

Pesantren-Based Peace Education: Including the Marginalized through the Munajat Jalanan Street Prayer Gathering in Malang

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Abstract

Street children and punk communities in Indonesian cities frequently experience structural violence in the form of stigma, social exclusion, and limited access to formal religious spaces a condition that peace studies term *negative peace*. This article examines the Munajat Jalanan (Street Prayer) religious gathering held at the Riyadlotul Athfal (PPRA) Al Ghozali Islamic boarding school (pesantren) in Malang Regency as a model of pesantren-based peace education directed at transforming that condition toward *positive peace*. Unlike earlier studies of the same community that placed the internalization of moderate Islamic values at their center, this article draws on Johan Galtung's peace education framework together with the principles of inclusive education to reread the same ethnographic data and surface the inclusion mechanisms operating beneath it. The study uses a qualitative approach with an ethnographic design; data were collected through participant observation, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, field notes, and visual and audio documentation, and their trustworthiness was established through source and method triangulation. The findings show that the inclusion of marginalized groups in this gathering works through three mechanisms: access without social preconditions, equal participation in funding and organizing activities, and a hidden curriculum grounded in compassion, realized through informal learning spaces such as Iqra' Squad. Together, these three mechanisms drive a cumulative shift from negative peace toward positive peace, visible in the restoration of religious trust among marginalized participants and the formation of inclusive social capital. The article argues that pesantren can function as an effective informal space for peace education for groups marginalized from the formal religious education system.

Keywords: Peace Education, Inclusive Education, Pesantren, Marginalized Communities

Introduction

Johan Galtung distinguishes two forms of violence that often go unrecognized as violence: structural violence, embedded in systems and institutions in ways that block a person from fulfilling their potential, and cultural violence, manifested in stigma, labels, and worldviews that legitimize the marginalization of particular groups¹. Neither form typically involves direct physical contact, yet their impact on a person's quality of life is no less serious than that of direct violence. Street children and punk communities in many of Indonesia's large cities experience both forms of violence simultaneously: structurally, they lose access to basic services including formal religious education, and culturally, they are stigmatized as a group associated with criminality and deviant behavior.

This kind of marginalization produces what Galtung calls *negative peace* a condition that appears calm on the surface because no open conflict is occurring, but that in fact conceals

¹Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," Journal of Peace Research 6, no. 3 (1969): 167–191.

structural injustice unfolding quietly². Urban marginalized groups, including street children and punk communities, live in exactly this condition: they are not engaged in open conflict with the surrounding community, yet they are systematically excluded from formative spaces, including religious ones, because of the stigma attached to their appearance and lifestyle³. Research on the work skills of street punk communities further confirms that this group faces layered structural barriers in accessing wider social spaces, including in meeting their economic needs and gaining social recognition⁴.

Peace education, meanwhile, has developed as a systematic effort to transform *negative peace* into *positive peace* a condition in which social justice, equality, and the recognition of human dignity are genuinely realized, not merely the absence of conflict⁵. In this context, education is not understood narrowly as an activity confined to the formal classroom, but as any social space that enables the transformation of knowledge, attitudes, and power relations between groups. Religious institutions, including pesantren, are well positioned to perform this function because of their characteristic openness to informal interaction and their comparatively loose attachment to a rigid formal curriculum.

Scholarship on pesantren as a space for peace education, however, remains relatively limited, and has focused more on interfaith religious moderation than on inclusion toward socio-economically marginalized groups. A recent case study of religious moderation initiatives in Yogyakarta high schools, for instance, likewise draws on Galtung's negative–positive peace framework but is situated in the formal school system rather than in non-formal religious education⁶. One relevant study examines the role of a kiai in managing cross-faith diversity through alternative education in a place of worship⁷, but it does not specifically address how inclusion mechanisms operate for groups experiencing socio-economic marginalization such as street children and punk communities. This gap motivates the present study of the Munajat Jalanan phenomenon in Malang Regency as a case study.

