonberg and Pažma (2025) explain that discursive resistance functions to delegitimize ideological frameworks that justify exclusion and marginalization.

First, Identity Politics. MPS uses religious and cultural identity as a basis for resistance, emphasizing the legitimacy of the Salafiyah Islamic boarding school tradition in the socio-religious context in Banten. Chakraborty (2024) calls this strategy "spatializing identity politics" where identity is linked to cultural territoriality to strengthen claims for recognition.

Along with the resistance strategy, MPS also carried out strategic negotiations that showed pragmatic flexibility in achieving the movement's goals: (1) policy advocacy, MPS dialogued with various stakeholders, including Banten DPRD members from all factions and regional governments, to fight for policies that accommodated Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools. Edwards and McCarthy (2021) identify that access to policymakers is a crucial resource in social movements oriented towards policy change; (2) formal-legal approach, MPS uses legal arguments based on the National Education System Law and the Regional Government Law to legitimize demands for institutional recognition. This strategy reflects what Tahir et al. (2025) as "juridification of social movements" where social movements adopt legal frameworks and language to strengthen the legitimacy of their demands; (3) strategic adaptation, although initially proposing the Tahfidz Regional Regulation specifically for salafiyah Islamic boarding schools, MPS finally accepted the inclusion of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in a broader scope, namely Regional Regulation No. 7 of 2012 concerning the Implementation of Education. Shriver et al. (2020) note that pragmatic flexibility in accepting incremental gains is an important strategy for the long-term success of social movements.

Second, Use of Media and Public Spaces. MPS uses public spaces (squares) for declarations and utilizes the media to disseminate their messages. Dussault (2025) emphasizes the importance of public visibility in improving the bargaining position of social movements in negotiations with authorities. This dialectic of resistance and negotiation strategies reflects what Rivera-Rodriguez et al. (2025) call "strategic adaptability" in contemporary social movements. MPS demonstrated the ability to move between confrontational and collaborative positions, adapting strategies to the context and available political opportunities. This combination of strategies enables MPS to maintain the integrity of its core values while remaining effective in achieving tangible policy changes.

Results of the struggle: Regional Regulation No. 7 of 2012 and criticism of partial recognition

MPS Banten's struggle resulted in the birth of Regional Regulation no. 7 of 2012 concerning the Implementation of Education in Banten. This regional regulation places Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools as part of the educational subject in Banten and recognizes them as non-formal educational institutions. Article 19 states that non-formal education is integrated with "noble moral education, character education, moral education, local wisdom and cultural values" - aspects that are the strengths of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools. This regional regulation also mandates government support in the form of: (1) assistance for the construction of facilities and infrastructure; (2) stimulants; (3) operational assistance; and (4) scholarships. Theoretically, a minimum of 20% of the Provincial APBD is allocated for education, including non-formal education.

Critical analysis of Regional Regulation no. 7 of 2012 reveals several important dimensions in the dynamics of institutional recognition of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools: (1) partial recognition and ambiguity in implementation. This regional regulation provides formal recognition of the existence of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools, but its implementation is partial and ambiguous. Barranco and Parcerisa (2023) explain that partial recognition is a strategy often used by the state to suppress social movements without fully accommodating the substance of their demands. The regional regulation mentions government support, but does not have a clear implementation mechanism, as admitted by the Head of the Banten Province Education Service that "the identification of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools has not been carried out comprehensively."; (2) subordination in the category "informal." placing Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools as "non-formal" educational institutions reflects what Saxonberg and Pažma (2025) call "hierarchical inclusion" where recognition is given within a framework that maintains hierarchical relations by placing subjects in subordinate categories. This categorization maintains a dichotomy between "formal" (modern) education which is considered superior and "non-formal" (traditional) education which is considered inferior; (3) contradictory standardization, in this case the regional regulation mandates

standardization that refers to the formal education model, such as the requirement to be a legal entity and have a Decree from the Department of Law and Human Rights. Coley et al. (2024) criticize this phenomenon as "isomorphic standardization" where recognition is given on condition of conformity to the dominant model, thereby potentially threatening the distinctiveness of the recognized institution.

