

Negative Stigma Against Salafi Women in the Hidayatul Muslimin I Islamic Boarding School Environment

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the negative stigma toward Salafi women among students at Hidayatul Muslimin I Islamic Boarding School, Kubu Raya Regency, and to identify the forms of stigma, their impacts on social interaction and psychosocial well-being, as well as the adaptation strategies employed by the students. The study adopted a mixed-methods approach by administering questionnaires to students and conducting descriptive analysis of the collected data. The analysis was based on the dimensions of public stigma, self-stigma, discrimination, social interaction, psychosocial impact, social support, and adaptation strategies using Erving Goffman's Social Stigma Theory as the analytical framework. The findings indicate that Salafi women continue to experience stigma in the form of stereotypes and prejudice associated with their religious appearance. Nevertheless, most respondents maintained positive social interactions and received support from their families, peers, and educational environment. The psychosocial effects were generally reflected in feelings of discomfort resulting from negative public perceptions, while the primary adaptation strategies included ignoring negative comments, strengthening self-confidence, providing explanations to others, and maintaining their religious identity. The study highlights the importance of promoting inclusive education and diversity literacy to reduce stigma toward religious minority groups within educational settings. Keywords: three to five keywords in alphabetical order

Keywords

Education, Salafi, Social Stigma, Women



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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country characterized by a high degree of diversity in terms of ethnicity, culture, language, and religious understanding. This diversity constitutes an important component of Indonesian social life while simultaneously creating challenges related to stereotypes, prejudice, intolerance, and discrimination toward groups perceived as different from the majority. Religious diversity does not automatically lead to harmonious social relations because differences in religious interpretation may produce social boundaries and varying

degrees of acceptance among individuals and groups. Recent studies indicate that tolerance in Indonesia is influenced by social interaction, educational background, socioeconomic conditions, and the extent to which individuals are exposed to and interact with people from different social and religious backgrounds (Wijaksono, 2023). Moreover, narrow interpretations of religious differences may transform social plurality into a source of prejudice, hostility, and discrimination (Azizi et al., 2021). Therefore, understanding religious identity and the social construction of difference is essential for developing a more inclusive and tolerant social environment.

This phenomenon can also emerge within educational environments, including Islamic boarding schools or *pesantren*. As Islamic educational institutions, *pesantren* are not only centers for religious learning but also social environments in which individuals from different backgrounds, personalities, and religious understandings interact on a daily basis. Such interactions provide opportunities for the development of tolerance and mutual understanding, but they may also create social boundaries when differences are interpreted through stereotypes or prejudice. Previous studies emphasize that *pesantren* have an important role in developing religious moderation, tolerance, and peaceful social relations among students (Hefni & Uyun, 2020; Badarussyamsi et al., 2021). Research on *pesantren* education further indicates that religious moderation can be cultivated through curriculum, religious activities, social interaction, and the development of values emphasizing tolerance and non-violence (Asrori, 2020). Thus, *pesantren* represent a particularly important social setting for examining how religious identities are negotiated, accepted, or stigmatized.

One phenomenon that remains relevant in this context is the stigma attached to Salafi groups, particularly women who wear religious attire such as the *niqab*, long robes, and dark-colored clothing. Such visible religious attributes may become the basis for social judgments that associate these women with exclusivity, fanaticism, radicalism, or even terrorism, despite the absence of direct experience or objective evidence supporting such assumptions. Research on Muslim women who wear the *niqab* in Indonesia demonstrates that the *niqab* functions not merely as an item of clothing but also as an important marker of religious identity and personal commitment (Ahmad et al., 2021). At the same time, the visible nature of the *niqab* may generate particular social perceptions because religious identity is frequently interpreted through external symbols. Pirol and Aswan (2021) demonstrate that the identity of *niqab*-wearing female students has become part of broader public discussions concerning religious identity, nationalism, dress, and social relations. Similarly, research on veiled women in Indonesia shows that women wearing the *niqab* may experience Islamophobic perceptions and negative assumptions, which subsequently encourage them to develop forms of identity affirmation and social adaptation (Saputra et al., 2021). Consequently, the social meaning attributed to religious clothing should not automatically be equated with a particular ideological orientation or behavioral tendency.