The Munajat Jalanan gathering, held at the Riyadlotul Athfal (PPRA) Al Ghozali pesantren, is worth studying because it has, over the past several years, consistently reached punk communities and street children in Malang Regency through a series of religious activities that impose no particular social-background requirement on participants. Inclusive education emphasizes three central pillars: equal access without discrimination, active participation of all learners in the learning process, and recognition of diversity as a resource rather than an obstacle⁸. These three pillars form the analytical lens used in this article to read the mechanisms of inclusion at work in the Munajat Jalanan gathering.

²Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," 183.

³Lailul Ilham and Ach. Farid, "Kebahagiaan dalam Perspektif Masyarakat Marjinal (Studi Masyarakat Desa Hadipolo Argopuro Kudus Jawa Tengah)," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama: Jurnal Ilmiah Sosiologi Agama dan Perubahan Sosial* 13, no. 2 (2019): 95–124.

⁴A'izza Wardatul Hamro Al Rozi and Almisar Hamid, "Keterampilan Kerja Punk Jalanan dalam Meningkatkan Adversity Quotient," *RISOMA: Jurnal Riset Sosial Humaniora dan Pendidikan* 2, no. 5 (2024): 226–239.

⁵Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," 171.

⁶Rukiyati, "Approaches to Implementing Peace Education in High Schools for Nonviolent Conflict Resolution," *Cogent Education* 12, no. 1 (2025): 2553004, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2331186X.2025.2553004>.

⁷Moch. Sony Fauzi and Erna Herawati, "Pendidikan Damai Kaum Bersarung: Upaya Kyai NU dalam Mengelola Kebhinekaan Lintas Iman melalui Pendidikan Alternatif di Rumah Ibadah Kasembon Malang" (Research Report, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, 2023).

⁸Haidar Idris, Muhammad Abdul Halim Sidiq, and Akhmad Afnan Fajarudin, "Konsep Pendidikan Inklusif dalam Al-Qur'an: Analisis Multidimensional terhadap Implementasi Keragaman dan Kesenjangan di Pesantren," *Moderasi: Journal of Islamic Studies* 4, no. 2 (2024): 344–362.

Building on this framework, the article poses a research question that departs from earlier studies of the same object: how does the inclusion of marginalized groups operate within the Munajat Jalanan gathering, and how does this mechanism contribute to the transformation from *negative peace* to *positive peace* among participants? The article aims to analyze Munajat Jalanan as a model of pesantren-based peace education, focusing on the mechanisms of inclusion and their impact on positive peace, rather than on cataloguing the Islamic values it teaches. Its contribution is intended to enrich the study of peace education within non-formal Islamic education, while also serving as a practical reference for other da'wah institutions seeking to develop inclusive models of engagement with marginalized groups.

This article reanalyzes ethnographic field data originally collected for a master's thesis on the internalization of moderate Islamic values among participants of Munajat Jalanan (see Acknowledgments). Its novelty lies not in new fieldwork but in a deliberate change of theoretical lens and unit of analysis. Where the antecedent thesis asked which Islamic values (*tawassuth*, *tasamuh*, *rahmah*) were being internalized by participants, and treated those values as the object of explanation, this article asks a different question: how does access to the pesantren space become possible in the first place for a group that is structurally excluded from it, and what mechanism converts that access into a durable shift from negative to positive peace? Reframed this way, the same interviews, observations, and field notes are read through Galtung's peace framework and the three pillars of inclusive education (access, participation, recognition of diversity) rather than through a values-internalization framework. The three Islamic values documented in the earlier thesis are retained in this article, but their theoretical status changes: they are treated as empirical expressions of the inclusion mechanisms under analysis, not as the study's main findings. The specific contribution this reframing offers to the peace education and inclusive education literature is an empirically grounded account of how an informal, non-state religious institution builds access, participation, and recognition for a socio-economically marginalized group a mechanism-level account that is largely absent from the existing literature on pesantren and religious moderation, which has concentrated on interfaith tolerance rather than class- and lifestyle-based marginalization.

Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with an ethnographic design⁹, which allows the researchers to read, in depth and in context, the meanings formed through social interaction among participants of the Munajat Jalanan gathering. Unlike earlier work that used the same ethnographic design solely to document a process of value internalization, this study directs the same design toward reading the inclusion mechanisms operating in the interaction between pesantren caregivers, santri (students), and marginalized participants, following the peace education and inclusive education framework outlined above. The research was conducted at the Riyadlotul Athfal (PPRA) Al Ghozali pesantren, Malang Regency. Fieldwork Period and Setting

Fieldwork was carried out over approximately six months, from December 2024 to May 2025, encompassing an initial observation phase (documented from the 1 December 2024 Munajat Jalanan event) through a subsequent round of in-depth interviews and focus group discussion conducted in May 2025. This period allowed the researchers to observe the gathering across more than one iteration and to follow up on themes identified during the earlier observation phase in later interviews. Because the ethnographic data reanalyzed here were originally gathered for a related thesis project (see Acknowledgments), the six-month window reflects

⁹Zuchri Abdussamad, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, Jilid 17 (Makassar: CV. Syakir Media Press, 2021).

the combined observation-and-interview period documented in the dataset rather than a single continuous residency in the field; the authors note this as a limitation and recommend that future studies extend the duration of direct fieldwork specifically designed around the inclusive-education questions posed in this article. **Participants and Sampling Procedure**

Data were obtained through five techniques: participant observation of the organization of the Munajat Jalanan gathering; semi-structured in-depth interviews; a focus group discussion with members of the marginal community; field notes recorded during the observation and reflection process; and visual and audio documentation. Research participants were selected using purposive sampling, based on the following inclusion criteria: (1) direct involvement in organizing the gathering, whether as pesantren caregiver or as santri acting as a liaison with the marginal community; (2) membership in the marginalized community itself, whether as an active participant, a beneficiary, or a person closely connected to participants; and (3) willingness to be interviewed and, where relevant, observed in the context of the event.

Applying these criteria yielded six primary informants: the pesantren caregiver who initiated the gathering (Informant 3), the mentor directly responsible for guiding the gathering (Informant 1), two senior santri serving as event communicators and liaisons with the marginal community (Informants 2 and 6), one further senior santri serving as communicator with the marginal community (Informant 4), and one member of the marginal community's social circle (Informant 5). This range of roles was chosen deliberately so that the caregiver's, the santri's, and the marginal community's own perspectives on the same events could be triangulated against one another. In addition, observational data were recorded for three public figures with historical ties to the punk and marginal community Mikail Isrofil (Mike Marjinal), Muhammad Abdurrahman Al-Kautsar (Gus Kautsar), and Sabrang Mowo Damar Panuluh whose participation in the gathering's programming is analyzed as part of its hidden curriculum, and whose names are retained (rather than anonymized) because they are discussed here as public figures observed in the context of a public event rather than as confidential research informants. Further demographic detail on the six primary informants (age range and length of involvement with the gathering) is held in the authors' primary interview dataset and can be supplied to the editor on request.

Data analysis proceeded through four stages¹⁰: (1) editing of primary and secondary data, in which interview transcripts, field notes, and documentation were checked for completeness and consistency; (2) classifying, in which data were sorted into the three thematic categories of access, participation, and recognition of diversity that structure the inclusive-education framework; (3) analyzing, in which the relationships among these themes were examined against Galtung's peace education framework to trace how each mechanism contributes to the shift from negative to positive peace; and (4) concluding, in which findings on the transformation mechanism were drawn together into the study's central argument. This sequence follows an editing–classifying–analyzing–concluding model comparable in structure to the coding and thematic-analysis procedures more familiar in the international qualitative literature (e.g., open coding followed by thematic clustering), adapted here to the specific four-stage terminology used in Indonesian qualitative-methods training.

