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MADURA'S LOCAL WISDOM-BASED PEDAGOGICAL PROJECT MANAGEMENT: THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL VALUES IN EDUCATION SYSTEM DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

Integrating local wisdom into education systems is crucial for preserving cultural identity and enhancing educational quality in the modern era. Madura Island possesses traditional values potentially applicable to pedagogical project management. However, the effective utilization of these values in contemporary pedagogical project management remains poorly understood. Existing research predominantly focuses on specific aspects of the curriculum or teaching methods, such as integrating cultural values into learning materials, employing local wisdom-based teaching methods, and adopting learning approaches contextual to Madurese culture. Still, there is a noticeable gap in the literature regarding how Madurese local wisdom values can be systematically operationalized in education project management, including planning processes that involve local stakeholders, implementation that respects local customs, and evaluation methods rooted in local values. To explore how Madurese cultural values can be effectively utilized in pedagogical project management to create a more in-depth and contextually relevant approach, this study employed a mixed-method approach with a sequential explanatory design. The first phase involved a quantitative survey of 230 education stakeholders in Madura using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM). The second phase included in-depth interviews and participatory observations in five schools, analyzed using NVivo 14. SEM

results revealed a significant positive relationship between the integration of Madurese local wisdom values and pedagogical project management effectiveness. Qualitative analysis showed these values strengthen decision-making structures and community commitment to educational projects. This research demonstrates that incorporating Madurese local wisdom values can enhance pedagogical project management effectiveness, making an important contribution to developing a contextualized and sustainable pedagogical project management model. This model has potential applications across various cultural contexts in Indonesia and globally. By adopting this model, education in Madura is expected to be not only more effective but also rich with local cultural values, creating a deep and meaningful learning experience for students.

Mengintegrasikan kearifan lokal ke dalam sistem pendidikan sangat penting untuk menjaga identitas budaya dan meningkatkan kualitas pendidikan di era modern. Pulau Madura memiliki nilai-nilai tradisional yang berpotensi diterapkan dalam manajemen proyek pedagogis. Namun, pemanfaatan nilai-nilai tersebut secara efektif dalam manajemen proyek pedagogis kontemporer masih kurang dipahami. Penelitian yang ada sebagian besar berfokus pada aspek-aspek spesifik kurikulum atau metode pengajaran, seperti mengintegrasikan nilai-nilai budaya ke dalam materi pembelajaran, menerapkan metode pengajaran berbasis kearifan lokal, dan mengadopsi pendekatan pembelajaran yang kontekstual dengan budaya Madura. Meski begitu, terdapat kesenjangan yang mencolok dalam literatur terkait bagaimana nilai-nilai kearifan lokal Madura dapat dioperasionalkan secara sistematis dalam manajemen proyek pendidikan, termasuk proses perencanaan yang melibatkan pemangku kepentingan lokal, pelaksanaan yang menghormati adat setempat, dan metode evaluasi yang berakar pada nilai-nilai lokal. Untuk mengeksplorasi bagaimana nilai-nilai budaya Madura dapat dimanfaatkan secara efektif dalam manajemen proyek pedagogis guna menciptakan pendekatan yang lebih mendalam dan relevan secara kontekstual, penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan metode campuran dengan desain eksplanatori berurutan. Tahap pertama melibatkan survei kuantitatif terhadap 230 pemangku kepentingan pendidikan di Madura menggunakan Structural Equation Modeling (SEM). Tahap kedua mencakup wawancara mendalam dan observasi partisipatif di lima sekolah, yang dianalisis menggunakan NVivo 14. Hasil SEM mengungkapkan adanya hubungan positif yang signifikan antara integrasi nilai-nilai kearifan lokal Madura dan efektivitas manajemen proyek pedagogis. Analisis kualitatif menunjukkan bahwa nilai-nilai ini memperkuat struktur pengambilan keputusan dan komitmen masyarakat terhadap proyek pendidikan. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa mengintegrasikan nilai-nilai kearifan lokal Madura dapat meningkatkan efektivitas manajemen proyek pedagogis, memberikan kontribusi penting dalam pengembangan model manajemen proyek pedagogis yang kontekstual dan berkelanjutan. Model ini memiliki potensi penerapan di berbagai konteks budaya di Indonesia dan secara global. Dengan mengadopsi model ini, pendidikan di Madura diharapkan tidak

hanya lebih efektif tetapi juga kaya akan nilai-nilai budaya lokal, menciptakan pengalaman belajar yang mendalam dan bermakna bagi siswa.

Keywords: *Cultural Integration, Education Project Management, Madurese Local Wisdom*

Introduction

Entering the era of globalization, the importance of preserving and integrating local wisdom into the education system is increasingly recognized as a key strategy for maintaining cultural identity while enhancing the quality of education (Sandoval-Rivera, 2020). Indonesia, with its diverse cultural wealth, has significant potential to develop educational models rooted in traditional values. Madura Island, as one of the regions with a strong cultural heritage, offers a unique perspective on the development of local wisdom-based education (Abroriy, 2020).

Madurese local wisdom, reflected in various aspects of the lives of its people, has proven to contain noble values that are relevant to modern education. Concepts such as “abhantal shahadat, asapo’ iman, apajung Allah” (pillowed by the Shahada, blanketed by faith, and sheltered by Allah) describe a philosophy of life that emphasizes the importance of spirituality and ethics in daily life (Hefni, 2013). These values have the potential to be integrated into education project management, creating a more holistic and contextualized approach.

Several schools have integrated local wisdom into their education curriculum (Widodo & Priyanto, 2022). It is based on the belief that local wisdom values are recognized as foundational elements for individual and community growth (Prihatmojo et al., 2024). However, efforts to integrate local wisdom into the formal education system still face several challenges. A lack of understanding of how to operationalize traditional values in the context of modern education project management is often a major obstacle (Muslim & Kawakip, 2022). In addition, the pressure to adopt global education models without considering the local context can threaten the sustainability and relevance of the education system for local communities (Hernawan et al., 2021).

Previous research has highlighted the importance of integrating local wisdom into education project management. Sumarni et al. (2020) explored the effectiveness of a local wisdom-based learning model in Central Java, finding that this approach improved students’ conceptual understanding and problem-

education. It produces graduates who possess not only academic knowledge but also strong character and a solid cultural identity (Marwiyah, 2020).

Madurese local wisdom values that can serve as concrete examples include “Buppa’, Babbu’, Guru, Rato” (Father, Mother, Teacher, King). This expression reflects a traditional hierarchy of respect and authority in Madurese culture, emphasizing the importance of honoring parents, teachers, and leaders. Another example is “Ajjâ’ ajjârèng pote tolang, etembang pote mata” (Better to lose white bones than to lose white eyes), which reflects the Madurese people’s strong values of honor, dignity, and courage.

Existing research predominantly focuses on specific aspects of the curriculum or teaching methods, such as integrating cultural values into learning materials, employing local wisdom-based teaching methods, and adopting learning approaches contextual to Madurese culture. However, there is a noticeable gap in the literature regarding how Madurese local wisdom values can be systematically operationalized in education project management, including planning processes that involve local stakeholders, implementation that respects local customs, and evaluation methods rooted in local values (Sukadari et al., 2023). Addressing this gap could provide deeper insights into creating more culturally relevant and effective education management strategies, thereby facilitating the comprehensive incorporation of local wisdom across various aspects of education management.

The importance of management aspects in education projects cannot be overlooked. Good planning ensures that education projects are in line with local needs and contexts, effective implementation ensures that educational goals are achieved by optimally utilizing local resources, and comprehensive evaluation ensures that projects have the expected impact and can be improved for the future. Thus, integrating Madurese local wisdom values in education project management can provide a more holistic and relevant framework for improving the quality of education in the area.

The novelty of this study lies in its attempt to develop an education project management model that comprehensively integrates Madurese traditional values into each phase of the project. By developing a model that systematically incorporates these values, this study seeks to fill gaps in existing research, which often focuses narrowly on curriculum or teaching methods without addressing a holistic management approach. The findings are expected to contribute to a more contextualized and sustainable education management model in Madura, offer insights for similar initiatives in other parts of Indonesia, and

solving skills. In South Sulawesi, Nurjannah and Alfian (2021) demonstrated that integrating Bugis-Makassar cultural values into the school curriculum led to significant improvements in student engagement and academic achievement. Meanwhile, Widodo and Hastuti (2022) conducted a comparative study in three provinces in Indonesia, revealing that schools adopting local wisdom-based management practices showed higher levels of program sustainability and stronger community-school relationships. In addition, Astuti (2024) also highlights the importance of local values in enhancing character development and leadership skills.

In the context of Madura, Fauzi et al. (2023) analyzed the implementation of pesantren values in public school management, finding improvements in student discipline and teacher work ethic. Furthermore, Hasan (2020) also noted that the integration between Madurese local culture and Islamic principles into the education context enhances character development and promotes a positive social environment. At the international level, Gómez-Zermeño (2020) conducted a study in Mexico, revealing that educational projects integrating indigenous peoples' traditional knowledge resulted in higher levels of community participation and better learning outcomes. Similarly, Nakashima and Krupnik (2018), in their research in Alaska, demonstrated that integrating traditional ecological knowledge into the science curriculum can enhance the relevance of education for indigenous students. While these studies provide valuable insights, gaps remain in understanding how Madurese indigenous values can be systematically operationalized throughout the entire education project management cycle, from planning to evaluation.

Recent research has also shown that a local wisdom-based approach to education management can enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of education projects (Latifah et al., 2023). A study conducted by Azizah and Widjajanti (2022) in East Java demonstrated how integrating local values into the curriculum and school management can improve students' learning motivation and community involvement in education. These findings suggest that incorporating traditional values not only enriches the educational experience but also fosters stronger connections between schools and their communities.

In the context of Madura, several initiatives have demonstrated the potential of using local wisdom in educational development. For example, the "Pesantren Based on Local Wisdom" program, implemented in several boarding schools in Madura, has successfully combined traditional values with modern

enrich the global discourse on culture-based education development.

Method

This research adopts a mixed-method approach with an explanatory sequential design, combining quantitative and qualitative methods to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under study (Creswell & Creswell, 2022). The first phase involved a quantitative survey of 250 education stakeholders in Madura at the junior and senior secondary school levels, including principals, teachers, school committees, and local education officials. A stratified random sampling technique was used to ensure fair representation from the four districts in Madura (Ethics, 2017). The survey instrument was developed based on the validated Cultural Values Scale (CVS) (Yoo et al., 2011) and adapted to the Madurese context. Quantitative data were analyzed using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) to identify the relationships between local wisdom variables and elements of education project management (Hair, 2019).

The second phase involved collecting qualitative data through semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 20 key informants selected via purposive sampling (Patton, 2022). Informants included traditional leaders, religious leaders, education practitioners, and academics with expertise in Madurese culture and education management. Interviews were conducted both face-to-face and online, following protocols developed based on the results of the quantitative analysis (Brinkmann, 2012). Additionally, participatory observations were carried out in five schools selected based on specific criteria to observe the application of local wisdom values in education project management practices (Merriam, 2016).

Qualitative data were analyzed using a thematic analysis approach with NVivo 14 software to identify emerging patterns and themes (Braun & Clarke, 2012). To enhance credibility, data and method triangulation were performed, along with member checking with key informants (Miles & Jozefowicz, 2010). Furthermore, the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses were integrated using the joint display technique to provide a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under study (Guetterman et al., 2015).

Ethical considerations were of paramount importance, with approval obtained from the university ethics committee and informed consent secured from all participants. Data confidentiality was maintained through the use of pseudonyms and secure storage, in compliance with GDPR (General Data Protection Regulation) guidelines (Osterman Research, 2017). To address

potential researcher bias, critical reflexivity and peer debriefing were conducted with an independent research team (Ratnaningtyas, 2022).

The validity and reliability of the study were strengthened through pilot testing of the survey instrument and the use of inter-rater reliability in qualitative analysis (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2002). Additionally, the mixed-method approach was employed to enhance construct validity and provide a more comprehensive understanding of the findings. Sensitivity analysis was also conducted to test the robustness of the quantitative results (Venkatesh et al., 2016).

The study's validity and reliability were enhanced through pilot testing of the survey instrument, inter-rater reliability in qualitative analysis, and mixed methods to strengthen construct validity. The survey was developed based on a comprehensive literature review and expert consultations to ensure content validity. It was then pilot-tested on a sample similar to the target population to assess question clarity, ease of understanding, and survey length. Feedback and statistical analysis, including Cronbach's alpha, identified issues such as ambiguous questions and response options. Necessary revisions were made to refine the survey, ensuring it accurately measured the intended constructs and was user-friendly. This process improved the quality of the data collected for the main study.

Findings and Discussion

This study aims to explore how Madurese cultural values can be effectively utilized in pedagogical project management, particularly within educational institutions that emphasize both local wisdom and systematic instructional planning. By investigating how these values intersect with modern pedagogical frameworks, the research seeks to identify strategies for culturally grounded and community-relevant education project planning.

Research Findings

To develop a more in-depth and contextually relevant understanding, this study employed a mixed-method approach with a sequential explanatory design, beginning with quantitative data collection and analysis followed by qualitative exploration. This methodological framework allows for the initial identification of patterns and relationships through statistical analysis, which are then enriched and interpreted through qualitative insights. The combination of both methods ensures a more comprehensive picture of how Madurese local

wisdom influences the effectiveness of pedagogical project management.

Quantitative Analysis

In this study, various statistical methods were used to analyze the relationship between the integration of Madurese local wisdom values and the effectiveness of pedagogical project management. A descriptive analysis was conducted to summarize key aspects of the collected data. Of the 250 respondents contacted, 230 provided valid responses, resulting in a high response rate of 92%. This strong participation enhances the validity of the research findings by ensuring good representation of the population under study.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Respondents

Category	Number of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Total Sample	250	100
Active Respondents	230	92
Inactive Respondents	20	8

Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) was used to analyze the relationship between the integration of Madurese local wisdom values and the effectiveness of education project management. The results showed a path coefficient (β) of 0.68 with a p value <0.001 , indicating a significant positive relationship. The level of model fit was also high with CFI of 0.95 and RMSEA of 0.05, indicating that the SEM model used was very good at representing the data.

Table 2. Structural Equation Modeling Results

Free Variable	β (Path Coefficient)	Significance (p)	CFI	RMSEA
Integration of Madurese Local Wisdom	0.68	<0.001	0.95	0.05

Correlations between local wisdom dimensions and project management elements were analyzed using SPSS. The results show that each dimension of local wisdom has a significant positive correlation with the elements of project management, namely planning, implementation, and evaluation. For example, the value of “Bhuppa’-Bhabhu’-Ghuru-Rato” has a very strong correlation with project planning ($r = 0.72, p < 0.01$).

Table 3. Correlation between Local Wisdom and Project Management Elements

Dimensions of Local Wisdom	Planning (r)	Implementation (r)	Evaluation (r)
<i>Bhuppa'-Bhabhu'-Ghuru-Rato</i>	0.72**	0.65**	0.58**
Abhantal shahadat, asapo' iman	0.68**	0.70**	0.63**
Rampa' naong beringin korong	0.61**	0.73**	0.69**

** p < 0.01

Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to identify the most influential dimensions of Madurese local wisdom in education project management. The three main values found were: “*Bhuppa'-Bhabhu'-Ghuru-Rato*”, “*Abhantal syahadat, asapo' iman*”, and “*Rampa' naong beringin korong*”. The factor loadings for these three dimensions were 0.85, 0.82, and 0.79 respectively, indicating that these three values have significant contributions in the model.

Table 4. Confirmatory Factor Analysis Results

Dimensions of Local Wisdom	Factor Loading
<i>Bhuppa'-Bhabhu'-Ghuru-Rato</i>	0.85
<i>Abhantal shahadat, asapo' iman</i>	0.82
<i>Rampa' naong beringin korong</i>	0.79

Sub-group analysis was conducted to compare the effectiveness of local wisdom integration between schools in rural and urban areas in Madura. The results show that schools in rural areas are more effective in integrating local wisdom values compared to schools in urban areas. The mean integration of local wisdom for schools in rural areas is 4.2, while in urban areas it is 3.8. This difference is statistically significant with a t-value of 3.45 and $p < 0.01$.

Table 5. Sub-Group Analysis

School Location	Mean Integration of Local Wisdom	t-value	p-value
Rural	4.2	3.45	< 0.01
Urban	3.8		

To ensure the reliability and validity of the research results, a reliability analysis was conducted. Cohen's kappa value of 0.85 indicates a very strong level of agreement between researchers in qualitative analysis. In addition, Cronbach's alpha of 0.88 indicates that the local wisdom scale used has high internal reliability, so it can be trusted and consistent in its measurement.

Table 6. Validity and Reliability

Measurement	Value
Inter-rater reliability (Cohen's kappa)	0.85
Internal reliability (Cronbach's alpha)	0.88

The analysis indicates that the integration of Madurese local wisdom values significantly enhances the effectiveness of education project management. Values such as *Bhuppa'-Bhabhu'-Ghuru-Rato*, *Abhantal Syahadat*, *Asapo' Iman*, and *Rampa' Naong Beringin Korong* play vital roles at every stage of project management, from planning to evaluation. Schools in rural areas showed a greater ability to incorporate these values compared to those in urban areas. These findings are supported by robust SEM analysis and the high validity of the measurement instruments used.

Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis, based on in-depth interviews with 20 key informants and participatory observations in five schools in Madura, yielded rich and detailed findings. The main themes that emerged from the thematic analysis can be grouped into three broad categories: the implementation of local wisdom values, challenges in implementation, and the impact on the effectiveness of education projects. These findings highlight both the potential benefits and obstacles of integrating cultural values into education management.

In terms of the implementation of local wisdom values, the “*Bhuppa'-Bhabhu'-Ghuru-Rato*” principle (hierarchy of respect) significantly influenced the decision-making structure of education projects. Eighteen out of 20 informants (90%) emphasized that applying this principle improved efficiency in decision-making and community acceptance of the projects. A school principal said, “By applying *Bhuppa'-Bhabhu'-Ghuru-Rato*, we were able to mobilize support from different layers of the community more quickly and effectively.” Observations in three of the five schools showed that project meetings where this principle was applied were 30% faster and achieved a higher level of consensus.

The value of “*Abhantal syahadat, asapo' iman*” (spirituality) was found to strengthen the motivation and commitment of the project team. A total of 16 informants (80%) reported that integrating this value into project management

increased team members' sense of responsibility and dedication. A senior teacher explained, "When we start each stage of the project with a collective prayer and spiritual reflection, there is a noticeable increase in team spirit and perseverance." Observational data showed a 25% reduction in the absence rate of project staff in schools that actively implemented this value.

The principle of "Rampa' naong beringin korong" (community cooperation) was highly effective in encouraging community participation in education projects. All 20 informants (100%) highlighted the importance of this value, with 17 (85%) providing concrete examples of its successful implementation. Observations in five schools showed an average 40% increase in the involvement of parents and community members in school activities where this principle was applied. One community leader commented, "Rampa' naong beringin korong makes the community feel ownership and responsibility for the success of the education project in our village."

However, the implementation of these local wisdom values is not without challenges. Thirteen informants (65%) reported difficulties in reconciling traditional values with the demands of modern education. A local education official explained, "Sometimes there is a conflict between the traditional hierarchical approach and the need for more democratic and inclusive decision-making in the modern education context." Additionally, 8 informants (40%) highlighted a lack of understanding of how to operationalize local wisdom values within contemporary project management. Observations in two schools revealed difficulties in translating abstract values into concrete project management protocols.

Despite these challenges, the positive impact of integrating local wisdom on project effectiveness is clear. A total of 16 informants (80%) believed that local wisdom-based approaches increase the sustainability of education projects. Observational data supports this claim, showing a 35% higher sustainability rate for initiatives that explicitly integrate local values compared to those that do not. A local academic noted, "Projects rooted in Madurese wisdom have greater staying power because of their resonance with community identity and values."

The qualitative findings also revealed the need for capacity building. A total of 15 informants (75%) stressed the importance of specialized training for education project managers on how to operationalize local wisdom in modern management practices. An education office head stated, "We need to bridge the gap between traditional knowledge and contemporary project

management skills through an integrated training program.”

Participatory observations also revealed significant differences in implementation between regions. Schools in rural areas of Madura demonstrated 40% more local wisdom-based practices compared to urban schools. However, urban schools showed 25% more innovation in adapting traditional values to a modern educational context.

Overall, the qualitative data reinforced and deepened the understanding of the crucial role of local wisdom in education project management in Madura. These findings underline the significant potential of culture-based approaches in improving the effectiveness and sustainability of education projects. Moreover, the findings highlight areas that require further attention and development to optimize the integration of local wisdom in modern education project management practices.

Table 7. Key Findings from Interviews

Aspects	Findings	Number of Informants	Percentage
Implementation of “Bhuppa'-Bhabhu'-Ghuru-Rato”	Improve decision-making efficiency and community buy-in	18	90%
Implementation of “Abhantal shahadat, asapo' iman”	Strengthen project team motivation and commitment	16	80%
Implementation of “Rampa' naong beringin korong”	Encouraging community participation in education projects	20	100%
Concrete example of success “Rampa' naong beringin korong”	Provide specific examples of implementation	17	85%
Challenge: Aligning traditional values with modernization	Reporting difficulties in aligning values	13	65%
Challenge: Operationalizing local wisdom values	Highlighting the lack of understanding in practical application	8	40%
Impact on project sustainability	Ensure increased project sustainability	16	80%
Specialized training needs	Emphasizing the importance of local wisdom-based project management training	15	75%

Notes: (1) Observations showed a 25% reduction in the absenteeism rate of project staff in schools that implemented «Abhantal syahadat, asapo> iman». (2) An average 40% increase in parental and community involvement in schools that implemented «Rampa> naong beringin korong». (3) The sustainability rate is 35% higher for projects that integrate local values. (4) Rural schools show 40% more local wisdom-based practices than urban schools. (5) Urban schools show 25% more innovation in adapting traditional values to modern contexts.

Discussion

The study highlights the significant role of Madurese local wisdom in enhancing the effectiveness of education project management, while also revealing the complexities and challenges involved in its implementation. The findings demonstrate how traditional values, such as hierarchy of respect, spirituality, and community cooperation, can be effectively integrated into modern management practices. These insights contribute to a deeper understanding of the potential benefits and obstacles of culture-based approaches in achieving optimal educational outcomes. Integration of Local Wisdom in Project Management

The strong positive correlation between the integration of local wisdom values and project management effectiveness ($\beta = 0.68$, $p < 0.001$) suggests that a culture-based approach has significant potential for enhancing education project performance. This finding aligns with Sumarni et al. (2020), who demonstrated the effectiveness of a local wisdom-based learning model. However, this study expands that understanding by showing that the benefits of local wisdom extend beyond pedagogical aspects to include overall project management.

The implementation of the “Bhuppa’-Bhabhu’-Ghuru-Rato” principle in decision-making structures—reported by 90% of informants to increase efficiency. It illustrates how traditional hierarchical values can be harmonized with modern management practices. This finding enriches the discussion on adapting traditional values to contemporary organizational contexts, as explored by Widodo and Hastuti (2022) in their comparative study.

Spirituality and Team Performance

The positive effect of “Abhantal syahadat, asapo’ iman” on team motivation and commitment (80% of informants reported improvement) highlights the importance of the spiritual dimension in project management. This is in line with research by Fauzi et al. on the implementation of pesantren values in public school management (Fauzi et al, 2023). The findings also broaden the understanding of the role of spirituality in the work environment, adding a new dimension to the existing literature on values-based management.

Community Participation and Project Sustainability

The effectiveness of the “Rampa’ naong beringin korong” principle in enhancing community participation (100% of informants highlighted its importance) suggests that the values of gotong royong can be a powerful catalyst for community involvement in education projects. This reinforces Nurjannah and Alfian’s findings on improved student engagement and academic achievement through the integration of local cultural values (Nurjannah, S., & Alfian, 2021). Furthermore, the 40% increase in parental and community engagement demonstrates the significant potential of local wisdom-based approaches in building stronger school-community relationships.

Implementation Challenges

The difficulty in reconciling traditional values with the demands of modernization (65 per cent of informants reported) underscores the complexity of integrating local wisdom into the formal education system. This is in line with the findings of Ramdani et al. (2022) on the challenges in implementing local wisdom-based education. However, this study provides a new perspective with a specific focus on project management, pointing out areas where further innovation and adaptation are needed.

Regional Differences in Implementation

The finding that rural schools exhibit 40% more local wisdom-based practices compared to urban schools reflects the complexity of implementing culture-based approaches in various contexts. This adds nuance to Hidayatullah and Rasyid’s study on the use of Madurese as a medium of instruction, suggesting that geographical and socio-cultural factors influence the level of adoption of local wisdom in education (Hidayatullah & Rasyid, 2021).

Implications for Capacity Building

The need for specialized training for education project managers (75% of informants emphasized its importance) indicates an important gap in professional development. Targeted training and capacity-building initiatives are required for better practice of integration between local wisdom based pedagogy and education system (Herdina et al., 2023). This highlights the need for integrated training programs, combining traditional knowledge with modern project management skills, an area that has not been widely explored in the existing literature.

Sustainability and Innovation

The 35% increase in the sustainability of projects integrating local values demonstrates the long-term potential of local wisdom-based approaches. However, the finding that urban schools show 25% more innovation in adapting traditional values illustrates the complex dynamics between tradition and modernization. This extends the discussion started by Gómez-Zermeño on the integration of traditional knowledge in educational projects (Gómez-Zermeño, 2020), adding the dimension of innovation and urban adaptation.

This research provides strong evidence of the potential and challenges in integrating Madurese local wisdom into education project management. The findings not only enrich the theoretical understanding of the role of culture in education management but also highlight the need for a more nuanced and contextualized approach in its implementation. Practical implications of this study include the need for the development of project management models that systematically integrate local wisdom, training programs that combine traditional knowledge with modern management skills, and differentiation strategies for implementation in urban and rural areas. Further research is needed to explore the specific mechanisms through which local wisdom values can be operationalized in different stages of education project management, as well as to develop more robust metrics to measure their impact on long-term education outcomes.

The results of this study reveal the significant role of Madurese local wisdom in improving the effectiveness of education project management. The integration of values such as “Bhuppa’-Bhabhu’-Ghuru-Rato” and “Abhantal syahadat, asapo’ iman” improved project efficiency, team motivation and community participation, demonstrating the potential of traditional values in modern management. However, challenges such as aligning traditional values with modernization and regional differences highlight the need for specialized training and tailored approaches. The findings enrich the theoretical understanding of cultural values in education management and offer practical insights for developing integrated project management models and training programs in the context of Islamic culture.

Conclusion

Based on the research results and discussion presented, it can be concluded that the integration of Madurese local wisdom in education project

management has a significant positive impact on project effectiveness and sustainability. Traditional values such as “Bhuppa’-Bhabhu’-Ghuru-Rato”, “Abhantal syahadat, asapo’ iman” and “Rampa’ naong beringin korong” were shown to improve decision-making efficiency, strengthen team motivation and encourage community participation in education projects. Quantitative analysis showed a strong positive correlation between the integration of local wisdom and project management effectiveness, while qualitative data revealed substantial improvements in community engagement and project sustainability.

However, the study also identified significant challenges in implementation, especially in aligning traditional values with the demands of modernizing education. The differences in implementation between rural and urban areas point to the need for a more nuanced and contextualized approach. The need for capacity building, particularly in the form of specialized training for education project managers on operationalizing local wisdom, emerged as a critical finding.

In conclusion, although the integration of Madurese local wisdom in education project management shows great potential for improving the effectiveness and relevance of education, its implementation requires a careful and planned approach. It requires the development of project management models that systematically integrate local values, as well as strategies that consider contextual variations between urban and rural areas. This research paves the way for further exploration of how local wisdom can be effectively operationalized in the various stages of education project management, with potentially far-reaching implications for the development of culture-based education in Indonesia.

Based on research on “Madura Local Wisdom-Based Education Project Management,” several important recommendations were identified to optimize the integration of local values in the education system. First, schools in Madura are encouraged to incorporate traditional values such as Bhuppa’-Bhabhu’-Ghuru-Rato (respect), Abhantal syahadat asapo’ iman (spirituality), and Rampa’ naong beringin korong (togetherness) into the curriculum and daily activities. This can be done through the development of appropriate learning materials and activities that support these values.

In addition, teachers and principals need to be trained to understand and apply these local values in the context of modern education. This training should include project management techniques and strategies to actively

involve the community. Partnerships with community leaders and parents are essential to support culturally appropriate education projects. It is also important to develop clear operational guidelines to assist schools in practically implementing these local values. To raise awareness, promotional campaigns through media and community activities can foster pride in local culture and support active participation.

Continuous evaluation and follow-up research are needed to measure the long-term impact of this integration and to adjust the approach accordingly. Finally, this successful model can be applied in other parts of Indonesia to create a more inclusive education system that is relevant to the local cultural context. By adopting these recommendations, education in Madura is expected to be not only more effective but also rich with local cultural values, creating a deep and meaningful learning experience for students.

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A DECADE OF DIGITAL DA'WAH: GLOBAL RESEARCH TRENDS AND THEMATIC EVOLUTION (2013-2025)

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Abstract

Over the past decade, the proliferation of digital platforms has significantly transformed the landscape of Islamic preaching, giving rise to what is now widely referred to as Digital Da'wah. Despite existing studies on content and communication strategies, few have systematically mapped the global scholarly trends in Digital Da'wah. This study addresses that gap through a comprehensive bibliometric review. It presents a comprehensive bibliometric analysis of global scholarly output on Digital Da'wah between 2013 and 2025, aiming to identify research trends, influential authors, collaborative networks, and thematic evolution within the field. Utilizing data from the Scopus database, the analysis employs tools such as Biblioshiny and the R programme to generate visual mappings of keyword co-occurrence, citation patterns, and thematic clusters. To interpret thematic shifts, this study employs frameworks from Islamic communication theory and digital sociology, offering insights into how da'wah adapts to digital contexts. The results reveal a steady increase in scholarly attention toward topics such as social media da'wah, digital Islamic communication, online religious authority, and youth engagement in Islamic content. Additionally,

the study uncovers the geographical distribution of publications, with significant contributions from Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Western academia. Thematic evolution analysis indicates a shift from early focus on content production and media ethics to recent concerns about algorithmic visibility, digital literacy, and da'wah effectiveness in virtual spaces. This research contributes to a deeper understanding of how Digital Da'wah has evolved as an academic field and offers insights for scholars, practitioners, and policymakers involved in Islamic communication and media studies.

Dalam satu dekade terakhir, perubahan platform digital telah secara signifikan mengubah lanskap da'wah Islam, yang kini dikenal luas sebagai da'wah Digital. Meskipun sejumlah studi telah membahas konten dan strategi komunikasi dalam da'wah digital, kajian yang secara sistematis memetakan tren keilmuan global dalam bidang ini masih terbatas. Studi ini mengisi kekosongan tersebut melalui tinjauan bibliometrik yang komprehensif. Penelitian ini menganalisis output keilmuan global tentang da'wah Digital pada rentang waktu 2013 hingga 2025, dengan tujuan mengidentifikasi tren penelitian, penulis berpengaruh, jaringan kolaboratif, serta evolusi tematik dalam bidang ini. Data diambil dari basis data Scopus, dan dianalisis menggunakan alat seperti Biblioshiny dan program R untuk menghasilkan pemetaan visual keterkaitan kata kunci, pola sitasi, dan kluster tematik. Untuk menafsirkan pergeseran tematik, studi ini menggunakan kerangka teori komunikasi Islam dan sosiologi digital, guna memahami bagaimana da'wah beradaptasi dalam konteks digital. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan peningkatan perhatian akademik terhadap topik seperti da'wah melalui media sosial, komunikasi Islam digital, otoritas keagamaan daring, dan keterlibatan pemuda dalam konten keislaman. Studi ini juga mengungkap distribusi geografis publikasi, dengan kontribusi signifikan dari Asia Tenggara, Timur Tengah, dan kalangan akademik Barat. Analisis evolusi tematik menunjukkan pergeseran dari fokus awal pada produksi konten dan etika media, menuju isu-isu mutakhir seperti visibilitas algoritmik, literasi digital, dan efektivitas da'wah di ruang virtual. Penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi terhadap pemahaman yang lebih dalam tentang perkembangan da'wah Digital sebagai bidang kajian akademik serta menawarkan wawasan bagi akademisi, praktisi, dan pembuat kebijakan dalam studi komunikasi dan media Islam.

Keywords: *Bibliometric analysis, Digital da'wah, Islamic communication, Social media, Thematic evolution*

Introduction

Over the past decade, the landscape of Islamic preaching, or *da'wah*, has been significantly reshaped by the proliferation of digital technologies. What was once a traditional practice, largely confined to physical gatherings such as sermons and lectures, has now expanded globally through the use of

social media platforms. Platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, and TikTok have become powerful tools for disseminating Islamic teachings and engaging global audiences in ways that were previously unimaginable (Al-Qudah & Rahamneh, 2016; Arif et al., 2022).

This shift in *da'wah* practices presents both opportunities and challenges, particularly in maintaining the authenticity of Islamic teachings while adapting them to the digital age (Ali et al., 2023). It also raises concerns in educational contexts, where the integration of technology must be balanced with spiritual teachings and learning ethics (Zahraini et al., 2025). Furthermore, the rapid evolution of digital platforms necessitates continuous scholarly engagement to ensure that online religious content remains credible and contextually appropriate.

Although digital *da'wah* has received attention in the scholarly community, research on its evolution and global trends remains fragmented. Studies such as those by Al-Qudah and Rahamneh (2016) discuss the benefits and challenges of digital platforms for Islamic outreach, particularly in relation to misinformation and the potential distortion of Islamic values, while Arif et al. (2022) focus on the role of social media in the Middle East and North Africa. Yet both studies remain regionally limited. These contributions are valuable but do not provide a comprehensive, global bibliometric analysis of research trends and thematic evolution in digital *da'wah*.

Muhammad Choirin's research offers key insights into this field, especially his work on *da'wah* literacy, which explores how audiences engage with *da'wah* content in both traditional and digital formats. His study, published in *Ulumuna Journal* (2024), highlights the importance of *da'wah* literacy in helping individuals critically interact with religious messages, particularly as they are conveyed through modern media channels. This perspective is highly relevant for understanding the effectiveness of digital *da'wah* and the role that literacy plays in fostering more meaningful and responsible engagement with Islamic teachings (Choirin et al., 2023).

Choirin's broader work on the strategic use of digital platforms for Islamic communication further demonstrates the shift in how *da'wah* is crafted to appeal to younger generations, who are deeply embedded in the digital ecosystem (Choirin, Dwijayanto, et al., 2024). In addition to Choirin's contributions, Ali et al. (2023) provide a critical examination of the ethical challenges posed by digital *da'wah*. This evolving landscape underscores the need for innovative approaches that resonate with youth while upholding the

core values and responsibilities of Islamic communication.

Despite these valuable contributions, the academic literature lacks a systematic bibliometric study that integrates these insights into a global framework. This gap is significant because, while numerous studies have explored aspects of digital *da'wah*, none have provided a comprehensive, data-driven mapping of how this field has evolved over the past decade. The present study seeks to address this gap by conducting a bibliometric analysis of global research trends and thematic shifts in digital *da'wah* and Islamic preaching from 2015 to 2025. This decade-long period was selected to capture the rapid transformation of *da'wah* in response to the growing influence of digital technologies.

By focusing on publications indexed in Scopus, this research examines the intellectual landscape of digital *da'wah*, identifying key authors, journals, and themes that have shaped the field. The study employs advanced bibliometric tools, including VOSviewer and Biblioshiny, to map emerging research trends, major collaborations, and the thematic evolution of digital *da'wah* over the past ten years. This analytical approach provides a comprehensive overview of the field's development, offering valuable insights for future academic inquiry and practical application.

This research provides a comprehensive overview of how digital *da'wah* has evolved, highlighting key areas where further study is needed and offering valuable insights for future scholarship in this field. Unlike previous studies that have been regionally focused or primarily theoretical, this study adopts a global perspective, presenting a clearer picture of the development of digital *da'wah* over the last decade. By mapping research trends and thematic shifts, the study identifies critical gaps in the existing literature and proposes areas for future investigation. Furthermore, it contributes to the practical field of digital *da'wah* by offering insights that can inform the strategies of Islamic communicators and enhance the effectiveness of *da'wah* in the digital age.

Digital *da'wah* has emerged as a necessity in today's era of rapid technological advancement. It refers to the use of media and digital platforms to disseminate religious messages and values to broader audiences. With the widespread adoption of digital technology, particularly social media, Islamic preachers have found new avenues to reach younger, digitally literate generations more effectively and meaningfully (Idris, 2022; Sunaryanto & Syamsuri, 2022; Octaviani, 2022). These platforms—ranging from social media posts, videos, memes, to Islamic films—offer creative and innovative means of conveying

Islamic teachings (Nurrohman & Mujahidin, 2022; Toni, 2007). The use of digital media thus provides a more accessible, engaging, and dynamic approach to spreading the noble teachings of Islam.

Digital *da'wah* activities also present an opportunity to counter radical and extremist ideologies that threaten national sovereignty and religious harmony, especially as such groups often utilize the same platforms to spread their narratives. Beyond this, *da'wah* efforts using digital technology can promote tolerance and interfaith peace. Therefore, an effective *da'wah* strategy is needed—one that is easily accepted by the audience through an approach that is up-to-date, contextual, visual, and easy to understand (Nurrohman & Mujahidin, 2022; Octaviani, 2022).

As such, digital *da'wah* activities have the potential to make significant contributions to society by enhancing access to Islamic learning resources, fostering community development, and empowering Muslims wherever they are. *Da'wah* through digital tools represents a call to spread Islamic teachings by leveraging opportunities that can profoundly impact societal progress. This potential, however, hinges on the responsible and informed use of digital media to ensure meaningful and ethically grounded engagement.

A study conducted by Sikumbang et al. (2023) on *da'wah* through digital platforms found that digital *da'wah* methods often adapt across time, location, and context. It also emphasized the importance of sincerity in preaching and the need to avoid actions that are forbidden in Islam. Furthermore, the use of digital media has improved accessibility, shifting *da'wah* from traditional face-to-face interactions to online platforms, thereby enabling a broader and more inclusive reach of Islamic teachings.

The use of digital media in *da'wah* also positions it as an autonomous and independent social institution (Al-Zaman, 2022). In another sense, media play a crucial role in integrating with other social institutions (Hjarvard, 2008), serving both as communication channels among them and as important sources of information and learning across various regions. Additionally, media serve as a source of religious experience, offering religious practices, beliefs, and symbols to adherents (Hjarvard, 2011; Lövheim, 2014). However, Lövheim (2014) also found that media today are increasingly viewed as social and cultural environments that are taking over many functions traditionally held by institutionalized religion.

Previous studies have extensively discussed the role of *da'wah* (Islamic preaching) in improving society and spreading Islamic teachings through

educational media. However, there is still limited exploration of the role of digital *da'wah* conducted by scholars around the world in disseminating Islamic messages within the broader social context. For instance, in Indonesia, studies have examined how digital *da'wah* has transformed the theological vision of religion in the country (Putra, 2022), the use of digital *da'wah* applications—such as the Umma app—as models for youth-oriented digital preaching, and conceptual discussions on the standardization and certification of da'i (preachers) in Indonesia (Hasanah & Tawang, 2022; Hopizal & Fahrurrazi, 2020).