Pondok Pesantren Hidayatul Muslimin I, located in Kubu Raya Regency, is one of the Islamic educational institutions that provides the setting for this research. Although the

institution is oriented toward Islamic education, its social environment may still involve diverse perceptions and interpretations of religious identity. Differences in appearance, religious practices, and understanding may become visible markers through which students categorize one another. This situation is important because the Salafi identity of some women may be perceived differently from the religious identities and practices of other students. Studies concerning Salafiyah educational traditions indicate that Salafi-oriented Islamic boarding schools maintain distinctive religious traditions and practices while simultaneously operating within broader Indonesian educational and social contexts (Munir & Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor, 2021). Therefore, the existence of different religious expressions within a pesantren environment does not necessarily eliminate the possibility of stereotyping or social labeling. Instead, it creates an important context for investigating how religious differences are interpreted through everyday interaction.

Preliminary observations of questionnaire data indicate that negative stigma toward Salafi women is still experienced by respondents, particularly in the form of stereotypes and prejudices associated with the religious attributes they wear. Some respondents reported experiencing unpleasant treatment because of their religious identity, although most respondents were still able to maintain relatively positive social relationships with their surrounding environment. These findings suggest that stigma may not always take the form of explicit discrimination or social exclusion. It can also appear through subtle forms of labeling, assumptions, avoidance, negative comments, or preconceived judgments. From the perspective of social stigma, such processes can influence how individuals perceive themselves and how they are perceived by others. The experience of being categorized through a stigmatized identity may consequently affect social interaction, psychological well-being, and an individual's willingness to participate openly in a particular social environment.

The role of social support is also important in understanding how Salafi women respond to negative stigma. Preliminary findings indicate that family members, friends, and the educational environment may provide meaningful support in reducing the psychological and social consequences of stigmatization. In addition, respondents employ various adaptation strategies, including ignoring negative comments, strengthening self-confidence, explaining their religious identity to others, and maintaining their religious practices despite negative judgments. These strategies demonstrate that stigmatized individuals are not merely passive recipients of social labeling. Rather, they actively negotiate their identities and develop strategies to preserve self-esteem and maintain social relationships. Research on niqab-wearing women in Indonesia similarly indicates that religious identity can become a source of both social challenge and identity affirmation, particularly when women encounter negative assumptions from the wider community (Ahmad et al., 2021; Saputra et al., 2021).

The importance of this issue becomes increasingly evident when considered within the broader development of religious moderation in Indonesian education. Pesantren have been identified as important institutions for strengthening tolerance and preventing the development of exclusivist and radical attitudes. Studies have found that pesantren students can demonstrate

moderate attitudes when educational practices explicitly cultivate tolerance, respect for differences, and critical engagement with religious diversity (Nafiuddin & Maharani, 2024). Similarly, multicultural approaches to Islamic education can contribute to strengthening religious tolerance and reducing fanaticism among pesantren students (Rusydiyah et al., 2023). Religious moderation therefore does not mean eliminating differences in religious identity, but rather developing the capacity to coexist with differences without transforming them into prejudice or discrimination. In this context, understanding stigma toward Salafi women is consistent with the broader effort to create educational environments that recognize diversity while maintaining respectful social interaction.

Based on these conditions, a research gap can be identified because relatively few studies have specifically examined negative stigma toward Salafi women within the social environment of an Islamic boarding school while explicitly employing Erving Goffman's Social Stigma Theory as the analytical framework. Existing studies have largely focused on the niqab as a religious identity, the political and cultural dimensions of veiling, religious moderation, or tolerance within pesantren (Ahmad et al., 2021; Pirol & Aswan, 2021; Badarusyamsi et al., 2021). Although these studies provide important insights, there remains limited empirical understanding of how negative labels toward Salafi women are constructed through everyday interaction among students, how such stigma affects their social and psychosocial experiences, and how they adapt to these conditions within a pesantren setting. This gap is particularly significant because pesantren constitute distinctive social spaces in which religious identity, educational norms, peer relationships, and institutional values interact simultaneously.

Therefore, examining stigma through Goffman's Social Stigma Theory provides an important analytical perspective for understanding how certain religious attributes become socially marked as different, how individuals are categorized through negative labels, and how stigmatized individuals manage their identities in everyday social interaction. The theory is particularly relevant because stigma is not simply an individual attitude but a social process involving categorization, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination. Within a pesantren environment, these processes may occur through informal interactions among students, perceptions of religious clothing, assumptions concerning ideological orientation, and responses to religious practices that differ from those of the majority. A more comprehensive understanding of these processes can contribute to the development of educational approaches that encourage mutual respect and prevent discrimination based on visible religious identity.