The trustworthiness of the data was established through source and method triangulation cross-checking claims made by the pesantren caregiver against the accounts of santri communicators and marginal-community members, and checking interview claims against field observation

¹⁰Abdussamad, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*.

and audio-visual documentation together with persistent observation across more than one occurrence of the gathering, and thick description of the social context observed.

Results and Discussion

This section presents the analysis in three stages that follow the logic of peace transformation: first, the condition of *negative peace* experienced by marginalized people before and outside their involvement in Munajat Jalanan; second, the inclusion mechanisms operating within the gathering as a bridge for transformation; and third, the outcomes that show a shift toward *positive peace*. This structure is deliberately different from earlier studies of the same object, which generally discussed the data according to a separate classification of three moderate Islamic values, apart from any broader framework of social transformation.

Structural and Cultural Violence as the Starting Point

Before turning to the mechanisms of inclusion, it is important to establish the initial condition faced by marginalized people in Malang Regency. The stigma attached to punk communities and street children as groups associated with criminality and deviant behavior is a concrete form of the cultural violence Galtung describes a way of seeing that legitimizes marginalization without requiring direct physical contact¹¹. This stigma limits the group's access to formal religious formation spaces, which in turn reinforces the structural distance between them and mainstream religious institutions.

Before their involvement in Munajat Jalanan, many members of the marginal community viewed religion in purely formalistic terms, or distanced themselves from it altogether an attitude rooted in social trauma and repeated experiences of discrimination. This condition aligns with what Galtung terms *negative peace*: there is no open violent conflict between marginalized people and the surrounding community, yet structural injustice in the form of exclusion from formal da'wah spaces persists quietly and over a long period¹². The pesantren caregiver who later initiated Munajat Jalanan recognized this gap, as he stated:

*“Even today there are still very few religious gatherings specifically devoted to street children, even though they actually need a space to feel closer to, and not awkward interacting with, pesantren administrators and santri.”*¹³

This statement affirms that the absence of a formation space for marginalized people is not simply a matter of individual interest in approaching religion, but a structural problem: the unavailability of a space designed to accommodate their needs and characteristics. In Abu-Nimer's framework, a gap of this kind reflects the distance between the ideal values in Islamic teaching which places all human beings as equals before God and everyday religious practice, which often instead reproduces exclusion¹⁴. This starting point is the context in which Munajat Jalanan emerged as an effort to bridge that gap.

Mechanisms of Inclusion in Munajat Jalanan

Having established the condition of negative peace as a starting point, this section analyzes three mechanisms of inclusion operating within Munajat Jalanan, following the three pillars of inclusive education: access without preconditions, equal participation, and recognition of

¹¹Galtung, “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research,” 183.

¹²Galtung, “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research,” 171.

¹³Interview with Informant 1, mentor of Munajat Jalanan, 5 May 2025.

¹⁴Abu-Nimer, *Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam*, 112.

diversity through a hidden curriculum grounded in compassion. These three mechanisms are interrelated and cannot be fully understood in isolation, but are separated in the discussion below to clarify how each works.

Access without Social Preconditions

The principle of access in inclusive education requires that no discriminatory precondition be placed on anyone wishing to take part in a learning process¹⁵. In Munajat Jalanan, this principle is realized through the absence of any requirement concerning appearance, personal history, or social affiliation for anyone wishing to participate. This unconditional acceptance departs from the general pattern of formal religious spaces, which often implicitly expect a certain conformity of appearance or behavior as a condition of social acceptance.

One santri who acts as a liaison between the pesantren and the marginal community recounted a moment when the gathering's mentor invited members of the punk community to eat together at his home after one of the event's sessions, without regard for their distinctive physical appearance:

“After the Munajat event ended, Informant 1 invited friends from the punk community to eat together at his home.”¹⁶

Read through the lens of access in inclusive education, this act is not merely a personal gesture of hospitality, but an assertion that the pesantren space popularly imagined as closed and formal is in fact open without barriers to anyone. When asked further about the principle underlying this openness, the mentor affirmed that the involvement of marginalized people was never restricted by any consideration beyond their willingness to attend¹⁷. Access without preconditions of this kind becomes the entry point that allows further transformation to occur, because without this initial access, the mechanisms of participation and recognition of diversity discussed next would have no space in which to grow.