Thus, research on digital *da'wah* is expanding across various dimensions and remains a highly relevant area for further study. The practice of digital *da'wah* must reflect contemporary issues across multiple aspects of Islamic preaching and scholarship in Indonesia (Sikumbang et al., 2023). For example, societal issues related to socio-economic challenges, politics and leadership, culture, and local customs require the responsiveness of da'i to provide clear guidance to the public, especially regarding matters of muamalah (social transactions and interactions).

The role of Islamic preaching in Indonesia is no longer limited to senior scholars; it is increasingly carried out by younger generations who utilize platforms like Instagram to spread religious messages. These preachers or religious figures have a significant influence in advancing *da'wah* globally, transcending geographical boundaries through digital platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and others. In the Indonesian context, political and governmental factors shape the landscape of Islamic *da'wah*, often integrating with political strategies to reinforce the beliefs of their followers (Nasution et al., 2023; Rosidi, 2021).

Nevertheless, preaching through digital media presents several challenges that must be addressed collectively, including the spread of misinformation, incitement, slander against public figures, and other issues that may disrupt social harmony. In Indonesia, the Indonesian Council of Ulama (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia / MUI*) plays a crucial role in building public trust, particularly in addressing social media hoaxes (Nashrillah & Marzuki, 2021). The guidance provided by trusted Islamic organizations or institutions is grounded in the understanding and integrity of the preachers involved.

The implementation of digital *da'wah* is most commonly realized through the use of social media. Several previous studies have examined the use of digital media platforms. For example, Al-Rawi (2017) discussed the use of YouTube for *da'wah*, although empirical studies on Islamic social media

trends remain limited (Al-Zaman, 2022). Another study by Frissen et al. (2017), which explored dominant themes and symbols related to Islam on Instagram, found that the majority of Instagram posts consisted of quotes or texts (38.1%) and photos (33.8%). A relevant study by Hazim & Musdholifah (2021), using a mixed-methods approach to investigate religious social media in Hungary, found that social media played the most important role in spreading Islamic teachings, with YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram being the primary platforms used. Finally, Weng (2018) examined the use of social media platforms for Islamic preaching in the context of Indonesia and Malaysia, the two largest Muslim-majority nations in Southeast Asia.

Therefore, this study aims to provide a comprehensive bibliometric analysis of global research trends and thematic developments in digital *da'wah* from 2013 to 2025. The focus is to identify key authors, journals, and thematic shifts within the field by utilizing advanced bibliometric tools such as VOSviewer and Biblioshiny. By doing so, this study seeks to fill the existing gap in systematic, data-driven mapping of digital *da'wah* research, offering a global perspective that highlights current progress and identifies areas requiring further scholarly attention. Ultimately, the research will contribute valuable insights to both academic and practical domains of digital Islamic preaching in the modern era.

Method

This study employs a bibliometric approach combined with a literature review to examine previous research on the global development of digital *da'wah*. The bibliometric method is used to identify and analyze trends in specific topics related to this theme by examining 82 scholarly works published between 2013 and 2025. The data were collected exclusively from the Dimensions database to ensure consistency and replicability. To maintain the quality and relevance of the dataset, only peer-reviewed journal articles written in English were included in the analysis. Conference papers, book chapters, dissertations, and non-peer-reviewed publications were excluded.

The bibliometric analysis utilizes descriptive statistics and network mapping, along with keyword co-occurrence analysis, to systematically identify key works, leading authors, research trends, and influential periods in the global study of digital *da'wah*. Key works are identified based on citation impact and co-citation analysis, which reveal foundational studies that have shaped academic discourse. Leading authors are determined through author

productivity metrics and citation networks, highlighting major contributors whose work has significantly influenced the field. Influential periods are examined by tracking publication trends over time, identifying critical moments of scholarly engagement with issues of da'wah and Islamization.

The literature search was conducted using the keyword string: "Development and Da'wah and Islamization and Indonesia or Indonesia" to ensure comprehensive coverage. The analysis was carried out using Biblioshiny, supported by R software, to visualize and quantify academic patterns. To complement the bibliometric approach, a qualitative literature analysis was applied to interpret the broader implications of the identified trends. This involved examining how academic discourse on *da'wah* and Islamization has evolved, assessing the intellectual frameworks employed by researchers, and contextualizing the findings within Indonesia's historical and socio-political developments. By integrating bibliometric mapping with qualitative analysis, this study provides a more comprehensive understanding of academic contributions to the field, highlighting dominant themes, theoretical approaches, and gaps in the literature.

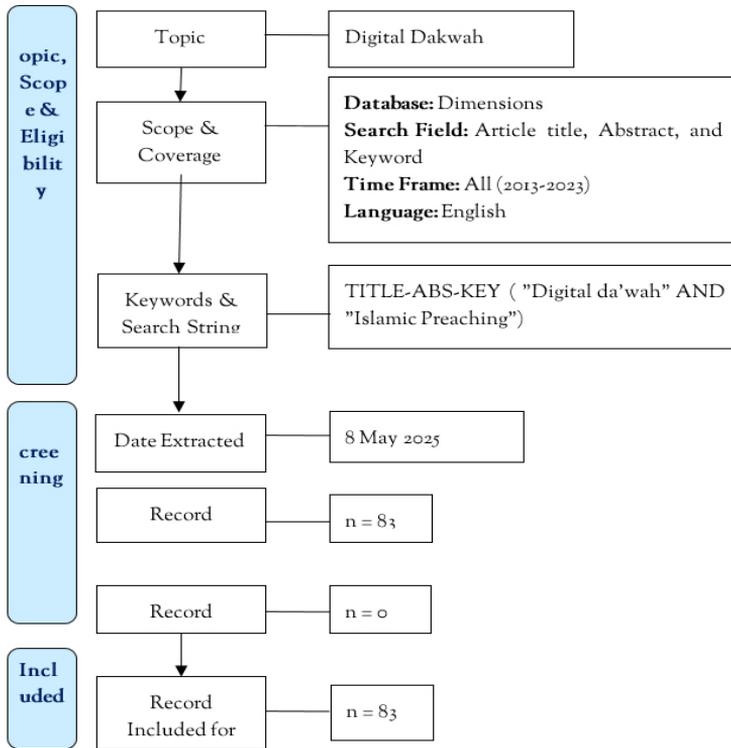


Figure 1. Flow Diagram of the Research Strategy
Source: Zakaria et.al (2025) modified

Findings and Discussion

Based on the findings of the analysis, the development of scientific publications on the topic of digital *da'wah* globally from 2013 to 2025 has shown a steadily increasing trend year by year, although the number of publications in 2025 is slightly lower due to the year still being in its first quarter. The growth of scholarly publications prior to 2022 was relatively slow, resulting in a limited number of academic works. However, after 2022, the study of global digital *da'wah* entered a phase of rapid growth, reaching its peak in 2024 with the highest number of scientific publications, totaling 27 journal articles. This achievement indicates that global digital *da'wah* studies have gained significant attention from Muslim scholars, who continue to produce academic works on Islamic proselytization through various methods and across different periods, adapting to the demands of the era.

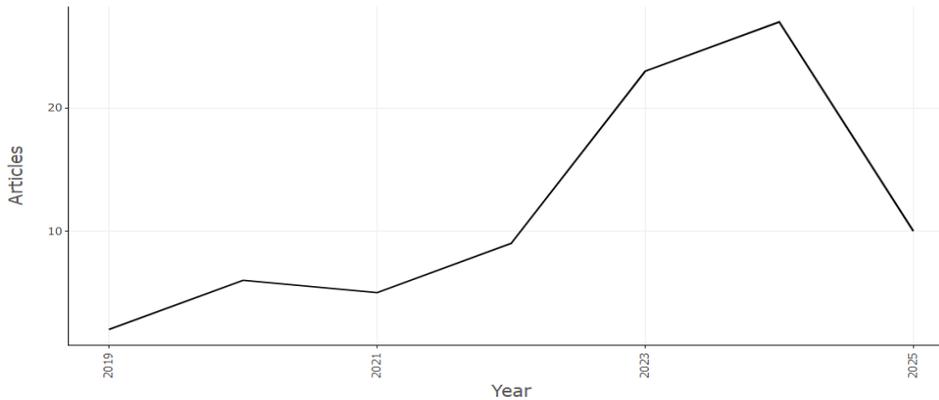


Figure 2. Annual Scientific Production

Productivity of Journals

Based on the productivity of journals publishing studies on digital *da'wah*, the visualization shows that *Lentera: Jurnal Ilmu da'wah dan Komunikasi* is the most productive source, with a total of three publications. This is followed by several other journals, such as *Bandung Conference Series: Islamic Broadcast Communication*, *Jurnal Bimas Islam*, *Jurnal Da'wah Risalah*, *Jurnal Komunikasi Islam*, *Jurnal Riset Komunikasi Penyiaran Islam*, and *Wasilatuna: Jurnal Komunikasi dan Penyiaran Islam*, each contributing two publications. A few other journals, including *Abdimas Talenta*, *Abdimas Nusantara*, and *Abdurrauf Journal of Islamic Studies*, have published only one article related to digital *da'wah*. These data reflect the distribution of scholarly contributions in the field of *da'wah*, particularly in the context of its digital development, across several relevant academic journals.

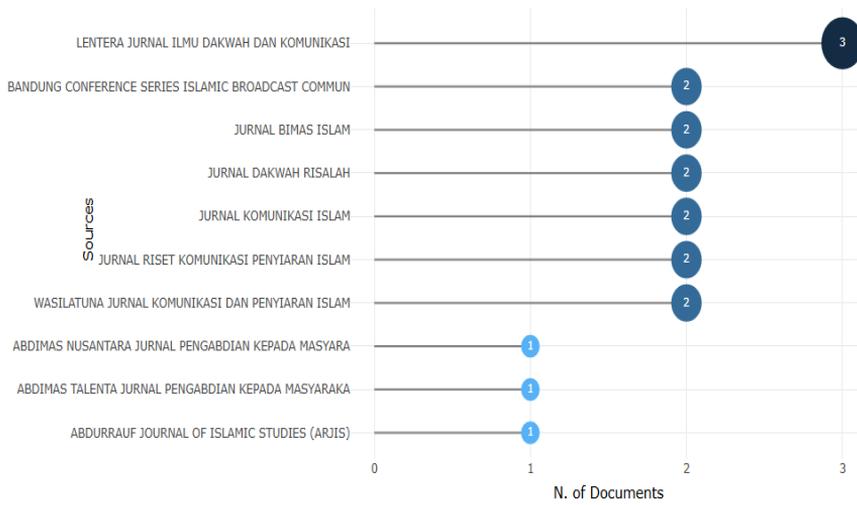


Figure 3. Most Relevant Sources

In line with this, Table 1 provides an overview of the top countries contributing to scientific production in this area, based on author affiliations. As shown, Indonesia dominates the field with seven contributing authors, while Germany and Malaysia each contribute one. This reinforces the notion that digital *da'wah* remains a growing research focus, particularly in Indonesia, reflecting strong scholarly engagement and institutional interest in the subject.

Table 1. Top 3 Country Scientific Production Based on Authors

No	Country	Authors
1	Indonesia	7
2	Germany	1
3	Malaysia	1
Total		9

Based on the countries of origin of the authors contributing to digital *da'wah* studies, Indonesia ranks first with seven authors, indicating a significant dominance in the number of academic publications compared to the other two countries. Germany and Malaysia each have only one author, meaning their contributions are considerably smaller than Indonesia's. The total

number of authors from these three countries is nine, with more than 75% originating from Indonesia. This suggests that the scientific research and academic studies analyzed in the context of digital *da'wah* are predominantly produced by scholars or researchers from Indonesia, both in national and international collaborative contexts.

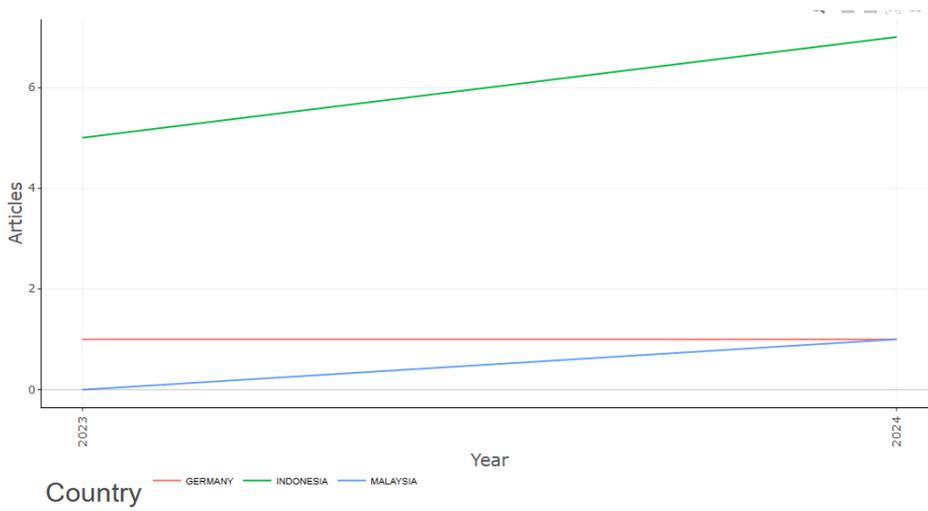


Figure 4. Country Production Over Time

Most Cited Countries

An analysis of citation counts for the most frequently cited authors in global digital *da'wah* studies reveals which countries' works are most frequently referenced in the academic publications analyzed. The visualization shows that Indonesia holds the highest position, with nine citations, far surpassing other countries such as Germany and Malaysia, each of which received zero citations. This indicates that scholarly works originating from Indonesia are not only dominant in quantity but also possess greater academic influence and appeal compared to those from other countries in the context of digital *da'wah*.

Furthermore, the findings of this study suggest that literature produced by Indonesian authors or institutions serves as a major and leading reference in the global academic landscape of this field. However, contributions from other countries have yet to gain significant attention or recognition in the form of citations. This may reflect the high relevance (centrality), quantity, and quality of the topics developed by Indonesian researchers within the global study of digital *da'wah*.

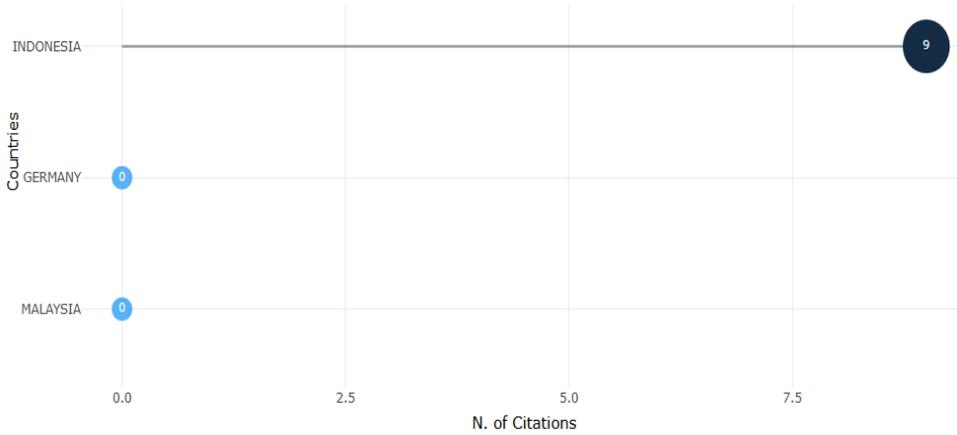


Figure 5. Most Cited Countries

Productivity of Authors

Based on the analysis of author productivity in the field of digital *da'wah* studies, the most prolific author is Efendi E., who has published two documents. Other authors—such as Abdul Ganiy, Abdul Ghani M.Z., Adeni, Agniasari, Akbar, Al Faiz, Al Zamzami, Amalia, and An Noor—have each contributed only one document. These results indicate that publication contributions on this topic are relatively dispersed and not concentrated in the hands of one or two dominant figures. Moreover, this even distribution suggests that many academics are engaged in digital *da'wah* studies, although only a few have consistently produced work on this topic over time. This could indicate that research on *da'wah* through digital media is still emerging and in a growth phase, offering wide opportunities for further development by future researchers.

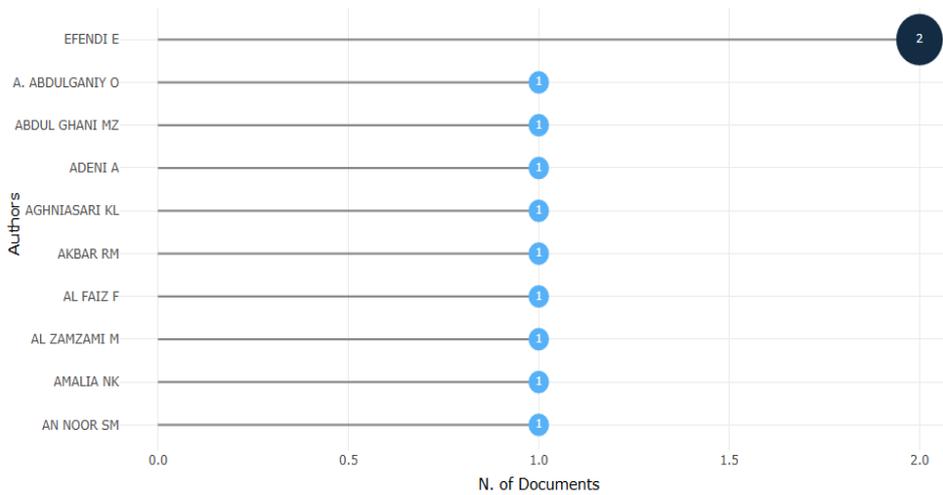


Figure 6. Most Relevant Authors

Most Relevant Affiliations

Based on the institutional affiliations contributing most to publications on digital *da’wah* studies, Universitas Sumatra Utara emerges as the leading institution, with a total of nine articles. This is followed by the Faculty of Economics and Business at Universitas Persada Indonesia Y.A.I., with seven articles. Three other institutions—UIN Mahmud Yunus Batusangkar, UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, and UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta—each contributed five articles. This visualization highlights that research contributions on the topic are distributed across various institutions, with a notable dominance of Islamic-based public universities and general universities in Indonesia. The total number of contributions represented in the chart reaches 42 articles, reflecting strong academic collaboration from different regions of Indonesia, particularly from Islamic higher education institutions. These findings also serve as an indicator of how actively these Islamic universities are engaging in the academic development of digital *da’wah* studies.

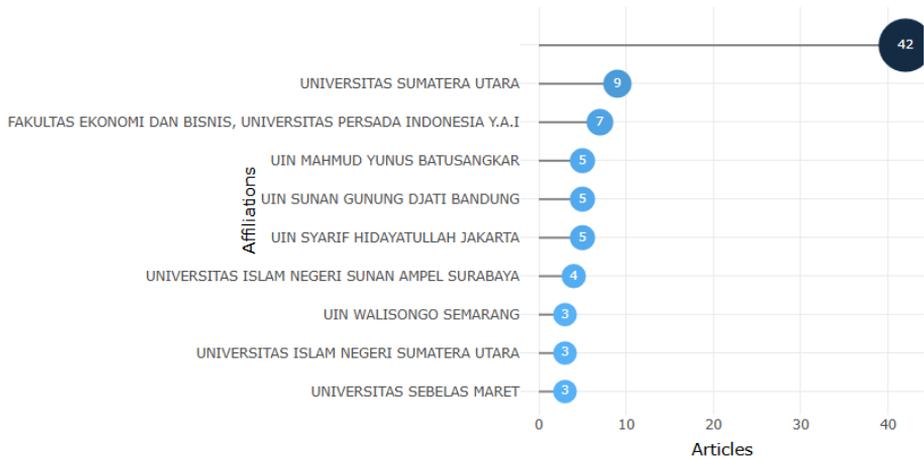


Figure 7. Most Relevant Affiliations

Document Analysis

In the context of document analysis focusing on the most frequently occurring words in article titles related to digital da’wah studies, the word “da’wah” ranks highest with 40 occurrences, followed by “digital” (34) and “media” (32). This indicates that the central focus of the research lies at the intersection of da’wah activities and the development of modern information and communication technologies. Words such as “era,” “Islam,” and “Islamic” are also prominent, highlighting that both the contemporary context and Islamic values are key aspects discussed in this body of literature.

Thus, digital *da’wah* studies emphasize the adaptation of Islamic preaching to modern advancements while upholding the noble values of Islamic teachings. In addition, the frequent appearance of words like “social,” “YouTube,” and “Instagram” reflects the significant role that social media platforms play in the transformation of contemporary *da’wah*. This confirms a shift from traditional preaching methods toward more modern, digitally based approaches recommended for *da’is* and preachers, in line with technological developments and the behavior of digital societies, particularly in Indonesia.

These findings offer valuable insights into current trends and the direction of scholarly inquiry in the field of digital *da’wah*.

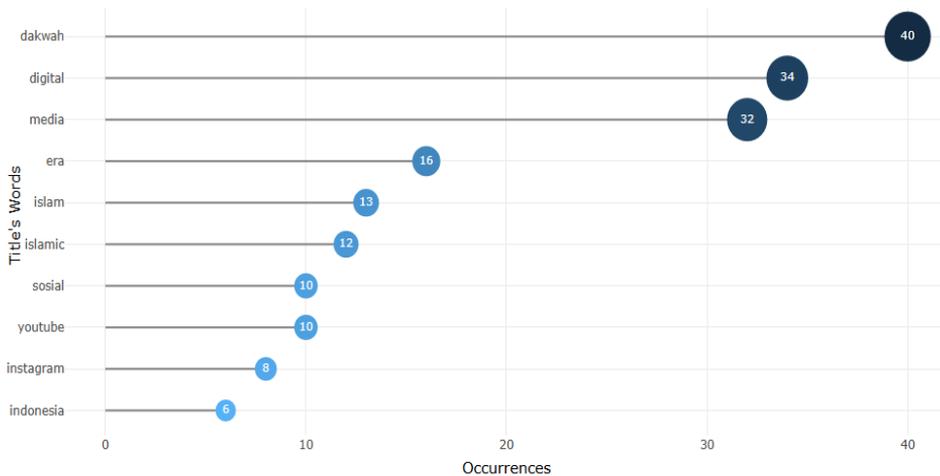


Figure 8. Most Relevant Word

Based on the analysis of topic trends emerging in article abstracts from 2019 to 2023, frequently recurring and key terms in digital da'wah studies include “digital da'wah,” “digital media,” and “Islamic teachings.” This analysis indicates a growing interest in digital-based *da'wah* in recent years. The consistent appearance of terms such as “social media” and “digital era” further affirms the transformation of *da'wah* approaches, which are now more integrated with developments in communication technologies and the progress of human civilization.

Interestingly, some context-specific topics—such as “COVID-pandemic” and “public space”—appeared primarily around 2020–2021, closely linked to the rapid adaptation required in preaching methods during the pandemic. In addition, topics like “religious moderation,” “communication technology,” and references to specific figures such as “Ustadz Yusuf” and “Yusuf Mansur” demonstrate the thematic diversity in focus, covering both the content of *da'wah* and the actors involved. This thematic diversity reflects how digital da'wah adapts to sociopolitical shifts and individual influence, shaping discourse in both localized and global contexts.

This data illustrates that research in the field of digital *da'wah* has not only grown quantitatively but also expanded thematically, adapting to generational shifts and societal changes.

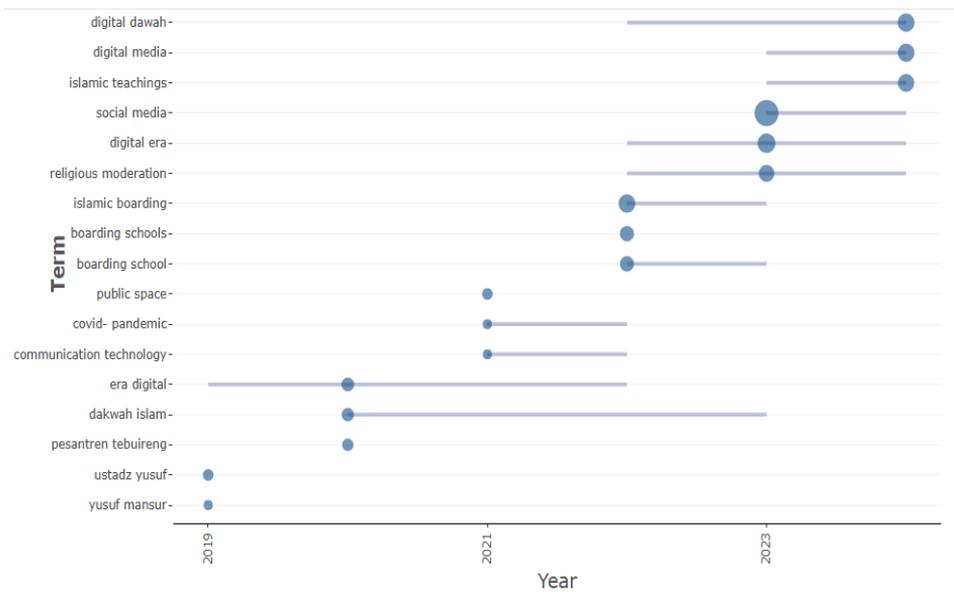


Figure 9. Trend Topics Based on Abstract

Keyword Analysis

Based on the keyword analysis derived from article titles from 2019 to 2025, there is a cumulative trend in the frequency of certain words used in titles. The word “da’wah” consistently ranks highest and has seen a sharp increase, especially from 2022 to 2025, reflecting the primary focus of studies on *da’wah* activities in the digital context. Furthermore, the words “digital” and “media” also show significant surges, indicating that the dimension of digitalization has become a major area of interest in modern *da’wah* studies, both among preachers and their audiences. Other frequently appearing terms, such as “era,” “Islamic,” and “social,” also demonstrate a steady upward trend, suggesting a shifting academic perspective toward the challenges of preaching in an increasingly digital society.

The emergence of digital platform terms like “Instagram” and “YouTube” since 2022 further reinforces the notion that social media has become a strategic channel for disseminating religious messages, effectively reaching wide audiences in a short amount of time. Thus, this trend clearly affirms that *da’wah* studies are evolving with a digital orientation and are increasingly contextualized to adapt to changing times. Such developments highlight the growing intersection between technological fluency and religious outreach,

where digital literacy becomes essential for effective da'wah efforts.

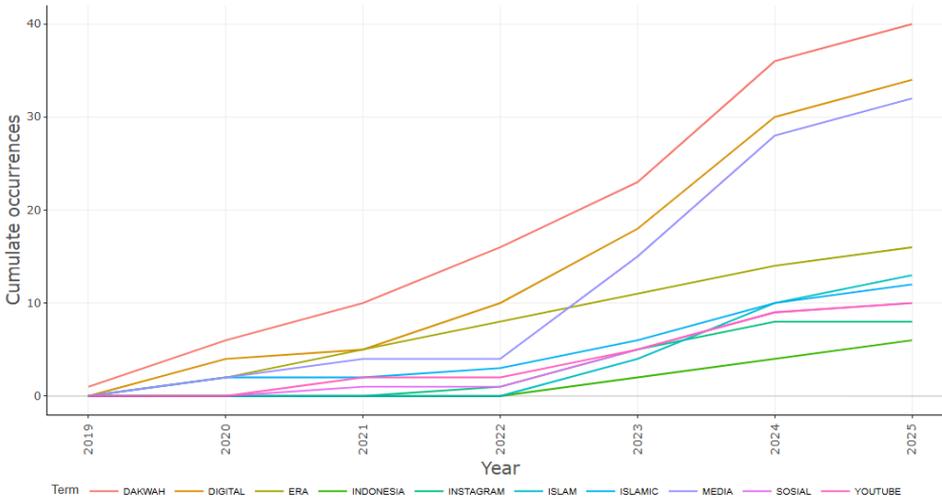


Figure 10. Word's Frequency Over Time Based on Title

Three-Fields Plot

The three-field plot analysis illustrates the relationship among three interconnected components: the far-left position represents journal names, the center displays author names, and the far-right corresponds to keywords found in the abstracts. This visualization depicts the connections between these three fields using linking lines that indicate how each author is associated with specific journals and the keywords they frequently use in their article abstracts. For example, the author Efendi E. is connected to the keywords “da’wah” and “digital,” indicating a research focus on *da’wah* within the context of digitalization. Jurnal da’wah Risalah prominently emerges as a leading publication venue for digital da’wah studies, linked to various keywords such as “Islamic,” “preaching,” “social,” “media,” and others.

This demonstrates that digital *da’wah* research spans a broad range of topics, from Islamic content to social media usage and modern communication strategies. Therefore, these results provide a comprehensive overview of the interrelationships among academic actors and researchers, publication outlets, and thematic focuses in digital *da’wah* studies. It also points to the interdisciplinary nature of the field, where religious scholarship intersects with media studies, sociology, and information technology.

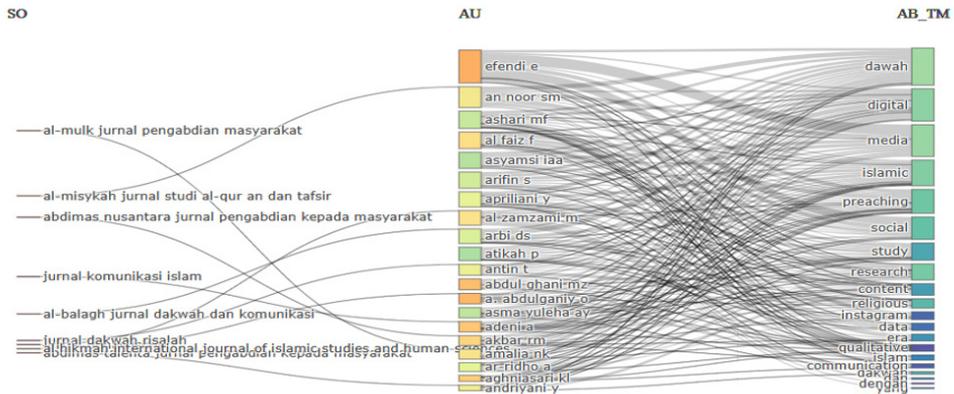


Figure 11. Three-Fields Plot

Three-Fields Plot

The analysis using co-occurrence network techniques visualizes the relationships between keywords that frequently appear together in the digital da'wah literature. The dominant red cluster features the keyword “da’wah” as the central node (largest node), indicating that this term has the highest frequency and strongest connections with other keywords such as “Islam,” “media,” “communication,” “moderation,” “TikTok,” “era,” “santri,” “ayat,” “COVID,” and “social.” The size of the nodes and the connecting lines represent the frequency and strength of association between concepts within the analyzed documents.

Next, the orange cluster includes words like “account,” “on,” “Instagram,” “ulama,” “university,” and “students,” pointing to the use of social media by academics and younger generations in the context of digital da'wah. This result highlights the active involvement of youth and academic communities in producing and disseminating da'wah content through digital platforms. This underscores a generational shift in religious communication, where digital engagement becomes a key avenue for knowledge sharing and spiritual influence.

The blue cluster contains words such as “study,” “religious,” and “moderation,” which tend to reflect academic or analytical research on religious moderation and values. This cluster demonstrates that da'wah is also a subject of in-depth scholarly investigation. Furthermore, the purple cluster includes words like “education,” “Islamic,” “based,” “analysis,” and “content,” suggesting a more systematic and data-driven approach to studying digital da'wah

through educational and technological lenses. These four clusters reflect the phenomena and complexities within the digital *da'wah* trend, illustrating the diverse approaches in modern *da'wah* studies, not only focusing on religious content but also encompassing media, technology, education, and academic research aligned with contemporary developments.

The network map also reveals several thematic clusters, marked by different colors, reflecting specific topics such as social media usage (e.g., YouTube, Instagram, account), education (e.g., university, students), and contemporary issues like the COVID-19 pandemic, moderation, and content. This indicates that current digital *da'wah* studies are closely linked to advances in digital technology, socio-religious contexts, present-day societal phenomena, and inclusive, contextual educational approaches aimed at fostering progress in line with the times. These thematic intersections illustrate how digital *da'wah* is increasingly responsive to real-world dynamics, integrating faith-based messaging with timely and socially relevant concerns.

Based on the co-occurrence network analysis, the author proposes three research pathways grounded in the mapped keyword clusters. The author searched and analyzed literature in the Scopus database to identify cluster maps and determine whether each related keyword is directly relevant to the research process. Additionally, it is important to note that these three clusters are not solely defined by distinct connecting lines, as each cluster may not fully represent a single topic; keywords within one cluster might be closely related to those in another. It is also possible that two or more keywords within the same cluster represent different topics. The evaluation is conducted by analyzing each document abstract containing keywords from the previously generated network map.

Research Path 1: Exploration of Digital Da'wah Strategies on Specific Social Media Platforms (YouTube and Instagram)

This study strongly recommends the use of social media platforms as primary channels for disseminating Islamic messages in the digital era. In addition to reaching a broad audience, social media offers cost efficiency and allows access anytime and anywhere for listeners. Therefore, research exploring digital *da'wah* strategies on specific platforms such as YouTube and Instagram is highly relevant. Such studies can examine communication styles, visual techniques, content distribution algorithms, and user or listener interaction patterns in comment sections, thereby contributing to the development of adaptive *da'wah* models that effectively engage the digital generation.

Research Path 2: Comparative Study on the Effectiveness of Religious Moderation in Digital Da'wah Among Adolescents

Research on religious moderation in connection with digital da'wah presents important and compelling opportunities to examine the effectiveness of moderation messages in preventing radicalism, especially among today's youth. The theme of moderation continues to be promoted by governments as a means to provide society with accurate religious understanding. This study can compare moderation approaches advocated by various da'wah figures or institutions and investigate how these values are received by young audiences, particularly Millennials and Generation Z. Consequently, this research will contribute not only to the development of peaceful and tolerant da'wah content but also to the strengthening of government and civil society efforts in maintaining social cohesion through digital platforms.

Research Path 3: Analysis of Digital Literacy in the Dissemination of Da'wah Among University Students and Santri

Research on the connection between digital literacy and learners, specifically university students and santri in pesantren, highlights the crucial role of youth as both actors and consumers of digital da'wah, who require a strengthened understanding amid the flood of misinformation (hoaxes). This study opens avenues to explore digital literacy among students and santri in producing and disseminating da'wah within their communities and broader society. The focus may include their ability to filter information, understand media ethics, and use digital technology responsibly to convey informative and non-provocative religious messages.

The findings can inform the design of digital da'wah training curricula and support the implementation of adaptive learning approaches in campus environments, grounded in responsible media and communication literacy.

Research Path 4: The Role of Gender in the Production and Consumption of Digital Da'wah Content

This research is vital to understanding the roles of men and women in appropriately positioning themselves within da'wah in the digital age. Additionally, the study aims to explore the significance of women's roles in both the production and consumption of da'wah content. It may examine how women express their Islamic identity in digital spaces, the challenges they encounter, and audience responses to da'wah delivered by female figures. This study contributes to the discourse on gender equality in Islam and supports the development of a more inclusive and participatory da'wah ecosystem in

today's heterogeneous digital era.

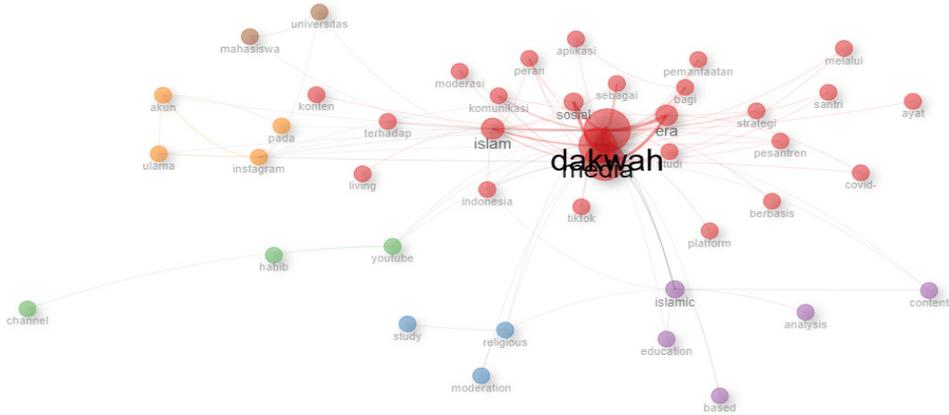


Figure 12. Co-occurrence Network

Thematic Map

The thematic map analysis describes the division of research themes based on two main dimensions: centrality (the level of relevance) and density (the level of development). Themes located in the upper-right quadrant—motor themes—indicate topics with high centrality and high development, such as “da’wah, digital, media,” “YouTube, perspective, habib,” “content, Indonesia, students,” and “Bandung, kalangan.” These topics are highly relevant and have recently developed well, making them strong candidates for future research. They serve as key drivers in the field and reflect the central role of digital da’wah in academic discourse.

Meanwhile, themes in the lower-right quadrant exhibit high centrality but low development density, such as “Islamic, Indonesia, religious,” “platform, berbasis,” and “universitas, dai, pengaruh.” These are classified as basic themes—important topics that are currently underdeveloped. Themes in the upper-left quadrant represent areas with low centrality but high density, such as “transformasi, perspectives,” and “ayat, kitab, dan konsep.” These are considered niche themes, which are highly developed but have limited overall relevance.

Finally, themes in the lower-left quadrant show both low centrality and low density, such as “analysis, mosque, discourse,” “ustadz,” and “melalui, channel, literasi.” These are categorized as emerging or declining themes. It suggests that these topics are either in the early stages of development or are beginning to be phased out by researchers and are therefore not recommended

for future studies.

This thematic map provides valuable insights into the strategic positioning of each theme within the landscape of digital *da'wah* research, offering guidance for scholars and practitioners in identifying priority areas for further exploration.

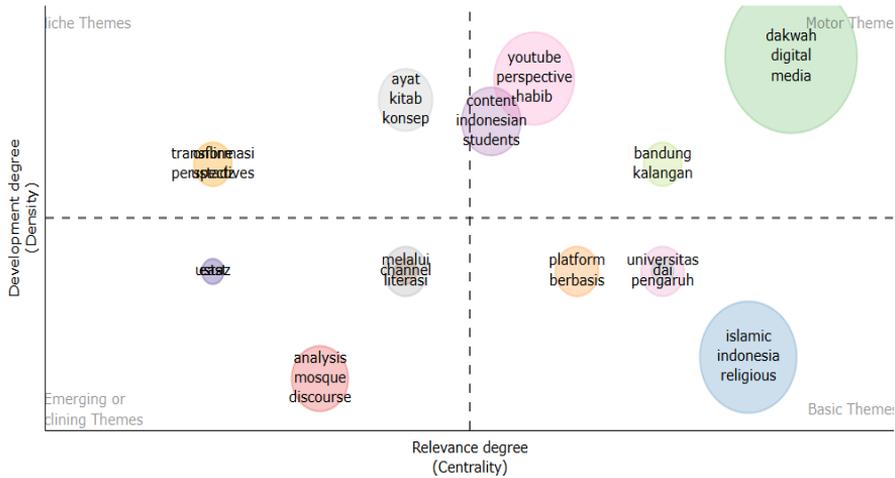


Figure 13. Thematic Map

Conclusion

This study presents an analysis of 82 scholarly articles published in Dimensions from 2019 through the first quarter of 2025. It uses the keywords “Development and *da'wah* as well as Islamization of Indonesia or Indonesia” and applies bibliometric techniques to examine global trends and thematic evolution in the study of digital *da'wah* and Islamic broadcasting over the past decade. The analysis was conducted using Biblioshiny, supported by the R software environment.