Although the Regional Regulation mandates a minimum budget allocation of 20% for education including non-formal education, its implementation shows significant gaps. As noted in the document, "there is not 1% for Salafiyah Islamic Boarding Schools" of the 20% education budget. Dussault (2025) calls this phenomenon "symbolic policy concession" where formal recognition is not followed by substantive redistribution of resources. Ambivalence of Cultural Specificities: Regional Regulation no. 7 of 2012 failed to optimally identify the uniqueness and strengths of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools, so it gave the impression of including Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools "as long as they exist" without substantive recognition of their unique characteristics. Chakraborty (2024) argues that recognition that is not accompanied by respect for cultural specificity is a form of "epistemological violence" that reproduces the epistemic dominance of modern knowledge systems.

Dialectical analysis of the results of the MPS struggle shows paradoxical achievements: on the one hand, Regional Regulation no. 7 of 2012 was a political victory by giving formal recognition to Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools; on the other hand, this recognition is partial and has the potential to become a co-optation mechanism that weakens the movement's critical power. This situation reflects what Yang and Cao (2025) call the "paradox of partial recognition" where social movements are faced with the dilemma of whether to accept partial recognition or continue the struggle at the risk of continued marginalization.

The relative success of MPS Banten in fighting for institutional recognition can be explained by their ability to mobilize various types of resources. Using Edwards and McCarthy's (2021) typology, analysis of MPS resource mobilization reveals several important dimensions: (1) moral resources, where MPS succeeded in mobilizing moral legitimacy based on the traditional position of Islamic boarding schools and kyai in Banten's socio-religious structure. This legitimacy creates what Tahir et al. (2025) call "moral leverage" in negotiating with authorities. Interestingly, this moral legitimacy is dual: on the one hand it comes from the traditional authority of kyai in the socio-religious structure, on the other hand it is strengthened by their position as representatives of "marginalized voices" in the context of educational policy; (2) cultural resources, where MPS utilizes symbolic, ritual and knowledge treasures rooted in the Salafiyah Islamic boarding school tradition. Istighosah rituals, use of religious symbols, and emphasis on traditional values become cultural capital that is mobilized to strengthen internal cohesion and gain external support. Njue and Odek (2025) note that in a context of scarcity of material resources, cultural capital is often the main basis for social movement mobilization of marginalized groups; (3) socio-organizational resources, where the inter-Islamic boarding school network that has been established for a long time is consolidated through MPS, creating a mobilization structure that reaches various regions in Banten. The leadership of the kyai which already has social legitimacy is transformed into organizational leadership in the MPS. Buyukozturk et al. (2021) emphasize that the transformation of informal networks into formal organizational structures is a crucial step in increasing the capacity of social movements to interact with state institutions; (4) human resources. MPS succeeded in mobilizing thousands of students and supporters in collective actions such as istighosah, demonstrating significant mass mobilization capacity. However, this mobilization has been episodic rather than sustained, reflecting limitations in sustaining active engagement of base constituencies over the long term. Shriver et al. (2020) identified that episodic mobilization patterns are a common challenge in community-based social movements; (5) material resources, this aspect is the biggest weakness of MPS, reflected in the limitations of organizational infrastructure, funding and access to mass media. These limited material resources affect the MPS's capacity to carry out ongoing advocacy and press for policy implementation after the ratification of the Regional Regulation. Rivera-Rodriguez et al. (2025) explain that inequality in access to material resources is a significant structural obstacle for social movements from marginalized groups.