Equal Participation in Organizing the Event

The second pillar of inclusive education demands the active involvement of participants in the learning process, rather than a merely passive receiving position¹⁸. In the context of Munajat Jalanan, this participation is clearly visible in the pattern of funding the activity, in which marginalized people are not positioned as recipients of charity but instead help bear the cost of organizing the event themselves. A senior santri serving as communicator explained this pattern:

“The Munajat event itself is really only the culmination of a longer process of gathering, fellowship, and shared prayer to remember street friends who have passed away. But what matters more is the process of preparing for the event, especially on the funding side — the full contribution of the street friends themselves, some of whom set aside earnings from busking to support the event.”¹⁹

This pattern of self-funding is an important indicator of the participation principle: marginalized people are not positioned as a party being helped in one direction, but as a party

¹⁵Idris, Sidiq, and Fajarudin, “Konsep Pendidikan Inklusif dalam Al-Qur’an,” 344–362.

¹⁶Interview with Informant 2, santri and event communicator for Munajat Jalanan, 5 May 2025.

¹⁷Interview with Informant 1, mentor of Munajat Jalanan, 5 May 2025.

¹⁸Idris, Sidiq, and Fajarudin, “Konsep Pendidikan Inklusif dalam Al-Qur’an,” 344–362.

¹⁹Interview with Informant 4, senior santri and communicator with the marginal community, 5 May 2025.

that helps determine the continuation of the activity through concrete contribution. The pesantren caregiver confirmed that the pesantren's role is limited to covering any shortfall after marginalized participants have already taken the initiative to raise funds themselves²⁰. This relational pattern differs fundamentally from the charitable relations common in programs for marginalized groups, in which beneficiaries tend to be positioned as passive recipients of aid. In Abu-Nimer's framework, this kind of horizontal, egalitarian relational pattern is an expression of the equality principle that forms one foundation of peacebuilding in the Islamic tradition²¹, because equal participation in funding also cultivates marginalized people's sense of ownership of the activity, rather than merely a status as beneficiaries.

A Hidden Curriculum Grounded in Compassion

The third pillar of inclusive education, recognition of diversity as a learning resource, appears in what can be called the *hidden curriculum* of Munajat Jalanan learning that is not taught explicitly through sermons, but transmitted through patterns of relationship and shared activity. One concrete expression is the Iqra' Squad initiative, an informal learning space that grew out of a long process preceding the formation of Munajat Jalanan itself. A santri recounted the origin of this initiative:

*"Before Munajat Jalanan was formed, we invited street friends to take part in an activity at the pesantren. At that time Informant 3, the caregiver, wanted to repaint the dome of the pesantren's prayer hall, so friends from the marginal community were involved in the work. Informant 3 gave them that space in the hope that their involvement in building the pesantren would bring blessing. The activity later developed into a place for learning to read the Qur'an, named Iqra' Squad."*²²

The Iqra' Squad initiative shows that religious learning in this context did not begin with formal instruction, but with a shared work activity that first cultivated a sense of belonging, before substantive learning followed. This pattern is consistent with the inclusive-education principle that emphasizes participatory experience as an entry point for learning, rather than a mere one-way transmission of knowledge from teacher to learner²³. A moment of grief the loss of one member of Iqra' Squad to an overdose later became an important turning point that prompted the Maulid and Haul Akbar initiative for street friends, which eventually developed into the Munajat Jalanan gathering, continually refined at each subsequent event.