Therefore, this study aims to analyze negative stigma toward Salafi women among students at Pondok Pesantren Hidayatul Muslimin I, Kubu Raya Regency. The research focuses on identifying the forms of stigma that emerge, examining their impacts on social interaction and psychosocial conditions, and analyzing the adaptation strategies employed by Salafi women when facing negative labeling within the educational environment. The study is expected to contribute to the development of scholarship on social stigma, religious identity, and social interaction within Islamic educational institutions. Furthermore, its findings are expected to provide a basis for developing more inclusive educational policies and practices that respect

religious diversity, strengthen social tolerance, reduce stereotyping and prejudice, and foster a pesantren environment in which differences in religious identity can coexist within constructive and respectful social relationships..

METHODS

This study employs a **mixed-methods approach** with a **sequential explanatory design**, which combines quantitative and qualitative approaches sequentially to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of negative stigma toward Salafi women among students at Pondok Pesantren Hidayatul Muslimin I, Kubu Raya Regency. The quantitative approach is used to describe the tendencies of stigma perceived by respondents through questionnaire distribution, while the qualitative approach is used to deepen the understanding of respondents' experiences, perceptions, and adaptation strategies in dealing with the stigma they encounter.

The research was conducted at **Pondok Pesantren Hidayatul Muslimin I**, Kubu Raya Regency, West Kalimantan. The research subjects were students who participated as respondents. Based on the research design, the survey involved **20 students** selected through **purposive sampling**, namely the selection of respondents based on characteristics relevant to the objectives of the study. The selection of respondents considered their involvement in the pesantren environment and their experiences related to perceptions of Salafi women.

Data were collected using a **structured questionnaire** developed based on the dimensions of Erving Goffman's Social Stigma Theory. The research instrument consisted of several indicators, including public stigma, *self-stigma*, discrimination, social interaction, psychosocial impact, social support, and adaptation strategies. Each indicator was measured using statements on a Likert scale to obtain an overview of respondents' perceptions regarding negative stigma experienced by Salafi women. In addition to the questionnaire, the study was supported by documentary analysis of relevant scientific literature to strengthen the interpretation and analysis of the research findings.

The quantitative data were analyzed using **descriptive statistics**, including frequency, percentage, mean, and distribution of respondents' answers for each research indicator. The results of the analysis were presented in tables and descriptive explanations to illustrate the tendencies of respondents' perceptions regarding stigma toward Salafi women.

Subsequently, the quantitative findings were interpreted using **Erving Goffman's Social Stigma Theory**, particularly the concepts of *tribal stigma*, *virtual social identity*, *actual social identity*, and *identity management*. The analysis was conducted by relating the research findings to the forms of stigma, their effects on social interaction and psychosocial conditions, and the adaptation strategies employed by Salafi women to maintain their religious identity. The findings were then compared with previous research to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon of stigma toward Salafi women within the educational environment..

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Respondent Characteristics

This subsection presents the profile of the respondents who participated in the study. The characteristics of the respondents include gender, educational level, and the length of time they have worn Salafi religious attire. Presenting respondent characteristics aims to provide a general description of the participants' backgrounds and facilitate the interpretation of the research findings. In quantitative research, describing respondent characteristics is important because demographic and contextual factors may influence how participants perceive and respond to particular social phenomena. In the context of religious identity, differences in educational background, social experience, and duration of practicing particular religious expressions may also shape individuals' perceptions of tolerance, stigma, and social interaction (Akbar, 2021; Al Ghifari et al., 2025).

The findings indicate that respondents still perceive the existence of public stigma toward Salafi women. The most dominant forms of stigma involve stereotypes and prejudices that associate religious attributes, such as the niqab and syar'i clothing, with exclusivity, radicalism, and fanaticism. These findings indicate that visible religious attributes may become an important basis for the formation of negative perceptions toward Salafi women. Ahmad et al. (2021) explain that the niqab represents an important symbol within Salafi religious identity in Indonesia and may carry multiple meanings in relation to religious commitment and social identity. Consequently, the interpretation of the niqab cannot be separated from the social context in which it is displayed. Research on niqab-wearing female students also demonstrates that women wearing the niqab may encounter social stigma while simultaneously developing strategies to negotiate their religious identity within educational environments (Samsu et al., 2025).