The key findings indicate a significant increase in academic publications on digital *da'wah* and the evolving processes of Islamic broadcasting. It reflects growing scholarly interest in the role of social media, information technology, and online platforms in disseminating Islamic teachings. This trend signifies a paradigm shift in religious scholarship, where digital media is no longer peripheral but central to understanding contemporary Islamic communication.

This research makes an important contribution to the literature by identifying emerging themes, frequently discussed keywords, and offering

recommendations for future research through thematic mapping and co-occurrence network analysis. These tools provide a comprehensive overview of topic trends in digital *da'wah*. Furthermore, the study highlights the increasing use of digital technologies such as YouTube and Instagram for *da'wah*, the integration of AI and communication technologies into religious activities, and the growing relevance of issues surrounding religious authority and digital *da'wah* content. Through keyword co-occurrence and thematic mapping, the study successfully illustrates a shift in focus from traditional approaches to more interactive, visual, and responsive Islamic communication strategies aligned with the dynamics of the digital era.

The main contribution of this study lies in its systematic mapping of the intellectual dynamics and scholarly landscape of digital *da'wah*—a topic that has not been extensively explored on a global scale. By employing a bibliometric approach, this research identifies international networks of researcher and institutional collaboration and highlights research gaps and potential future directions in the field. This solidifies the study's position as a foundational reference for researchers seeking to further explore digital *da'wah* across diverse social and cultural contexts and in need of in-depth qualitative analysis.

As a recommendation, future research should delve deeper into the empirical and phenomenological dimensions of digital *da'wah* practices in different countries, employing qualitative or mixed-method approaches while incorporating quantitative measures to track the development of *da'wah* over time. Further studies could focus on comparative analyses of digital platforms, the impact of algorithms on *da'wah* content dissemination, and the ethical and regulatory challenges within the Islamic digital space. Moreover, a deeper exploration of the interactions between Muslim youth and digital *da'wah* content will enrich society's understanding of new forms of religiosity in today's technologically advanced era.

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INTERNAL CONFLICT OF JAMA'AH TABLIGH (2015-2023): A CASE STUDY FROM PARONGPONG WEST BANDUNG

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Abstract

*Jama'ah Tabligh (JT), a global Islamic revivalist movement, has undergone an unprecedented internal conflict that disrupted nearly a century of organizational harmony. A major leadership rift divided the movement into two factions: the Nizamuddin-based Maulana Saad (MS) group and the Pakistan-based Syuro Alami (SA) faction led by Sheikh Abdul Wahab. Over time, distinct characteristics have developed between the two factions, becoming particularly evident in Parongpong, West Bandung, although similar patterns appear elsewhere. While JT has often been studied as a peaceful, apolitical missionary movement, few scholarly works have systematically examined the causes and local consequences of its internal division. This study addresses that gap by analyzing the impact of the schism between the MS and SA factions, focusing on Parongpong as a microcosm of the global split. Employing a historical method that includes heuristic, critical, interpretive, and historiographical stages, the study draws upon oral sources collected between 2015 and 2023 through informal interviews with JT members in West Java—particularly in Parongpong and Bandung—as well as written materials such as the *Buku Musyawarah Halakoh* and publications from *tablighi-jamaat.com*. The findings reveal that the conflict stems from divergent*

perspectives on leadership structures, spiritual allegiance (*bai'at*), missionary strategies, and theological interpretation. The SA group, often more digitally engaged and scholarly, contrasts with the orally oriented and tradition-centered MS followers. The conflict has deeply affected JT's internal social fabric and global outreach. In Parongpong, it manifests in disrupted religious routines and divided loyalties among members. The novelty of this study lies in linking a global religious schism to its localized sociological expressions, offering new insights into how spiritual authority is contested, negotiated, and redefined within transnational Islamic movements. These findings contribute to broader understandings of organizational dynamics and internal fragmentation in contemporary Islamic movements.

Jama'ah Tabligh (JT), sebuah gerakan kebangkitan Islam berskala global, telah mengalami konflik internal yang belum pernah terjadi sebelumnya dan mengguncang hampir satu abad tradisi keharmonisan organisasional. Perpecahan kepemimpinan yang signifikan membagi gerakan ini menjadi dua faksi: kelompok Nizamuddin yang dipimpin oleh Maulana Saad (MS) dan faksi Syuro Alami (SA) yang berbasis di Pakistan di bawah pimpinan Syaikh Abdul Wahab. Seiring waktu, kedua faksi ini menunjukkan perbedaan karakteristik yang mencolok, terutama di Parongpong, Bandung Barat, meskipun pola serupa juga tampak di wilayah lain. Meskipun JT selama ini banyak dikaji sebagai gerakan dakwah yang damai dan apolitis, hanya sedikit penelitian yang secara sistematis menelaah penyebab serta dampak lokal dari perpecahan internal tersebut. Penelitian ini mengisi kekosongan tersebut dengan menganalisis dampak perpecahan antara faksi MS dan SA, dengan fokus pada Parongpong sebagai cerminan mikro dari perpecahan global. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode sejarah yang mencakup tahapan heuristik, kritik, interpretasi, dan historiografi. Data diperoleh dari sumber lisan—yang dikumpulkan antara tahun 2015 hingga 2023 melalui wawancara informal dengan anggota JT di Jawa Barat, khususnya Parongpong dan Bandung—serta sumber tertulis seperti Buku Musyawarah Halakoh dan publikasi di *tablighi-jamaat.com*. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa konflik ini berakar pada perbedaan pandangan mengenai struktur kepemimpinan, ikatan spiritual (*bai'at*), metode dakwah, dan interpretasi teologis. Faksi SA, yang cenderung lebih aktif secara digital dan akademis, berbeda dengan pengikut MS yang lebih berorientasi pada tradisi lisan dan konservatif. Konflik ini berdampak mendalam terhadap struktur sosial internal dan jangkauan global JT. Di Parongpong, perpecahan tampak melalui terganggunya rutinitas keagamaan dan terbelahnya loyalitas anggota. Kebaruan penelitian ini terletak pada upayanya menghubungkan perpecahan keagamaan global dengan manifestasi sosiologis lokal, sehingga memberikan wawasan baru mengenai bagaimana otoritas spiritual diperdebatkan, dinegosiasikan, dan didefinisikan ulang dalam gerakan Islam transnasional. Temuan ini berkontribusi pada pemahaman yang lebih luas tentang dinamika organisasi dan fragmentasi internal dalam gerakan

Islam kontemporer.

Keywords: *internal conflict, Jamaah Tabligh, Maulana Saad, Syuro Alami*

Introduction

In the early 2000s, several notable events occurred involving religious mass organizations at the national, regional, and international levels in Indonesia. These events were particularly significant because, while these organizations promoted unity in accordance with the core principles of Islamic teachings, internal divisions emerged—despite such discord being explicitly discouraged both within their structures and by Islamic doctrine as a whole. These contradictions highlight the tension between ideal religious values and the complexities of organizational leadership and succession (Alvionita & Auliahadi, 2020).

The three mass organizations discussed are the Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah Order (TQN), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), and the Tablighi Jamaah (hereinafter referred to as JT). TQN Suryalaya was struck by internal conflict following the death of its spiritual leader, Abah Anom (KH. Sohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin), in 2011 at the age of 96. This conflict was deeply regretted by many within the organization. The primary cause was Abah Anom's failure to clearly appoint a successor as *mursyid* (Putri et al., 2019), which created both uncertainty and competing hopes for leadership succession.

Amid this vacuum, Abah Aos (KH. M. Gaos Saeful Maslul) emerged, proclaiming himself as the new *mursyid*. This self-appointment posed a serious risk to the unity of the community. According to TQN tradition, the selection of a *mursyid* is neither determined through deliberation nor self-declared. It is a prerogative reserved exclusively for the *grand mursyid*, in this case, Abah Anom. Any appointment made outside of this authority is considered invalid and illegitimate. Most *talqin* representatives of TQN rejected the claim, including KH. Aang Zezen, one of the order's respected preachers. However, in practice, many followers accepted Abah Aos as their *mursyid*, which ignited significant internal conflict. According to oral accounts, the division was so intense that even marital relationships were disrupted, with some couples reportedly divorcing over differing allegiances. Eventually, two distinct factions emerged: TQN Suryalaya, based in Suryalaya and supported by prominent *talqin* representatives, and TQN Sirnarasa, led by Abah Aos, who was recognized by his followers as the legitimate successor to Abah Anom (Luthfi, 2017).

PKS also experienced a split; however, the nature of this division differed

significantly from that of TQN. While the TQN conflict was rooted in mystical and spiritual leadership, the PKS division was more political and rational in nature. The split began when several PKS leaders—most notably Anis Matta and Fakhri Hamzah—were perceived to have acted independently of the party's collective direction. They were accused of speaking and making decisions in their own name while still representing the party. These actions were deemed violations of party rules (Fatmawati & Sholikin, 2020).

After receiving procedural warnings, both individuals were ultimately expelled from PKS. This was seen as a regrettable development, given that they were among the party's most intellectually prominent cadres and held influential positions in both the party structure and national parliament. Following their expulsion, the group went on to form a new political party known as the Glora Party. This central-level conflict had notable ripple effects at the regional level, where several PKS figures also defected to Glora (Wahyuni & Ayu, 2022).

The third organization, Jamaah Tabligh (JT), represents an international religious movement, in contrast to the regionally based TQN and PKS. JT is headquartered in New Delhi, India, specifically at the Banglawali Mosque in Nizamuddin. This mosque serves as the central hub for JT's global *da'wah* activities, which have now spread to over 200 countries worldwide (Mamun, 2019). The movement was founded in 1921 by Maulana Ismail and was later led by his son, Maulana Muhammad Ilyas. In 1926, the *da'wah* mission began in earnest, initially targeting the Mewat tribe, which was considered underexposed to Islamic teachings. From this humble beginning, JT's influence expanded across India. Under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Yusuf al-Kandahlawi (1917–1965), the movement spread to the Middle East and beyond. It continued to grow under Sheikh Inamul Hasan (1918–1996), who led the organization until his death. Notably, prior to his passing, Sheikh Inamul visited Indonesia and gave a lecture in Ancol, Jakarta, further solidifying JT's international reach and influence (Al-Khandahlawi, 2001).

This organization was initially very solid and seemingly immune to division. This foundational belief was upheld by JT activists and members, grounded in both the movement's history and its core doctrine of *Ushul Dakwah*. This unity became a source of pride not only for JT members but also for the broader Muslim community. However, this ideal was shattered in 2017, when JT experienced a major schism, dividing into two factions: *Syuro Alami* (SA) and *Maulana Sa'ad* (MS).

Syuro Alami is a group that prioritizes collective decision-making through the traditional *syuro* (consultative) council. In contrast, *Maulana Sa'ad* introduced an *emirate* system of leadership. In essence, one group upholds a consultative leadership model, while the other follows a centralized emirate structure (Interview, Ust. Hikan Suni, 2018). This division was deeply regrettable to both sides, yet reconciliation efforts failed to yield any meaningful results. Each group proceeded along its own path, and the split extended from the central leadership down to the *mahalla* (local) level.

The outcome was tragic. The ideological rift escalated into physical confrontations and public demonstrations in JT centers across India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh (Bustamam-Ahmad, 2004). Eventually, both factions appeared to recognize the gravity of the division. By 2019, tensions had begun to ease—at least in the realm of social media. Yet, the prevailing sentiment was no longer one of reconciliation. Instead of striving for unity, their unofficial motto became “not cooperation, but working separately” (Interview, Indra Husen, 2023), signaling that a full reunification of the congregation was unlikely.

Over time, noticeable differences in characteristics developed between the two factions. Initially, both had worked hand-in-hand in preaching efforts, especially in Parongpong. But after 2017, they functioned independently. These distinctions became particularly evident in Parongpong, though similar patterns emerged in other regions. The distinction between *Syuro Alami* (SA) and *Maulana Sa'ad* (MS) in Parongpong—and more broadly across Indonesia—is observable in several key dimensions. In terms of numerical strength, the MS faction holds clear dominance. This is largely due to the influence of H. Cecep Firdaus, one of Indonesia's most prominent JT figures and a staunch supporter of the MS group. Consequently, MS has gained widespread traction throughout the country. For instance, among the approximately 150 *karkun* (JT members) in Parongpong, only about six are affiliated with the SA faction, illustrating the significant numerical gap between the two (Putra et al., 2020).

The generational divide also marks a clear difference. SA tends to be composed of *awalun*—senior or long-time JT members. In Parongpong, figures like H. Didin and Bah Iming represent this veteran core. In contrast, MS is dominated by newer and younger members, such as Dadan and Indera, reflecting a demographic shift toward a fresher, more dynamic base.

Religious background further distinguishes the two. SA is predominantly led by religious scholars and preachers, including individuals like Ust. Hikam and Ust. Didin in Parongpong, and prominent scholars in the Bandung

markaz such as Maulana Harun, Maulana Baban Taufik, and Maulana Nanang. On the other hand, the MS faction reflects a more balanced composition, combining religious figures with lay participants from various walks of life (Putra et al., 2020).

In terms of role and orientation, SA is often seen as the “head”—focused on thought, conceptualization, and theological grounding—whereas MS is described as the “foot,” emphasizing movement, outreach, and physical engagement in missionary work. Many MS members include former street figures or thugs who have since repented and embraced JT. This dynamic once created a harmonious synergy between thinkers and doers. However, after the schism (*ikhtilaf*), this balance was disrupted. As a result, the SA *markaz* in Antapani became noticeably quieter, particularly during routine activities and *ijtima* nights, while the MS *markaz* in Cingised Arcamanik grew significantly in size and vibrancy (Putra et al., 2020).

Finally, in terms of educational background, SA leaders often possess high levels of religious and formal academic education. Many are alumni of esteemed Islamic institutions in India and Pakistan, such as Deoband and Karachi, and others are secular intellectuals like Dr. Azwar Manap and Dr. Iqbal from the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB). Meanwhile, the MS faction draws its members from a broader range of educational backgrounds, mostly comprising alumni of domestic institutions, resulting in a more diverse yet less uniformly elite composition (Putra et al., 2020).

The impact of this *ikhtilaf* included a noticeable decline in the activities of both congregations, particularly within the SA group. SA, for instance, struggled to independently organize monthly *nisab* even when collaborating with the Cibodas group. On the other hand, MS, which had previously been able to conduct monthly *nisab* in up to four groups, has now reduced its capacity to just two.

However, something remarkable occurred following the 2017 split. The MS faction began to send out a significant number of missionary groups. One notable example was the Parongpong congregation's *khuruj* to Eastern Europe, led by Amir Mang Dadan Daryana. Similar mobilizations took place in other parts of Bandung. Rather than weakening the movement, the internal pressure seemed to ignite renewed zeal within the MS faction. A similar spirit was also seen in the SA group. Despite his poor health, Ust. Didin of Parongpong managed to travel to Europe for *da'wah* activities.

Thus, behind the conflict, there emerged an element of *fastabiqul khairat*—a

competitive striving in goodness. Nevertheless, this internal division also led to a decline in good deeds (*amal*), both communal (*ijtima'i*) and individual (*infiradi*). This trend was observed not only in Parongpong, Bandung, and other parts of Indonesia, but also globally (Interview with Bangladesh Congregation, 2024). For instance, there was a marked decrease in the performance of the five *maqomi* deeds.

Despite the extensive documentation of internal conflicts within major religious and political organizations in Indonesia—such as the Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah Order (TQN) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)—existing studies have paid limited attention to the post-2017 schism within Jamaah Tabligh (JT), particularly its localized impact in specific communities such as Parongpong (Putri et al., 2019; Wahyuni & Ayu, 2022). While prior research has emphasized leadership crises, ideological divides, and institutional fragmentation in broader organizational contexts (Alvionita & Auliahadi, 2020; Fatmawati & Sholikin, 2020; Luthfi, 2017), there remains a significant gap in examining how doctrinal splits manifest in everyday religious practices, demographic shifts, and operational dynamics at the grassroots level. Moreover, most scholarly discussions on JT have focused on its global structure and missionary strategy (Mamun, 2019; Al-Khandahlawi, 2001), rather than the internal contestations and socio-religious reconfigurations triggered by the conflict between Syuro Alami (SA) and Maulana Sa'ad (MS) (Putra et al., 2020). This study offers a novel contribution by providing an in-depth, empirical case analysis of the JT schism in Parongpong, capturing not only the structural and ideological divergences but also the lived consequences—ranging from community fragmentation to renewed missionary zeal (*fastabiqul khairat*) (Interview with Bangladesh Congregation, 2024; Interview, Indra Husen, 2023). By situating the conflict within the broader context of Indonesia's religious pluralism and Islamic organizational behavior, this research bridges a crucial gap between macro-level institutional narratives and micro-level community realities.

Method

This study employs the historical method, comprising four stages: heuristic, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The heuristic stage, or source collection phase, draws on three types of sources—oral, written, and electronic. These diverse sources provide a comprehensive foundation for analyzing the trajectory and internal dynamics of Jamaah Tabligh over time.

Oral sources were gathered between 2015 and 2023 through interviews

and informal conversations with Jamaah Tabligh (JT) members during various events. These interactions often occurred spontaneously and informally, with informants sometimes unaware they were being interviewed, as the author is known to be a JT member. This approach allowed for open and unfiltered information exchange, free from social barriers or guardedness.

The timeframe from 2015 was selected because it marks the public emergence of JT's internal conflict, though indications of division had already appeared as early as 2010. Most oral accounts were obtained from both local and international JT members, with a geographical focus on JT centers in West Java, especially Bandung and Parongpong. Data were collected during recurring events such as weekly *halakoh*, monthly and quarterly meetings, *markaz* nights, and gatherings such as *jur mashuroh*.

The primary written sources include *Buku Musyawarah Halakoh*, a planning and activity record maintained at the local *halakoh* level. It documents JT Parongpong's daily, weekly, monthly, and annual plans and activities, as well as those at the Bandung *markaz*. The book includes detailed listings of *takaza*—obligatory missionary agendas such as going out in the path of Allah for 3 days, 40 days, 4 months, or even a year. The 4-month missions often include international travel to India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and non-Muslim majority countries. It also records *nushroh* (support) tasks for both domestic and international outreach efforts.

Another significant written source is the *tablighi-jamaat.com* publication, available in both English and Indonesian. It includes contributions from figures such as Maulana Andi Abdurrahman, a close aide of Maulana Ibrahim Dewla of Gujarat, India. Maulana Andi, an Indonesian from Cirebon's Pesantren Arrayan, was influential in shaping SA (Syuro Alami) perspectives. The distribution of this text among Indonesian JT members—particularly in Bandung—played a pivotal role in delineating the SA faction from MS (Maulana Saad) supporters. SA members, typically more academically and digitally literate, actively utilized social media to disseminate information, in contrast to MS members who largely relied on oral transmission.

Finding and Discussion

This section presents and interprets the findings of the study on the internal conflict within the Jamaat Tabligh community in Parongpong, West Bandung. The research aims to uncover the socio-religious dynamics, historical developments, and leadership tensions that have shaped the trajectory of this

Islamic movement within a pluralistic setting. By analyzing both the structural and cultural factors influencing the group's internal division, the discussion provides a contextual understanding of how religious organizations negotiate identity, authority, and community cohesion in a region marked by both Islamic predominance and religious diversity.

History of the Parongpong Jamaat Tabligh

Parongpong is a sub-district town formed as an administrative division of the larger Cisarua Sub-district, which itself was formerly part of Cimahi and Lembang. Historically, the livelihood of the people in Parongpong centered on rice farming, similar to many areas in West Java. Religiously and culturally, Parongpong is a heterogeneous region. While Islam remains the majority religion, the town also has a significant Adventist population, making it the second-largest religious group in the area. The presence of the Indonesian Adventist University (UNAI), with around 2,000 adherents—excluding students from across Indonesia, especially from Medan, Manado, and Java—further underscores the region's religious diversity (Hakim et al., 2024).

Culturally, the dominant form of Islam in Parongpong has been syncretic, blending Islamic beliefs with local customs. Traditional practices such as death rituals, offerings, and marriage ceremonies reflect this fusion. For instance, as recently as the 1980s, some fasting practices ended at *dzuhur* rather than sunset (Interview with Ust. Ade Saepudin, 2023). Sociologically, Parongpong has a stratified structure where civil servants, from village to sub-district heads, hold the highest social status, followed by wealthy individuals. Religious leaders who are also affluent or culturally influential come next, while farmers, ranchers, and traders form the base of the social hierarchy (Hakim, 2014). Interestingly, the people of Parongpong are not strongly affiliated with formal religious organizations. Though many follow Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) traditions, their engagement is more cultural than institutional. This non-affiliation extends to other groups such as Persis and Muhammadiyah, reflecting the community's broader preference for cultural expressions of faith over formal religious membership.

The entry of Jamaah Tabligh (JT) into Parongpong reflects this complex religious landscape. JT did not arrive uniformly across the area but entered gradually, depending on local contexts. In Cihideung, JT's presence was first recorded in 1985 (Hakim et al., 2024), coinciding with its establishment in Bandung (Hakim, 2014). Two years later, in 1987, JT reached Kampung

Barunagri (Lembang), and by 2000, it was active in Karyawangi, Parongpong. Interestingly, JT's expansion into each area did not occur through neighboring villages but from more distant regions—for example, Barunagri's JT presence originated from Cimahi, not nearby Cihideung, and JT in Karyawangi came from Majalengka. Local JT units often served as support or witnesses, known as *anshar* in JT terminology, rather than as originators of outreach. Notable *anshar* figures included Wahyudin Kacang, Asa, Nanang Ikan Hias, and Husen Warsa. This pattern of propagation reflects JT's broader approach, which relies on the principles of *hijrah*, *nushrah*, *intiqali*, and *maqomi*—methods emphasizing spiritual migration, support, mobility, and local grounding (Hakim, 2014).

Parongpong is a sub-district town formed as part of the administrative reorganization of the larger Cisarua Sub-district, which itself was previously part of the Cimahi and Lembang regions. Historically, the residents of Parongpong were primarily rice farmers, a pattern typical of many rural areas in West Java. Religiously and culturally, Parongpong is highly heterogeneous. While Islam is the majority religion, the town also has a significant Christian Adventist population, making it the second-largest religious group in the area. This diversity is further evidenced by the presence of the Indonesian Adventist University (UNAI), which accommodates approximately 2,000 adherents—excluding students who come from various parts of Indonesia, especially Medan, Manado, and Java (Hakim et al., 2024).

Culturally, the practice of Islam in Parongpong has long been syncretic, integrating Islamic teachings with local customs and traditional rites. Rituals surrounding death, offerings, and marriage ceremonies often reflect this fusion of belief systems. Notably, even in the 1980s, certain fasting practices ended at *dzuhur* rather than sunset (Interview with Ust. Ade Saepudin, 2023). From a sociological perspective, the community displays a stratified structure: civil servants—from village heads to sub-district officials—occupy the highest social tier, followed by the wealthy. Religious leaders with social or cultural influence form the next respected group, while farmers, ranchers, and small-scale traders constitute the base of the social hierarchy (Hakim, 2014). Despite this stratification, the population is generally not formally affiliated with religious organizations. While most residents adhere to Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) traditions, they do so culturally rather than institutionally. The same applies to groups like Persis and Muhammadiyah, which have only limited organizational presence in the area. The overall tendency in Parongpong is to embrace religious expression culturally without formally joining structured

religious bodies.

The arrival of Jamaah Tabligh (JT) in Parongpong mirrors this complex and loosely institutionalized religious environment. JT's expansion did not occur simultaneously across the region but rather evolved gradually depending on local circumstances. The earliest documented JT presence in Cihideung dates back to 1985 (Hakim et al., 2024), coinciding with its broader expansion in Bandung (Hakim, 2014). In 1987, JT began operating in Kampung Barunagri (Lembang), and by 2000, it had reached Karyawangi, Parongpong. Intriguingly, JT did not always spread from the nearest geographic point. For instance, the JT movement in Barunagri originated from Cimahi rather than the nearby Cihideung, while JT's establishment in Karyawangi came via Majalengka. Local JT groups from adjacent villages typically served in support roles—functioning as *anshar* (helpers) rather than primary initiators. Notable *anshar* from this early period include figures such as Wahyudin Kacang, Asa, Nanang Ikan Hias, and Husen Warsa.

This pattern illustrates JT's distinctive operational model, rooted in the principles of *hijrah* (spiritual migration), *nushrah* (support), *intiqli* (mobility), and *maqomi* (local permanence). These concepts not only frame JT's method of da'wah propagation but also reflect its adaptation to local socio-religious contexts—particularly in culturally diverse environments like Parongpong. Understanding this approach provides valuable insight into how JT balances doctrinal consistency with contextual flexibility in different cultural and geographic settings.

In the next stage of development, specifically in early February 2017, a significant *ikhtilaf* (dispute) emerged within Jamaah Tabligh (JT). This conflict began during a deliberation held in Cikampek, where the central issue discussed was the appointment of Maulana Sa'ad as *Hadhratji* (spiritual leader). Unexpectedly, the appointment was met with strong opposition from the majority of Indonesia's Tablighi *syuro* (consultative council). Among the most vocal opponents was KH. Lutfi Banjari. This opposing faction would later come to be known as *Syuro Alami* (SA), although detractors pejoratively referred to it as "Shia Alami." In contrast, Maulana Sa'ad's supporters were commonly referred to as MS (Maulana Sa'ad) or the Maulana Sa'ad faction (Husni et al., 2023).

Originating in Jakarta, the conflict quickly spread to provinces, districts, and eventually to the local *mahalla* (village) level—affecting all regions, including the Parongpong *halakoh*, which is the central focus of this study. In Parongpong,

two JT factions emerged: one aligned with *Syuro Alami* (SA), and the other with MS, sometimes referred to using M. Kholik's term "Nizamuddin" (Kholik, 2019).

Initially, the broader *jamaah* (community) was confused by the split. Most members were unaware of the deeper issues at play, especially since political and leadership matters are traditionally taboo topics within JT discourse. Many assumed the conflict was a baseless rumor that would be easily resolved. Up until that point, leadership issues had rarely surfaced publicly within JT, especially among the senior *masyaikh* in India and Pakistan. However, in the weeks following the Cikampek deliberation, the seriousness of the division became clear: JT had officially split into two factions—SA and MS, the latter centered in Nizamuddin (Kholik, 2019).

Several attempts at reconciliation were made by JT leaders from both Indonesia and various regions. Some even traveled to Nizamuddin to meet Maulana Sa'ad directly. Nevertheless, these efforts proved unsuccessful. While Maulana Sa'ad never explicitly declared himself *amir* (leader), he distanced himself from the SA faction. The official declaration of leadership (*hadhratji*) came instead from the Mewat community, who were among Maulana Sa'ad's strongest supporters (Hakim, 2014).

In Parongpong, there are two separate leadership structures within Jamaah Tabligh. The *Syuro Alami* (SA) faction is led by H. Didin, a senior figure in JT. However, their numbers are very small—no more than six individuals—including H. Didin, Asa, Iming, Ust. Hikam, H. Cevi, and Bah Roni. On the other hand, the *Maulana Sa'ad* (MS) faction is composed of newer members, primarily younger individuals who are dynamic and committed, often described as full of sacrifice. This group is led by Mang Dadan and Indera and is supported by approximately 100 JT members.

The atmosphere during the height of the division became increasingly tense, with each side unable to avoid mutual accusations. SA accused MS of being a false faction, while MS responded with similar accusations, claiming that SA had strayed from the teachings and leadership of Nizamuddin (Maulana Sa'ad). However, the conflict remained largely latent and verbal, never escalating into physical confrontations.

The tension continued through the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic. Over these two years, verbal disputes surfaced frequently, particularly through social media platforms such as WhatsApp groups. Interestingly, as the pandemic reached its peak at the end of 2019, the intensity of the conflict began to

decline. The prevailing attitude became one of “work separately” (Interview, Indera, 2019), signalling a move away from any expectation of cooperation with the SA faction.

Ironically, it was the COVID-19 pandemic that brought about a pause in hostilities. Many within JT interpreted the pandemic as a divine rebuke—a *warning from Allah to the da'wah community*. The situation was seen as deeply challenging, to the point that some believed only Imam Mahdi would be able to reunite the divided *jamaah*. Despite the pain of the division, JT members came to believe that there must be divine wisdom behind these events—an unfolding of Allah’s will (Interview, Mang Dadan, 2020).

Conflicts of Infirodi (between individuals) and Ijtima’i (group-based conflict)

The root of *infirodi* conflict within the Jamaah Tabligh (JT) community often lies in issues related to *mu’amalah* (financial transactions) and *mu’asyarah* (social interactions). In the Tablighi context, *mu’amalah* refers to dealings such as debts and commercial transactions, while *mu’asyarah* encompasses ethical and interpersonal conduct—especially in how one treats superiors, peers, and those of lower social or generational status. Among these, *mu’amalah* stands out as the most frequent source of interpersonal conflict. A well-known saying among *karkun* (JT members) captures this sentiment: “*It takes special faith to conduct mu’amalah with fellow karkun.*” In fact, some advised against engaging in business or lending relationships with other *karkun*, because such dealings often end in emotional strain and damaged relationships (Hakim et al., 2024).

There are at least two major causes behind the frequent breakdowns in financial interactions. First, many *karkun* come from socially marginalized backgrounds. They enter JT as a way to repent and rebuild their lives. These individuals are often still in the process of spiritual and moral transformation, and may struggle to resist worldly temptations. Their religious knowledge—particularly regarding *halal*, *haram*, *makruh*, and *sunnah*—is sometimes minimal, leading to poor decision-making in financial matters.

Second, many *karkun* are not financially established. They may be small-scale traders, informal workers, or entrepreneurs with unstable incomes. These economic uncertainties often result in an inability to repay debts or honor financial commitments. The consequence of these failed transactions is emotional distress and distrust among *karkun*, which ultimately hinders

the effectiveness of da'wah activities and weakens group cohesion. This contradiction is particularly damaging because it clashes with the idealism frequently expressed in JT teachings—through the *muzakarah* of the six principles (*sifat-sifat*) and *ushul da'wah* emphasized during sermons (*bayan*). While the community preaches a prophetic model of ethics, the reality often falls short, leading to disappointment and fractured relationships.

A core ethical teaching often repeated is: “Don’t look at the faults of others. Our example is the Prophet and his companions.” However, in practice, this maxim is difficult to uphold. It is frequently directed at others rather than internalized for personal reflection. These conflicts are not limited to laypersons but also involve respected religious figures and senior members. While such incidents can occur in any community, JT members face heightened scrutiny because they are publicly known for preaching piety. Outsiders often expect Tablighi members to embody the ideals they preach—both in speech and in appearance. Therefore, even minor missteps can severely damage the movement’s credibility, and it often takes a long time to repair public trust.

The collective conflict (*ijtima’i*) within Jamaah Tabligh (JT) is deeply rooted in theological and organizational principles. This discord stems from deviations in the core doctrinal foundations upheld by the movement, particularly the *six characteristics of the companions* and the *principles of da'wah*. These teachings are considered by JT to be derived directly from the Qur’an, the Hadith, and the practices of the Prophet’s companions (*salafus shalih*). Though simple in articulation, these doctrines encapsulate the essence of Islamic teachings and serve as JT’s defining religious identity. Therefore, any perceived departure from these principles is seen not merely as administrative disagreement but as a theological deviation. For this reason, the Syuro Alami (SA) faction often refers to the Maulana Saad (MS) group as a “*firqah sa’diyyah*” (Saadist sect), signaling their belief that the latter represents a breakaway sectarian path (Interview, Ust. Hikam, 2017).

This conflict has also become mondial—global in scale and profound in qualitative impact. It began with the schism at Nizamuddin, the international headquarters of JT in India, and has since cascaded into nearly every country and regional JT center. In Indonesia, this divide extends from the national level to provincial, district, and even village (*mahalla*) levels. In Bandung, for instance, there are now two parallel JT headquarters, each with separate management. The SA group retains the original Antapani center, covering approximately 4 hectares, while the MS group has established a new and more

expansive center in Cingised, spanning 9 hectares. At the *halakah* level, senior members tend to align with SA, while younger and more active members—often seen as movement-driven and deeply committed—gravitate toward MS. This polarization is also evident at the grassroots *mahalla* level, where individuals and entire congregations have chosen to realign their mosque affiliations. In the writer's own community, respected members such as H. Cepi and Ust. Hikam, who once prayed at the same mosque, have since moved to the Bah Narta Mosque. This realignment underscores the depth of the division—not over theological innovation or heresy, but over internal leadership disputes and da'wah methodology.

A third dimension of the *ijtima'i* conflict is its resulting fragmentation and redefinition of communal identity. Globally, JT is now divided between the SA and Nizamuddin (MS) factions, a reality that has permeated even the smallest local congregations. In Parongpong, for instance, some *karkun* identify with Syuro Alami, while others align with Nizamuddin (Kholik, 2019). Although SA is a numerical minority worldwide (tablighi-jamaat.com), in the specific context of Indonesia and Malaysia, the MS faction dominates—particularly at the grassroots level. While only a handful of national syuro members (such as H. Cecep Firdaus) support SA, the widespread appeal and long-standing influence of H. Cecep, especially as a pioneer figure in Indonesian JT history, have solidified MS's dominance across the archipelago. His legacy as a *mujahid* and *victim* (i.e., one who sacrifices in the path of Allah) since JT's inception in Indonesia continues to shape member loyalty and institutional control.

Thus, the *ijtima'i* conflict within JT represents not just a split in leadership or theology, but a fundamental reorganization of religious authority, communal cohesion, and operational structures at every level—from global to local. This fragmentation poses significant challenges to unity, sustainability, and the continuity of da'wah practices in an increasingly polarized religious landscape. If left unaddressed, such division risks eroding the moral credibility and collective strength that once defined Jamaah Tabligh's identity as a unified global movement.

At the provincial level, divisions also emerged. On the SA (Syuro Alami) side were several senior clerics and non-clerics, including Maulana Harun, Maulana Baban, Maulana Nanang, Maulana Abas, Abdullah Awang, Ajat, Muad, Munawar, and others. These individuals were once influential figures in West Java and Bandung. However, following the *ikhtilaf*, many were abandoned by the majority of the congregation. In contrast, the Nizamuddin

(MS) faction was supported primarily by laypersons such as Bah Otto, Labid, Wandiki, KH. Ruhiyat, and other lesser-known names. Despite their lower profiles, they gained substantial influence within the JT community, especially in Bandung and surrounding regions.

Fourth, physical conflict. Known for its peaceful *da'wah*, JT surprised many when physical tension began to manifest—primarily on social media but also at the Nizamuddin headquarters in India. Between 2017 and 2019, a physical altercation occurred, reportedly escalating to bloodshed, though without fatalities. Notably, there were two alleged assassination attempts on Maulana Saad while he was leading prayers. He reportedly offered no resistance. These events were scarcely covered by SA sources. Furthermore, a young man who attempted to harm Maulana Saad was allegedly beaten severely. According to SA accounts, other incidents included the expulsion and intimidation of Maulana Ibrahim and Maulana Yakub from the Nizamuddin headquarters—an indication of how deeply the conflict had escalated.

Fifth, theological conflict. In Islamic history, political leadership disputes have often evolved into theological divisions (Nasution, 2020). The emergence of major sects such as the Khawarij, Shia, Murji'ah, Jabariyyah, and Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah all originated from leadership struggles. This underscores how deeply intertwined politics and theology are in Islam, with implications that affect not just governance but *aqidah* (faith), *takfir* (declaring someone an unbeliever), and eschatological beliefs about salvation, sin, and the hereafter.

This dynamic is clearly visible in today's JT conflict. The movement now has two leadership centers: SA, representing the World Syuro Council led by senior *karkun* Bay Wahab from Pakistan; and MS, referring to Maulana Saad, now based in the Banglawali Mosque in India—JT's original international headquarters. SA, initially operating from Bangalore in South India, later moved de facto and de jure to Raiwind, Pakistan. These two groups not only compete for legitimacy but also question each other's *shar'i* authority. While not always explicitly issuing *takfir*, each faction has delegitimized the other and called for a return to what it considers the correct path. In one report from the Bangladeshi *karkun*, it was even alleged that food was poisoned during a *tasykil* (mobilization) program attended by Maulana Saad in Bangladesh (Interview, Oki, 2024).

Conflict Factors

The internal leadership tensions within *Jamaah Tabligh* can be traced back to the pivotal 1965 deliberation following the death of Maulana Yusuf, which appointed Maulana Inamul Hasan as the third amir. This decision ignited deep-seated discontent, particularly among the Mewat community—an early and influential tribal group in the movement—who strongly favored Maulana Harun, the third-generation descendant of the founder, Maulana Ilyas. Their opposition was driven by a combination of historical authority, sacred lineage, and theological belief that only descendants of Maulana Ilyas were spiritually and genealogically entitled to lead the movement. They believed in a mystical tradition that Maulana Ilyas's lineage would produce thirteen generations of pious da'is, with Maulana Harun embodying this prophecy. Despite their pressure, the decision remained unchanged, and tensions only subsided after Maulana Harun publicly endorsed the shura's decision through a bayan, urging unity and obedience. His gesture temporarily reconciled the divide, though the underlying factional sentiment—rooted in sacred genealogy and spiritual symbolism—persisted as a latent fault line in the movement's leadership structure (Hakim, 2023; *tablighi-jamaat.com*).

Although the conflict eventually subsided—largely due to Maulana Harun's conciliatory bayan affirming the shura's outcome—the foundational tension remained latent within the movement. These narratives and justifications were later revived and widely disseminated through materials such as the *Tablighi-Jamaat.com* site. Promoted primarily by the SA faction, this content was shared among JT members in Bandung and possibly across Indonesia and beyond, reaching even the grassroots (*mahalla*) level. In Parongpong, for example, figures like Ust. Didin played a key role in distributing the book and advocating its message verbally. While only a minority of the local congregation—such as Asa, Bah Iming, Ust. Hikam, Enjang, and Cevi—accepted its claims, the materials nevertheless shaped the ideological backdrop of the emerging SA-MS divide.

Impact of Internal Conflict

The internal conflict within *Jamaah Tabligh* has had a profound impact on the effectiveness of *da'wah*, both in terms of quality and quantity. Sociologically, this conflict manifests in three significant areas, with the most observable being the degradation of *da'wah* across all levels—from the central leadership to regional hubs and even local villages (*mahalla*). Below is a detailed

explanation of this key consequence:

Degradation of Da'wah

The first and most critical impact of the internal conflict is the noticeable decline in da'wah activities. This decline is evident both in quality—as seen in the reduced effectiveness and consistency of preaching—and in quantity, referring to the diminished number of active congregants and organized missionary efforts. Activities that once symbolized vibrancy in the movement, such as *makomi* (local) and *intiqoli* (mobile) mosque engagements, have significantly declined or ceased altogether.