The choice of who leads sessions at Munajat Jalanan likewise reflects a hidden curriculum built on recognizing diversity. Session leaders are not limited to conventional religious figures, but also include public figures with a historical connection to the marginal community, such as punk musicians who have undergone a spiritual transformation. The presence of figures such as Mike Marjinal²⁴, Sabrang Mowo Damar Panuluh²⁵, and Muhammad Abdurrahman Al-Kautsar²⁶ in the event's programming implicitly recognizes marginalized people's own life experience as a legitimate resource for religious learning, rather than something that must be set aside before a person is considered worthy of receiving da'wah.

²⁰Interview with Informant 3, pesantren caregiver, 5 May 2025.

²¹Abu-Nimer, *Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam*, 78.

²²Interview with Informant 2, santri and event communicator for Munajat Jalanan, 5 May 2025.

²³Idris, Sidiq, and Fajarudin, "Konsep Pendidikan Inklusif dalam Al-Qur'an," 344–362.

²⁴Observation of Mikail Isrofil (Mike Marjinal), Munajat Jalanan event, 1 December 2024.

²⁵Observation of Sabrang Mowo Damar Panuluh, Munajat Jalanan event, 1 December 2024.

²⁶Observation of Muhammad Abdurrahman Al-Kautsar, Munajat Jalanan event, 1 December 2024.

From Negative Peace to Positive Peace

The three mechanisms of inclusion described above access without preconditions, equal participation, and a hidden curriculum grounded in compassion cumulatively drive a shift from *negative peace* toward *positive peace* among marginalized people. This shift is not measured merely by the absence of conflict, but by the restoration of structural justice and social recognition they had not previously received. This section discusses two concrete manifestations of that shift: the restoration of religious trust, and the formation of inclusive social capital.

Restoration of Religious Trust

The social trauma marginalized people experience from prolonged stigma and discrimination has also produced a psychological distance from religious institutions a condition that, within Galtung's framework of cultural violence, is a further consequence of the negative labeling attached to this group²⁷. Involvement in Munajat Jalanan has gradually restored that distance. One member of the vespa community who took part in the gathering offered this account:

*"Since the Munajat event began, more and more friends have become enthusiastic about attending religious gatherings and sholawat activities in various places — some have even gone on to attend gatherings outside the area."*²⁸

This renewed religious enthusiasm shows that the transformation taking place is not merely a change in ritual behavior, but a more fundamental shift in how participants relate to religious institutions. The gathering's mentor described this shift through his own observations of changing interaction patterns:

*"Alhamdulillah, now our friends from Munajat no longer hesitate to come to my house, just to chat or have coffee together. Before, they still felt awkward visiting, mainly because of how they dress, even though I myself never made an issue of it."*²⁹

This shift from a sense of awkwardness to familiarity, read through the peace education framework, is an indicator of restored trust that had previously eroded through repeated experiences of exclusion. Restoring trust of this kind is an important precondition for the formation of positive peace, because structural justice cannot be realized without the trust that allows a previously marginalized group to re-engage with the wider social space³⁰.

Social Capital as a Manifestation of Positive Peace

The second manifestation of the shift toward positive peace appears in the formation of inclusive social capital among the marginal community. This social capital does not form automatically, but through a gradual process that begins with personal trust in the pesantren caregiver and then expands into institutional trust in the pesantren itself. A santri serving as communicator explained this development through the example of educational access for the children of marginalized people:

²⁷Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," 183.

²⁸Interview with Informant 5, a friend of the marginal community, 5 December 2024.

²⁹Interview with Informant 1, mentor of Munajat Jalanan, 5 May 2025.

³⁰Luthfia Rosidin, Setia Nuryanti, Mila Aisyatami, and Arditya Prayogi, "Strategi Harmonisasi Sains, Agama, dan Sosial dalam Penguatan Moderasi Beragama di Indonesia," IHSAN: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam 3, no. 4 (2025).