These findings are consistent with Erving Goffman's Social Stigma Theory, which explains that easily recognizable attributes can become the basis for the construction of a virtual social identity, namely an identity formed through social expectations and stereotypes before an individual is fully known. In this context, Salafi women may be evaluated primarily on the basis of visible religious symbols rather than their actual character and behavior. Ahmad et al. (2021) demonstrate that the niqab functions as a significant marker of Salafi identity, while research on religious tolerance in Indonesia indicates that differences in religious expression can become a source of social tension when they are interpreted through prejudice rather than mutual understanding (Akbar, 2021). Therefore, the findings suggest that public stigma toward Salafi women is not merely an individual perception but can also be understood as a socially constructed process in which visible religious differences become associated with particular assumptions about personality, ideology, and behavior.

The findings demonstrate that experiences of discrimination among respondents vary considerably. Some respondents reported having experienced unpleasant treatment, whereas others stated that they had never experienced direct discrimination. This variation indicates that experiences of stigma are influenced by social environments, interpersonal relationships,

and the intensity of interaction experienced by each individual. The existence of religious differences within an educational institution does not necessarily produce discrimination because the response of the surrounding environment may vary according to the level of tolerance and understanding developed within the institution (Al Ghifari et al., 2025). Consequently, stigma should be understood as a contextual phenomenon rather than as an experience that affects all individuals with the same religious identity in an identical manner.

From Goffman's perspective, such experiences represent consequences of social labeling processes through which individuals may be treated differently because they possess an attribute that is socially perceived as undesirable. Nevertheless, not all individuals possessing similar religious attributes experience identical forms of stigma. This indicates that stigma is contextual and depends on the interaction between individual identity and the social environment. Research concerning religious tolerance in pesantren similarly demonstrates that educational institutions can cultivate social environments in which differences in religious identity are acknowledged and managed through tolerance and mutual respect (Abdillah & Kamaruddin, 2021; Sugianto & Fuadah, 2024). Therefore, the absence of direct discrimination among some respondents may reflect the existence of supportive interpersonal relationships and relatively tolerant social norms within the pesantren environment.

Social Interaction of Salafi Women

Most respondents stated that they remained capable of maintaining positive social relationships with friends, teachers, and members of the pesantren community. However, several respondents reported that negative perceptions from the wider community made them feel less comfortable when interacting with people outside their familiar social environment. This condition demonstrates that stigma does not necessarily directly prevent social relationships, but it may influence an individual's comfort, confidence, and willingness to establish interpersonal communication. Research on niqab-wearing female students in Indonesia similarly shows that women who wear the niqab must negotiate their religious identity within academic and social environments where assumptions concerning their appearance may influence social interaction (Samsu et al., 2025). The findings therefore indicate that the ability to maintain social relationships may coexist with experiences of discomfort caused by negative social perceptions.

These findings suggest that a supportive educational environment can minimize the impact of stigma on respondents' social relationships. Pesantren have an important role in developing religious tolerance because they provide not only religious instruction but also an environment in which students interact and learn to manage differences in everyday life. Studies on religious tolerance in pesantren emphasize the importance of educational practices that promote respect, balance, mutual understanding, and peaceful coexistence (Abdillah & Kamaruddin, 2021; Sugianto & Fuadah, 2024). Thus, the positive social relationships reported by most respondents may indicate that the pesantren environment functions as a protective

social space that enables students to maintain interaction despite differences in religious appearance and identity.

Psychosocial Impact

The findings indicate that stigma primarily produces feelings of discomfort, concerns about other people's judgments, and mild psychological pressure rather than a substantial decline in self-esteem. This condition demonstrates that stigma can generate psychosocial consequences even when individuals do not experience severe psychological distress. The impact of stigma may appear in subtle forms, such as increased self-consciousness, concern about social evaluation, hesitation during interaction, or a tendency to anticipate negative judgments from others. In the context of niqab-wearing women, social perceptions surrounding religious clothing may influence how individuals negotiate their identity in public and educational environments (Ahmad et al., 2021; Samsu et al., 2025).

These findings further demonstrate that the psychosocial impact of stigma is influenced by an individual's ability to manage social pressure and by the support received from the surrounding environment. Individuals who receive positive reinforcement from family members, friends, teachers, and other members of their community may be better able to maintain a positive sense of self when facing negative stereotypes. Conversely, repeated exposure to negative labeling may increase discomfort and psychological pressure. Therefore, the psychosocial consequences of stigma should be understood not only in terms of the negative treatment experienced by individuals but also in relation to the availability of social resources that help them cope with such experiences.

Social Support as a Protective Factor

The majority of respondents reported receiving support from family members, peers, and the educational environment. Such support helps respondents maintain their self-confidence and reduce the negative effects of stereotypes and prejudice. Accordingly, social support functions as a protective factor in dealing with social stigma. The importance of supportive environments is consistent with research emphasizing that pesantren can serve as important social institutions for developing tolerance, mutual respect, and constructive interaction among students with different religious backgrounds and expressions (Abdillah & Kamaruddin, 2021; Sugianto & Fuadah, 2024).