In places like Parongpong—and elsewhere—the number and strength of mosque-centered programs have dropped sharply. The most dynamic period for the local congregation occurred between 2015 and 2020, particularly in the Cihideung *mahalla*. Ironically, this thriving period was not led by scholars or seasoned *ustadz*, but by young men from *abangan* (nominal Muslim) backgrounds, including a village secretary who became a central figure. Many involved were ordinary individuals—some unemployed or with personal challenges—yet they managed to energize the community remarkably.

Several indicators highlight this peak in da'wah activity. First, the *mahalla* had a strong base of around 50 active *karkun*, only two of whom held religious titles. Second, the frequency of missionary outings increased significantly, with multiple groups regularly going out for 3-day, 40-day, and even 4-month *khuruj*. Remarkably, the Cihideung *mahalla* even sent delegations to distant countries, including Turkey, Serbia, and surrounding European nations.

This period of da'wah success reached its height during the COVID-19 pandemic (2019–2020), when external obstacles were most severe. Despite widespread restrictions and resistance from mosque administrators, some JT members remained committed. For example, one group led by Mang Dadan from Parongpong continued their mission for four months across Bandung, including areas around Dago, at a time when most congregations had ceased activity due to health concerns.

These examples reflect the previous strength and resilience of the movement. However, the internal schism between SA and MS factions has since led to a significant erosion in both the enthusiasm and organizational cohesion required to sustain such momentum. Today, da'wah efforts are fractured and uneven—an outcome directly tied to the unresolved ideological and leadership disputes within Jamaah Tabligh.

Meanwhile, between 2022 and 2024, the momentum of da'wah activities

began to noticeably decline. In Parongpong, the number of congregational outings diminished drastically. The 3-day *khuruj* was reduced to only one or two small groups, and the 40-day congregation could no longer be organized independently—instead, it had to merge with other *halakohs*. The 4-month missionary trips, once a mark of vigor, were down to just two participants, who had to join external groups due to the lack of a local cohort. However, in terms of individual quality, one dedicated member from Parongpong has remained abroad on a year-long mission, with a planned return in June 2024.

This trend reflects a broader national pattern. During a provincial *takaza* meeting in Kebonjeruk, Jakarta, neither East Java nor Central Java sent representatives. This absence was particularly striking given that East Java is home to the influential Temboro *markaz*, and Central Java has historically been a stronghold of veteran *karkun* and seasoned movement leaders. The absence of participation from these regions underscores the waning influence and fragmentation of the once-cohesive *Jamaah Tabligh* network.

In contrast, West Java—particularly Bandung—remains relatively strong in both quality and quantity of *da'wah* activities. During the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, Bandung emerged as a national center of activity, continuing operations both domestically and abroad. News of this resilience even reached the global headquarters in Nizamuddin. Ironically, while smaller Indonesian regions remained active, the Nizamuddin *markaz* itself was closed during the pandemic and only officially reopened in 2024.

This broader slowdown and selective vitality reveal the lasting consequences of the internal conflict—especially the schism between the Nizamuddin and Reiwind factions. The fragmentation not only disrupted leadership and institutional alignment but also weakened the grassroots foundation of JT's missionary engine across multiple regions.

Emergence of Two Sects

The internal conflict led to the formation of two distinct factions within *Jamaah Tabligh*—Syuro Alami (SA) and Maulana Saad (MS). These labels were agreed upon by both camps. The SA group, short for *Syuro Alami*, consists of members aligned with the traditional consultative council (*syuro*) originally established by Maulana Inamul Hasan in 1993 and formally ratified in 1995. This *syuro* was restructured in 2015 by Bay Wahab, comprising 13 members—two of whom were Bay Wahab himself and Maulana Saad. Disagreements arose when Maulana Saad refused to accept the legitimacy of the newly formed

syuro, leading to a split. The SA group eventually established its headquarters in Raiwind, Pakistan (often spelled “Reywind” locally), while Maulana Saad’s group retained the historical center in Nizamuddin, New Delhi, India.

Structurally, the Reywind group (SA) operates as an oligarchy, with no single *amir* (leader). Leadership is shared and rotates among *syuro* members, who are collectively responsible for overseeing different regions and countries. In contrast, the Nizamuddin faction (MS) follows a centralized model under the leadership of a single *amir*, Maulana Saad. Supporting him are expert *syuro* members who also take on regional responsibilities.

In Parongpong, the similarities and differences between the two schools of thought within *Jamaah Tabligh*—Raiwind (SA) and Nizamuddin (MS)—are not immediately apparent. This is largely because the Raiwind group constitutes a small minority, and their activities remain relatively low-profile. Despite their limited numbers, they tend to separate themselves from the majority in prayer and other religious activities, creating a subtle but persistent divide—what might be termed a form of “ghosting.” As a result, the broader community remains largely unaware of the existence of these two distinct ideological streams within JT, even as of June 2024, when this research was conducted.

Based on the observation result, the Nizamuddin school introduces a number of new rules that are challenging for its followers to implement. One example is the requirement that each *halakoh* must have a cleric who completes a full reading of *Hayatus Sahabah* once a year. In practice, this is difficult to achieve during monthly gatherings, especially when few *halakoh* have such clerics readily available. Issues of distance and honorarium further complicate this expectation.

Another example is the UMM (Usul Method of Mission) program, which is perceived as mentally burdensome. The intensity of its frequency—often multiple times in a single day—and its requirement to be performed during both *intiqali* (traveling missions) and *maqomi* (local missions) have made it difficult for many members to implement consistently. Consequently, the growing complexity of expectations under the Nizamuddin model may unintentionally limit active participation among grassroots followers.

Status Change

Another significant impact of the internal conflict within *Jamaah Tabligh* is the shift in social status dynamics among its members. In the JT tradition, social status is earned primarily through personal sacrifice—of time, wealth,

and self—for the cause of da'wah. The more a person sacrifices, the more highly they are regarded within the community. While knowledge is respected, it is secondary to sacrificial commitment. Thus, in practice, recognition and status are more commonly attained through sustained da'wah efforts than through religious scholarship alone, as it is rare for someone to be both a highly knowledgeable scholar and an expert in sacrifice (*fida*).

The internal schism has disrupted this long-standing structure, leading to a reconfiguration of who is considered elite within the movement. Individuals and groups previously not viewed as central figures have risen in prominence, while others who once held influential positions have seen their status diminish. This change can be observed both globally and locally, particularly in Bandung and Parongpong.

At the global level, Maulana Saad, who initially held the position of *amir* only *de facto*, has now been widely recognized as the *amir de jure*. In contrast, key senior figures such as Maulana Ibrahim, Maulana Ahmad Laat, and Maulana Yakub—who once occupied special positions within the Nizamuddin markaz—have been sidelined due to their opposition to Maulana Saad. Meanwhile, new elites have emerged in the Nizamuddin camp, including Maulana Samin, Maulana Hasan (the son of Maulana Saad), and Sheikh Wasiful Islam from Bangladesh, many of whom have been appointed to the Syuro Council. Conversely, those who formerly held elite positions in Nizamuddin but aligned with the Syuro Alami faction have experienced a decline in influence, now repositioned under the SA group, which has shifted its central headquarters to Raiwind, Pakistan.

In Parongpong, significant leadership dynamics unfolded following the internal *ikhtilaf*. Initially, H. Didin served as the *de facto* leader of JT Parongpong. However, after the split, he lost much of his following. His position was replaced by a new wave of elites, most notably Mang Dadan, who had previously completed a one-year khuruj and was recognized as an *expert in sacrifice*. Alongside him was Mang Indera, also known for his dedication to movement (*harakah*) and spiritual perseverance (*mujahadah*). Another emerging figure was Mang Erin, a philanthropist and committed *mujahid*. These individuals rose to prominence as the new elite in the wake of the conflict.

At the *mahalla* level, the transition was less dramatic, with no open verbal conflict. Ust. Hikam, previously regarded as a *hafidz* and a learned religious scholar (*alim*), relocated to Cibodas. Within the local *mahalla*, post-conflict figures included H. Cevi for the SA group, and the author himself for the

Nizamuddin faction. Personally, I felt no significant change. Being considered a “figure” in JT does not confer material benefits, as the entire framework of JT revolves around the ethos of self-sacrifice.

Within JT, there exists a nuanced social hierarchy composed of several informal classes: *zumindar* (sacrifice experts), *alim* (religious scholars), *aghniya* (the wealthy), and the general class. The *zumindar*—those who consistently sacrifice wealth and self—occupy the highest social rank, regardless of their social or economic background. Often, this class includes individuals who are not financially affluent but are distinguished by their unwavering commitment to *da'wah*. Wealthy individuals (*aghniya*) gain status only if they actively sacrifice. Scholars and professionals form the middle class, which can ascend to elite status if accompanied by active sacrifice; otherwise, they remain part of the ordinary class.

In JT, social recognition is not determined by lineage or wealth but by sustained sacrifice. Even someone from a scholarly or affluent family will not be regarded as elite unless they actively participate in preaching activities and fulfill *takaza* responsibilities beyond the basic *nisab*. As Martono (2012) emphasizes, the sacrifice of self and wealth is the fundamental criterion for determining one's standing in JT. This meritocratic culture has long shaped the internal social fabric of *Jamaah Tabligh*.

Conclusion

The internal conflict within *Jamaah Tabligh* is deeply regretted by its members and leadership. The dispute has become so complex that a resolution seems increasingly unlikely. Numerous mediation efforts and attempts at reconciliation have been initiated by *Jamaah Tabligh* leaders around the world, yet all have reached an impasse. As a result, *Jamaah Tabligh* has effectively split into two distinct schools of thought: the Nizamuddin faction and the *Syuro Alami* faction (centered in Raiwind, Pakistan).

Several factors have contributed to this division, including disputes over leadership structure (emirate), the practice of *bai'at* (spiritual allegiance), the use of the *Muntakhab Ahadith* book, differing methodologies in preaching (*Usul Masturat Mewatiyah* or UMM), and violent incidents at the Nizamuddin headquarters. According to the *Syuro Alami* group, many of these issues stem from the personality and leadership style of Maulana Saad, who has also faced public criticism from Deoband scholars.

The consequences of this conflict have been far-reaching. It has led to

a decline in preaching activities, the establishment of two separate ideological and operational paths within Jamaah Tabligh (SA and Nizamuddin), and a shift in the organization's internal social structure—particularly among its elite members. This fragmentation not only challenges the unity of the movement but also redefines the future direction and identity of Jamaah Tabligh on both local and global scales.

Based on the above conclusion, the practical implications of this study are significant for scholars, religious practitioners, and policymakers concerned with religious movements and organizational dynamics. The fragmentation of Jamaah Tabligh into the SA and Nizamuddin factions not only reconfigures internal leadership and da'wah strategies but also introduces new variables for understanding identity, authority, and religious authority negotiation within Islamic revivalist movements. For future studies, this finding opens up several research pathways: comparative ethnographies between SA and MS congregations across regions; sociological analysis of post-conflict religious leadership models; and the role of transnational influence in local Islamic practices. Additionally, the observable shift in social class and elite engagement within JT provides fertile ground for examining how religious movements adapt to internal crises while navigating external pressures in a globalized religious landscape.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF PESANTREN PATTERNS IN SIDOSERMO SURABAYA: INTEGRATING TRADITION AND MODERNITY

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Abstract

Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia, as traditional Islamic educational institutions, have undergone significant transformations in recent decades. Adopting a modern curriculum is important to ensure that pesantren students have skills that are relevant to the times. By integrating religious and general sciences, pesantren can produce graduates who not only have a strong Islamic understanding, but are also competitive in the world of work. While existing studies have explored the integration of modern subjects into pesantren curricula in several regions, there remains a research gap concerning how this integration unfolds in East Java, where distinct cultural and regional dynamics influence educational practices. Therefore, this research aims at analysing the development patterns of pesantren in Indonesia in a case study of the Sidoarjo Pesantren Area in Surabaya by highlighting how they integrate deeply rooted traditions with the demands of modernity. Using a qualitative approach, this study collected data through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and literature study. The results revealed that the pesantren managed to maintain traditional values, such as the teaching of the yellow book and grave pilgrimage, while adopting modern

elements that include formal curriculum, digital technology, and professional-based management. This integration process not only strengthens the role of pesantren as centers of religious education, but also places them as agents of social change that are responsive to the challenges of the times. Nevertheless, pesantren are faced with a great challenge in maintaining a balance between maintaining tradition and innovating. This study demonstrates that the success of pesantren in facing modernity depends on their ability to hold on to fundamental Islamic values, open to global developments and information technology today. The recommendations include developing a hybrid curriculum combining religion, science, and technology; integrating e-learning tools; promoting pesantren-based economic initiatives; and strengthening alumni networks to support institutional growth and student careers.

Pondok pesantren di Indonesia, sebagai lembaga pendidikan Islam tradisional, telah mengalami transformasi yang signifikan dalam beberapa dekade terakhir. Penerapan kurikulum modern menjadi penting untuk memastikan bahwa para santri memiliki keterampilan yang relevan dengan perkembangan zaman. Dengan mengintegrasikan ilmu agama dan ilmu umum, pesantren dapat menghasilkan lulusan yang tidak hanya memiliki pemahaman Islam yang kuat, tetapi juga mampu bersaing di dunia kerja. Meskipun studi sebelumnya telah meneliti integrasi mata pelajaran modern dalam kurikulum pesantren di beberapa daerah, masih terdapat kesenjangan penelitian mengenai bagaimana integrasi tersebut berlangsung di Jawa Timur, di mana dinamika budaya dan regional yang khas memengaruhi praktik pendidikan. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis pola pengembangan pesantren di Indonesia melalui studi kasus di Kawasan Pesantren Sidosermo Surabaya, dengan menyoroti bagaimana mereka mengintegrasikan tradisi yang mengakar kuat dengan tuntutan modernitas. Dengan pendekatan kualitatif, penelitian ini mengumpulkan data melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi partisipatif, dan studi pustaka. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pesantren berhasil mempertahankan nilai-nilai tradisional, seperti pengajaran kitab kuning dan ziarah makam, sekaligus mengadopsi elemen-elemen modern yang mencakup kurikulum formal, teknologi digital, dan manajemen berbasis profesional. Proses integrasi ini tidak hanya memperkuat peran pesantren sebagai pusat pendidikan agama, tetapi juga menempatkan mereka sebagai agen perubahan sosial yang responsif terhadap tantangan zaman. Namun demikian, pesantren dihadapkan pada tantangan besar dalam menjaga keseimbangan antara pelestarian tradisi dan inovasi. Studi ini menunjukkan bahwa keberhasilan pesantren dalam menghadapi modernitas bergantung pada kemampuan mereka untuk berpegang pada nilai-nilai dasar Islam, terbuka terhadap perkembangan global dan teknologi informasi saat ini. Rekomendasi dari penelitian ini mencakup pengembangan kurikulum hibrida yang menggabungkan agama, sains, dan teknologi; integrasi perangkat e-learning; penguatan inisiatif ekonomi berbasis pesantren; serta penguatan jaringan alumni untuk mendukung pertumbuhan

kelembagaan dan karier santri.

Keywords: *hybrid curriculum, pesantren modernization, tradition-modernity integration*

Introduction

Pesantren are among the oldest educational institutions in Indonesia, playing a vital role in character building and the teaching of Islamic religious knowledge. Since their inception, pesantren have served as centers for the dissemination of Islamic teachings and education for Muslim communities across the archipelago. Historically, pesantren developed in a traditional format (Isbah, 2020), focusing on the study of the yellow book and classical teaching methods based on halaqah (group study) led directly by a kiai.

However, as time progresses and social changes occur within society, pesantren have begun to face increasingly complex challenges, particularly in responding to modernity and the demands of globalization (Chairudin, 2020). In the modern era, pesantren must adapt to changes in education, technology, and socio-economic expectations. This has led to the emergence of new management patterns that aim to integrate classical pesantren traditions with modern educational approaches.

Modern pesantren have begun to introduce formal curricula that include general subjects, incorporate information technology, and foster life skills development. These efforts aim to prepare santri to meet the challenges of the modern world while preserving the essence of religious teachings (Kholish et al., 2022). This transformation reflects the dynamic role of pesantren in bridging tradition and modernity within Indonesia's evolving educational landscape.

The Sidosermo Pesantren area in Surabaya is a compelling example of a pesantren that merits further study, particularly regarding the preservation of local traditions and the implementation of modern educational practices and environmental management. It is important to explore how effectively this pesantren combines classical traditions with modern elements in its curriculum and institutional management. This pesantren is known for maintaining traditional values—such as the teaching of kitab kuning (classical Islamic texts) and the close kiai-santri relationship—while adopting a more structured, modern educational system. The study of the development of the Sidosermo Pesantren area illustrates how pesantren in Indonesia can integrate two key dimensions, tradition and modernity, to create a sustainable education

system (Maduningtyas, 2022).

Current studies concern the dynamics of pesantren in Indonesia by integrating non-religious subjects into their curricula (Isbah, 2020; Kawakip, 2020). Applying a dual approach—Islamic studies and modern subjects—helps their santri gain a comprehensive education that prepares them for various societal roles. This includes practices in pesantren in West Sumatra (Zulmuqim et al., 2020) and Bone, Sulawesi (Nurdin & Samad, 2018). However, more exploration is needed in the context of East Java, where the integration of modern subjects and religious education faces unique cultural and regional challenges.

This research aims to examine the development patterns of pesantren in Indonesia, with a particular focus on the Sidosermo Pesantren area in Surabaya, East Java. It explores how the integration of tradition and modernity is implemented in educational practices, institutional governance, and environmental management. Furthermore, it investigates how local cultural activities continue to be preserved by the surrounding community, despite the pressures of a modern era. Additionally, this research seeks to address the extent to which traditional pesantren can adapt to the demands of modernity without compromising their Islamic identity. The findings are expected to contribute to academic discourse on the future of pesantren education in Indonesia amidst ongoing social and global transformations (Kusumawati & Nurfuadi, 2024). Pesantren such as those in Sidosermo demonstrate how local traditions can be maintained in the context of modern education and life, integrating local wisdom with contemporary developments to shape a generation that is both morally grounded and intellectually capable.

Methods

This research is qualitative, with an interpretive paradigm. The interpretive paradigm posits that reality, truth, or real life has multiple facets and is not singular; it can be studied from various points of view (Sugiyono, 2015). Interpretive research views a fact as something unique, with a special context and meaning. In this study, the interpretive paradigm is used to understand the dynamics of pesantren moderation and local culture in depth, allowing researchers to explore the meaning behind actions, symbols, and interactions in the Sidosermo Surabaya pesantren area. This approach provides the flexibility to understand the experiences of research subjects and involves the active participation of the community as resource persons who

possess local wisdom. In this way, researchers can gain a more contextual and in-depth perspective on how religious moderation is integrated into the life of Sidosermo pesantren (Maulana, 2022).

The data for this research was collected through literature study, observation, and interviews. Literature studies include books and related previous research, which serve as secondary data. Primary data were gathered through direct observation at the Sidosermo Surabaya pesantren area, followed by semi-structured interviews with local cultural figures. The combination of these three data sources enabled a holistic and in-depth investigation of the integration of traditional pesantren and modernization (Jailani, 2022).

This study employs content analysis and triangulation as data analysis methods. The combination of these two methods provides a strong foundation for understanding and interpreting the data more deeply, especially in the context of integrating traditional pesantren with modernity. The content analysis approach is used to explore the meaning and thematic patterns in the data. Qualitative data generated from literature studies, observations, and interviews were sorted, classified, and interpreted systematically. Triangulation was conducted to ensure the credibility of the data and achieve accurate and reliable results (Jayadi, 2024).

Findings and Discussion

This section presents the key findings and interpretations from the case study of Pesantren in the Sidosermo area, Surabaya, focusing on how traditional Islamic educational institutions adapt to the demands of modernity while preserving their foundational values. By examining the educational structure, pedagogical practices, and socio-cultural environment of pesantren, the discussion highlights how integration between classical Islamic learning and contemporary educational innovations is negotiated in the East Java context.

The Concept and Educational Structure of Pesantren in the Indonesian Context

The term *pesantren area* refers to an environment where an Islamic boarding school functions as a center for Islamic education. In this context, the *pesantren* area encompasses more than just the residences of *santri* (students) and *kiai* (religious leaders); it also includes the social, cultural, and physical spaces that support all *pesantren* activities. These typically consist of

dormitories, study halls, mosques, libraries, kitchens, and communal spaces used for daily life (Kholish, 2022; Kamal, 2020). According to Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning Islamic Boarding Schools, *pesantren* are community-based institutions established by individuals, foundations, Islamic organizations, and/or communities with the mission of cultivating faith and piety in Allah SWT, fostering noble character, and upholding the values of *Islam rahmatan lil'alam*. These values are reflected in attitudes of humility, tolerance, balance, moderation, and other moral principles rooted in Indonesian national identity. The values are promoted through education, preaching (*da'wah*), exemplary behavior, and community empowerment, all within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Setyawan, 2019; Jayadi et al., 2024).

Pesantren education takes place within the *pesantren* environment and is shaped by curricula unique to each institution. It is often centered around the *kitab kuning* (classical Islamic texts) and *dirasah islamiyah* following the *mu'allimin* model—a structured and systematic approach to Islamic learning (Habib & Nur Romdlon, 2022; Kusumawati & Nurfuadi, 2024). *Mu'adalah* education refers to *pesantren*-based formal education that develops curricula consistent with *pesantren* traditions, grounded in *kitab kuning* and *dirasah islamiyah*, and delivered through a tiered and organized *mu'allimin* system (Maduningtias, 2022). Similarly, *diniyah* formal education refers to formal Islamic boarding school education that emphasizes classical Islamic texts in a structured educational format (Cibro et al., 2023). At the higher education level, *Ma'had Aly* represents advanced Islamic education managed by *pesantren*, focusing on deepening Islamic sciences within the classical scholarly tradition (Anugrah et al., 2022). *Santri* are students who live within the *pesantren* and are committed to studying and embodying Islamic knowledge, ethics, and practice (Chairudin, 2022; Rusli & Sugiarto, 2022).

Traditional and Modern Pesantren: Educational Models and Implementation in Sidosermo

Traditional *pesantren* are Islamic educational institutions that have strong roots in Indonesian culture and history, especially in rural communities. The *pesantren* in Sidosermo is known for its five souls: sincerity, simplicity, independence, brotherhood, and freedom in employment. This *pesantren* focuses on teaching Islamic religious sciences, such as the Qur'an, Hadith, fiqh, Sufism, and Arabic, with an education system that is distinctive and

different from modern formal schools (Kamal, 2020).

Some of the key characteristics of traditional *pesantren* in Sidosermo reflect deep-rooted values and practices unique to this educational model. At the heart of the *pesantren* is the **kiai**, who serves as both the central figure and the main educator. The teaching and moral development of the *santri* (students) heavily depend on the guidance of the *kiai*, who is not only respected as a religious teacher but also revered as a spiritual leader within the broader community. Two traditional learning methods, *sorogan* and *bandongan*, are commonly used. In the *sorogan* method, students study individually by reading and interpreting religious texts in front of the *kiai*, while the *bandongan* system involves the *kiai* teaching a group of students collectively.

A central element of instruction is the use of the *kitab kuning*, or classical Islamic texts in Arabic, which serve as the core references for religious studies. These texts, covering a wide range of Islamic sciences, are rarely translated, requiring *santri* to learn Arabic to fully engage with the material. Traditional *pesantren* also include dormitories (*pondok*) that house students, where daily life becomes a continuation of their moral and character education, emphasizing values such as discipline, independence, and communal living. The lifestyle in these *pesantren* tends to be simple and self-sufficient, with students engaging in daily tasks like cooking and cleaning, thereby learning life skills alongside their religious education. Finally, education in traditional *pesantren* is not strictly bound by a formal curriculum as seen in public schools. Instead, teaching is often flexible, tailored to the abilities and needs of the students, allowing for a more personalized learning experience.

The primary objectives of traditional *pesantren* center on deepening Islamic religious knowledge, shaping character, and fostering the moral and spiritual development of *santri* (students). These institutions aim to cultivate mastery of key Islamic sciences such as the Qur'an, Hadith, *fiqh*, *tafsir*, Sufism, and Arabic, primarily through the study of *kitab kuning*—classical Islamic texts (Habib & Nur Romdlon, 2022; Kusumawati & Nurfuadi, 2024). Equally important is character formation, as *pesantren* emphasize values such as honesty, simplicity, responsibility, and patience through both instruction and the personal example of the *kiai* (Kamal, 2020; Chairudin, 2022). Another central goal is to produce *ulama* (Islamic scholars) and community leaders who are not only knowledgeable in religion but also capable of guiding the Muslim community (Kholish, 2022; Rusli & Sugiarto, 2022).

Additionally, *pesantren* cultivate student independence by fostering

self-sufficiency, discipline, and a simple lifestyle within a communal setting (Jayadi et al., 2024). They also preserve the Islamic tradition of Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah (Aswaja), which advocates for moderation, balance, and tolerance in religious life (Setyawan, 2019). Spiritual development is further supported through Sufi practices such as *dhikr*, recitation, and reflection, all aimed at purifying the heart and strengthening the student's relationship with God (Anugrah et al., 2022). Moreover, *pesantren* serve as religious and cultural hubs, promoting social harmony by maintaining strong ties with the surrounding community through religious gatherings and shared traditions (Cibro et al., 2023).

In contrast, modern *pesantren* are Islamic educational institutions that integrate traditional religious instruction with general, state-recognized formal education. Unlike their traditional counterparts, modern *pesantren* implement a dual curriculum that includes both religious subjects (e.g., *fiqh*, Qur'an, and Hadith) and general subjects (e.g., mathematics, science, technology, and foreign languages), aligning with national education standards (Hardianti et al., 2023; Kusumawati & Nurfuadi, 2024). This approach reflects a broader trend of religious modernization, whereby Islamic education adapts to the needs of contemporary society while upholding core spiritual values (Maduningtias, 2022). A defining feature of modern *pesantren* is their enhanced infrastructure, which often includes science laboratories, digital libraries, and internet facilities to support academic learning (Kholish, 2022).

Furthermore, diplomas awarded by modern *pesantren* are officially recognized by the state and are often equivalent to those from public schools, thereby enabling graduates to pursue higher education or careers in various sectors (Jayadi et al., 2024). In addition to religious and academic instruction, modern *pesantren* emphasize life skills, entrepreneurship, and vocational training to equip *santri* with the competencies needed to contribute meaningfully to society (Cibro et al., 2023; Chairudin, 2022). Through this integrated approach, modern *pesantren* play a vital role in shaping well-rounded individuals who are spiritually grounded and professionally prepared for contemporary life.

Modern *pesantren* aim to integrate Islamic religious education with general, state-recognized curricula to prepare *santri* for the complexities of contemporary life (Khamid, 2023; Hardianti et al., 2023). They combine classical religious subjects—such as the Qur'an, *fiqh*, and *hadith*—with general education in science, mathematics, technology, and foreign languages, fostering balanced development in both religious and secular knowledge (Kusumawati

& Nurfuadi, 2024). This dual-curriculum approach equips *santri* to meet global challenges, including technological advancement and economic change, by providing them with relevant life skills and entrepreneurial competencies (Chairudin, 2022; Cibro et al., 2023).

Character building remains a core objective, with an emphasis on instilling Islamic values such as discipline, responsibility, and ethical behavior (Setyawan, 2019). Furthermore, modern *pesantren* are committed to nurturing future leaders who are both spiritually grounded and equipped with critical thinking, management, and global awareness (Jayadi et al., 2024). Diplomas awarded by modern *pesantren* are officially recognized by the government, enabling graduates to pursue higher education or enter diverse professional fields (Kholish, 2022).

In addition, modern *pesantren* foster tolerance, open-mindedness, and appreciation for cultural diversity—qualities essential in today's interconnected world (Maduningtias, 2022). Their use of advanced educational facilities, including IT and science laboratories, enhances technological literacy and supports innovation (Anugrah et al., 2022). By aligning Islamic teachings with contemporary societal developments, modern *pesantren* empower *santri* to uphold core religious values while engaging meaningfully with modern economic, political, and social dynamics (Habib & Nur Romdlon, 2022). Ultimately, they strive to cultivate a globally competitive generation of Muslims capable of contributing to national development and the broader *ummah* (Rusli & Sugiarto, 2022).

In the context of the implementation of modern *pesantren* in the Sidosermo *pesantren* area, this is evident in the introduction of general education through four levels of madrasa. All of them are affiliated with At-Tauhid and An-Najiyah Islamic Boarding Schools, based on traditional *pesantren*. The details are as follows:

The educational structure at *At-Tauhid* and *An-Najiyah* follows a tiered system, starting with *Raudlatul Athfal (RA)* and progressing through various levels of formal education. *Raudlatul Athfal (RA)*, equivalent to Kindergarten (TK), caters to children aged 4-6 years old. Its primary focus is on the basic development of young children, introducing them to Arabic letters, daily prayers, and fundamental Islamic values. *Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI)*, which is equivalent to elementary school, serves children aged 6-12 years. The curriculum combines basic general education subjects, such as mathematics, Bahasa Indonesia, and science, with more in-depth Islamic religious studies,

including the Qur'an, *fiqh*, and *Akidah Akhlak*.

Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs), corresponding to junior high school, is designed for students aged 12-15 years. This stage offers a general education curriculum for junior high school, supplemented by additional Islamic religious subjects. Finally, *Madrasah Aliyah* (MA), equivalent to senior high school and designed for students aged 15-18 years, provides upper secondary education. Students can choose from different majors, such as Science, Social Studies, and Religious Studies, while also deepening their Islamic knowledge and understanding.

Comparative Characteristics of Traditional and Modern Pesantren Models in Sidosermo

Traditional and modern *pesantren* in Indonesia differ significantly in their educational systems, curricula, teaching methods, use of technology, student life, educational goals, and behavioral outcomes. These differences reflect the adaptation of Islamic boarding schools to the demands of contemporary society while preserving core religious values (Anugrah et al., 2022; Cibro et al., 2023). Together, these distinctions highlight the diverse pathways through which *pesantren* contribute to the moral, spiritual, and intellectual development of Indonesian Muslim youth in both traditional and modern contexts.

Traditional *pesantren* primarily focus on the mastery of Islamic religious sciences, with the *kitab kuning*—classical Arabic texts—serving as the foundation of the curriculum. Subjects such as *fiqh*, *tawhid*, *tafsir*, and *hadith* are emphasized, while general subjects like mathematics or science are minimally included (Habib & Nur Romdlon, 2022). In contrast, modern *pesantren* implement a dual-curriculum approach by integrating religious instruction with general education subjects such as mathematics, English, science, and social studies. This integration prepares students to compete in both religious and secular spheres and respond to the needs of a modern, globalized society (Cibro et al., 2023; Kusumawati & Nurfuadi, 2024).

The teaching systems also differ considerably. Traditional *pesantren* use informal methods such as *sorogan*—where students individually recite texts before a teacher—and *bandongan*—where students listen to the teacher read and explain texts. There is no structured grading or schooling level, and learning is often personalized and flexible (Kamal, 2020). Modern *pesantren*, however, follow a formal educational framework with structured levels from kindergarten through senior high school and even tertiary education. Classes

are taught using modern pedagogical methods, structured lesson plans, and formal assessments (Jayadi et al., 2024; Kholish, 2022).

In terms of technology and infrastructure, traditional *pesantren* usually emphasize simplicity, with minimal technological resources. Their focus remains on fostering ascetic values and spiritual discipline (Kamal, 2020). Meanwhile, modern *pesantren* adopt contemporary educational tools such as computers, internet access, science labs, and multimedia classrooms. These facilities support both academic and vocational learning and enhance technological literacy (Anugrah et al., 2022; Kholish, 2022).

Student life in traditional *pesantren* is deeply rooted in simplicity and communal living. *Santri* follow strict routines that reinforce discipline, religious observance, and manners. The environment emphasizes traditional customs and the moral authority of the *kiai* (Chairudin, 2022). In modern *pesantren*, while discipline and simplicity are still valued, students are given more flexibility to participate in extracurricular activities, sports, and social engagement programs, which promote holistic development (Maduningtias, 2022; Jayadi et al., 2024).

The educational goals of traditional *pesantren* are centered on producing *ulama*—Islamic scholars who possess deep religious knowledge and are capable of guiding the Muslim community (Rusli & Sugiarto, 2022). Modern *pesantren*, while still cultivating religious scholars, also aim to produce well-rounded graduates who can contribute actively to various sectors of society, equipped with both religious values and practical skills (Chairudin, 2022; Kusumawati & Nurfuadi, 2024). This shift in educational goals reflects a broader vision of *pesantren* as institutions that not only preserve Islamic tradition but also respond to contemporary societal needs and global challenges.

Lastly, in terms of clean and healthy living behavior, traditional *pesantren* often show lower performance due to limited infrastructure and a focus on modest living conditions (Anugrah et al., 2022). In contrast, modern *pesantren* emphasize personal hygiene, health education, and clean-living environments through structured programs and improved facilities (Cibro et al., 2023). This contrast highlights the evolving priorities of *pesantren* education, where modern institutions integrate health and hygiene as essential components of holistic student development.

In the context of *pesantren* settlements in Sidosermo, the difference between traditional and modern *pesantren* is evident in their physical structures, with clearly labeled and separate buildings for each type. Students may choose

to study exclusively in either the *pesantren* or *madrasah*, or to enroll in both simultaneously. Table 1 summarized the differences between traditional and modern *pesantren* in Sidosermo.

Table 1. Comparison between Traditional and Modern Pesantren in Sidosermo

Aspect	Traditional Pesantren (At-Tauhid, An-Najiyah)	Modern Pesantren (RA, MI, MTs At-Tauhid, MA An-Najiyah)
L e a r n i n g Methods	Using the sorogan method (students read their own books) and bandongan (kyai teaches, students listen).	Using a classical system like a formal school with a structured curriculum.
Curriculum	Focuses on the study of kitab kuning and religious sciences (fiqh, tafsir, hadith).	Combining religious and general sciences (science, maths, foreign languages).
E d u c a t i o n System	Non-formal, not following the national education system.	Formal, following the national education system such as MI, MTs, MA.
L a n g u a g e of Instruction	Using local languages and Arabic for kitab kuning.	Using Indonesian, Arabic and English as the language of daily communication.
Student Life	Simple, emphasising simplicity and closeness to the kyai.	Highly disciplined, having strict rules in education and discipline.
N u r t u r i n g Pattern	The teacher-student relationship is very close, with students learning directly from the kyai.	More systematically, there are specialised teachers and lecturers for each subject.
E d u c a t i o n Objectives	Producing scholars and preachers who study religion.	Producing graduates who are prepared in the field of religion and professionals in the modern world.

Source: Field observation analysis, 2024

The Integration of Local Cultural Values in Pesantren Education in Sidosermo

The relationship between pesantren and local traditional values in Indonesia is deeply rooted and mutually reinforcing. Pesantren, as indigenous Islamic educational institutions, not only serve as centers for religious learning but also play a crucial role in preserving and promoting local cultural heritage. They are often regarded as institutions that are native to the socio-cultural

fabric of Indonesian society (Setyawan, 2019). In the context of **Sidosermo**, a region known for its blend of traditional Javanese-Islamic culture, this relationship is particularly evident. Pesantren in Sidosermo often integrate local cultural expressions into their religious activities, reflecting a dynamic interplay between tradition and religious practice.

One of the key manifestations of this relationship in Sidosermo is through cultural education and preservation. Pesantren in the area frequently incorporate local cultural practices into their daily routines and curriculum. Events such as Islamic holiday celebrations, public recitations (*pengajian*), and the practice of traditional arts like *hadrah*, *pencak silat* (Indonesian martial arts), and regional dances are regularly held. These activities not only sustain local cultural identity but also reinforce Islamic teachings among the *santri* (Setyawan, 2019; Chairudin, 2022).

Moreover, the pesantren in Sidosermo illustrate the synergy between religion and culture by embracing and teaching local traditions that align with Islamic principles. Practices such as *ziarah kubur* (grave pilgrimage) and *haul* (commemoration of the deceased) are commonly observed and serve to strengthen spiritual consciousness and social cohesion. These culturally embedded practices are viewed not as contradictions but as enrichments to religious life, fostering a holistic spiritual and cultural education (Chairudin, 2022; Kamal, 2020).

In addition to spiritual instruction, pesantren in Sidosermo contribute significantly to character and moral development. Many of the region's traditional values—such as *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), respect for elders, and community solidarity—are reinforced within the pesantren environment. Through communal living, collaborative learning, and social participation, *santri* are instilled with ethical values that align closely with Islamic moral teachings. This emphasis on both religious and cultural ethics reflects the pesantren's commitment to producing not only knowledgeable Islamic scholars but also socially responsible and culturally grounded individuals (Jayadi et al., 2024; Kusumawati & Nurfuadi, 2024). The integration of these values highlights the unique role of Sidosermo's pesantren in sustaining local identity while promoting Islamic morality in a modernizing society.

Structuring of the Existing Sidosermo Islamic Boarding School Area

The structure of the existing Sidosermo *pesantren* area refers to the current condition, which can be observed through the image provided by

Google Maps, as shown in Figure 1. This explanation is based on observations and interviews related to both the physical and non-physical aspects of the environment. The physical aspects include settlements, Islamic boarding schools, madrassas, mosques, and tombs. The non-physical aspects involve informants or religious leaders from the local community, as well as Islamic organizations such as NU and LDII.



Figure 1. Layout Structure of the Existing Sidosermo Pesantren Area (Google maps, 2024)

In Figure 1, when viewed from the administrative perspective, the Sidosermo Islamic Boarding School area spans two villages: Sidosermo Village and Jagir Village, and two sub-districts: Wonocolo and Wonokromo in Surabaya. It includes both the older village areas and more densely populated, strategic parts of Surabaya City. The strategic position refers to its proximity to key landmarks in Surabaya: the Jagir River Water Gate to the north and Wonokromo Station to the west. The pesantren area has merged with the surrounding environment, which includes both community-built public housing and formal housing developed by property developers and owned by residents. In addition to several Islamic boarding schools scattered across the area, there are also essential public facilities such as schools/madrassas, cemeteries, and mosques/mushola, which play an important role in this research.

Distribution of Pesantren, Mosques, Schools, and Organizational Affiliation in Sidosermo

Several factors influence the spread of pesantren across Indonesia, including: (a) The role of kiai and ulama: Renowned kiai have established pesantren in various regions, attracting students from all over to study religion; (b) Islamic Da'wah: Pesantren serve not only as educational institutions but also as centers of Islamic preaching, which has expanded their reach to areas previously underserved by formal religious education; (c) Adaptation to local conditions: Pesantren have developed in response to local culture and socio-economic conditions, making them more easily accepted by local communities.