“Most of the children who board here are children of the Munajat community itself. At first there was a friend who wanted to enroll his child but had no money, so we allowed the child to board for free. The following school year, he even invited his other friends to enroll their children at the same place, alhamdulillah.”³¹

This expansion of trust, from one family to a wider network, is a concrete indicator of social capital formation: an institution once seen as exclusive and remote from marginalized people's daily lives has become a trusted point of reference for the education of the next generation. Within Galtung's framework, this phenomenon can be read as a concrete expression of positive peace: not merely the absence of conflict between marginalized people and religious institutions, but the construction of structural justice in the form of genuine access to educational services previously out of reach³². A more positive shift in lifestyle among marginalized people, including a reduction in habits harmful to health, further supports the finding that the transformation underway is comprehensive, spanning the spiritual, social, and material dimensions of their lives.

Taken together, these findings affirm that the success of Munajat Jalanan cannot be adequately understood simply by cataloguing the moderate Islamic values it teaches. That success is better understood as the outcome of a consistent inclusion mechanism access, participation, and recognition of diversity that gradually transforms the *negative peace* experienced by marginalized people into a more just and sustainable *positive peace*.

Conclusion

This study shows that Munajat Jalanan at the Riyadlotul Athfal (PPRA) Al Ghozali pesantren, Malang Regency, can be understood as a model of pesantren-based peace education that effectively reaches urban marginalized people. Unlike earlier studies that placed the internalization of moderate Islamic values at the center, this article shows that the program's success is better explained through the inclusion mechanism working systematically within it.

Three inclusion mechanisms were identified: access without social preconditions, which opens the door for anyone regardless of background; equal participation in funding and organizing the activity, which cultivates marginalized people's sense of ownership of the program; and a hidden curriculum grounded in compassion, realized through informal learning spaces such as Iqra' Squad and the involvement of figures with a historical connection to the marginal community.

These three mechanisms cumulatively drive a transformation from *negative peace* structural and cultural marginalization unfolding without open conflict toward *positive peace*, visible in the restoration of marginalized people's religious trust and the formation of inclusive social capital, including expanded educational access for the next generation. These findings affirm that pesantren, with their characteristic openness to informal interaction, are well positioned to perform a peace education function for groups marginalized from the formal religious education system.

Implications and Recommendations

³¹Interview with Informant 6, santri and event communicator for Munajat Jalanan, 5 May 2025.

³²Galtung, “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research,” 187.

These findings carry several practical implications for developing models of peace education based in religious communities. First, da'wah institutions seeking to reach marginalized groups need to prioritize removing implicit access preconditions, including expectations about appearance or behavior that often go unrecognized as barriers. Second, involving marginalized groups participatorily in funding and organizing activities rather than treating them solely as beneficiaries has proven more effective at cultivating a sense of ownership than a conventional charitable approach.

Third, involving figures whose life experience closely resembles that of the marginal group, as part of a hidden curriculum, can be an effective strategy for building recognition and trust before substantive learning takes place. Further research is recommended to examine the long-term sustainability of the social capital formed here, and to compare inclusion mechanisms across other religious institutions reaching different marginalized groups, in order to test the generalizability of these findings in broader contexts.

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Interview and Observation Sources

Note: informants' identities in the list below are anonymized using the code "Informant," in accordance with research-ethics conventions protecting participants' privacy. Public figures named in the context of event observation (rather than as research informants) are identified by name.

Interview with Informant 1, mentor of Munajat Jalanan, 5 May 2025.

Interview with Informant 2, santri and event communicator for Munajat Jalanan, 5 May 2025.

Interview with Informant 3, pesantren caregiver, 5 May 2025.

Interview with Informant 4, senior santri and communicator with the marginal community, 5 May 2025.

Interview with Informant 5, a friend of the marginal community, 5 December 2024.

Interview with Informant 6, santri and event communicator for Munajat Jalanan, 5 May 2025.

Observation of Mikail Isrofil (Mike Marjinal), Muhammad Abdurrahman Al-Kautsar (Gus Kautsar), and Sabrang Mowo Damar Panuluh, Munajat Jalanan event, 1 December 2024.