These findings strengthen the argument that an inclusive environment can become an important social resource in reducing the negative consequences of social labeling. Support from family and peers may help individuals interpret negative experiences as external social judgments rather than as evidence of personal inadequacy. Within the pesantren context, teachers and institutional policies may also play a significant role in establishing norms that prevent discrimination and encourage respectful interaction. Research on religious tolerance measurement in Indonesia further demonstrates the importance of systematically understanding tolerance as a multidimensional construct involving attitudes toward religious

differences and social relations (Jamil et al., 2021). Thus, strengthening social support and inclusive institutional practices may contribute to reducing the psychosocial consequences of stigma toward Salafi women.

Adaptation Strategies of Salafi Women

The study shows that respondents develop various adaptation strategies to cope with stigma. The most frequently reported strategies include ignoring negative comments, strengthening self-confidence, explaining their religious identity to members of the community, and maintaining their religious beliefs and religious attire. These strategies indicate that respondents do not simply accept negative social labeling but actively respond to and negotiate their religious identity within everyday social interactions. Ahmad et al. (2021) demonstrate that the niqab has an important role in the religious identity of Salafi women in Indonesia, while recent research on niqab-wearing female students indicates that women may develop social adaptation strategies to navigate stigma within educational environments (Samsu et al., 2025).

From Goffman's perspective, these strategies can be understood as forms of identity management, particularly through covering and resistance, in which individuals attempt to manage the social consequences of stigmatized identities while maintaining important aspects of their self-definition. The strategies identified in this study demonstrate that respondents are not merely passive objects of social labeling but active individuals who possess the capacity to negotiate their identity and determine how they respond to social judgments. Maintaining religious attire can represent an expression of identity commitment, whereas providing explanations to others can function as an attempt to challenge stereotypes and establish more accurate perceptions. In this sense, identity management becomes an important mechanism through which Salafi women preserve their sense of self while continuing to participate in social life.

Research Implications

The findings indicate that stigma toward Salafi women remains a challenge within educational environments. Therefore, strengthening diversity literacy, inclusive education, and anti-discrimination policies within pesantren is necessary. Such efforts are expected to create educational spaces that are more open to differences in religious identity without eliminating the Islamic values that characterize pesantren. Recent studies emphasize that pesantren have strategic potential for cultivating religious tolerance through educational practices, institutional culture, and everyday social interaction (Abdillah & Kamaruddin, 2021; Sugianto & Fuadah, 2024). In addition, the implementation of religious tolerance values within Salafiyah educational environments demonstrates that religious identity and tolerance do not necessarily constitute contradictory concepts; rather, they can coexist when educational processes encourage respect and constructive interaction (Al Ghifari et al., 2025).

The implications of this research extend beyond the specific experience of Salafi women. Educational institutions need to develop mechanisms that prevent religious appearance from becoming the basis for negative assumptions or discriminatory treatment. Teachers and pesantren administrators can strengthen discussions concerning religious diversity, social identity, prejudice, and mutual respect as part of students' educational experiences. Such initiatives are important because tolerance is not merely the absence of conflict but also the ability to recognize differences and maintain constructive relationships despite those differences (Jamil et al., 2021). Accordingly, the development of an inclusive pesantren environment requires both institutional policies and everyday practices that encourage students to evaluate others based on actual behavior rather than stereotypes associated with religious appearance.

CONCLUSION

This study reveals that negative stigma toward Salafi women persists among students at the Hidayatul Muslimin I Islamic Boarding School, manifesting primarily as stereotypes and prejudices linked to their religious attire. However, the experiences of discrimination varied among respondents and did not invariably hinder social interaction. Most respondents successfully maintained positive relationships with friends, family, and their educational community, highlighting social support as a crucial factor in mitigating the negative impact of stigma. From a psychosocial perspective, the stigma caused more discomfort regarding societal judgment than a significant decline in self-esteem. Furthermore, these Salafi women demonstrated adaptability through various strategies—such as ignoring negative comments, boosting self-confidence, educating the community, and steadfastly upholding their religious identity. These findings reinforce Erving Goffman's Social Stigma Theory, which posits that stigma is a social construct formed through labeling and stereotyping, while individuals subject to stigma retain the capacity for identity management to preserve their social identities..

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