Both modern and traditional pesantren are typically equipped with a range of public facilities that support educational, worship, and daily activities for students. Some of the key facilities found in pesantren include: (a) Kiai House: The residence of the kiai, the central leader and founder of the pesantren; (b) Santri Dormitory: A communal living space for the santri, symbolizing the simplicity of life in the pesantren; (c) Mosque: Every pesantren has a mosque, which serves as the center for worship activities, including congregational prayers and recitations; (d) Classrooms and Study Rooms: Formal classrooms where teaching and learning occur. In modern pesantren, these rooms are often equipped with blackboards, projectors, and computers; (e) Library: An essential facility for the study of Islamic classic texts and religious literature; (f) Kitchen and Canteen: Providing meals to students at affordable costs, while teaching independence in cooking and hygiene; (g) Health Facilities: Larger pesantren may have clinics or small health units to provide basic medical care for students; (h) Sports Facilities: Some modern pesantren offer sports fields and recreational areas to support physical health and balance in students' lives.

The Sidosermo Pesantren area consists of several Islamic boarding schools that are integrated with the surrounding community and supported by other environmental facilities, such as neighborhood roads and mosques, coexisting peacefully. The distribution of these facilities is also linked to Islamic organizations. Sidosermo Islamic boarding school is known as the oldest Islamic boarding school in Surabaya. The distribution of Islamic boarding schools and mosques within the research area is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Distribution of Facilities and Affiliations of Islamic Organizations in Sidosermo

Facilities	Address	I s l a m i c Organizations
Pesantren At-Tauhid	Jalan Jagir Sidoresmo II	NU
Pesantren Yanabiul Ulum wal Hikam	Jalan Jagir Sidoresmo II	NU
Pesantren Al-Badar	Jalan Jagir Sidoresmo II	NU
Pesantren Al-Hakiki Al-Falahi	Jalan Sidosermo III	NU
Pesantren An-Najiyah	Jalan Sidosermo Dalam Gang II	NU
Ali Akbar Mosque	Jalan Sidosermo Dalam Gang II	NU
Baitul Mahfudz Mosque	Jalan Jagir Sidoresmo VI	NU
Nurul Huda Mosque	Jalan Jagir Sidoresmo III	(Salafi)
At-Taqwa Mosque	Jalan Sidosermo IV	LDII
Madrasah At-Tauhid	Jalan Jagir Sidoresmo II	NU
Madrasah An-Najiyah	Jalan Sidosermo Gang Kuburan	NU
Ndresmo Islamic cemetery	Jalan Sidosermo Gang Kuburan	Public
Settlements	Research area	Public

Source: Field analysis observation, 2024

Table 2 explains that the Sidosermo Pesantren area consists of five boarding schools or Pesantrens and four worship facilities or Mosques. The public education facilities include two madrasahs. The address of each facility indicates its location within the village areas of Sidosermo and Jagir, marked by Jalan Jagir, which identifies it as being in Jagir Village. The majority of Islamic organizations affiliated with these main facilities are Nahdatul Ulama (NU), except for the At-Taqwa Mosque, which is affiliated with the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Institute (LDII), and the Nurul Huda Mosque, which is not affiliated with a particular organization but follows the Salafi manhaj. This mapping is intended to facilitate the analysis of the pesantren area using a socio-cultural approach.

Sidosermo Pesantren Mandate in the Context of Environmental Preservation

Sidosermo Pesantren plays an important role in maintaining and preserving the environment, in line with Islamic values that emphasize the balance of nature and human responsibility as khalifah on earth. Pesantren

plays a vital role in instilling environmental values among students by integrating Islamic ecological principles into their curriculum. This includes the interpretation of Qur'anic verses related to the environment, alongside studies of books that address ethics concerning nature and living things. Furthermore, environmental education programs are organized, such as those focused on recycling and waste management, which help students understand and engage in sustainable practices. Pesantren can also serve as models for implementing environmentally friendly lifestyles. For example, they practice waste management by adopting the 3R system (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle), engage in greening and conservation efforts through tree planting and maintaining the surrounding ecosystem, and utilize renewable energy sources like solar power or biogas derived from organic waste.

In addition to these actions, pesantren play an essential role in social movements and environmental da'wah. They mobilize the community to become more environmentally conscious through various initiatives, such as organizing cleaning and mutual cooperation movements in and around the pesantren and local village areas. Ecological da'wah, or lectures and studies that emphasize the importance of protecting the environment as part of worship, further encourage this awareness. Pesantren also empower the community by offering training in areas such as organic farming or the conservation of natural resources. Moreover, pesantren can adopt sustainable resource management practices, such as ecology-based agriculture and animal husbandry, including agroforestry or hydroponic systems. Additionally, they implement water conservation methods, utilizing water-saving irrigation systems and rainwater harvesting technology to ensure efficient resource use.

Relationship between pesantren, mosques, cemetery, and Islamic organizations in Sidosermo

The relationship between pesantren, mosques, cemeteries, and Islamic community organizations—particularly Nahdlatul Ulama—is often very close, as mosques serve as centers of worship and social activity for Muslims, while Islamic organizations provide a platform for organizing da'wah, education, and various social initiatives (Rahmatullah, 2022). These four elements play a significant role in preserving local wisdom and traditions, such as *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, *haul*, *manaqib*, *hadrah* arts, *shalawatan*, *barzanji*, *maulid*, *nisfu Sya'ban*, *tirakat*, and *riyadhah*

Mosques serve as vital centers for the activities of Islamic mass

organizations (Sholikatin, 2024). Organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII), and others often use mosques not only as places of worship but also as hubs for da'wah, education, and community engagement. These organizations routinely hold religious recitations (pengajian), including lectures, book studies, and discussions in mosques. Furthermore, mosques facilitate non-formal education through programs such as the Qur'anic Education Park (TPA) or madrasah diniyah, which are frequently managed by these organizations. In addition to spiritual functions, mosques serve as venues for distributing social assistance and organizing zakat, infaq, and sadaqah initiatives.

Islamic organizations also use mosques as platforms to propagate their particular religious teachings and methodologies. For instance, mosques affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) commonly promote the Aswaja (Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah) tradition, which emphasizes practices like tahlilan, shalawatan, and grave pilgrimage. In contrast, Muhammadiyah-affiliated mosques typically adopt a reformist approach that seeks to purify Islamic practice, emphasizing strict adherence to the Qur'an and Sunnah while avoiding rituals not explicitly supported by these texts.

Ownership and management of mosques often fall under the jurisdiction of Islamic organizations, which incorporate these religious centers into their administrative structures. For example, Muhammadiyah mosques are known for their well-organized management systems, covering aspects such as da'wah programs, educational initiatives, and financial governance. Similarly, mosques associated with NU follow management practices aligned with the organization's traditional values and communal priorities.

The governance of mosques is frequently shaped by the doctrinal orientation of the managing organization. For example, Muhammadiyah mosques typically omit qunut during prayers and avoid celebrating events like the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, whereas NU mosques embrace such commemorations as important expressions of religious devotion and tradition. These differing practices highlight the rich diversity within Indonesian Islamic expression and the influential role of mass organizations in shaping religious life at the community level.

Beyond religious activities, mosques also function as centers for social and community services. Islamic organizations often conduct health outreach activities in mosques, including mass circumcisions, blood donation drives, and health education sessions. During significant times such as Ramadan or

Eid al-Fitr, mosques often act as key distribution points for social aid organized by these groups.

To ensure the mosque fulfills its role as a spiritual and communal center effectively, coordination between mosque administrators and Islamic organizations is essential. Harmonious collaboration allows for a balanced integration of religious, educational, and social functions. Conversely, misalignment in values or leadership between mosque authorities and organizational representatives can sometimes lead to conflict, especially when differing views on religious practices arise.

Future challenges to integrate traditional pesantren with modernity in Sidosermo

Future challenges in the development of integrated traditional and modern pesantren revolve around maintaining a balance between preserving Islamic traditions and embracing modernization. Key issues include harmonizing religious and general education curricula, adapting to digital technology without eroding traditional values, and ensuring that teaching staff are equipped with modern pedagogical and technological skills. Economic sustainability through santri-based entrepreneurship, navigating differing community perspectives on modernization, and aligning with government regulations while maintaining pesantren identity are also critical. Pesantren that can effectively address these challenges will be more resilient and relevant in the era of globalization.

The integration of traditional and modern development patterns presents several nuanced challenges that reflect both local dynamics and broader educational shifts. Balancing the classical Islamic curriculum (*kitab kuning*) with contemporary subjects such as science and technology remains essential to maintaining religious authenticity while preparing santri for modern realities. As Sidosermo lies in a densely populated and strategic urban area of Surabaya, the digitalisation of learning processes is both a necessity and a challenge, particularly in ensuring that the use of technology does not dilute traditional values. Moreover, the readiness of kiai and ustaz in Sidosermo to adopt modern teaching strategies is crucial for effective knowledge transmission. Economic independence is also a pressing concern; with strong community ties, Sidosermo pesantren has the potential to foster santri-based entrepreneurship to support its sustainability. Additionally, the pesantren must navigate varying community responses, especially between groups that favor traditional approaches and those advocating for modernization. Aligning

with national education policies while preserving the unique character of Sidosermo pesantren further underscores the need for adaptive and thoughtful governance. Successfully managing these challenges will position Sidosermo pesantren as a model for harmonizing Islamic tradition with contemporary demands in a rapidly changing urban environment.

In the context of Sidosermo pesantren, the integration of tradition and modernity faces both internal and external challenges that shape its educational and institutional development. Internally, some resistance persists among traditionalists who fear that modernization may erode the pesantren's core religious identity. Additionally, there is a shortage of educators and administrators who are equipped to bridge traditional Islamic teachings with modern pedagogical and technological methods. Curriculum adjustments also pose a challenge, as integrating general subjects and contemporary approaches must be done without compromising the pesantren's distinctive religious character. Furthermore, limited infrastructure in some Sidosermo pesantren makes it difficult to support digital and technology-based learning, hindering innovation.

Externally, Sidosermo pesantren must navigate a society divided between proponents of modernization and those committed to preserving pure tradition. The pressures of globalization also demand that pesantren adapt by incorporating technological tools and fostering innovation to remain competitive and relevant. Government regulations can present additional difficulties, as national policies may not always accommodate the unique needs of tradition-based educational institutions. Moreover, the growing influence of foreign cultures poses a risk of diluting local religious and cultural values. To address these challenges, Sidosermo pesantren must adopt a flexible, strategic approach—embracing innovation while preserving its Islamic identity—so that it continues to thrive as a vital religious and educational institution in Surabaya.

Adaptation strategies for sustainable pesantren development in Sidosermo

Adaptation strategies for sustainable pesantren development involve several key approaches. First, curriculum integration is essential—combining traditional religious education (*kitab kuning*) with general science, technology, and entrepreneurship ensures a balanced and relevant learning experience. The digitalisation of learning is also vital, utilizing tools such as e-learning platforms, social media, and educational applications to enhance teaching

and accessibility.

Improving human resources is another priority, including training kiai, ustaz, and santri in modern teaching techniques and professional skills. Economic independence can be pursued through pesantren-run businesses, such as agribusiness, cooperatives, and santri-based MSMEs. Collaboration with external stakeholders—governments, universities, and industries—further strengthens the pesantren's competitiveness. Meanwhile, infrastructure modernisation must support better educational facilities while preserving the pesantren's traditional character. Most importantly, all innovations should be rooted in strong Islamic values and character building, ensuring that pesantren development remains sustainable and authentic.

Policy and Practical Recommendations for Pesantren Development in Sidosermo

Policy recommendations for the sustainable development of pesantren emphasize the need for supportive and adaptive governance. Governments should provide flexible regulatory frameworks that allow pesantren to innovate without compromising their traditional identity. Financial support is essential for upgrading infrastructure, including the development of digital facilities and laboratories. Additionally, teacher training and curriculum certification programs should be implemented to equip educators with the skills needed for integrative teaching. Policies should also promote partnerships between pesantren and the private sector to enhance entrepreneurship and vocational training opportunities for students.

On the practical side, pesantren should develop hybrid curricula that integrate religious studies with science, technology, and digital literacy to prepare students for contemporary challenges. The adoption of technology—such as e-learning platforms, digital libraries, and customized applications—can enhance educational delivery. Economic independence can be pursued by establishing business units like agricultural enterprises, cooperatives, and creative industries run by santri. Furthermore, strengthening alumni networks can contribute significantly to pesantren development and open career pathways for graduates. With the right blend of policy and practical action, pesantren can evolve into adaptive, modern, and competitive educational institutions while maintaining their core Islamic values.

Conclusion

This research found that the Sidosermo Islamic Boarding School is one of the oldest traditional pesantren in Surabaya, maintaining its classical learning system and daily activities. One of its key traditions is the periodic pilgrimage to the Ndresmo Tomb to honor Sayyid Ali Ashghor, the son of Sayyid Ali Akbar—whose name is memorialized in the Great Mosque of Ali Akbar. Sayyid Ali Ashghor is recognized as the pioneer of the Sidosermo area and the forerunner of its kyai (religious leaders). Over time, while remaining focused on religious instruction, the Sidosermo pesantren has begun to adapt to the developments in the general education curriculum. As a result, its administrators have established schools or madrasahs that retain traditional values while incorporating modern educational elements. Students at these institutions not only gain a deep understanding of Islamic teachings and local traditions but also receive knowledge in contemporary scientific fields.

This study, however, has a limitation in that it involved only one informant—KH. Muhammad Nur, the senior caretaker of the Al-Badar Islamic Boarding School—chosen because of the institution’s historical significance in Sidosermo. Theoretically, this research contributes to academic discourse and offers insights for educators and scholars, while also laying a foundation for future studies. Practically, it aims to build public confidence in the value of pesantren, showing that even in a densely populated and complex urban environment like Sidosermo, pesantren still embody and promote the principles of multicultural religious moderation.

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LIVING QUR'AN AND PENCAK SILAT: PRACTICING PAGER WOJO IN PAGAR NUSA UIN SAIFUDDIN ZUHRI PURWOKERTO

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Abstract

In the current digital age, there is a growing return to spiritual practices such as dhikr and Qur'anic recitation, which serve as sources of emotional resilience, moral grounding, and community cohesion within religious-based organizations like Pencak Silat Pagar Nusa. While studies on the integration of Islamic values in martial arts settings are growing, there remains a gap in understanding how specific Qur'anic verses, especially Ayat Kursi, are ritualized and pedagogically adapted in everyday spiritual practice. This study offers a novel contribution by examining the Pager Wojo ritual as a Living Qur'an phenomenon within Pagar Nusa at UIN Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, focusing on the embodiment of Qur'anic teachings in localized martial traditions. Accordingly, this study aims to understand how the Qur'an, particularly Ayat Kursi, is interpreted, internalized, and practiced in daily life through protective rituals, reflecting a dynamic interaction between scripture and society. Employing qualitative

field research methods and a Living Qur'an approach, this study utilizes Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge to analyze the multifaceted meanings embedded in these ritual practices. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and documentation involving ritual participants. The findings reveal three layers of meaning: objective meaning, which frames the ritual as a medium for seeking divine protection and spiritual closeness; expressive meaning, which emphasizes its role in calming the heart and fostering a sense of safety; and documentary meaning, which highlights its function in Islamic da'wah and cultural preservation. The ritual incorporates specific breathing techniques combined with Qur'anic recitation, performed individually and collectively. This research concludes that the Pager Wojo ritual exemplifies how the Qur'an lives through communal practices, integrating Islamic teachings with local wisdom while preserving scriptural authenticity. Future research may consider comparative practices in other regions or adopt interdisciplinary approaches—such as psychology or health sciences—to assess the broader impact of embodied Qur'anic rituals on practitioners.

Di era digital saat ini, terdapat peningkatan minat terhadap praktik spiritual seperti dzikir dan pembacaan Al-Qur'an sebagai sumber ketahanan emosional, landasan moral, dan kohesi sosial dalam organisasi berbasis agama seperti Pencak Silat Pagar Nusa. Penelitian ini mengkaji ritual Pager Wojo sebagai fenomena Living Qur'an di Pagar Nusa, UIN Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, yang menunjukkan bagaimana ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an dihayati dan diwujudkan dalam tradisi seni bela diri lokal. Meskipun minat terhadap integrasi nilai-nilai Al-Qur'an dalam komunitas seni bela diri terus meningkat, studi-studi sebelumnya belum secara mendalam mengeksplorasi bagaimana ayat-ayat tertentu—seperti Ayat Kursi—diritualkan dalam praktik sehari-hari dan diadaptasi secara pedagogis dalam membentuk ekspresi spiritual. Oleh karena itu, studi ini bertujuan untuk memahami bagaimana Al-Qur'an, khususnya Ayat Kursi, ditafsirkan, diinternalisasi, dan dipraktikkan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari melalui ritual perlindungan, yang mencerminkan interaksi dinamis antara teks suci dan masyarakat. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian lapangan kualitatif dan pendekatan Living Qur'an, studi ini menerapkan teori sosiologi pengetahuan dari Karl Mannheim untuk menganalisis makna berlapis dari praktik ritual tersebut. Data dikumpulkan melalui observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi dengan partisipasi ritual. Temuan penelitian mengungkap tiga lapisan makna: makna objektif yang menunjukkan bahwa ritual ini menjadi sarana untuk mencari perlindungan ilahi dan kedekatan spiritual; makna ekspresif yang menyoroti fungsi ritual sebagai praktik penenang hati dan perlindungan diri; serta makna dokumenter yang menggambarkan perannya dalam dakwah Islam dan pelestarian budaya. Ritual ini melibatkan teknik pernapasan khusus yang dikombinasikan dengan pembacaan ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an, dilakukan secara individu maupun kolektif. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa ritual Pager Wojo merupakan contoh nyata bagaimana Al-Qur'an hidup dalam praktik komunitas, dengan

berhasil mengintegrasikan ajaran Islam dan kearifan lokal tanpa mengabaikan keaslian teks suci. Penelitian selanjutnya dapat mengeksplorasi praktik serupa di wilayah lain atau menggabungkan pendekatan interdisipliner, termasuk psikologi atau ilmu kesehatan, untuk menilai dampak yang lebih luas dari ritual Al-Qur'an yang diwujudkan secara fisik bagi para praktisinya.

Keywords: Ayat Kursi, Living Qur'an, Pagar Nusa, Pager wojo ritual, spiritual practice

Introduction

As devout Muslims, drawing closer to Allah Swt is an obligation that must be remembered and fulfilled. Human beings are limited creations—constantly changing and dependent—so they can never be equal to God, who possesses eternal attributes. In addition to approaching Allah Swt through rituals such as prayer, *dhikr* (remembrance of Allah), and fasting, reading the Qur'an is also believed to be a powerful means of attaining closeness to Him (Siregar, 2018). However, practicing the teachings of the Qur'an without first studying and understanding them will not yield optimal results. Manna' al-Khalil al-Qatan classifies the general purposes of reading the Qur'an into three categories: first, as an act of worship; second, as a means of seeking guidance; and third, as a way of affirming or justifying something (Zulihafnani et al., 2020).

Dhikr plays a vital role in the spiritual life of Muslims. It is not merely the repetition of liturgical phrases (*wirid*), but a practice of internalizing and living out what is recited. *Dhikr* includes specific forms of remembrance, such as *takbir* (declaration of God's greatness), praising Allah, reciting the Qur'an, and making supplications—all of which strengthen a believer's connection with the Divine (Nurhasanah, 2019). The Qur'an, in Surah An-Nisa (4:103), emphasizes the importance of *dhikr* for spiritual well-being, offering peace and a sense of security to those who practice it consistently. Among the most revered verses used in *dhikr* is Ayat Kursi (Q.S. Al-Baqarah verse 255), which many Muslims regard as one of the most powerful and majestic verses in the Qur'an (Khoiruro, 2020).

This research explores the practice of Ayat Kursi recitation among members of the Pencak Silat Pagar Nusa organization. Ahsan and Savii argue that religious-based institutions should integrate Qur'anic verses into their guiding principles and daily practices to support moral education, social interaction, and spiritual development. These practices are expressed through various forms, including verbal recitation, physical action, and spiritual

contemplation (Ahsan et al., 2024; Savii, 2021).

Living Qur'an studies focus on how Qur'anic verses are understood and practiced within specific cultural and community settings. Several scholars have explored Qur'anic use in martial arts traditions. Akbar (2024) examined how Surah al-Fatihah is recited during the initiation of new members in Ikatan Keluarga Silat Putra Indonesia (IKSPI) Kera Sakti, showing its role as a spiritual foundation. Fauziyah and Mutrofin (2021) studied the use of Surah Yasin verses 9 and 83 in Pagar Nusa's asma' pamungkas and panglimunan rituals. Firmansyah et al. (2024) looked at how Qur'anic values are internalized in the Pagar Melayu Silat Kemenyan Putih group in Jambi, showing how Islamic teachings are woven into martial arts training.

However, most of these studies have concentrated on ceremonial or foundational aspects of Qur'anic practice in martial arts, giving less attention to the everyday ritualistic practices involving specific verses and their socio-cultural meanings within the community. A key debate in the current literature revolves around whether the Living Qur'an should be viewed merely as a textual or ritual act, or as a broader socio-cultural phenomenon that shapes collective identity and spiritual expression.

Although interest in Living Qur'an studies within martial arts settings is increasing, several key gaps remain. First, there is limited research on how specific verses like Ayat Kursi (Q.S. al-Baqarah: 255) are used regularly in martial arts training, beyond just ceremonial events. Second, past studies have not fully explored how communities interpret and give meaning to Qur'anic practices through shared rituals. Third, there is a lack of detailed analysis on how Islamic teachings are adapted within martial arts education and daily community life. Fourth, the influence of religious leaders in guiding the understanding and use of Qur'anic verses in these communities is still understudied.

This research aims to examine the practice of the *pager wojo* ritual among members of Pencak Silat Pagar Nusa at UIN Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, with a specific focus on the use of Ayat Kursi as a daily spiritual exercise. The study seeks to understand the process of meaning construction and the socio-cultural dynamics that inform this practice by employing Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge framework. It specifically analyzes three dimensions of meaning: objective, expressive, and documentary (Baum, 1999).

The novelty of this study lies in its focus on the *pager wojo* ritual, a topic not yet explored in academic research. Unlike previous studies on the use of Qur'anic verses in martial arts ceremonies (Akbar, 2024; Firmansyah et al.,

2024; Umi Fauziah & Mutrofin, 2021), this research looks at the daily use of a specific verse within a defined community. By applying Mannheim's sociological theory, the study reveals how sacred texts like the Qur'an are practiced as living traditions. It also emphasizes the role of religious leaders—especially Gus Sugeng Riyadi—in guiding how these rituals are interpreted and performed, connecting classical Islamic knowledge with modern martial arts education.

As mentioned earlier, Qur'anic studies have evolved over time to include social and cultural perspectives. Living Qur'an studies focus on understanding how the Qur'an is experienced and practiced in everyday life, not just as a written text. Fitriana (2018) explains that this field explores how social realities within Muslim communities contribute to bringing the Qur'an to life. Through this lens, people actively interact with the Qur'an, making it relevant to their environment and daily experiences.

This study examines the daily use of *Ayat Kursi* in the *pager wojo* ritual by Pagar Nusa members at UIN Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, a practice introduced by Gus Sugeng Riyadi through martial arts training. The ritual is unique because it is performed both individually and in groups. To understand its meaning, the study uses Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, which explains that human actions are shaped by meaning and behavior (Mannheim & Hardiman, 1991). It identifies three types of meaning: objective (shared by the community), expressive (personal feelings), and documentary (symbolic or cultural significance) (Baum, 1999).

Method

This study uses a descriptive qualitative method with field research to explore the social and symbolic meanings of the *pager wojo* ritual in its natural religious context (Irkhamiyati, 2017; Sugiyono, 2008). The research was conducted at UIN Saizu Purwokerto, focusing on the Pagar Nusa martial arts group, which includes the recitation of *Ayat Kursi* as part of their spiritual protection. A sociological approach is important in Living Qur'an studies because it helps explain how people individually and collectively engage with the Qur'an beyond reading, by embodying it in daily life (Junaedi, 2015).

To collect meaningful data, the research used observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Observations took place during Pagar Nusa training and rituals, while documentation included organizational records, photographs, and recordings. Interviews helped reveal the personal, communal, and religious meanings of the *pager wojo* practice. A total of 23 informants

were selected through purposive sampling, covering various roles, genders, and skill levels. One key figure was Gus Sugeng Riyadi, a spiritual guide and trainer who has a direct link to the chain of transmission (*sanad*) of the *pager wojo* ritual.

Data were collected through observation, interviews, and documentation. The analysis followed the Miles and Huberman model, which includes three steps: reducing the data, displaying it, and drawing conclusions (Soehada, 2018). To interpret the findings, Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge theory was used, focusing on three layers of meaning: objective (shared purpose), expressive (personal meaning), and documentary (cultural and historical context) (Baum, 1999).

Through this methodological framework, the study seeks to provide a nuanced and multi-layered understanding of how the Qur'an—particularly Ayat Kursi—is experienced, embodied, and ritualized within the context of a local martial arts tradition rooted in both Islamic and Javanese cultural values.

Finding and Discussion

The following section describes the origins and significance of Pencak Silat Pagar Nusa, a traditional Indonesian martial arts organization rooted in both cultural heritage and Islamic spirituality. As a form of pencak silat, this martial art not only focuses on physical self-defense but also integrates deep spiritual and moral values. Pagar Nusa serves to preserve and promote the legacy of the Walisongo, the revered Islamic saints who played a key role in spreading Islam across Java.

A Brief History of Pencak Silat Pagar Nusa

Pencak silat, an Indonesian traditional martial art that combines self-defense techniques and spiritual elements, has deep historical roots in the nation's culture (Maryono, 1999; Paetzold & Mason, 2016). Within this broader martial arts tradition, Pagar Nusa stands out as a significant organization that bridges Islamic spirituality with martial practice. Pagar Nusa is a pencak silat organization operating under the auspices of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Indonesia's largest Islamic organization. It is tasked with preserving and developing the martial arts heritage of the Walisongo—the nine Islamic saints credited with spreading Islam in Java in particular, and Indonesian martial culture more broadly.

The establishment of Pagar Nusa reflects what Woodward (2011) describes

as the syncretic nature of Indonesian Islam, in which local cultural practices are integrated with Islamic teachings. Pagar Nusa was formally established on January 3, 1986, at the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School (*pesantren*) in Kediri, East Java. Its official recognition by NU was ratified through a decree issued on 9 Dhul Hijjah 1406 AH / July 16, 1986. This recognition stemmed from growing concerns over the declining presence of martial arts within Islamic boarding schools (Pimpinan Pusat Pagar Nusa, 2020).

Pesantren have long served as centers for preserving both religious and cultural traditions. According to Dhofier (1980), they play a crucial role in maintaining traditional knowledge. One tradition that began to fade was martial arts training, which historically had been part of the *pesantren* experience. In the past, religious leaders were not only spiritual guides but also warriors believed to possess *karomah*—miraculous abilities granted by Allah to pious individuals, often manifested as spiritual authority or extraordinary powers beyond normal human capacity. As this tradition declined, the establishment of Pagar Nusa emerged as a response to revive and preserve the martial skills once integrated into *pesantren* life.

On January 13, 1986, a key meeting at Lirboyo *pesantren* brought together martial arts leaders from several regions. They first proposed the name IPSNU (Nahdlatul Ulama Pencak Silat Association), but it was later changed to Pagar Nusa—short for “the fence of NU and the nation”—by K.H. Mujib Ridwan of Surabaya. Since then, Pagar Nusa has grown nationwide, including at UIN Saizu Purwokerto, showing how Islamic organizations adapt to contemporary needs while maintaining traditional roots. As an official body under NU, it benefits from NU’s wide-reaching influence.

Pagar Nusa also possesses a distinctive emblem or logo, rich in symbolic meaning. The logo features a globe, marked with latitude, longitude, and the equator, with a trident placed at its center. Encircling the top of the globe are nine stars, symbolizing the Walisongo (the nine saints), with the central top star rendered larger than the others. Above the stars is a semicircular inscription that reads “Pencak Silat Nahdlatul Ulama.” Below the Arabic inscription *la ghaliba illa billah* (there is no victor except through Allah) is the name “Pagar Nusa,” placed on a ribbon that encloses the globe. The logo is further framed by a pentagon-shaped curved line and three parallel edge lines following the curve (Tim Penyusun, 2017).



Figure 1. Pagar Nusa's Logo

Pagar Nusa UIN Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto

The establishment of Pagar Nusa at UIN Saizu Purwokerto reflects the decentralized nature of Islamic practice in Indonesia (Feener, 2007). This branch was formed in the Banyumas region by martial artists who had trained in various areas and wanted to continue developing their skills. They united with the shared goal of introducing and sustaining Pagar Nusa activities within the academic setting of UIN Saizu Purwokerto (F. M., personal communication, December 23, 2024).

Pencak Silat Nahdlatul Ulama Pagar Nusa at UIN Saizu Purwokerto was officially established on December 17, 2018, under its original name, Pencak Silat Nahdlatul Ulama IAIN Purwokerto. At the time, it was part of the Pencak Silat Student Activity Unit (UKM) at IAIN Purwokerto, which comprised three martial arts groups: the Setia Hati Terate Brotherhood, Tapak Suci, and Pagar Nusa. Following the transformation of IAIN Purwokerto into UIN Prof. K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, all affiliated units, including Pagar Nusa, adopted the new institutional name. Thus, the former Pagar Nusa district IAIN Purwokerto officially became Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto (Tim Penyusun, 2022).

The integration of martial arts practices within academic institutions exemplifies what Lukens-Bull (2005) describes as the modernization of Islamic education in Indonesia, where traditional religious practices are incorporated

into contemporary educational frameworks. Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto operates within the campus of UIN Prof. K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, located at Jalan Ahmad Yani No. 40-A, Karanganjing Village, Purwokerto District, Banyumas Regency, Central Java. The organization functions as one of the officially recognized student martial arts units at UIN Saizu Purwokerto (Tim Penyusun, 2022).

Pagar Nusa is a martial arts group under Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) that brings together NU members skilled in *pencak silat*, which combines sport, culture, and self-defense, while supporting NU's goal of spreading *ahlu al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* values (Tim Penyusun, 2017). These values reflect the mainstream Sunni Islamic tradition in Indonesia (Kersten, 2007). To carry out this mission, the organization depends on instructors who understand both martial arts and the group's spiritual principles. At Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto, members advance through seven belt levels, each with a specific color combination showing their rank and progress (N. K., personal communication, December 23, 2024).



Figure 2. Belt levels

Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto, like other branches, holds regular training sessions three times a week, covering physical skills, techniques, and campus-specific martial arts styles (N. K., personal communication, December 23, 2024). Its spiritual aspects are maintained through *ziarah* (pilgrimage) to the graves of Islamic saints in the Banyumas area, which take place every Friday and include *tahlil* (recitation of “la ilaha illa Allah”) and the study of *kitab kuning* (classical Arabic Islamic texts). These practices help ensure that the branch stays aligned with the core principles set by Pagar Nusa's central leadership and its founding figures (I. W. N., personal communication, December 21, 2024).

The combination of martial arts and spiritual practices shows how Islamic values are practiced in everyday life—a concept known as the Living Qur'an. At every training session, members begin and end with the communal recitation of *pager wojo*, led by a senior or trainer. This includes moments of reflection, *sholawat*, and the recitation of Surah al-Fatihah. In addition, members also practice *pager wojo* individually after their daily prayers.

A Brief History of the Ritual Pager Wojo

The ritual of *pager wojo* adds to the study of how Muslims live out the Qur'an in their daily lives. This practice originated from Javanese traditions that once involved calling upon jinn for protection. It used to be called *tameng wojo* or *lembu sekilan* and often included the *basmalah* along with prayers directed to beings other than Allah. The incantations used in these older versions of *pager wojo* included phrases such as:

“*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim, bismillah Muhammad Rasul, kakang kawah adi ari ari simbah mulia nyi mbah rantansari kawulo nyuwun katuranggan jurus kawulo kagem kabaurekso, la haula wa la quwwata illa billah*”

This practice reflects the syncretic nature of Javanese spirituality, where pre-Islamic beliefs coexisted with Islamic elements (Ricklefs, 2007; Woodward, 2011). Historically, *tameng wojo* or *pager wojo* was a prayer directed to Mbah Rantansari, not to Allah, even though it used the *basmalah*. Phrases like “Simbah Mulia Nyi Mbah Rantansari” show that the ritual honored a jinn figure believed to take her form. The mantra was considered sacred, had to be memorized, and was not written down (S. R. Sy., personal communication, September 22, 2024).

The transformation of *pager wojo* from a Javanese (*kejawen*) spiritual chant into a ritual based on Ayat Kursi reflects what Islamic reformers call the purification (*tahdhib*) of religious practices. This change was initiated by Mbah Imam Mustajab of Gedongsari, Prambon, Nganjuk. He aimed to address three concerns: the risk of *ujub* (spiritual pride), the invocation of beings other than Allah Swt, and the need to instill stronger religious discipline among *santri* (Islamic students). To address these, he replaced the old formula with Qur'anic recitations, especially Ayat Kursi (S. R. Sy., personal communication, September 22, 2024).

This transformation reflects what Bruinessen (2013) calls the ongoing

negotiation between local traditions and Islamic orthodoxy in Indonesia. Today, *pager wojo* is practiced as an *amaliyah* (spiritual act) for seeking divine protection. It is a form of *dhikr* rooted in Qur'anic recitation, especially Ayat Kursi, aimed at bringing the practitioner closer to Allah Swt. Besides personal protection, it also serves as a spiritual shield (*pageran*) for guarding valuables or possessions (Sjaichudin, 2004).

Using Qur'anic verses for protection is common in Islamic traditions (Nasr, 2003; Sells, 2001). *Pager wojo* is passed down through *ijazah* (authorization) and preserved through a scholarly chain (*sanad*). This chain began with Mbah Imam Mustajab and was continued by Sheikh Achmad Sjaichudin, then to S. R. Sy., who now oversees the practice at Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto (S. R. Sy., personal communication, September 22, 2024).

The *sanad* of *pager wojo*, now held by Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto, comes through Gus Sugeng Riyadi. This practice continues today and also functions as a form of *da'wah* (Islamic outreach), showing that Pagar Nusa is not only a martial arts group but also part of the broader Islamic tradition of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah (Q. C., personal communication, December 24, 2024).

Pager Wojo Ritual Practice in Pagar Nusa UIN Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto

The practical implementation of *pager wojo* at Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto exemplifies what Living Qur'an scholars describe as the "lived experience" of Qur'anic texts, where verses are actively integrated into daily spiritual routines (Mawani et al., 2025; Nurmasitah & Muliiono, 2021). Like other *amaliyah* (spiritual practices), *pager wojo* follows a specific set of procedures and can be performed individually or in groups (S. R. Sy., personal communication, September 22, 2024). At UIN Saizu Purwokerto, it is usually practiced communally before and after regular training sessions, led by trainers or senior members (N. K., personal communication, December 23, 2024). This structured form reflects the formalization of popular religious practices within institutional frameworks, as noted by Feener (2007) and Woodward (2011).

The *pager wojo* ritual at Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto follows six steps. First, it is held every Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday at 14:30 WIB before training and again at 18:00 WIB after training, led by a trainer or the highest-ranking member. Second, everyone must perform *wudu* (ablution) before starting; female members also do *wudu* even if not ritually pure, since

Ayat Kursi is recited silently. Third, the ritual is done in a kneeling (*simpuh*) position, facing the qibla or as adjusted, with the head lowered and hands on the thighs. Fourth, it begins with Surah al-Fatihah, followed by reflection on the Prophet Muhammad Saw, his companions, and the respected scholars of the Pagar Nusa tradition. Fifth, participants inhale through the nose while saying “Ya-Hu” silently, hold their breath while reciting Ayat Kursi internally, then exhale through the mouth saying “Allah.” Sixth, the ritual ends with a group recitation of *sholawat* (N. K., personal communication, December 23, 2024).



Figure 3. *Pager Wojo* Ritual Practice in Pagar Nusa

The *pager wojo* ritual practiced at Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto is fundamentally a form of *dhikr*, with the primary aim of drawing the practitioner closer to Allah Swt. Beyond spiritual proximity, the ritual also serves a protective function—seeking divine assistance and safeguarding the practitioner in difficult or threatening situations. *Pager wojo* further functions as a *pageran* (spiritual shield), believed to protect the home from unseen disturbances, such as interference from supernatural beings or negative energies in the surrounding environment.

The *pager wojo* ritual includes the recitation of several Qur'anic verses. Before practicing it, followers are advised to perform *tirakat*, or spiritual preparation, to increase the ritual's effectiveness. *Tirakat* also helps strengthen the spiritual bond between teacher and student, reflecting the transmission of religious knowledge through *sanad ilmi* (chain of scholarly transmission). The verses recited in the ritual are Surah al-Fatihah and Ayat Kursi. Al-Fatihah is read at the beginning as an opening prayer, while Ayat Kursi forms the main part of the recitation (S. R. Syamsuddien, personal communication,

September 22, 2024).

Surah al-Fatihah is seen as the gateway to all goodness and is recited at the start of any important act. It is known as “*the Opening*” and often called *umm al-kitab* (mother of the Book), symbolizing its central role in the Qur’an. This surah is believed to bring healing, peace of mind, protection from harm, and help in times of trouble. It is also an expression of gratitude to Allah Swt and represents the essence of prayer. As explained by M. Quraish Shihab (2002), al-Fatihah is at the heart of all *du’a*, making it a vital part of ritual worship.

Surah al-Baqarah verse 255, known as Ayat Kursi, is considered the most powerful verse in the Qur’an. It repeatedly mentions the name of Allah Swt and highlights His divine qualities, which remove doubts about His greatness and protection. According to M. Quraish Shihab, Ayat Kursi strengthens the reciter’s faith in Allah’s power and constant help, making it natural to believe that those who recite it are protected from satanic influences (M. Q. Shihab, 2002). The following is the meaning of Ayat Kursi:

“Allah - there is no deity except Him, the Ever-Living, the Sustainer of [all] existence. Neither drowsiness overtakes Him nor sleep. To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth. Who is it that can intercede with Him except by His permission? He knows what is [presently] before them and what will be after them, and they encompass not a thing of His knowledge except for what He wills. His Kursi extends over the heavens and the earth, and their preservation tires Him not. And He is the Most High, the Most Great”.

The primary function of Ayat Kursi above is to provide protection from all forms of evil, including disturbances caused by devils and malevolent *jinn* that seek to influence or overpower the self. Additionally, it serves as a powerful expeller of negative energy present in one’s surroundings (S. R. Sy., personal communication, September 22, 2024). The use of this specific Qur’anic passage in spiritual practice reflects its well-established significance in Islamic tradition, as documented in both classical and contemporary Islamic scholarship (Al-Qurtubi, 2003; Ibn Kathir, 1999).

The Meaning of the Recitation of Qur’anic Verses in the Pager Wojo Ritual

The analysis of meaning within the *pager wojo* ritual contributes to the broader field of Living Qur’an studies, which explores how Muslim communities interpret and apply Qur’anic texts in their daily lives (Lukman, 2022; Rafiq,

2014). The Qur'an serves as a comprehensive guide for life—offering a framework for social transformation, a pathway out of oppression, a source of light amid darkness and ignorance, and a driving force toward a better and more ethical life. As Junaedi (2015) notes, the verses of the Qur'an function as a remedy for the various challenges and problems encountered in human life.