Comparative analysis of MPS resource mobilization shows a significant imbalance between the richness of moral-cultural resources and the limited material-infrastructural resources. This inequality explains the paradoxical pattern of MPS achievement: successful in obtaining formal recognition (Perda) but weak in pressing for substantive implementation of that recognition. This phenomenon confirms Barranco and Parcerisa's (2023) thesis about the importance of "resource conversion" in social movements, where

long-term success depends on the ability to transform one type of resource (e.g. moral legitimacy) into another type of resource (e.g. material support) to support movement sustainability.

The MPS case also shows the dynamics of "uneven resource mobilization" where social movements are more successful in mobilizing the traditional resources they already have (social, cultural, and moral capital) rather than gaining access to new resources needed to operate effectively in the formal political arena (funds, media access, and organizational infrastructure). Sánchez-Bayón and Daumann (2025) call this phenomenon a "resource mobilization trap" that limits the transformation from collective mobilization to sustainable institutional change.

MPS Banten in the dialectic of tradition and modernity

The Banten MPS struggle offers an important reflection on social religious movements in the context of the dialectic of tradition and modernity. Meta-theoretical analysis reveals some of the paradoxes and dilemmas facing this kind of movement:

1. Resistance-accommodation paradox: MPS faces a dilemma between maintaining the epistemological autonomy of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools (resistance) and adopting a modern institutional framework to gain recognition (accommodation). Coley et al. (2024) refer to this as the "resistance-accommodation paradox," a phenomenon commonly faced by tradition-based social movements in the context of modernity.
2. The dilemma of puritanism vs. pragmatism: There is a tension between maintaining the purity of Salafiyah Islamic boarding school traditions (puritanism) and making strategic adaptations to meet formal education requirements (pragmatism). Chakraborty (2024) explains that this dilemma reflects the contestation between "purification" and "hybridization" in identity-based social movements.
3. Institutionalization tensions: The formalization of MPS as an organization with a modern structure creates tensions with the traditional and non-hierarchical characteristics of the Salafiyah Islamic boarding school network. Saxonberg and Pažma (2025) identify this phenomenon as an "institutionalization dilemma" where formalization can increase effectiveness while reducing movement flexibility and authenticity.
4. Limitations of cultural framing: Although MPS's cultural-religious framing is effective in mobilizing internal support from the Islamic boarding school community, its effectiveness is limited in reaching support from non-groups.

CONCLUSION

This article analyzes the socio-religious movement of the Banten Salafiyah Islamic Boarding School Council in fighting for institutional recognition, with a focus on the forms of resistance and negotiation carried out. Based on the analysis, several things can be concluded: *First,* the formation of MPS Banten was an organized response to the marginalization of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools in education policy. Through formal organizing, MPS succeeded in transforming individual dissatisfaction into structured collective action. *Second,* MPS constructs a collective identity and frames issues effectively. They identify the problem as "systematic discrimination", offer solutions in the form of legal-institutional recognition, and motivate participation by linking the struggle to broader values such as cultural identity and religiosity. *Third,* MPS applies a combination of adaptive resistance and negotiation strategies. They carry out resistance through the formation of rival organizations, mass mobilization, and discursive resistance, while negotiating through policy advocacy, legal-formal approaches, and strategic adaptation. *Fourth,* the MPS struggle resulted in partial recognition in Regional Regulation no. 7 of 2012, although with significant limitations. This regional regulation recognizes Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools as non-formal educational institutions and mandates government support, but fails to optimally identify the uniqueness and strengths of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools. *Fifth,* the relative success of the MPS can be explained by their ability to mobilize cultural, network, intellectual and symbolic resources in the struggle for institutional recognition.

These findings show that Islamic boarding school-based religious social movements have the capacity to organize themselves and carry out policy advocacy through a complex combination of strategies. This study also confirms the relevance of resource mobilization theory and framing analysis in understanding contemporary social religious movements in Indonesia. For further research, an in-depth exploration of the long-term impact of partial institutional recognition on the development of Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools

in Banten is necessary, as well as the adaptation strategies employed by Islamic boarding schools in response to changing educational policies.

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