The recitation of Qur'anic verses in the *pager wojo* ritual at Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto can be understood through Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge. This theory, often used in Islamic studies in Indonesia, helps explain how religious meanings are shaped by social context (Bruinessen, 2013; Woodward, 2011). Mannheim argues that beliefs and ideas are influenced by the environment in which they develop, meaning that the same ritual or expression may hold different meanings depending on its cultural and social setting (Hamka, 2020).

The sociology of knowledge studies how thought and society influence each other, especially in modern contexts, and seeks to understand how ideas relate to actions (Mannheim & Hardiman, 1991). According to Mannheim, human behavior involves both meaning and action, and social practices should be analyzed through both internal intentions and outward expressions. He identifies three types of meaning: objective meaning (shared and universal), expressive meaning (personal and emotional), and documentary meaning (linked to cultural and historical context) (Baum, 1999). This framework helps explain the complex meanings behind rituals like those practiced in Pagar Nusa.

Objective Meaning

Objective meaning refers to the values or intended purposes derived from the social context in which an activity occurs (Baum, 1999). This type of meaning is used when one seeks to understand the foundational or original intent behind a practice. In the case of *pager wojo*, its objective meaning is shaped by the social realities of the practitioners and can vary when interpreted within the framework of Islamic legal and textual traditions. At Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto, the *pager wojo* ritual is routinely performed before and after martial arts training sessions, as well as after completing daily prayers. Through this repetition, the ritual cultivates specific spiritual behaviors and habits among its members.

The objective meaning embedded in the *pager wojo* ritual is rooted in the *ijazah* (authorization) granted by traditional teachers and Kiai of earlier

generations. For the members of Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto, this practice functions as a spiritual discipline aimed at drawing closer to Allah Swt, invoking divine protection, and safeguarding their homes and possessions from unseen disturbances. As a form of *amaliyah*—pure *du'a* and *dhikr*—*pager wojo* primarily serves to repel harm (*bala*) and protect the practitioner from negative influences and spiritual threats.

Thus, in the quest to attain closeness to Allah Swt, the *pager wojo* ritual operates as a *wasilah* (means or intermediary) for *dhikr*, through which practitioners seek protection for both body and soul. As stated by Rizal, a member of Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto:

“*Pager wojo* is a practice that aims to get closer to Allah Swt, aims to protect the body and spirit and aims to *dhikr* to Allah Swt” (R. A, personal communication, September 22, 2024).

Training sessions at Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto are conducted three times a week, with sessions on campus typically lasting until just before *Maghrib* prayer. This timing exposes members to both physical and spiritual vulnerability, potentially subjecting them to harmful influences—whether *maujud* (visible) or *ghaib* (unseen). For this reason, the *pager wojo* ritual is performed as a protective measure against negative forces. As stated by Ifdal, one of the trainers at Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto:

“Every time the Pagar Nusa training begins, the *pager wojo* ritual is always performed because *pager wojo* is believed to be able to fortify ourselves from the supernatural. The purpose of the *pager wojo* ritual is to get closer to Allah Swt and pray to Allah Swt so that we are protected from bad things that are *maujud* or supernatural” (I. F, personal communication, September 15, 2024).

In addition, the *pager wojo* ritual performed by members of Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto holds significance as a spiritual shield or antidote against negative influences. This meaning was emphasized by Arini Khawasalngilmi, one of the members of Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto, who stated:

“*Pager wojo* is a practice authorized by Gus Sugeng Riyadi aimed at fortifying ourselves and warding off something negative or mystical” (A. K, personal communication, September 15, 2024).

Prayer (*du'a*) is a key way for humans to get closer to Allah Swt. It shows humility and reliance on the Divine, as humans are naturally drawn to hope, which is expressed through prayer (Shihab, 2018). The Qur'an clearly

commands prayer in Surah al-Mu'min, verse 60, where Allah instructs His servants to call on Him and warns that those who arrogantly refuse to pray will be humiliated (Sambas & Sukayat, 2007).

Expressive Meaning

Expressive meaning relates to the values or intentions shaped by a person's personal background and inner motivations. How someone understands a practice often depends on their life experiences—such as being deeply religious, influenced by local beliefs, or part of a spiritually rich community. In the case of the *pager wojo* ritual at Pagar Nusa, each practitioner's unique background influences how they interpret and experience the ritual (Nurrohman, 2021).

The expressive meaning of the *pager wojo* ritual was explored through interviews with members of Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto. Many interpret the ritual as a prayer that brings inner peace and emotional clarity. As stated by Qoshmal, a member of Pagar Nusa and an alumnus of UIN Saizu Purwokerto:

“*Pager wojo* aims as a reassuring medicine when in a situation of fear. Once upon a time, I was in a forest where it was very quiet at night. At that time I felt anxious about my situation in the forest, afraid of unwanted things happening. I did the *pager wojo* practice, alhamdulillah my heart felt calmer and more relaxed again” (Q. C, personal communication, December 24, 2024).

In Islamic teachings, inner peace is referred to as *nafs al-muṭma'innah*—a tranquil soul or heart that consistently turns toward Allah Swt. Such a heart is continuously engaged in *dhikr* (remembrance of Allah), striving to maintain closeness to Him. As a result, it remains steady, free from anxiety, confusion, hesitation, or fear, because it finds reassurance in the constant remembrance of Allah. In essence, *dhikr* is a fundamental act of worship in Islam, offering immense spiritual benefit and reward. Through *dhikr*, a person is reminded that they are never truly alone, for Allah is always near (Widiyanti, 2022).

Peace of mind is also understood as a psychological state that arises from one's faith. True belief in Allah Swt is the source of this serenity; however, belief does not arise spontaneously—it must be nurtured through regular *dhikr* (Sari, 2015). In addition, in practice, the *pager wojo* ritual is also interpreted as a *pageran*—a spiritual shield—to protect the body from various physical ailments. This understanding is based on personal experience, as expressed

by Afwi Aonilah, one of the members of Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto, who stated:

“*Pager wojo* is a practice to fence the body and can be used to cure diseases. The experience I feel after practicing the *pager wojo* ritual is that the body feels more fit, relaxed and calm because when practicing it the disease in the body is slowly expelled along with the breath released” (A. A, personal communication, September 15, 2024).

Allah Swt is the ultimate source of protection and help. However, people may sometimes doubt whether He will truly assist them in hard times. To strengthen this belief, one must remember Him through *dhikr*, which brings spiritual strength and reassurance (Husnia, 2018). When facing challenges, believers find peace in trusting that Allah will help, as affirmed in Q.S. Al-Imran verse 150. Strong faith in His promises brings calm and confidence to the soul (Husnia, 2018).

The practice of *dhikr* in the Qur’an—especially the recitation of Ayat Kursi—serves different purposes depending on the person’s intentions. At Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto, the *pager wojo* ritual is often used for basic spiritual protection, such as guarding one’s home. By reciting Ayat al-Kursi, members believe they are asking for Allah’s protection, trusting that He watches over all creation without difficulty. This belief is supported by Q.S. al-An‘am verse 61, which explains that Allah assigns angels to protect every living being (Shihab, 2002). In short, every Qur’anic practice holds spiritual power, and its effect depends on the faith and needs of the person performing it.

The *pager wojo* ritual practiced by members of Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto has been shown to yield positive effects and serves a range of purposes for its practitioners. Each member interprets the ritual’s meaning through the lens of their personal experiences and individual history. For some, *pager wojo* acts as a source of inner calm and spiritual reassurance; for others, it serves as a means of protection against individuals with harmful intent, a method for healing physical ailments, or a *pageran*—a spiritual shield—to purify and safeguard haunted or spiritually disturbed spaces, such as residences.

Documentary Meaning

Documentary meaning refers to the implicit values or purposes embedded in an action—often unnoticed by the individuals performing it—which reflect broader cultural or traditional frameworks (Hayati, 2020). This meaning becomes visible when a practice reveals collective patterns that express and preserve a community's lived cultural values.

The *documentary meaning* derived from the *pager wojo* ritual at Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto can be identified in several ways. First, from the content of the practice itself—namely the recitation of Ayat Kursi—it is evident that the ritual shifts the reliance on supernatural entities such as *jinn* or spirits, once common in older traditions, toward a reliance on divine protection from Allah Swt. This transformation, though perhaps unconscious, represents a revitalization of the Qur'an in daily life, as demonstrated by the central role of Qur'anic recitation in the ritual.

Second, the *pager wojo* ritual serves as a medium for *da'wah* (religious outreach). As an autonomous body under Nahdlatul Ulama—Indonesia's largest Islamic organization—Pagar Nusa actively upholds Islamic values and contributes to the development of Islamic scholarship. Therefore, the incorporation of the *pager wojo* ritual within Pagar Nusa's framework aligns well with its mission and offers a culturally grounded form of preaching through martial arts.

Third, the ritual reflects a deep-seated tradition of student obedience and respect toward religious teachers. In Islamic tradition, obedience to one's teacher includes honoring their words, showing deference during instruction, and faithfully carrying out their teachings—especially when those teachings are spiritually beneficial. The practice of *pager wojo* has been transmitted across generations, from Mbah Imam Mustajab of Kedungsari, Prambon, to current members of Pagar Nusa at UIN Saizu Purwokerto, through the guidance of Gus Sugeng Riyadi. As expressed by Listia Kurniati, a member of Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto:

“*Pager wojo* is a practice passed down by Gus Sugeng Riyadi which aims to fortify ourselves from something supernatural” (L. K, personal communication, September 16, 2024).

Fourth, the *pager wojo* ritual represents a form of local cultural content rooted in Javanese tradition. As a spiritual practice, it indirectly contributes to the preservation of Javanese cultural heritage. Historically, *pager wojo* predates

the arrival of Islam in Java and was originally performed using *mantra* or incantations directed toward supernatural beings other than Allah Swt. Over time, Islamic scholars transformed this ritual by replacing such elements with Quranic recitations—most notably Ayat Kursi—thereby aligning the practice with Islamic monotheism while retaining its cultural framework. In this way, the *pager wojo* ritual exemplifies how local traditions are preserved and recontextualized through the process of Islamization, allowing the Javanese community to maintain cultural continuity within an Islamic worldview.

Conclusion

The *pager wojo* ritual, as introduced by Gus Sugeng Riyadi Syamsuddien and routinely practiced by members of Pagar Nusa UIN Saizu Purwokerto, exemplifies a meaningful embodiment of the Living Qur'an phenomenon. This practice involves the recitation of Ayat Kursi combined with specific breathing techniques, functioning both as a form of *dhikr* and spiritual protection. It is performed collectively during training sessions and individually after the five daily prayers.

Using Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge framework, the study identified three dimensions of meaning within the *pager wojo* ritual. First, the objective meaning encompasses the intention to draw closer to Allah Swt, to seek His protection, and to repel negative energy. Second, the expressive meaning, as articulated by practitioners, includes its role as a calming prayer recited routinely after obligatory prayers, a remedy for physical ailments, a protective shield (*pageran*) for personal belongings or residences, and a tool for warding off negative energy in spiritually disturbed locations. Third, the documentary meaning reflects deeper cultural and religious values: the ritual serves to revive the Qur'an through the recitation of Ayat Kursi as a form of *dhikr*; it functions as a vehicle of *da'wah* through Pagar Nusa, an autonomous body of Nahdlatul Ulama; it symbolizes students' obedience to their teacher, continuing a chain of knowledge transmission (*sanad*) while seeking spiritual blessings; and it preserves Javanese cultural heritage by embedding Islamic values into a localized spiritual practice.

The findings of this study have broader implications for understanding how sacred texts such as the Qur'an are not only recited but embodied in everyday life, particularly within culturally rich environments like traditional martial arts communities. The *pager wojo* ritual demonstrates the potential of religious practices to serve as tools for spiritual education, cultural continuity,

and community identity formation. This highlights the importance of supporting local expressions of Islamic spirituality that remain grounded in scriptural sources while adapting meaningfully to specific socio-cultural contexts.

However, this study also presents certain limitations. First, its focus is context-specific, centering exclusively on the Pagar Nusa community at UIN Saizu Purwokerto, which may limit the generalizability of its findings to other martial arts or Islamic communities. Second, although the study explores psychological and spiritual dimensions, it does not quantitatively assess the impact of the *pager wojo* ritual on participants' well-being. Future research could pursue comparative analyses in other regional settings or employ interdisciplinary approaches—including psychology and health sciences—to more fully examine the broader effects of embodied Qur'anic rituals on practitioners.

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THE VALUE OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION ON LAYANG FASHOLATAN AND ITS RELEVANCE FOR MODIN

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Abstract

The discovery of manuscripts preserved by the community on the slopes of Mount Kawi, specifically in the village of Sumberdem, Wonosari, Malang, is significant and merits further exploration through content analysis. In addition to serving as evidence of the village's identity as an Islamic proselytizing center, these manuscripts deserve to be studied and their contents revealed. One particularly noteworthy manuscript is Layang Fasholatan, which outlines concise guidelines on fiqh, akidah, and morals/tasawwuf that remain relevant in the present context. Its content can also be contextualized with the responsibilities of a village imam/modin, whose role includes leading religious rites such as weddings and funeral processions. Despite the breadth of prior research, few studies have specifically examined the practical relevance of manuscript content to the contemporary roles of village religious leaders such as the modin. This study offers a novel contribution by contextualizing the worship-related teachings in Layang Fasholatan within the lived religious duties of a modin in modern rural

Java. Using a philological approach, content analysis, and in-depth interviews, this study presents a focused analysis of the manuscript, specifically within the scope of *amaliyah/fiqh* and worship. The manuscript provides a concise guide to funeral practices, prayer procedures, devotional supplications (*wirid*), and marriage contract guidelines. This study affirms that *Layang Fasholatan*, with its emphasis on worship practices, aligns closely with the religious functions and practical needs of a *modin*, making it both a historically and contemporarily valuable resource. While the research effectively utilizes philological and content analysis methods, it remains a preliminary exploration focused solely on the *amaliyah* aspect, leaving ample opportunity for future studies to examine its other dimensions and broader applications.

Penemuan manuskrip-manuskrip yang dilestarikan oleh masyarakat di lereng Gunung Kawi, tepatnya di Desa Sumberdem, Kecamatan Wonosari, Kabupaten Malang, merupakan temuan yang signifikan dan layak untuk diteliti lebih lanjut melalui kajian isi. Selain menjadi bukti identitas desa sebagai kawasan dakwah Islam, manuskrip-manuskrip ini perlu dikenali dan diungkapkan isinya. Salah satu manuskrip yang menarik untuk dikaji adalah *Layang Fasholatan*, yang memuat panduan singkat mengenai fikih, akidah, dan akhlak/*tasawuf* yang masih relevan dalam konteks kekinian. Isi manuskrip ini juga dapat dikontekstualisasikan dengan tugas seorang imam atau *modin* desa, yang berperan memimpin pelaksanaan ibadah masyarakat, khususnya dalam prosesi pernikahan dan kematian. Meskipun telah banyak penelitian sebelumnya, sedikit yang secara khusus menelaah relevansi praktis isi manuskrip terhadap peran kontemporer tokoh agama desa seperti *modin*. Studi ini memberikan kontribusi baru dengan mengontekstualisasikan ajaran-ajaran ibadah dalam *Layang Fasholatan* ke dalam praktik keagamaan sehari-hari seorang *modin* di pedesaan Jawa modern. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan filologis, analisis isi, dan wawancara mendalam, studi ini menyajikan analisis terbatas terhadap isi manuskrip dalam lingkup *amaliyah/fikih* dan ibadah. Manuskrip ini memberikan panduan ringkas mengenai tata cara pemulasaraan jenazah, tata cara salat, *wirid* dan doa, serta panduan akad nikah. Studi ini menegaskan bahwa *Layang Fasholatan*, dengan penekanan pada praktik ibadah, sangat selaras dengan kebutuhan religius dan fungsi seorang *modin*, menjadikannya sumber yang berharga dan praktis baik dalam konteks historis maupun kekinian. Meskipun penelitian ini telah berhasil menerapkan metode filologis dan analisis isi secara efektif, studi ini masih merupakan eksplorasi awal yang hanya berfokus pada aspek *amaliyah*, sehingga masih terbuka peluang besar bagi penelitian lanjutan untuk mengkaji dimensi lainnya dan penerapan yang lebih luas.

Keywords: *Islamic manuscript, Layang Fasholatan, modin, philological study, worship education*

Introduction

The village of Sumberdem, Malang, possesses a wealth of religious manuscripts that are scattered and privately kept by several residents. These manuscripts have been digitised and briefly described by the Semarang Religious Research and Development Center (Ridlo et al., 2023). The descriptions provided by the research team serve as an initial step, intended to encourage further analysis and interpretation, so the contents may be more fully understood and utilised.

One particularly interesting manuscript found in Sumberdem is the *Layang Fasholatan*, collected by Mr. Anut Eko Wiyono. This manuscript contains Islamic teachings that broadly address the values of faith (*iman*), worship (*ibadah*), and morality (*akhlaq*), though its content is primarily focused on worship. Subtopics such as prayer guidance and corpse care suggest that *Layang Fasholatan* may have functioned as a handbook for *modin*—village religious leaders responsible for community rituals and religious education. As such, examining the contents of this manuscript may offer insight into the connection between historical *fiqh* practices and the contemporary roles of the *modin*. This article therefore aims to analyse the main themes of the text and reassess their relevance to the duties of the *modin* in today's context.

Previous research on Islamic or *pesantren* manuscripts can be grouped into at least three categories. First, studies that explore educational values within the manuscripts, such as worship education and its relevance to modern systems, divine and human values, or Islamic pedagogical principles (Fodhil & Widyawati, 2022; Harimulyo et al., 2021; Ashoumi, 2020; Suyuthi, 2019; Amalia, 2020). Second, descriptive or preservation-focused studies, including cataloguing and digitisation efforts (Iswanto et al., 2021; Masfiah et al., 2017; Ruchani et al., 2017; Azmi & Abdullah, 2017; Fuadi, n.d.; Halim, 2014; Hamsiati et al., 2021; Maknun et al., 2022; Yamaguchi, 2007; Bustamam, 2017; Muzakir, 2019). Third, developmental studies that investigate the unique features of *pesantren* manuscripts, including corpus linguistics, the use of Pegon Arabic, major Islamic themes, and contextual analyses (Hizbullah et al., 2019; Jahuri & Fauji, 2022; Iswanto, 2015). The current study falls into the third category, as it focuses on examining the content of a specific text.

In a social system, values represent the society's appreciation for what is considered good, noble, and socially functional in the context of collective life. Values act as drivers, guides, and stabilisers of culture (Yulianthi, 2015). Burbecher, as cited in Jalaluddin, divides values into two types: intrinsic and

instrumental (Idi, 2007, p. 137). This classification is based on the nature and impact of the value itself. Intrinsic values are appreciated for their own sake, while instrumental values are valued because they serve a purpose or benefit someone or something else. Based on their origin, values can also be divided into divine values, which come from Allah and His Messenger, and human values, which arise from social consensus.

Islamic education is the process of developing both the human and divine potential inherent in individuals. It serves several key functions: to internalize Islamic teachings and values in order to shape devout and righteous individuals; to advance Islamic civilization; to foster intellectual and spiritual excellence among Muslims; and to promote sustainable education (Mustari & Umiarso, 2020). Therefore, Islamic education plays a crucial role in forming morally grounded, intellectually capable, and socially responsible individuals in a rapidly changing world.

The scope of Islamic education encompasses progress and development grounded in Islamic teachings, while maintaining a balance between physical, intellectual, emotional, mental, and spiritual development. It also includes the realization of the dual human roles as *'abdullah* (servant of God) and *khalifatullah* (vicegerent of God) (Roqib, 2009, pp. 21–22). Based on this scope, Islamic education addresses three key aspects of human life: *i'tiqadiyyah* (belief), *khuluqiyyah* (morality), and *'amaliyyah* (behavior) (Taufiq, 2017, pp. 75–77).

I'tiqadiyyah refers to values related to faith. These values guide and activate the divine potential within humans, fulfill spiritual needs, and offer life guidance. *Khuluqiyyah* pertains to moral education and is divided into three dimensions: morality toward God (*akhlaq ilahiyyah*), toward fellow humans (*akhlaq insaniyyah*), and toward the environment (Suyuthi, 2019). *'Amaliyyah* involves daily actions and behaviors in relation to both God and other people. It is further divided into two areas: worship education and *mu'amalah* education. Worship education concerns one's relationship with God—such as prayer, fasting, and *zakat*—while *mu'amalah* refers to interpersonal conduct, encompassing two domains: *shakhsiyyah* (personal ethics) and *madaniyyah* (social or economic behavior) (Taufiq, 2017).

This study focuses on the *'amaliyyah* aspect, particularly worship education, which serves as a tangible expression of faith and belief—especially as explored through manuscript studies (Fodhil & Widyawati, 2022). In this case, the manuscript discussion can be contextualized with the duties of the *modin*—a religious official or teacher. Linguistically, *modin* may refer to a *mu'adhdhin*

(caller to prayer), a mosque official, or a *lebai* (village religious assistant), with the latter being the most accurate description in rural settings. In many villages, the *modin* is not only the caller to prayer or mosque caretaker but also serves as the imam and religious guide for the community.

The term *modin* is thought to originate from *mu'adhdhin*, but according to Kiai Bisri Mustofa of Rembang, it is derived from *imamuddin*, meaning “religious leader.” Another related term is *Pak Kaum*, derived from *qayyimuddin*, which translates as “religious administrator” (Mustofa, n.d.; Rofidah, 2019). Historically, the *modin* held an official religious role at the village level, reporting to the sub-district-level *penghulu* or *naib*. His responsibilities included overseeing religious matters such as marriage preparations, funeral rites, demographic data, and community welfare. However, over time, the role of the *modin* has become more narrowly focused, primarily on marriage and death-related affairs (Dayanti, 2017; Rofidah, 2019).

The portrayal of the role and performance of a religious official (*modin*) in the past can, to some extent, be reconstructed through written records. Descriptions of their activities and knowledge offer valuable insights into historical, cultural, and intellectual traditions (Buskens, 2017; Dahri, 2022). However, not all aspects of the *modin*'s duties are documented in detail. Historical writers faced material limitations, such as the high cost of paper, which required them to be selective and precise in recording only the most essential content (Fathurohman, 2019; Reisman, 2010; Rustiman, 2023; Ruchani et al., 2017). As a result, what was preserved tended to focus on scholarly subjects and practical religious knowledge applicable to the *modin*'s duties.

In the present day, the study of such manuscripts ideally requires multiple perspectives and multidisciplinary approaches, extending beyond traditional codicological and philological methods. This broader approach allows for the development and dissemination of values and their wider application in contemporary contexts (Fathurahman, 2022; Iswanto et al., 2021; Prastiani & Subekti, 2019). Based on this premise, the current study aims to analyze the contents of a selected manuscript and contextualize its educational values in relation to the present-day role of the *modin*.

The manuscript analyzed in this study is catalogued as MLG-GK/AE.07/IU/2023 and is currently kept at the residence of Mr. Anut Eko Wiyono. The manuscript originates from Canggih Ngalimin, Buyut Sarmo, and Mbah Sadiq, and has been passed down to Mr. Anut, who now holds ownership. The manuscript is written on *daluwang* paper—a traditional paper made from tree

bark (Permana, 2017). Its physical condition is deteriorating; the final section is perforated and partially missing, although the remaining text is still legible. The manuscript measures 21.5 cm by 14 cm, with a text area of 16 cm by 9 cm. It has a thickness of 2 cm and consists of 236 pages, each containing 11 lines of text. The manuscript is written in Javanese Pegon and Arabic, using black ink (Ridlo et al., 2023).

The purpose of this study is to investigate the content of the manuscript in relation to educational values that are still relevant to the contemporary responsibilities and performance of the *modin*. By analyzing the manuscript's themes, particularly those related to worship and community guidance, the study seeks to uncover how historical religious knowledge can inform current practices. This relevance is crucial for understanding the continuity of Islamic educational traditions and adapting them to meet the needs of modern village religious leaders.

Method

This study selected the *Layang Fasholatan* manuscript as its primary subject due to reasons of accessibility and scholarly significance. The researchers reside in Sumberdem Village, located at the foot of Mount Kawi in Malang, where the manuscript is preserved. Uncovering and describing the contents of this manuscript is an important effort to strengthen the Islamic identity of Sumberdem, which has historically been a center for da'wah, at least since the time of Kyai Zakaria II, also known as Eyang Djoego, and Eyang Raden Mas Iman Soedjono.

The physical manuscript is housed at the residence of Mr. Anut Ekowiono in Sumberingin Hamlet, Sumberdem, Wonosari, Malang Regency. It is written in both Pegon and Arabic scripts. Using philological methods, the *Layang Fasholatan* manuscript was examined, read, transliterated, edited, and translated between May and June 2023 (Fathurahman, 2022; Lubis, 2007). The results of this work were then categorized according to the established dimensions of Islamic education: *i'tiqadiyyah* (creed), *'amaliyyah* (practice), and *akhlaqiyyah* (morality). Content analysis was conducted by contextualizing these values within the framework of contemporary Islamic education (Sari et al., 2022).

Furthermore, given that the content of *Layang Fasholatan* closely relates to the knowledge and functions of a village imam or *modin*, the researchers expanded the analysis by contextualizing the text with the current responsibilities and performance of the *modin*. To support this, an in-depth interview was

conducted in June 2023 with one of the *modin* in Sumberdem Village, focusing on the manuscript's content and the contemporary educational needs of the *modin*.

Findings and Discussion

This section presents the key findings and interpretations of the Layang Fasholatan manuscript, focusing on its textual content, religious function, and cultural relevance within the Islamic tradition. By analyzing the structure, language, and thematic emphasis of the manuscript, this study aims to uncover how religious values are preserved and taught through traditional texts. This exploration also sheds light on the role such manuscripts play in shaping religious understanding and practice within local communities.

Manuscript of Layang Fasholatan

The first legible page of the manuscript contains the text of *Surat al-Fatihah*, which continues onto the following page. It is followed by the passage:

“Alamat kang anduweni kitab bagus, kitab partingkahing angadusi mayit lanang wadon kang anyerat kawulo piyambak kang gedhe palelane. Gepang bari abang bara ireng bari” [I have a good book, a book that explains the procedures for bathing the bodies of both men and women, which I myself wrote with great sincerity—a secret cipher whose meaning and purpose are not yet fully understood] (Layang Fasholatan, n.d.).

The “book” referred to here does not indicate the entire manuscript but rather a specific chapter or thematic section on that page, which indeed begins with a discussion on the ritual washing of a corpse. Overall, this *layang* (manuscript) addresses core themes in Islamic teachings, particularly faith (*iman*), worship (*ibadah*), and morality (*akhlaq*). However, the most prominent and dominant focus of the *Layang Fasholatan* manuscript is the value of worship, especially acts of *ibadah mahdah* (ritual worship performed solely for God).

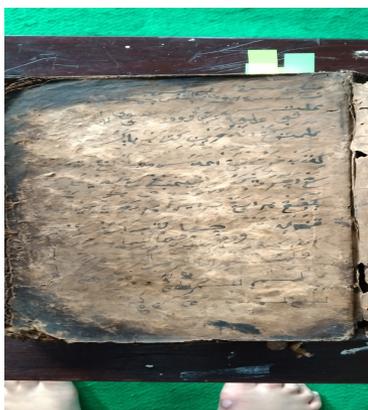


Figure 1. The Manuscript of Layang Fasholatan
Source: research documents

Among the systematic discussions contained in the *Layang Fasholatan* manuscript are various religious practices and intentions (*niyyah*), beginning with the intention to bathe the corpse of a male fetus and the intention to perform *tayammum* (dry ablution). It includes procedures for caring for the body of a deceased baby—whether fully born or miscarried—as well as the intention to slaughter four-legged animals such as goats, cows, and buffaloes, including *aqiqah* and *qurban* (sacrificial) rituals. It also covers the calculation of the night of *Lailatul Qadr*, *tahlil* prayers, general supplications (*du'a*), proper prayer procedures, the intentions for *syukrul wudhu* and *tahiyatul masjid*, the intention for Friday prayer and post-Friday (*ba'da Jumat*) worship, the recitation of *Hizb al-Bahr*, supplications after the *adhan*, and various *tirakat* (ascetic) practices, including those related to prayer and fasting, such as *mutih* fasting.

The manuscript also discusses the science of monotheism (*tawhid*), including the attributes of Allah, supplications for alertness (e.g., to avoid sleepiness), *wirid* (remembrance), and the intentions for the five daily prayers along with *sunnah rawatib*. It provides the recitation of *iftitah*, procedures for prayer along with *dhikr* and supplications, and *qunut* prayers. It also includes the intentions for various voluntary prayers such as Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, lunar and solar eclipse (*kusuf* and *khusuf*), and *istisqa* (prayer for rain).

Further sections address *taharah* (ritual purification), including the intention for *ghusl* (ritual bath) after *janabah* (major impurity), menstruation (*haidh*), postnatal bleeding (*nifas*), childbirth (*wiladah*), and wet dreams (*ihtilam*).

It also includes instructions for ritual purification for converts (*muallaf*) and general ritual bathing (*awud*). Additionally, the manuscript contains intentions for both obligatory and recommended fasts—such as Ramadan, making up missed Ramadan fasts, *tarwiyah*, *Arafah*, *Nahar*, *Shawwal*, *nadzar*, *Ashura*, *Ayyamul Bidh*, and fasting on Mondays and Thursdays. These discussions are interspersed with intentions for *sunnah* bathing on Fridays, emphasizing the manuscript's practical approach to everyday religious observance.

The next section discusses *zakat*, outlining intentions for various types, including *zakat mal* (wealth), *zakat fitrah* (alms at the end of Ramadan), and *zakat zuru'* (agricultural produce). These intentions are specified both for individuals and for dependents. The manuscript also includes the intention for receiving *zakat*, highlighting the comprehensive nature of its guidance. Furthermore, it revisits *tawhid* (Islamic monotheism), elaborating on the obligatory attributes of Allah and the five pillars of Islam as foundational elements of faith.

Following that is another discussion on *taharah*, detailing the procedures for *istinja* (cleansing after excretion) and the related supplications when entering and leaving the toilet. It also outlines the obligatory elements of *wudu* (ablution), what invalidates it, and when *ghusl* becomes required. In addition, it addresses what is prohibited for individuals in a state of impurity, including those experiencing *janabah* or menstruation. These discussions reinforce the importance of ritual purity in daily religious practice.

The manuscript continues with a detailed section on prayer, describing its obligatory and valid conditions, its pillars (*arkan*), and invalidators. It further explains the procedures for *adhan* and *iqamah*, along with how to perform the funeral prayer and its associated recitations. This section demonstrates the manuscript's function as both a practical guide and a spiritual reference for community religious leaders.

Additional content includes discussions on the pillars of fasting and prayers sourced from both hadith and Qur'anic excerpts. It also explores the historical and doctrinal development of *raka'at* counts in various prayers. Other topics include Javanese-style supplications, guidelines for selecting land to build a house, and religious commands such as performing Friday prayer and giving charity. The manuscript also addresses intentions related to marriage, words of divorce and reconciliation, the use of *rajah* (amulets), stages of death, signs of the Day of Judgment, and actions that nullify good deeds. Lastly, it discusses classifications of Allah's attributes and includes specific supplications such as *qadha al-hajat* and *thalab al-hajat* (supplications

for fulfilling needs).

The manuscript also includes several hadiths related to *fiqh munakahah* (Islamic jurisprudence on marriage), the intention for the *tarawih* prayer, the recitation of the *tarawih* caller, the number of *rak'ahs* for *tarawih* and *witr* prayers, as well as an explanation of the odd nights of Ramadan. It concludes with an evening prayer. However, the back page is damaged and difficult to read, and the colophon is missing, likely due to the deterioration of the paper.

Based on its systematic structure, *Layang Fasholatan* is a highly complex manuscript. It encompasses both Sufi and *shari'ah* teachings. While it discusses aspects of Sufism, it also contains detailed *shari'ah* knowledge. According to the researcher's analysis, the author presents a balanced approach between the two—bridging outward (physical) religious practices with inward (spiritual) devotion. This balance reflects a broader trend in classical Islamic scholarship, where complex manuscripts often integrated both dimensions of Islamic knowledge.

Furthermore, this integration aligns with the historical characteristics of Javanese Islam, particularly in earlier periods, which consistently sought to harmonize Sufism and *shari'ah* (Anwar, 2023; Nasution & Masyithoh, 2024; Nufus, 2021; Saihu et al., 2021). This synthesis was not only theological but also cultural, reflecting a broader effort to internalize Islamic teachings within the existing Javanese worldview. As such, Islamic texts produced in this context often carried both esoteric (inner) and exoteric (outer) dimensions, addressing ritual obligations alongside spiritual refinement. The *Layang Fasholatan* manuscript, therefore, functions not only as a religious guide but also as a testament to the intellectual and spiritual synthesis that shaped the development of local Islamic traditions in Java.

Values of Worship Education in Layang Fasholatan

In this discussion, the focus is on the value of Islamic worship education found in *Layang Fasholatan*. Based on the analysis in the previous sub-chapters, it can be concluded that the educational values of worship in *Layang Fasholatan* include the following:

Procedures for caring for the dead: including bathing, shrouding, funeral prayer, burial, and *talqin* (the ritual of reminding the deceased of the testimony of faith).

“Bismillahir-Rahmanir-Rahim, this is the intention of bathing a male corpse. *Nawaitu ghusla ‘ala hadha al-mayyiti al-tifli fardan lillahi ta‘ala. Allahu akbar.*”

“If the miscarried child has signs of life, such as crying, then it must be washed and prayed over. If it moves only once, is alive, and has not yet reached the fourth month of gestation, then it is not obligatory to pray over it. It must be shrouded and buried, but not necessarily washed or prayed over.” (Layang Fasholatan, n.d.)

1. The passage above addresses the intention of bathing the corpse of a male infant. The proper intention is: “*Nawaitu ghusla ‘ala hadha al-mayyiti al-tifli fardan lillahi ta‘ala. Allahu akbar.*” For a miscarried fetus without signs of life (not crying or moving), it should still be washed and prayed over. However, if the fetus shows signs of life, such as screaming, then both washing and funeral prayer become obligatory.

If the miscarried fetus moves only once, is considered alive, but the pregnancy had not reached four months, then there is no obligation to pray over or wash the body, though shrouding and burial are still required. If the fetus is from a four-month pregnancy and shows no signs of life, then offering the funeral prayer becomes obligatory.

“The condition for offering the funeral prayer is that the corpse has been washed and shrouded, and has not yet been buried. If the body has already been buried without the prayer being offered, then it is still permissible to perform the prayer—this is known as the prayer over the absent (*salat al-ghaib*), which can be done at the grave site.” (Layang Fasholatan, n.d.)

Thus, one condition for the funeral prayer (*salat al-janazah*) is that the body has been properly washed and shrouded. However, if the person was buried before the prayer could be performed, the individual is considered a *mayyit ghaib* (absent corpse), and the prayer may be performed at the grave. Additionally, it is considered *mustahabb* (recommended) to position the body facing the *qiblah* and to sit at the level of the deceased’s head when offering the prayer.

2. Tayammum Intention

“This is the intention of *tayammum*: *Nawaitu tayammuma listibahatis-salati fardan lillahi ta‘ala*” (Layang Fasholatan, n.d.)

3. The Obligatory Acts (*Fard*) of Ablution (*Wudu*).

There are six obligatory components (*fard*) of ablution. The first is making the intention internally, such as saying: “*Nawaitu raf‘ al-hadathi fardan*

lillahi ta'ala." The intention must be followed immediately by washing the face. The face should be washed from the point where the hairline begins at the top of the forehead to the end of the chin or beard, and from one earlobe to the other. It is also obligatory to wash any facial hair, including eyebrows, eyelashes, mustache, sideburns, and beard, regardless of whether the hair is thick or thin.

The third obligation is washing both hands up to and including the elbows. The fourth is wiping at least a part of the head, whether the scalp or hair. The fifth is washing both feet up to and including the ankles. The sixth is performing all of these steps in the correct order (*tartib*).

4. The Obligatory and Sunnah Elements of Ritual Ghusl (Full-Body Purification). The essential pillars (*fard*) of obligatory *ghusl* are twofold: first, making the intention; second, ensuring that water reaches and flows over the entire surface of the body, including the skin. Among the recommended (*sunnah*) practices during *ghusl* are washing inside the ears, the navel, and the buttocks, as well as removing any physical impurities. Other *sunnah* actions include reciting the *basmalah* (Bismillâh), washing the hands three times, rinsing the mouth, and inhaling water into the nostrils.

5. Acts That Invalidate Ablution (*Wudu*). There are five things that nullify *wudu*: (a) The discharge of any substance (solid, liquid, or gas) from either of the two passages (*qubul* or *dubur*). (b) Sleeping in a position where the buttocks do not remain firmly seated, such as reclining or shifting. (c) Loss of consciousness due to insanity, fainting, or other causes. (d) Physical contact with an adult woman who is not a *mahram*. (e) Touching one's own or another person's private parts (front or back) with the palm or inner fingers.

6. The things that those who are in major impurity should not do, namely for those who are in *janabah* and *haid*. There are five things that are forbidden for the one who is in a state of major impurity: prayer, *tawaf*, preaching, holding and touching the *mushaf*, even if it is attached to something. There are eight things that are forbidden for the one who is in *janabah*: the five things that are forbidden for the one who is in *ghusl*, plus these three things: reciting the Qur'an except for a few recitations for the purpose of seeking blessings, *i'tikaf* in the mosque, and walking around in the mosque. As for what is *haram* for the menstruating person, these are the eight things that are *haram* for the

janabah person, plus two things: fasting and divorce.

7. The procedure for *istinja*. *Istinja* must be done when there is dirt coming out of one of the two ways (*qubul* or rectum), the means of purification can be a liquid wet object, namely water, or using a stone. It is also permissible to do *istinja* using a solid object that is pure and the mat that is around it. However, it is not allowed to use food, drink, or wet objects.

8. Procedure for slaughtering animals.

“[This is the intention of slaughtering a goat: *nawaitu an adzbaha wasiatu ayyaqta‘al khulqum wal mari fardan lillahi ta‘ala*. This is the intention of slaughtering a cow: *an adzbaha baqarata ayyaqta‘al khulqum wal mari fardan lillahi ta‘ala*. This is the intention of slaughtering the buffalo: *nawaitu an adzbaha yad ayyaqta‘al khulqum wal mari fardan lillahi ta‘ala*. Then *takbir* four times. Five things are recommended for those who slaughter *‘aqiqah* and sacrificial animals: reciting the *basmalah*, reciting the *salawat*, facing the *qiblah*. Because in slaughtering it is *sunnah* to recite *takbir*, it is also *sunnah* to recite the *‘aqiqah* prayer: *Allahumma hadhihi ‘aqiqatu waladi fataqabbal minni, damuha bi damiha wa sahmuh bi sahmih wa jilduha bi jildiha wa ‘azmuha bi ‘azmiha wa sha‘ruha bi sha‘riha. Allahummaj‘alha fida‘an liwaladi mina al-nar. Intaha*. This is the intention: *nawaitu an adzbaha min wajdain al-khulqumi fardan lillahi ta‘ala. Allahu akbar* four times. After it is valid, there will be blessings from God.]” (*Layang Fasholatan*, n.d.)

The above discussion is about the intention of slaughtering four-legged animals, such as goats, cows, and buffaloes. It is *mustahabb* for a person who intends to slaughter a sacrificial or *aqiqah* animal to do five things: recite the *basmalah*, recite the *salawat*, face the *qiblah*, recite *takbir*, and recite the *aqiqah* prayer.

9. The intentions of the *fard* prayers (*fajr*, *duhr*, *asr*, and *maghrib*) and the intentions of the voluntary *rawatib* prayers. The text discusses the intentions of the *fard* and *rawatib* prayers, beginning with the intention to pray the *sunnah qabliyah dzuhur*, followed by the *fard dzuhur* prayer and then the *sunnah bakdiyah dzuhur*. “Allahu akbar. [This is the intention of the *sunnah dzuhr* prayer: *usholli sunnata dzuhri...*]” (*Layang Fasholatan*, n.d.). Then it continues as well for the ‘*Asr*, *Maghrib*, *Isha*, and *Dawn* prayers.

10. *Dhikr* and *du‘a* after prayer

11. Obligatory conditions of prayer. The conditions for obligatory prayer in this *layang* are explained as four, namely Islam, puberty, reason, and purity from *haid* and *nifas*.

12. Conditions for the validity of prayer. There are eight conditions for the validity of prayer, the first of which is *tamyiz/mumayyiz*, knowing the *fard* of prayer, being able to distinguish between *fard* and *sunnah* prayers, knowing the entry of prayer time either in reality or with reasonable presumption, covering the *'awrah*, facing the *qiblah* (except in cases of extreme fear and for travelers), being clean from *hadath*, and having the body, clothes, and place of prayer clean from *najis* (impurity).

13. Fardh of prayer. In this *layang*, it is explained that there are 18 pillars / obligations of prayer, namely: the intention, *takbiratul ihram*, standing for those who are able, reading Surah al-Fatihah, bowing (*ruku'*), *tuma'ninah*, *i'tidal*, *tuma'ninah*, prostration (*sujud*), *tuma'ninah*, sitting between two prostrations, *tuma'ninah*, final *tahiyat*, reciting the *tahiyat* while sitting, reciting *salawat* upon the Prophet, order, continuity, and the initial salutation (*taslim*). The 18th *fard* (the final/early salutation of prayer) is divided into three parts: salutation with the heart, the tongue, and the body.

14. Things that invalidate prayer. Among the things that invalidate the prayer are ten: impurity, falling into impurity, exposing one's *'awrah*, gossiping, moving more than three times, eating and drinking, turning one's back to the *qiblah*, changing one's intention, laughing and crying, moaning and making sounds other than recitation (e.g., *dehem*: Javanese) when reciting Surah al-Fatihah and the final *tahiyat*, breaking a pillar of the prayer before it is completed, and adding extra *fard* actions except in reciting al-Fatihah and the final *tahiyat*.

15. Intentions for supererogatory prayers, such as the intention for the prayer of *shukril wudhu*, *tahiyatal masjid*, the supererogatory Friday prayers (*qabliyah* and *bakdiyah*), the Eid al-Adha and Eid al-Fitr prayers, the solar eclipse and lunar eclipse prayers, and the intention for the prayer of *istisqa* (prayer asking for rain).

16. The pillars of fasting. Some texts can only be partially read. Among the fasting pillars that are still legible are the intention and abstaining from anything

that breaks the fast, such as eating, drinking, and intercourse.

17. Intention to fast obligatory fasts, such as Ramadan fasting, making up missed Ramadan fasts, *nadzar* fasts, and expiation fasts.

18. Intention for voluntary fasts, such as the intention to fast on *Tarwiyah*, *Arafah*, *Nahar*, *Shawwal*, *Ashura*, *Ayyamul Baidh*, and fasting on Mondays and Thursdays.

19. Intention for *zakat mal* and *zakat fitrah*.

20. Prayer for receiving *zakat*.

21. Prayers and invocations.

22. Complete recitation of *tahlil*. The text of the *tahlil* recitation begins with:

“A‘udzu billahi minash-shaytanir-rajim, bismillahir-rahmanir-rahim. This is how to read tahlil every Friday night. At the beginning of the recitation, it can be all, like this, reading the intention of al-khairi syaiul lillahil-Fatihah” (Layang Fasholatan, n.d.).

Tahlil is recited every Friday night, beginning with the recitation of *tawassul* and ending with a prayer.

The systematics presented are not grouped but rather dispersed across discussions. For example, one page may address matters of faith, while the next discusses morals, only to return again to the topic of faith. To simplify and organize the content, the discussion of this *layang* can be presented in table 1.

Table 1. Islamic educational values in Layang Fasolatan

Value of <i>I'tiqadiyyah</i>	The obligatory attributes of Allah; the characteristics of the Day of Judgment; the dignity of death; the descent of Lailatul Qadr; the history and origin of the number of raka'ats in prayer; the procedure for choosing land for building a house; <i>rajah</i> .
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Values of 'Amaliyyah	Procedures for caring for the dead: bathing, shrouding, praying, burying, and <i>talqin</i> ; procedures for ablution and obligatory bathing; conditions of ablution and things that invalidate it; prohibited actions during a state of major impurity; procedures for <i>istinja</i> ; procedures for animal slaughter; intention and procedures for the five daily prayers, including their <i>sunnah</i> practices and supplications; obligatory and valid conditions for prayer; intentions for <i>nawafil</i> (supererogatory) prayers; intentions for obligatory and supererogatory fasting; pillars of fasting; intentions for <i>zakat mal</i> and <i>zakat fitrah</i> ; practice of <i>Hizb al-Bahr</i> ; practices of <i>tirakat</i> , <i>wirid</i> , and supplications; recitation of <i>ijab</i> (marriage contract); recitations of divorce and reconciliation (<i>ruju'</i>).
Values of <i>Khuluqiyah</i>	Things that nullify good deeds; keeping Allah present in the heart; proper manners in supplication; the limits of ' <i>aurah</i> ' for men and women, both in general and during prayer.

Worship Education in Layang Fasholatan and the Modin's Role in Sumberdem Village

Modin is a traditional village official and religious teacher with strong Javanese cultural roots (Masfiah et al., 2021; Muslih et al., 2021). The *modin* plays a crucial role in supporting and developing religious activities within the community. Typically, a *modin* assists government officials in designing and implementing religious programs (Kemenag, 2021). In the structure of the village government, the *modin* holds an additional role under the Head of the Service Section. This section includes responsibilities for Early Childhood Education (PAUD), Kindergarten (TK), health, and youth. Religious duties are considered an additional responsibility.

“The inauguration of the Head of Service was carried out officially, and there were changes in 2015. The structure was revised in accordance with new regulations. Initially, I was part of the Welfare Section but was later placed in the Service Section after the law changed. When I was in the Welfare Section, I already handled religious matters. But if you look at it, the Welfare Section is more concerned with development, while the Service Section is focused on public service” (Interview with Mr. Edi Purnomo)

Being involved in religious affairs requires deep engagement, despite these duties being technically “additional” under the Service Section. Nonetheless,

the *modin* actively participates in religious life, especially in matters of death and marriage. His religious knowledge comes from his education at the Raudhatul Huda Islamic Boarding School in Ponorogo, led by Kiai Masrur, which he attended from elementary school.

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The *modin*’s core duties in the community are generally within the domain of *fiqh*, especially during death and marriage rituals. However, when considered more broadly, a *modin*, as a religious leader, is expected to have a strong grasp of all areas of Islamic knowledge: creed (*aqidah*), worship (*ibadah*), and ethics (*akhlak*).

“*Modin* in the sense of *Imamuddin* must also master the science of *fiqh*. Preaching (*da’wah*) is not the primary mission of a *modin*, though it does exist. The method of delivery differs from that of a conventional preacher. Some *modin* do use preaching methods, but most—about 80%—focus on marriage issues. When visiting homes for marriage events, we often convey religious teachings” (Interview with Mr. Edi Purnomo)

The task of preaching in the conventional sense is not the primary duty of a *modin*. However, the *modin* often provides religious guidance and private sessions for residents in need of spiritual services. For example, when someone is getting married, the *modin* offers direction and reinforces religious teachings. In addition, the *modin* also provides one-on-one instruction to new converts, teaching them how to perform prayers and other acts of worship.

“In our village in particular, *alhamdulillah*, several times this month we have led people in converting to Islam. There have been several residents who have converted. The main requirements are sincere intention from the heart and reciting the two creeds (*syahadat*). As part of the *modin*’s duties, we also provide prayer guides and teach them how to pray. They come to our house, and we teach them” (Interview with Mr. Edi Purnomo)

As a religious leader, the *modin* also strengthens his own faith by participating in the *thariqah* (*Sufi order*) congregation every Sunday and Wednesday night.

According to him, Islam encompasses more than just *shari'ah*, and spiritual practices such as *wirid*, prayer, and *dhikr* are essential.

“We recite the *Thariqah Qadiriyyah Naqshabandiyah Sathoriyyah* every Sunday and Wednesday night, independently as *modin*. The reach is wide—covering the southern part of East Java—and some of it is done through online media as well. This is necessary because we must introduce that Islam is not limited to just *shari'ah*” (Interview with Mr. Edi Purnomo)

The discovery of Islamic teachings within manuscripts should be embraced and further developed. These texts reflect the methods of our ancestors, which were deeply rooted in the local culture and traditions of the community.

“In my opinion, we must indirectly follow in the footsteps of our ancestors. Whatever we read today, even the Qur'an, is a legacy handed down from them. The contents of these manuscripts remain highly relevant and must be preserved and developed. Their techniques align with our customs, our region, and our culture, making them more accessible to the community” (Interview with Mr. Edi Purnomo)

In conclusion, much of the *modin's* role is carried out in the domain of *amaliyah* (practical worship and social conduct). In the area of worship, a *modin* is responsible for the preparation and rites concerning the deceased. In the domain of *muamalah*, particularly within the *shakhsiyyah* (personal status) context, the *modin* is tasked with officiating marriages.

The relevance of the value of worship in *Layang Fasholatan* to the performance of the *modin* in Sumberdem Village lies in the fact that the worship education presented in *Layang Fasholatan* can serve as a useful guideline for improving the *modin's* performance. One of the key values of worship emphasized in the manuscript is the procedure for bathing, shrouding, praying over, burying, and *talqin* (reminding the deceased of their faith) of a corpse. Additionally, in offering personalized religious guidance for couples preparing for marriage and for converts to Islam, the *modin* can draw upon the worship education values found in the manuscript, including procedures for purification (*taharah*), prayer, fasting, and zakat.

Notably, the *Layang Fasholatan* includes a specific ritual bath intended for *muallaf* (converts to Islam). The intention for this ritual bath is written as follows: “This is the intention for the bath of a disbeliever who converts to Islam: *nawaitu ghusla li dukhulil islam sunnatan lillahi ta'ala. Allahu Akbar.*” This inclusion

highlights the manuscript's practical role in guiding religious rituals relevant to community needs, especially in the context of conversion.

However, the manuscript provides more detailed treatment of certain acts of worship—especially *taharah* and prayer—while the sections on fasting and zakat are less comprehensive. In the *taharah* section, the manuscript explains procedures in detail, beginning with *istinja*, including the use of water and stones; ablution (*wudu*), the nullifiers of ablution; ritual bathing (*ghusl*); and the intention for *tayammum*. The section on prayer includes step-by-step instructions from the intention and *takbiratul ihram* through to *dhikr* and *du'a*, and also includes the *qunut* supplication.

In contrast, the fasting section only provides the intentions for various fasts, with no explanation of the nullifiers or pillars of fasting. Similarly, in the zakat section, only the intention to pay zakat and a prayer for receiving zakat are mentioned, without further elaboration on the *nisab* (minimum threshold for zakat) or other legal provisions. This suggests that while the *Layang Fasholatan* offers foundational guidance, it assumes prior knowledge or relies on oral transmission for more detailed religious instruction.

Conclusion

The results of this study on the *Layang Fasholatan* manuscript provide further evidence that the systematic structure of chapters in Islamic manuscripts is often not neatly organized. This can lead readers into a blend of classifications that merge creed (*aqidah*), *fiqh*, and morality/*tasawwuf* without strict separation. It is important to note that the complexity of Islamic studies and the tradition of producing intricate manuscripts in the past contributed to this arrangement. Moreover, the nuanced character of Javanese Islam—particularly in its historical development—has consistently sought to strike a balance between Sufism and *shari'ah*. This is also in line with the foundational scope of Islamic education, which is generally categorized into creed (*i'tiqadiyyah*), practice (*'amaliyyah*/jurisprudence), and morality (*akhlaqiyyah*).

The results of this study, particularly its focus on the *amaliyyah*/*fiqh* aspect, affirm the appropriateness of the manuscript's title, which is referred to by the owner or copyist as *Layang Fasholatan*. Its content, which serves as a guide to worship, demonstrates strong relevance to the practical religious knowledge required by a *modin*. Therefore, the dissemination and preservation of this manuscript are both meaningful and significant. It can be inferred that *modin* figures in the past likely relied on such handbooks, which consolidated

practical religious guidance, rather than drawing solely from large and complex *fiqh* texts.

The methods and conceptual framework used in this study have proven valuable in examining the *Layang Fasholatan* manuscript. However, the study remains at a preliminary stage, as it is limited to the philological process, basic description, and initial content analysis of only one aspect—namely, *amaliyyah*. Further research remains wide open, whether through deeper content analysis of other aspects or through broader developmental and contextual studies.

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CRITIQUE OF KHATAM AL-QUR'AN; BETWEEN ORTHODOXY AND CUSTOMARY TRADITIONS IN MINANGKABAU

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Abstract

The tradition of khatam al-Qur'an in Minangkabau represents a synthesis of Islamic principles and indigenous customs, forming a unique cultural framework. Its manifestation varies distinctly between the Minangkabau heartland and its peripheral (rantau/Minangkabau migrants living outside their homeland) regions. On one hand, some practices lean heavily toward Islamic orthodoxy; on the other, they are steeped in customary traditions. Numerous studies have explored the tradition of khatam al-Qur'an in Indonesia, but those within the discourse of custom and Islam in Minangkabau has received relatively little scholarly attention. Therefore, this research seeks to explore the dialectic between Islam and adat (customs) in the celebration of khatam al-Qur'an whether the two remain irreconcilable, or harmoniously blend within the socio-religious life of the Minangkabau people. Employing a normative qualitative approach, this research positions Islam as the benchmark for evaluating the authenticity of khatam al-Qur'an as practiced across Minangkabau society. Data were gathered through fieldwork in both luhak (core regions) and rantau (diasporic extensions) of West Sumatra. The luhak such as Tanah Datar, Agam, and Lima Puluh Kota represent the cultural and historical epicenters of Minangkabau, while the rantau including Padang, Pasaman, and other peripheral areas signify its expansion. Insights were drawn from in-depth interviews with individuals directly involved in the khatam al-Qur'an festivities. Findings reveal that the tradition is observable across all Minangkabau territories. In the rantau, the ceremonies

are generally modest and restrained. Conversely, in the core regions, especially Agam, Tanah Datar, and Lima Puluh Kota, the events are marked by grandeur and solemnity, sometimes at the expense of Islamic values—evident in practices such as the excessive makan bajamba (communal feasting) and parades that obstruct public roads. Khatam al-Qur'an ceremonies should be restructured into purposeful events that foster religious devotion and community unity, with active support from religious leaders, educators, and local authorities.

Tradisi khatam al-Qur'an di Minangkabau merupakan perpaduan antara prinsip-prinsip Islam dan adat istiadat setempat, yang membentuk sebuah kerangka budaya yang unik. Manifestasinya sangat bervariasi antara daerah pusat Minangkabau dan daerah pinggirannya (rantau/perantau Minangkabau yang tinggal di luar kampung halamannya). Di satu sisi, beberapa praktiknya sangat condong pada ortodoksi Islam; di sisi lain, praktik-praktik tersebut sangat kental dengan tradisi adat. Banyak penelitian telah mengeksplorasi tradisi khatam al-Qur'an di Indonesia, namun kajian dalam wacana adat dan Islam di Minangkabau masih relatif sedikit mendapat perhatian akademis. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini berusaha mengeksplorasi dialektika antara Islam dan adat dalam perayaan khatam al-Qur'an. Apakah keduanya tetap tidak dapat didamaikan, atau berpadu secara harmonis dalam kehidupan sosial-keagamaan masyarakat Minangkabau. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif normatif, penelitian ini menempatkan Islam sebagai tolok ukur untuk mengevaluasi keaslian khatam al-Qur'an yang dipraktikkan dalam masyarakat Minangkabau. Data dikumpulkan melalui penelitian lapangan di luhak (daerah inti) dan rantau (daerah perantauan) di Sumatera Barat. Luhak-luhak tersebut—seperti Tanah Datar, Agam, dan Lima Puluh Kota—mewakili pusat-pusat budaya dan sejarah Minangkabau, sementara rantau—termasuk Padang, Pasaman, dan daerah-daerah periferi lainnya—menandakan perluasannya. Wawasan ini diperoleh dari wawancara mendalam dengan orang-orang yang terlibat langsung dalam perayaan khatam al-Qur'an. Temuan-temuan menunjukkan bahwa tradisi ini dilaksanakan di seluruh wilayah Minangkabau. Di rantau, upacara-upacara yang dilakukan umumnya sederhana dan terkendali. Sebaliknya, di daerah inti, terutama Agam, Tanah Datar, dan Lima Puluh Kota, perayaan ini ditandai dengan kemegahan dan kekhidmatan, terkadang dengan mengorbankan nilai-nilai Islam—terlihat dari praktik-praktik seperti makan bajamba yang berlebihan dan pawai yang menghalangi jalan raya. Perayaan khatam al-Qur'an perlu direstrukturisasi menjadi acara yang bermakna untuk menumbuhkan kesalehan religius dan mempererat persatuan komunitas, dengan dukungan aktif dari para pemuka agama, pendidik, dan otoritas lokal.

Keywords: criticism, Islam and tradition, khatam al-Qur'an, Minangkabau culture

Introduction

Reciting the Qur'an is an integral aspect of Islamic jurisprudence. Those who engage in its regular recitation are regarded as individuals committed to virtuous deeds. Numerous Qur'anic verses and hadiths extol the virtues of continuous engagement with the Qur'an. The Prophet Muhammad himself engaged in *tadarus*—a mutual recitation and review of the Qur'an—with the Angel Jibril during the month of Ramadan, as referenced in QS. 75:16–19 and QS. 73:4. The hadith further emphasizes the importance of Qur'anic recitation, encouraging believers to elevate their voices, enhance the beauty of their recitation, preserve memorized verses, and strive for complete memorization of the text. The Prophet recited the Qur'an with Gabriel twice before his death, while prominent companions such as Uthman ibn Affan, Zaid ibn Thabit, Ibn Mas'ud, and Ubayy ibn Ka'ab recited the Qur'an once a week (al-Nazili, n.d., p. 55).

Numerous studies have explored the tradition of *khatam al-Qur'an* in Indonesia, such as those by Yulianti (2021), Agustang (2019), and others. However, *khatam al-Qur'an* within the discourse of custom and Islam in Minangkabau has received relatively little scholarly attention. Some researchers, including Wirdanengsih (2019), Helfi and Hendri (2022), as well as Afifah and Fauzan (2022), have addressed this topic. Wirdanengsih examined the *khatam al-Qur'an* event in Minangkabau in terms of its meaning within the Balai Gurah community, focusing on the intersection of Islam and culture. Meanwhile, Helfi and Hendri investigated the unique local practice of conferring traditional titles upon children who are about to complete *khatam al-Qur'an*—a ritual typically reserved for adults entering marriage in broader Minangkabau society, but adapted in some regions for younger participants. Afifah and Fauzan (2022), on the other hand, centered on the low motivation among students who have completed *khatam al-Qur'an* to re-read the Qur'an.

This research seeks to examine the practice of *khatam al-Qur'an* in Minangkabau, exploring whether it remains rooted in Islamic doctrine or has diverged from it, as revealed through empirical fieldwork. The practice of *khatam al-Qur'an* in Minangkabau reflects a close interweaving of Islamic teachings and customary traditions, giving rise to new cultural expressions that were absent during the era of the Prophet, his companions, and the early generations of Islam. This tradition has been deeply assimilated into local custom, often with a stronger emphasis on cultural elements, whereas in other regions, the Islamic dimension is more prominently emphasized.

Building upon previous studies, this research critically examines the celebration of *khatam al-Qur'an* within the Minangkabau community by using the Qur'an and Hadith as normative benchmarks to assess the religious appropriateness of these festivities. The objective of this study is to evaluate and contribute to the practice of celebrating *khatam al-Qur'an* in Minangkabau, ensuring its alignment with the principles and teachings of the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet. This research is guided by two central questions: First, how is *khatam al-Qur'an* implemented in both the *luhak* (core regions) and the *rantau* (diasporic areas) of Minangkabau? Second, what form does an Islamic critique—grounded in the Qur'an and Hadith—take in assessing the religious validity of these practices as carried out by the Minangkabau community?

There are several arguments supporting the urgency of this research. First, while the concept of *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah* (custom based on Islamic law, and Islamic law based on the Qur'an) is a cornerstone of Minangkabau cultural doctrine, its practical implementation appears to have drifted from the foundational principles of Islam as articulated in the Qur'an and Hadith (Aziz et al., 2020). Second, in the context of *khatam al-Qur'an* celebrations, the customary discourse often takes precedence over the Islamic discourse. Third, increasing emphasis on economic concerns and pragmatic considerations has contributed to the gradual dilution of religious fervor, rendering Islamic practices—including *khatam al-Qur'an*—increasingly perfunctory within the cultural fabric of the Minangkabau community.

Method

This research employs a normative, descriptive qualitative approach, with a focus on Minangkabau local culture as the object of inquiry. The *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremony—viewed as a cultural-religious synthesis between *adat* and Islam—is evaluated using Islamic teachings as the normative framework. It was done particularly within the context of the Minangkabau philosophical maxim *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah* (custom is based on Islamic law, and Islamic law is based on the Qur'an).

Data were collected through direct observation and in-depth interviews with various stakeholders involved in *khatam al-Qur'an* activities, aiming to explore both the ritualistic elements and the personal, lived experiences associated with the ceremony. Observational data focused on the preparatory stages leading up to the event—including rehearsals, logistical arrangements, and

symbolic elements—as well as the actual execution of the ceremony. Interviews sought to elicit perspectives on the spiritual, educational, and social meanings attributed to the event.

Respondents included members of *khatam al-Qur'an* organizing committees, local community leaders, and *guru mengaji* (Qur'anic instructors). In addition, it also involved parents of participants, and broader community members who attended or took part in the ceremonies. These diverse viewpoints provided a comprehensive understanding of how the tradition is interpreted, practiced, and valued within the community.

Fieldwork was conducted across both *luhak* (core) regions—specifically Agam, Tanah Datar, and Lima Puluh Kota (commonly referred to as *darek*)—and *rantau* (diasporic) regions such as Padang and Pasaman. This comparative approach enabled the researchers to analyze regional variations in the celebration of *khatam al-Qur'an*. Moreover, it also offers insights into how geographic context influences the balance between cultural expression and religious adherence in Minangkabau society.

Finding and Discussion

This section presents the findings of the study on the practice of *khatam al-Qur'an* in Minangkabau, focusing on how this religious ritual has evolved into a culturally embedded tradition with both spiritual and social dimensions. While rooted in Islamic practice, *khatam al-Qur'an* in Minangkabau reflects a unique fusion of religious devotion, communal identity, and local custom. The discussion highlights how the ritual has been transformed over time—shifting from a personal act of devotion to a collective event infused with festivity and public celebration—revealing the dynamic interplay between orthodoxy and *adat* (custom) in shaping religious expression.

The Practice of Khatam al-Qur'an in Minangkabau

In Minangkabau, as in other regions of Indonesia, *khatam al-Qur'an* may be performed either individually or in congregation. When performed individually, it is carried out by someone who has completed reading the Qur'an on their own. In a congregational setting, *khatam al-Qur'an* is often observed during events organized by the *nagari* or in schools across Minangkabau, which over time have evolved into distinctive local traditions. Over the years, the practice of *khatam al-Qur'an* has undergone notable transformations. It has shifted toward more socialized and festive forms, and in some cases, it

includes elements of competition in Qur'anic recitation. These activities are typically held in mosques or *mushalla* (prayer halls), and have become central community events.

Local customs have further shaped the nature of the ceremony. For example, it is now common for participants to bring snacks from home, turning the event into a communal celebration. These events are generally scheduled during school holidays and primarily involve children aged 10 to 13, with the busiest season occurring between mid-June and August each year. In Minangkabau, *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremonies are typically held on Sundays to coincide with school holidays, maximizing community participation. However, regional variations do exist. For instance, in the Payakumbuh area, the ceremony is traditionally conducted on Wednesdays, while weddings are usually held on Fridays in accordance with local consensus. What began as a purely religious rite has become deeply integrated into the cultural fabric of Minangkabau society. The ceremony is now adorned with a variety of traditional and symbolic elements. Historical records show that the practice of *khatam al-Qur'an* in Minangkabau dates back to at least 1923 and continues to flourish today (Helfi & Hendri, 2022, p. 351), illustrating its resilience and adaptability.

Islam, as practiced in Minangkabau, is considered a *great tradition*—a deeply rooted and culturally embedded religious framework. In contrast, *khatam al-Qur'an*, as a localized ritual, can be categorized as a *little tradition*, reflecting its community-based and regional character (Nurdin, 2016, p. 50). Despite this distinction, the practice is firmly grounded in the region's core philosophical maxim: *adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah* (custom is based on Islamic law, and Islamic law is based on the Qur'an).

The *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremony in Minangkabau brings together both religious and traditional institutions. These two elements operate in parallel to support and legitimize the event. The ceremony is typically celebrated by hosting a communal feast and inviting members of all sectors of society. According to Wirdanengsih, one of the key effects of *khatam al-Qur'an* celebrations is the promotion of social harmony and neighborly goodwill (Wirdanengsih, 2017, p. 55). These celebrations are often accompanied by the ritual slaughter of livestock, such as cows (*jawi*) or buffaloes, especially in regions like Batang Buo (Wirdanengsih, 2019, p. 18). The number of animals slaughtered is often proportional to the number of participants completing the recitation.

Other traditional elements commonly found in these events include *makan*

bajamba (communal eating), *manyumbang rang rantau* (donations from relatives living outside the region), *arak-arakan* (parades), *mandoa* (collective prayers), and musical performances featuring *talempong*, a traditional Minangkabau instrument (Akbar, 2021). These customs enhance the celebratory atmosphere of the event. Often, the festivities are not confined to a single location but spread across various *khatam* venues, further enriching the communal experience.

The celebratory nature of *khatam al-Qur'an* in Minangkabau finds resonance in early Islamic tradition. The Prophet Muhammad encouraged gatherings at the completion of the Qur'an, acknowledging their spiritual value. It is also reported that Ibn Abbas would attend such occasions, recognizing them as moments when prayers are especially blessed and likely to be answered (Khon, 2013, p. 160).

The Bajamba Eating Tradition: A Tendency Toward Excess

Among the activities associated with *khatam al-Qur'an* that are enthusiastically embraced by participants and the wider community is the communal meal. In many regions of Minangkabau, this meal is often held in the form of *bajamba*—a shared dining practice where participants sit in a circle and eat from a communal plate—or, alternatively, served individually. This practice is not unique to *khatam al-Qur'an* but also features prominently in other major cultural ceremonies, such as *tagak pangulu* (the appointment of tribal leaders), *manjalang mamak* (visiting the maternal uncle), *baralek* (weddings) attended by *bundo kanduang* (matriarchal figures), and *batuka tando* (marriage proposals), among others.

The tradition of *makan bajamba* (communal eating) is believed to have originated in the Koto Gadang area of the Ampek Koto sub-district, Agam Regency, and entered broader Minangkabau society around the 7th or 13th century AD. *Bajamba* meals are typically served on a *talam*—a large copper platter—shared by five to eight people. Men customarily sit *baselo* (cross-legged), while women kneel during the meal. Participants gather around the *talam*, which is filled with rice and various side dishes, and eat without allowing their lips or hands to touch the shared food or each other.

The technique of eating in *bajamba* style involves tossing the rice directly into the mouth to avoid contaminating the food with saliva. If saliva touches the fingers, it is considered a serious breach of etiquette, as those same fingers are used to grasp food shared among the group. This distinctive method is regarded as a core principle of *bajamba* etiquette in Minangkabau (Navis, 1986,

p. 203). Additional etiquette includes refraining from *mancapak* (chewing loudly) and not washing one's hands until the entire group has finished eating (Wiridanengsih, 2019, p. 20).

In Minangkabau tradition, the *bajamba* meal typically features two primary curry variants: white curry and red curry. White curry is prepared using bamboo shoots and offal—such as buffalo, cattle, or goat—cooked in coconut milk. The preparation involves a blend of spices, including garlic, shallots, lemongrass, coriander, bay leaves, turmeric leaves, galangal, ginger, and coconut milk. It is called *white gulai* because it is made without red chili, resulting in a pale or whitish appearance.

By contrast, red curry is prepared with a relatively large amount of red chili, giving the dish a rich red color. This type of curry is categorized as being in the *Keling* (Indian) style. While white curry typically features offal and bamboo shoots, red curry often includes a mixture of jackfruit and meat. Over time, the *bajamba* menu has evolved beyond just white and red curry to include various dishes and flavors, such as fried fish, *asam padeh* (a spicy, sour meat dish without coconut milk), chicken curry, and others.

Originally, the *bajamba* eating tradition was an integral component of traditional ceremonies held in the *rumah gadang* (Minangkabau traditional house) (Wiemar, 2022, p. 1030). Over time, this custom gradually became incorporated into religious activities, particularly within the context of *khatam al-Qur'an* celebrations. It is therefore fitting to consider *khatam al-Qur'an* as a tradition that has been institutionalized and continuously practiced in Minangkabau culture—one whose spirit is firmly rooted in Islamic values.

Bajamba also symbolizes the relationship between men and women within the matrilineal structure of Minangkabau society. What was once a purely customary practice has merged into Islamic religious life, as evidenced by the relocation of activities to mosques, the inclusion of prayers before meals, adherence to Islamic dress codes such as *aurat* coverage, and the segregation of male and female dining spaces. These modifications reflect a conscious integration of Islamic ethics into longstanding cultural traditions.

When *bajamba* is held as part of a *khatam al-Qur'an* celebration in a mosque, the meal is typically served in a space separate from the prayer area. For instance, if the prayer service is conducted on the ground floor, the *bajamba* meal is usually arranged on the upper floor or in another designated room, thereby maintaining the sanctity of the prayer space. Similarly, when the *khatam al-Qur'an* event is held at a school, the *bajamba* meal is generally

organized in a classroom setting, specially prepared for communal dining.

The *bajamba* meal during the *khatam al-Qur'an* event is organized by a dedicated committee responsible for providing all the necessities for communal dining, ensuring that everyone involved is well-served. Guests, particularly community leaders—usually men—are given priority and are seated at the front. These honored guests are provided with all the amenities needed for a comfortable meal, including a complete white *seprah* (eating mat) and a selection of desserts, often featuring various fruits.

The meal typically begins with a *pasambahan*, a traditional rhymed dialogue, often exchanged between tribal leaders, as is customary in Minangkabau ceremonial events. Once the *pasambahan* concludes, the forum leader signals the beginning of the meal, prompting the other leaders to follow. Throughout the meal, if any of the leaders require additional side dishes or other items, the male committee members are readily available to fulfill these needs.

Similarly, the general public participating in the *bajamba* meal is also provided with attentive service. If the guests are exclusively male, male committee members are responsible for bringing additional rice, curry, and other essentials to the table. Conversely, when women are present, female committee members serve the guests, maintaining a gendered approach to hospitality in accordance with traditional Minangkabau customs. The pattern of *bajamba* dining during *khatam al-Qur'an* in Minangkabau differs from communal eating patterns in other regions.

In Minangkabau, the *talam* used for *bajamba* is filled with relatively generous portions of rice and side dishes. Participants usually place all the available menu items onto the *talam* to be shared communally. These side dishes are arranged in the center of the platter, and when coconut milk-based dishes are included, the sauce often overflows and blends across the entire serving surface.

However, this practice of combining various side dishes—despite differences in flavor, texture, and appearance—often results in significant amounts of leftover food. Participants may avoid dishes they personally dislike; for instance, those who are not fond of offal may push it aside, while others may leave behind rice soaked in coconut milk. This selective consumption behavior contributes to substantial food waste, with untouched portions of both rice and side dishes remaining at the end of the meal. The tradition of leaving behind large quantities of leftovers during *bajamba* meals is not only wasteful but also runs counter to the ethical values promoted by Islam—particularly those related to

gratitude, moderation, and respect for sustenance. Such practices highlight a need for greater awareness and adjustment to align cultural rituals more closely with Islamic ethical teachings.

Many Qur'anic verses and hadiths prohibit extravagance, particularly the waste of food. For example, the Qur'an explicitly forbids wasteful behavior in Surah Al-Isra (17:26–27) and advises moderation in Surah Al-A'raf (7:31). The prohibition against wasting food—which is also understood as wasting wealth—is further emphasized in the hadith narrated by Bukhari (No. 1477) (al-'Asqalani, 2001, p. 398), in which the Prophet explicitly warns against squandering wealth, including food. A narration by Muslim (No. 4578) likewise stresses the importance of utilizing food fully. Additional narrations, such as that of Ibn Abi Shaibah (No. 36788), describe severe consequences for communities that fail to appreciate Allah's blessings, including those punished with famine for treating food with disrespect—such as using bread for ritual purification.

The volume of food wasted during *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremonies is considerable. If all the leftovers were collected, they could amount to nearly one-third of the total food initially prepared, including rice, meat, jackfruit, bamboo shoots, and other items. Such wasteful practices are especially common in communities that uphold the *poria party* paradigm, in which the *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremony is treated as an *alek nagari*—a grand communal event involving significant expenditure. As a result, participants often consume food indiscriminately, paying little attention to the costs involved or to the leftovers they leave behind.

This culture of wastefulness is not limited to ordinary community members. Officials—including religious leaders who publicly advocate for moderation and responsible consumption—also participate in these practices. Even the *panghulu* (traditional leaders) engage in what is colloquially referred to as *mambao tungkek rabah* (taking part in wrongdoing), or are likened to fishermen weighed down by their catch—unable to escape a behavior they themselves should be addressing. Ideally, these traditional and religious leaders should collaborate to curb food waste (Navis, 1986, p. 203), but in practice, they too partake in the consumption of leftovers, perpetuating the problem.

In certain regions, there is also a lack of concern for the full utilization of slaughtered animals. For instance, in the Batang Buo area, internal organs such as intestines and stomachs are often discarded because they are considered difficult to clean and process. This results in further waste, not only of food

but of valuable resources.

Some communities make attempts to repurpose leftovers. In these cases, the remaining food from the *bajamba* meal is collected and fed to livestock such as chickens and ducks, or used as fish feed in ponds (Sidi, interview, 2024). However, in many other instances, leftover food is simply discarded—thrown into mosque backyards or nearby gutters—resulting in foul odors and potentially clogging local waterways. These outcomes raise environmental concerns and reflect a troubling disregard for Islamic principles of cleanliness, gratitude, and sustainability.

The phenomenon of food wastage is not limited to Batang Buo but is widespread across several other areas, including Agam (Kayu Tanduk, Pakan Sinayan, Guguak Randah, Garegeh), Tanah Datar (Pagaruyuang, Nagari Tuo, Pariangan, Lintau), and beyond. While both Islam and Minangkabau custom encourage communal meals such as *bajamba*, the practice of leaving large quantities of edible food untouched runs contrary to the values espoused by both traditions. Minangkabau culture places a strong emphasis on thriftiness and the optimal use of available resources, as reflected in proverbs such as “*indak kayu, janjang dikapiang*” (if there’s no wood, even a ladder will be used for firewood) and “*hati gajah samo dilapah, hati tungau samo dicacah*” (an elephant’s heart is divided, and even a mite’s heart is shared).

Interestingly, *khatam al-Qur’an* celebrations in *rantau* (diaspora) areas—such as Rao in Mapat Tunggul Subdistrict, East Pasaman—differ significantly from those in the *luhak* (core) regions. According to Afrizal (Interview, 2024), in these areas, *khatam al-Qur’an* is observed as a simple and modest event, devoid of lavish feasts, parades, or excessive expenditures. The ceremony is carried out solely in the place of study or the mosque, without the slaughtering of goats, public processions, or other additional festivities.

Similarly, in Simpang Tiga and Ophir (Luhak Nan Duo Subdistrict), as well as in Padang Laweh and other areas located along the border between West Sumatra and North Sumatra provinces, *khatam al-Qur’an* is marked by simplicity. According to Pujo Rahayu (Interview, 2024), these communities do not organize long processions, do not involve the general public, and do not prepare extravagant meals. In the Ophir area, food for the *khatam al-Qur’an* celebration is brought by the parents of the participants and shared together in the mosque or *mushalla*, which also serves as the Qur’anic learning center (Lika Kurniawati, Interview, 2024).

Reciting the Azan Before the Khatam al-Qur'an Parade

The recitation of the *azan* during the *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremony typically takes place in the morning, preceding the ceremonial parade that winds through the *nagari*. This call to prayer is usually performed around 08:00 or 09:00 AM local time. Unlike the *azan* that precedes congregational prayers, it is not followed by the *iqamah*. The timing and pace of the *azan* are influenced by the readiness of the *khatam* participants and their entourage.

While the children who complete the *khatam al-Qur'an* serve as the central figures of the ceremony, they are accompanied by additional participants, including parents, members of the marching band, organizing committee members, teachers, and other community members, all gathered to enliven the occasion. Participants assemble in the mosque courtyard to attend the opening ceremony, which is conducted by the event committee. The *azan* is recited prior to the formal proceedings, followed by speeches from the committee chairperson, the school principal, and mosque management. The ceremony culminates in the official launch of the *khatam al-Qur'an* procession, typically officiated by the regent or mayor, who is invited several days in advance.

In Batang Buo, a village in Biaro Gadang, Agam District, the *azan* is chanted at the moment the procession sets off—a tradition not commonly practiced in other Minangkabau regions such as Pagaruyuang or Pariangan. In the *luhak* of Tanah Datar, the *khatam al-Qur'an* procession is accompanied by a different form of celebration. Instead of the *azan*, the event is enriched by the performance of *salawat dulang*—rhythmic praises to the Prophet accompanied by percussion instruments. This practice is upheld in areas like Pagaruyuang and Pariangan, which are revered as the ancestral heartlands of the Minangkabau people, according to the *Tambo Minangkabau*.

From an Islamic perspective, the *azan* is a fundamental ritual call to prayer (*adhan*), signaling the time for the obligatory *salat* and inviting believers to turn away from worldly concerns in obedience to Allah (al-Maqdisi, n.d., p. 292). The Qur'an itself refers to the *azan* in the context of how it was mocked by non-believers, specifically in Surah al-Ma'idah (5:58): "And when you call them to prayer, they take it in ridicule and amusement." Believers are expected to respond to the *azan* by promptly performing their prayers, abandoning trade and other worldly activities, as emphasized in Surah An-Nur (24:37). Similarly, the command to hasten toward prayer upon hearing the *azan* is reinforced in Surah Al-Jumu'ah (62:9).

The establishment of the *azan* was practiced by the Prophet Muhammad

himself, who instructed Bilal to perform the call to prayer. This directive is recorded in several hadith sources, including Bukhari No. 604 (al-Bukhari, n.d., p. 206), Abu Dawud No. 706 (al-Qazwini, n.d., p. 232), and Ahmad No. 23088 (Ibn Hanbal, 2001, p. 178). The hadith regarding the *azan* was later authenticated by al-Albani in his work *Shahih al-Jami' al-Saghir* and is also included in *takhrij* collections such as *Mishkat al-Masabih* (al-Albani, 1985, p. 393).

Beyond its primary role in signaling the five daily obligatory prayers, the *azan* is also permitted in certain exceptional circumstances. These include situations such as encountering jinn, repelling witchcraft, or responding to frightening events, as evidenced by a narration from Jabir ibn Abdillah, recorded by al-Nasa'i (Riyadhi, 2022, p. 11). These uses, however, remain limited to specific religious or protective contexts and are grounded in hadith with clear indications of purpose.

However, the use of the *azan* outside of its legitimate religious contexts—such as before a *khatam al-Qur'an* procession—is not substantiated by the Qur'an or authentic hadiths. There are no reports from the Prophet's companions (*sahabah*), the *tabi'in*, or the *tabi' tabi'in* that suggest the *azan* was employed in cultural or ceremonial settings of this nature. Using the *azan* to inaugurate a *khatam al-Qur'an* event appears to be an attempt to give a shari'ah-based formal tone to what is, at its core, a cultural celebration. This blending can create an impression of religious endorsement for a practice not rooted in prophetic tradition.

The *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremony in Minangkabau culture represents a complex synthesis of Islamic religious practice and local *adat* (custom). The influence of Islam is clearly visible in the role played by religious scholars (*ulama*) and Qur'an teachers (*ustaz*), who are responsible for teaching recitation, evaluating students' proficiency, and leading the ceremonial components of the event. Acts such as communal prayers and fundraising initiatives—often framed as religious obligations to draw support, including donations from Minangkabau migrants throughout Indonesia and abroad—also highlight the strong Islamic presence.

At the same time, the influence of *adat* is evident in the involvement of the *Kerapatan Adat Nagari* (Nagari Customary Assembly), the conferral of customary titles upon children who have completed their Qur'anic studies, and the inclusion of traditional cultural elements such as *talempong* (traditional Minangkabau musical ensembles) and marching bands. This fusion of religious

and cultural elements reflects the Minangkabau philosophical adage: “*Adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah; syara' mangato, adat mamakai*” (Custom is founded upon shari'ah, and shari'ah is founded upon the Qur'an; shari'ah instructs, custom applies).

Khatam al-Qur'an Procession that Potentially Leads to Road Congestion

Beyond its spiritual significance, the *khatam al-Qur'an* procession serves to inspire participants and to showcase the ceremony as a manifestation of Islamic values and cultural heritage. The event is meticulously organized to involve various sectors of the community, ensuring broad participation. This engagement is reflected in multiple dimensions: the success and length of the parade, the generosity shown in prize distribution, and the quality of the food and hospitality services offered.

The parade's success is often measured by the impressive length of the procession, which highlights the community's enthusiasm and collective spirit. Historically, processions of this kind have roots in pre-Easter festivities celebrated by Catholic Christians in Europe and America (Rusdianto & Busro, 2022, p. 76), though they have since been adapted to align with Islamic customs and local traditions. Numerous groups participate in the *khatam al-Qur'an* parade: leading the procession is a decorated vehicle bearing a large replica of the Qur'an, symbolizing the completion of recitation.

Following closely behind are students carrying banners representing their schools' involvement. These are succeeded by younger students—typically from grades one through three—riding elaborately decorated bicycles. Next, groups of older students march on foot, often accompanied by parents or guardians who protect them from the sun or rain. The participants are dressed in traditional Arab-style garments, complete with circular headbands, while younger children wear immaculate white robes. Musical groups such as drum bands or *talempong* ensembles contribute to the festive atmosphere. Concluding the procession are mothers and other members of the wider community, whose presence adds further color and energy to the event.

In Lima Puluh Kota, particularly in Balai Jariang village within Payakumbuh city, a unique tradition persists wherein *khatam al-Qur'an* parade participants ride horses or share *bendi* or *delman* (horse-drawn carriages), as recounted by a former village chief. Similarly, in the Mandar region, festive events such as *pa'rawana* and *Sayyang Pattuddu* involve parading *khatam* participants atop horses, guided by family members (Gunawan, 2017, p. 118). A distinctive feature of

Lima Puluh Kota and Payakumbuh is the participation of women wearing *tikuluak tanduak*, elaborately folded cloth headpieces shaped like buffalo horns, adding symbolic significance and visual splendor to the procession (Arifah, interview 2024). The *khatam al-Qur'an* parade in these regions usually begins at 08:00 a.m., following a predetermined route through the community.

Secondly, the array of prizes awarded to *khatam al-Qur'an* participants reflects the scale of community support, particularly from donors in both local and *rantau* (diaspora) communities. The quantity and value of gifts are directly proportional to the generosity of these benefactors, resulting in considerable variation across different events. For example, during the *khatam al-Qur'an* held on June 26, 2024, the Batang Buo Qur'anic Education Park, under the coordination of committee member Arsiyanti, distributed a remarkable assortment of gifts, including gold stars, prayer mats, Qur'ans, notebooks, pens, bags, Winnie the Pooh mats, and wall clocks. Arsiyanti attributed this abundance to substantial donations from *rantau* contributors, all of which were designated specifically for participant gifts (Arsiyanti, interview 2024).

Furthermore, Osviati, the treasurer of the *khatam al-Qur'an* committee, reported a significant increase in the total amount of funds collected from donors in 2024 compared to the previous year. These funds were used to purchase school supplies and other practical gifts for the participants (Osviati, interview 2024). In other areas, such as Balai Jariang in North Payakumbuh, the best *khatam al-Qur'an* participant receives a highly symbolic and valuable prize—a cow—prepared in advance by the organizing committee (Arifah, interview 2024). The types and value of gifts vary based on the committee's financial resources, community trends, and the locality of each *luhak* in the Minangkabau region.

Lastly, the success of food and consumption services is demonstrated by the committee's ability to cater effectively to both *khatam* participants and the wider community. Following the ritual slaughter of buffaloes or goats, organizers serve elaborate and festive meals, with dishes such as goat *cancang* (spicy sautéed meat) accompanied by a variety of side dishes. These generous offerings ensure a celebratory atmosphere that befits the significance of the occasion and fosters a strong sense of communal unity.

The *khatam al-Qur'an* processions organized by local communities often take place along crowded highways, which are commonly utilized as central spaces for social engagement. However, the occupation of major thoroughfares by these processions significantly increases the risk of severe traffic congestion,

creating substantial challenges for motorists and motorcyclists alike. For instance, during a *khatam al-Qur'an* event in North Payakumbuh, the procession extended from Balai Jariang to the office of the Mayor of Payakumbuh (Arifah, interview 2024). The use of public roads for *khatam al-Qur'an* activities is a widespread practice throughout the Minangkabau region, often without consideration for traffic flow or public access.

The frequent closure and reopening of highways to accommodate these processions is counterproductive to the Qur'anic principle of facilitating ease and convenience for others, especially for road users. The Prophet Muhammad explicitly forbade his companions from lingering on roads in ways that might obstruct or disturb passersby. This is exemplified in a hadith narrated by Abu Sa'id al-Khudri and recorded by Imam Bukhari, which highlights the importance of respecting public spaces and avoiding actions that may inconvenience others (al-Bukhari, 1422, p. 132). The appropriation of public roads, therefore, raises ethical concerns from both Islamic and civic perspectives, as every individual has the right to access public infrastructure—a principle known as *haq al-murur* (the right of road users) (Busyro, 2022, p. 174).

The respect for the rights of road users is further underscored in a hadith narrated by Muslim (Hadith No. 35), in which the Prophet praised the act of removing obstacles from pathways and promised heavenly rewards for those who do so. His teachings extended not only to human interactions but also to the treatment of animals, as he prohibited establishing camps on roadways to avoid blocking even creeping creatures. This concern is documented in hadiths narrated by both Muslim and Malik (Hadith No. 1804). Additional prohibitions against idling or congregating on roadways—unless accompanied by measures to eliminate harm—are found in the narrations of Bukhari and Muslim (Hadith No. 6229 and No. 2161, respectively).

To reduce traffic congestion during *khatam al-Qur'an* processions, a practical and respectful solution would be to streamline the parade route, allowing sufficient space for the continued flow of vehicular traffic. Where previous events may have occupied an entire road or even half of it, future processions could be designed more compactly and efficiently. Additionally, parade routes should be carefully reconsidered and redesigned to align with Islamic principles of compassion, public welfare, and social responsibility, while still conveying the moral values and religious significance of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).

The implementation of *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremonies in the heartland

of Minangkabau holds a prominent and revered place within the community. In contrast, celebrations held in the *rantau*—areas outside the traditional Minangkabau core—lack the vibrancy and grandeur observed in regions such as Luhak Agam, Tanah Datar, and Lima Puluh Kota. For example, in Padang’s Kuranji sub-district, according to Yeni, a teacher residing in Padang City, the *khatam al-Qur’an* is marked by the absence of parades or public processions. Furthermore, the rewards given to participants are minimal, often limited to basic school supplies such as notebooks, lacking the grand prizes that typically serve as strong motivators for students to excel in Qur’anic recitation and performance (Yeni, interview 2024).

Similarly, Rahmi, a native of Padang Laweh in the Luhak Nan Duo sub-district of West Pasaman, recounts that *khatam al-Qur’an* celebrations in her region are equally modest. Participants, who include both children and high school teenagers, generally receive only basic stationery as gifts. The processions accompanying the event are simple and understated. While these parades do cause some traffic disruption, the level of congestion is significantly less than what is typically observed in the central regions of Minangkabau (Rahmi, interview 2024).

Closing of Khatam al-Qur’an Parade in the Graveyard

Another aspect that is often overlooked in *khatam al-Qur’an* celebrations is the closing segment of the parade, which ends at the cemetery. Upon completing the designated route—carefully planned to accommodate the stamina of the young participants and to stay within the boundaries of the village—the procession concludes with a pilgrimage to the graves of individuals who made significant contributions to religious education in the community. This final act not only honors the legacy of local religious figures but also reinforces the community’s collective memory and intergenerational respect for Islamic figures.

This pilgrimage serves as a profound expression of Islamic traditions related to the pursuit of knowledge, migration, pilgrimage, and other sacred journeys within Muslim heritage (Marbun, 2017, p. 639). For example, in Batang Buo, the procession ends with a speech delivered by the school principal or a designated teacher, who introduces the grave being visited. The speaker explains the identity of the deceased, highlights their contributions to religious education, recounts notable life achievements, and shares other historical details. This act of remembrance is intended to cultivate respect for past educators and inspire students to lead meaningful lives marked by service and legacy.

Importantly, the grave visit during the *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremony differs from the veneration practices associated with visiting the tombs of saints, which sometimes involve ritualistic supplications for blessings—a practice critically examined by scholars such as F. De Jong (Beck & Nasoetion, 1993, p. 2). Instead, this visit is educational and commemorative in nature, aligned with Islamic values of honoring knowledge and its bearers. It serves as a spiritual and moral reminder for students and community members to respect the legacy of religious educators while avoiding practices not rooted in prophetic tradition.

The ceremony at the cemetery concludes with a prayer led by the principal, invoking blessings upon the departed souls who contributed to the advancement of religious education. Following the prayer, students and the descendants of the deceased exchange greetings, fostering a spirit of communal solidarity and continuity. The participants then return to the *khatam al-Qur'an* venue to partake in a shared communal meal, closing the ceremony with a sense of unity and gratitude.

The practice of grave pilgrimage was introduced by the Prophet Muhammad as a moral lesson for the living and as a means to remind believers of the afterlife, as narrated by Imam Muslim (al-Shan'ani, n.d., p. 114). The original purpose of grave visitation was to awaken awareness of death and the transient nature of worldly life. However, over time, this practice has gradually shifted toward venerating and even idolizing the deceased—a development that sharply diverges from Qur'anic and Prophetic teachings. Such transformations distort the initial intent of grave pilgrimage, turning it into an act of undue exaltation rather than reflection and remembrance. Moreover, the habitual focus on venerable figures from earlier eras—particularly those who lived during the Japanese occupation or the Old Order period—can inadvertently hinder the emergence of new role models among the younger generation. By fixating on past heroes, communities may fail to recognize or nurture contemporary achievers who make significant contributions at local, national, or even international levels.

Regions that incorporate grave pilgrimages into *khatam al-Qur'an* celebrations include Batang Buo, Balai Gurah, Nagari Biaro Gadang, Guguak Randah, and several other areas across Agam. In Batang Buo, for instance, the pilgrimage typically centers on the grave of Buya A. Gaffar Rusdy (1926–1984), an inspirational figure credited with reviving religious education in Batang Buo, Pilubang, and neighboring areas. Buya Gaffar was a student of Sjech Ibrahim

Musa of Parabek and later developed Islamic education initiatives in his native Batang Buo (Inyiak Kari, interview 2024).

Similarly, in Balai Gurah, the grave of Sjech Abdul Latif Syakur is the primary pilgrimage destination. A distinguished scholar who studied under Sjech Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi in Mecca, Sjech Abdul Latif Syakur (1881–1963) was a respected educator, preacher, and journalist (Putra, 2017, p. 601). The accessibility of his grave, located near the main road, makes it particularly convenient for *khatam al-Qur'an* participants. Another eminent figure from Balai Gurah, Tuanku Nan Tuo, is also highly revered; however, due to the remote location of his grave, it is not included in the standard pilgrimage itinerary during *khatam* celebrations (Beni Firdaus, interview 2024).

In contrast, *rantau* regions such as Pasaman (Rahmi, interview 2024), Padang, and other areas do not include the tradition of visiting graves of notable figures as part of *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremonies. In these locations, the *khatam* proceeds without this additional ritual element, reflecting a divergence in local practices related to religious remembrance and cultural expression. This variation highlights the dynamic nature of Minangkabau traditions, which continue to evolve in response to differing regional values, social contexts, and interpretations of religious observance.

Playing Qur'anic Tapes Until Midnight

Khatam al-Qur'an typically follows a routine agenda prepared by the organizing committee in each region. The event is a major village celebration that involves widespread community participation. In addition to the core committee—often comprising *nagari* officials—it also engages mosque youth and teenagers who contribute to the success of the event in various ways. One notable form of their involvement is mutual cooperation in decorating the stage used for the Qur'anic recitation, including arranging ornaments and trimmings to enhance the visual appeal of the venue.

This stage decoration activity is usually carried out by youth and teenagers at night. The work begins after the *Isha* prayer and often continues until midnight, or even into the early hours of the morning, especially on Sunday nights. During the decoration process, it is common for the youth to play *kasidah* cassettes or Qur'anic recitations over loudspeakers, which can be heard throughout the surrounding neighborhood. However, the extended use of tapes and speakers late into the night can cause disturbances for nearby residents.

This pattern is not unique to *khatam al-Qur'an* preparations. Similar practices are observed during other religious events, such as *Musabaqah Tilawatil Qur'an* competitions organized by mosque youth, or during Ramadan when loudspeakers are used to awaken residents for *sahur*. Unfortunately, there is often a lack of oversight from mosque management or event committees regarding the duration, content, and volume of loudspeaker use. Ideally, clear guidelines should be implemented—for instance, limiting Qur'anic readings to 10 minutes before the call to prayer, presenting religious lectures for no more than 15 minutes via recordings, and adjusting the speaker system to suit indoor and outdoor needs. Such arrangements would help ensure that religious activities centered at the mosque do not inadvertently become sources of excessive noise and disruption for nearby residents.

While staying up late to celebrate religious events is not forbidden, it is essential to balance this with consideration for the community's need for rest, especially as people prepare for the next day's responsibilities. Not all residents have flexible schedules that allow for lost sleep. Many are market vendors who must open their stalls early, employees with long commutes, laborers with physically demanding jobs, and others with time-sensitive routines.

To address these concerns, organizers and mosque administrators must pay attention to existing regulations, such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs' Circular Letter No. 05 of 2022. It outlines proper usage of loudspeakers in mosques and *mushalla*. These guidelines aim to ensure that mosques function as centers of peace, spiritual reflection, and community harmony—not as unintended sources of disturbance from the time of congregational prayers to various Muslim holiday celebrations.

The uncontrolled use of loudspeakers during religious activities is also felt by residents of non-Muslim backgrounds. While Minangkabau culture is deeply rooted in Islamic values and traditions, the region has also become home to diverse non-Muslim communities. Notable examples include the growing presence of Batak Christians along the borders of Bukittinggi City—in areas such as Batang Buo, Garegeh, Aur Kuning, Talao, and others (Helfi et al., 2021, p. 37). Additionally, the influx of Nias residents from North Sumatra—many of whom are Christians or adherents of indigenous beliefs—further contributes to the region's religious diversity.

In this pluralistic context, the frequent and sometimes excessive use of mosque loudspeakers—audible throughout Bukittinggi, Agam, and surrounding areas—has the potential to generate social tensions. These practices may

be perceived as a monopolization of public space by the Muslim majority, potentially disturbing or alienating residents of other faiths. The absence of regulatory oversight or community dialogue on this issue risks undermining the inclusive social fabric that Minangkabau society seeks to uphold.

Therefore, there is a pressing need to foster a deeper understanding of religious moderation within the Minangkabau community. Efforts must be directed toward harmonizing public religious expression with respect for multicultural and multi-religious dynamics. This approach aligns with the community's broader commitment to maintaining social harmony in an increasingly interconnected and globalized world.

Conclusion

The celebration of *khatam al-Qur'an* across the Minangkabau region reveals clear contrasts between the core areas and the *rantau* (diaspora) regions. In core regions such as Agam, Tanah Datar, and Lima Puluh Kota, *khatam al-Qur'an* is celebrated with considerable enthusiasm and grandeur, as seen in the extensive preparations, vibrant parades, and the distribution of significant prizes. In contrast, *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremonies in *rantau* areas tend to be more modest, often lacking the broad community support and festive atmosphere characteristic of the heartland.

However, the exuberance surrounding *khatam al-Qur'an* celebrations in the core areas risks drifting away from the core teachings of the Qur'an, giving greater precedence to customary traditions (*adat*) than to Islamic values. In many cases, *adat* appears to overshadow the principles of the Qur'an and Sunnah, thereby challenging the well-known Minangkabau philosophy of "*adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah*"—a philosophy that, in this context, demands critical re-evaluation. Without thoughtful reflection and balance, there is a real danger that these celebrations may lose their intended spiritual significance and become mere cultural spectacle.

Several practices highlight this imbalance between cultural expression and religious principles in *khatam al-Qur'an* celebrations. These include organizing *bajamba* (communal meals) that may become excessive, using the call to prayer (*adhan*) merely as a signal to begin parades rather than its intended liturgical function, conducting processions that block highways and create significant traffic congestion, and operating mosque loudspeakers late into the night without consideration for the peace and rest of surrounding residents. Such practices, while rooted in communal enthusiasm and tradition,

risk overshadowing the core Islamic values of moderation, respect for others, and proper religious observance.

These sub-events within *khatam al-Qur'an* festivities, which often disregard the essential values of the Qur'an and Hadith, clearly require careful reconsideration. There is an urgent need to reposition *khatam al-Qur'an* ceremonies so that they evolve into meaningful gatherings that promote religious devotion, community spirit, and social harmony. Achieving this transformation will require the active involvement of all stakeholders—including religious leaders, community figures, educators, and local government officials—who must contribute thoughtful and constructive input.

Future improvements should ensure that *khatam al-Qur'an* practices align more closely with Islamic ideals. These include emphasizing the avoidance of wastefulness (*israf*), fostering peace within the community, encouraging mutual tolerance among diverse groups, and upholding the rights and well-being of all individuals involved. By grounding these celebrations in the ethical and spiritual values of Islam, communities can preserve both the religious significance and cultural richness of the tradition in a balanced and meaningful way.

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REVITALIZATION OF THE SASAK LOCAL WISDOM VALUES FOR THE SOCIAL HARMONY IN BERINDING CENTRAL LOMBOK

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Abstract

Globalization has brought diverse cultures and values that have gradually eroded the local wisdom of the Sasak tribe. This decline—exacerbated by globalization, the COVID-19 pandemic, weak educational transmission, and cultural change—has prompted community leaders and government actors to intensify preservation efforts. Previous studies have largely examined Sasak local wisdom from anthropological or cultural perspectives, focusing on documentation or historical description. However, few have analyzed the concrete and collaborative strategies undertaken by multiple community stakeholders to sustain and revitalize these values amid modern globalization. This study fills that gap by investigating how village governments, religious leaders, traditional figures, and youth organizations collectively work to preserve and renew Sasak local wisdom as a living cultural system. Using a qualitative ethnographic approach, this research employs observation, interviews, and documentation as data collection methods. The findings reveal several strategic initiatives: (1) village heads organize cultural festivals, commemorate village anniversaries with local themes, restore historical sites, and collaborate on curriculum development; (2) religious leaders strengthen moral and spiritual awareness through weekly studies and Islamic holiday celebrations; (3) traditional leaders conduct training on *sorong serah aji krame*, traditional etiquette, and cultural identity; and (4) youth leaders establish the “Remaje Sasak” community as a hub for information exchange, learning, and the practice of local wisdom. These collective efforts provide a platform for the Sasak people—especially the younger generation—to preserve, internalize, and embody the values rooted in their cultural heritage. The study’s implications highlight that integrated collaboration among local stakeholders offers a replicable model for other communities seeking to protect and sustain their cultural identity amid the transformative

pressures of globalization.

Globalisasi telah membawa beragam budaya dan nilai-nilai baru yang secara perlahan mengikis kearifan lokal masyarakat Suku Sasak. Kemerosotan ini—yang diperparah oleh arus globalisasi, pandemi COVID-19, lemahnya transmisi pendidikan, dan perubahan budaya—telah mendorong para pemimpin masyarakat serta pemerintah desa untuk meningkatkan upaya pelestarian kearifan lokal. Penelitian sebelumnya umumnya mengkaji kearifan lokal Sasak dari perspektif antropologis atau kebudayaan dengan penekanan pada dokumentasi dan deskripsi historis. Namun, hanya sedikit yang menelaah strategi konkret dan kolaboratif yang dilakukan oleh berbagai pemangku kepentingan masyarakat dalam mempertahankan serta merevitalisasi nilai-nilai tersebut di tengah arus globalisasi modern. Penelitian ini mengisi kesenjangan tersebut dengan menganalisis bagaimana pemerintah desa, tokoh agama, tokoh adat, dan organisasi kepemudaan bekerja sama untuk melestarikan dan memperbarui kearifan lokal Sasak sebagai sistem budaya yang hidup. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode etnografi serta teknik pengumpulan data melalui observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan beberapa inisiatif strategis, yaitu: (1) kepala desa menyelenggarakan festival budaya, memperingati hari jadi desa dengan tema kearifan lokal, memulihkan situs bersejarah, dan bekerja sama dalam pengembangan kurikulum; (2) tokoh agama memperkuat kesadaran moral dan spiritual melalui pengajian rutin dan perayaan hari besar Islam; (3) tokoh adat memberikan pelatihan tentang sorong serah aji krame, etika tradisional, dan identitas budaya; serta (4) tokoh pemuda membentuk komunitas “Remaja Sasak” sebagai pusat informasi, pembelajaran, dan praktik kearifan lokal. Upaya kolektif ini menjadi wadah bagi masyarakat Sasak—khususnya generasi muda—untuk melestarikan, menginternalisasi, dan mengamalkan nilai-nilai luhur yang tertanam dalam warisan budaya mereka. Implikasi penelitian ini menegaskan bahwa kolaborasi terpadu antar pemangku kepentingan lokal dapat menjadi model bagi komunitas lain dalam menjaga dan memperkuat identitas budaya di tengah tekanan globalisasi.

Keywords: *cultural preservation, local wisdom, Sasak tribe social harmony*

Introduction

Indonesia, as a pluralistic country, is home to a variety of ethnicities, religions, tribes, languages, and cultures that stretch from Sabang to Merauke. This diversity places a great responsibility on all Indonesian people to maintain and preserve these cultural assets. Indonesia’s cultural richness is one of its most distinguishing features in the eyes of the world. The word *culture* comes from the Sanskrit word *buddhayah*, the plural form of *buddhi*, which is defined as everything related to human reason and thought (Lestari et al., 2021). Law Number 5 of 2017 concerning the Promotion of Culture identifies ten categories of cultural promotion objects, including oral traditions, manuscripts,

customs, rites, traditional knowledge, traditional technology, arts, language, folk games, and traditional sports (Dienaputra et al., 2023).

One of the cultural objects possessed by the Sasak tribe is rituals. Rites refer to a series of activities performed at specific times—not routinely—but as part of community traditions, often observed by particular religious or cultural groups (Khoiruman, 2019). Rites are a form of local wisdom that is inseparable from the daily lives of Indonesians. This is reinforced by the fact that traditional rituals are one of the essential dimensions of culture and local wisdom (Nurasiah et al., 2023). Culturally, local wisdom is typically passed down from generation to generation, beginning with individuals and spreading throughout the community (Iswatiningsih, 2019).

The Sasak community is one of the largest ethnic groups in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Province, alongside the Sumbawa and Mbojo tribes, collectively known as *Sawawambojo*. The Sasak people use the Sasak language in daily interactions, though its dialects and accents vary across regions. Sasak culture encompasses a value system comprising three layers: the innermost layer consists of philosophical values that encourage *pacu* (obedience), *patut* (righteousness), and *soleh* (piety); the second layer includes moral principles such as *maliq* (taboos/prohibitions); and the third layer includes collective practices promoting the common good, such as *sangkep* (deliberation) and *saling tulung* (mutual help) (Wahyudin, 2018).

In addition to these three layers, ten key local wisdom values are widely recognized within the Sasak tribe: *saling ajinang* (mutual respect), *tertib-terpi* (orderliness), *teguq* (responsibility), *solah perateq* (kindness), *soloh* (tolerance and peace), *tetes* (participation), *saling saduq* (mutual trust), *besemeton* (brotherhood), *ra'i* (empathy), and *bedadayan* (cooperation) (Habibuddin, 2020). These values can be grouped into three main aspects—social, agricultural, and economic (Muzakir & Suastra, 2024).

The social aspect includes traditions such as *saling jot* (giving food to close friends), *saling langar* (expressing condolences), *saling ngayoin* (keeping in touch), *saling ajinin* (mutual respect), *saling jangoq* (visiting), *saling bait* (marriage procession), *saling wales* (reciprocating kindness), *saling tembung* (hospitality), *saling saduq* (trust), and *saling peringet* (mutual advice). The agricultural aspect includes *saling sero* (cooperating in planting rice) and *saling saur alap* (weeding rice fields). The economic aspect involves *saling liliq* (helping with debts) and *saling sangkol* (financial assistance for those in need).

Several Sasak rituals embody noble values, such as birth rites (*peraq api*,

ngurisan, nyunatan), marriage rites (*nembait, sejati, selabar, bait wali, ngawinan, bepucuk, sorong serah aji krame, nyongkolan, bales onos nae*), and death rites (*nguburan, nelung, mituq, nyiwaq, metangdase, nyatus, ngohol*). While these stages are still practiced, they have undergone simplification (Suhupawati & Mayasari, 2017), particularly in rites such as *peraq api* and *sorong serah aji krame*, leading to changes in their procedures and symbolic meanings (Ahyar & Abdullah, 2019). Consequently, some local wisdom values, like *besemeton, bedadayan, saling peringet*, and *saling ajinang*, are slowly fading, along with the communal spirit that once characterized Sasak society (Sa'adah & Sudrajat, 2023).

The influence of foreign cultures on these rites—evident in behavior, attire, and language—has led to a decline in values like cooperation, brotherhood, and mutual respect (Mayasari et al., 2022). This cultural shift is one of the adverse effects of globalization (Adrian & Resmini, 2018). Accordingly, while enabling technological progress, it has also introduced challenges that disrupt socio-cultural behavior and values. In addition, the loss of local wisdom is also part of negative consequences of globalization on society, diminishing noble values, declining nationalism and patriotism, weakened social ties, and lifestyle changes inconsistent with customary norms (Adrian & Resmini, 2018).

The COVID-19 pandemic further exacerbated the situation by suspending ritual activities, particularly those related to birth, marriage, and death, thereby interrupting the transmission of local wisdom (Susiani et al., 2021). A striking example is the suspension of the *nyongkolan* ritual, even in areas where customary laws are strong. For the Sasak people, such rituals are critical for maintaining social harmony.

Another reason for the erosion of local wisdom values is the underutilization of the education system as a medium for cultural transmission (Sudarwo et al., 2023). The lack of cultural education in schools has contributed to a decline in manners and respect among youth, who now show less interest in their cultural heritage (Safrudidin, 2016). Social solidarity—such as helping, cooperating, and communicating—has also started to diminish (Wanti, 2023).

This trend is particularly visible in Berinding Village, Kopang District, Central Lombok, where solidarity and brotherhood are visibly decreasing, largely due to the simplification of birth and marriage rites. The *nyongkolan* ritual, in particular, is sometimes viewed as containing conflict elements, partly because of the influence of non-traditional elements like *cilokaq* (a modern musical form) replacing traditional *gendang beleq* music (Asyari & Kadri, 2022). If such trends continue, traditional forms and their associated

values may eventually disappear.

The fading of Sasak local wisdom must be addressed by both political and non-political actors—government officials, religious leaders, traditional leaders, and youth figures—through revitalization efforts in communities like Berinding. According to Syafi'i (2020), revitalization involves efforts to either revive nearly extinct cultural practices or create new traditions that align with contemporary values while preserving harmony. These efforts aim to introduce local wisdom to younger generations and maintain the noble values within them. Cooperation between community stakeholders is crucial to sustaining a peaceful and harmonious society.

There are two main approaches to preserving local culture: (1) cultural experience, which involves direct engagement with cultural practices, and (2) cultural knowledge, which entails creating information centers to disseminate cultural understanding (Dayningrum & Ritonga, 2023). These methods are vital for maintaining local wisdom in the face of globalization and for fostering social harmony, which is a manifestation of the Indonesian unity principle in *Pancasila* (Dahesihsari et al., 2019). A harmonious society thrives when its people embody and practice these noble values, including *bedadayan*, *saling ajinang*, *teguq*, and *saling peringat*.

The erosion of Sasak local wisdom—caused by globalization, pandemics, weak educational transmission, and cultural shifts—has prompted community leaders and government actors to intensify efforts to preserve it. In particular, the community of Berinding Village has taken proactive steps toward revitalization, aiming to safeguard cultural heritage and reinforce social cohesion. Therefore, this study concerns the examination of revitalization strategies and community-based initiatives undertaken in this village to preserve the fading values of Sasak local wisdom.

Current studies on local wisdom in Lombok focus on multicultural awareness in North Lombok (Maretha, 2020), and on the role of religious leaders in preserving local traditions (Wirata, 2018). Additionally, other research explores the pedagogical implications of Sasak local wisdom (Tohri et al., 2022). However, these studies have not specifically addressed practical, community-based efforts to revitalize fading Sasak local wisdom in the context of maintaining social harmony at the grassroots level, particularly in rural settings such as Berinding Village. Therefore, this study seeks to explore revitalization strategies and community engagement in preserving Sasak local wisdom values to promote social harmony in Berinding, Central Lombok—offering a more

localized and action-oriented perspective that contributes to both cultural sustainability and social cohesion.

Method

This research adopts a qualitative approach with an ethnographic method. Ethnography is a form of cultural description that aims to understand the worldview and practices of a community (Spradley, 1979). It focuses on describing the patterns of thought and behavior of a specific community group (Abdussamad, 2021). The primary aim of this study is to analyze, understand, and describe the culture of the Sasak tribal community and their efforts to preserve that culture. The research was conducted in Berinding Village, Kopang Subdistrict, Central Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara Province, from March to August 2024.

Data in this study were obtained through observation, interviews, and documentation. The sources of data included the village head, religious leaders (Jeru Keliang and Tuan Guru), and youth leaders who are directly involved in the revitalization of Sasak local wisdom. Interviewees were selected using purposive sampling. Participant observation was conducted by actively engaging in various stages of birth, marriage, and death rites, while non-participant observation involved observing these rites and the revitalization efforts carried out by the village government, religious leaders, traditional leaders, and youth figures. Documentation included collecting photos, videos, and official village documents relating to cultural rites and revitalization activities.

The main research instrument in this qualitative study was the researcher (Sugiyono, 2015), who was directly involved in the processes of observation, interviews, and documentation. Data validity was ensured through source triangulation (interviews with multiple informants including the Village Head, Jeru Keliang, Tuan Guru, and youth leaders) and methodological triangulation (interviews, observation, and documentation). Data analysis followed Miles and Huberman's (1994) interactive model, which includes four stages: data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. Data were first collected through in-depth interviews, participant and non-participant observations, and documentation in the form of photographs and videos. The data were then reduced by selecting the most relevant information, particularly related to the rites of birth, marriage, and death. Finally, the data were presented and analyzed to draw conclusions about the revitalization of Sasak local wisdom in fostering social harmony.

Finding and Discussion

This section explores the crucial role played by political and cultural leaders in preserving indigenous values, with a particular focus on the Sasak community. In the face of rapid globalization and cultural homogenization, the involvement of both formal authorities—such as village heads—and informal figures—like religious, traditional, and youth leaders—is vital in safeguarding and transmitting local wisdom. By examining their leadership strategies and community engagement, this study highlights how these actors function as cultural gatekeepers, ensuring the continuity of moral teachings, rituals, and social norms that define Sasak identity across generations.

The Role of Political and Cultural Leaders in Preserving Indigenous Values

Political elite figures—such as local government officials, especially village heads—and non-political elites—such as religious leaders, traditional leaders, and youth leaders—play a crucial role and bear significant responsibility in preserving and transmitting local wisdom and its noble values. These efforts are essential to ensure that such values remain relevant amid the pressures of globalization (Sawaludin et al., 2022). In the context of the Sasak tribe, these leaders serve as key agents in sustaining cultural identity and ensuring that traditional practices and moral teachings continue to thrive across generations.

In the Sasak community, specific honorifics are used to refer to respected leaders. Religious leaders are called *Tuan Guru*, a title given to individuals with deep religious knowledge who are entrusted with guiding the community through sermons and teachings. Traditional leaders are referred to as *Jeru Keliang*, meaning those who are considered capable of leading cultural ceremonies and safeguarding traditional practices.

These leadership roles carry the duty of maintaining and revitalizing local wisdom. According to the Great Indonesian Dictionary, revitalization refers to the act of reviving or reactivating something that is nearly lost or has already disappeared, with the aim of improving it (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, n.d.). The revitalization efforts in Sasak culture involve various initiatives carried out by political elites (such as village heads) and non-political elites (such as *Tuan Guru*, *Jeru Keliang*, and youth leaders), each contributing in distinct but complementary ways.

Efforts of the Village Head

The role of the village head as a leader in a region is very important in striving to maintain the values of local wisdom held by the community and the area. This responsibility encourages the village head to make efforts to revitalize local wisdom and the values contained within it, especially in the Central Lombok community—recognized as the second-highest district in tourist visits on Lombok Island, according to data from the Central Statistics Agency of West Nusa Tenggara Province. An interview was conducted with the head of Berinding Village regarding the efforts to revitalize the values of local wisdom.

In accordance with the results of the analysis by the Central Bureau of Statistics of West Nusa Tenggara Province in 2024, Central Lombok Regency is one of the most visited areas by both local and foreign tourists. This presents a new challenge for the village head as a regional leader to continually revitalize the values of local wisdom so that they are not easily eroded. An interview was conducted with the head of Berinding Village regarding the efforts to revitalize these values.

“The efforts we make to revitalize local wisdom and the values in it are by holding a routine village anniversary event every year with many performances with cultural themes, a cultural festival, and revitalizing buildings with historical value, such as traditional houses, places of worship, village monuments, facilitating community needs, and cooperating with all elements of society. The current government has made regulations in formal education to teach local wisdom. For example, in the Central Lombok district, elementary school children are required to wear traditional clothes as school uniforms, and local content subjects are taught as part of the curriculum.” (*Berinding Village Head, LB, interview on 06-06-2024*).

LB’s explanation reveals that the village government’s efforts to revitalize local wisdom values—amid the influx of foreign cultures and new values brought by local and international tourists—are increasingly crucial. This cultural influx is largely due to the conversion of Lombok National Airport into an international airport and the construction of the Mandalika Circuit as an international racing venue. In response, the village government organizes annual village anniversary celebrations accompanied by cultural performances and festivals with traditional themes. These efforts align with broader regional strategies to revitalize local wisdom by holding cultural

events aimed at preserving, transmitting, and strengthening local traditions (Rojabiyah et al., 2023; Yusuf et al., 2019).

Another effort involves restoring and preserving buildings of historical value—such as traditional houses, places of worship, regional monuments, and other culturally significant sites—based on the community’s collective memory and beliefs. This is in line with Law Number 11 of 2010 concerning Cultural Heritage, which defines cultural heritage as tangible and intangible assets, including heritage buildings, structures, sites, and areas, that must be preserved due to their significance for historical, educational, religious, and cultural purposes (Republik Indonesia, 2010). Preservation is deemed essential to maintain continuity between the past, present, and future.

The government also promotes cultural revitalization through education, particularly by integrating local wisdom into the school curriculum. This approach is aligned with national efforts to embed cultural revitalization into formal education (Raharja et al., 2022). One prominent initiative is the “Cultural Saturday” program in West Nusa Tenggara, mandated by Regional Regulation No. 7 of 2018 (Pemerintah Provinsi, 2018). This regulation requires the development of a local content curriculum to help students understand and appreciate their region’s cultural strengths. Introducing local culture at an early age aims to instill pride and love for regional heritage among the younger generation.

Cultural Saturday is implemented through various school activities, such as traditional music performances (e.g., *gendang beleq*) by students, traditional dance performances, and communal meals (*begibung*) every Saturday at the high school level, particularly in Central Lombok. Elementary school students wear traditional clothing as uniforms every Saturday. The curriculum also includes Sasak local wisdom in fifth-grade learning materials, Sasak language instruction in elementary schools, integration of local wisdom into Indonesian cultural studies in junior high schools, and the use of Sasak traditional attire at school events across all levels.

Furthermore, the village government facilitates community needs—especially security—during cultural events such as the *nyongkolan* wedding rite procession, which is sometimes prone to conflict. The Village Security Agency (Badan Keamanan Desa/BKD) is tasked with ensuring the peaceful and orderly execution of *nyongkolan*, as customs vary across Central Lombok. For instance, displays of invulnerability (such as piercing the tongue or stomach with a kris) and the use of music like *cilokaq* or *kecimol*—often associated with dancing

and alcohol—can be potential sources of conflict. Thus, the role of BKD is crucial. During death rites, such as the *nguburang* (burial ceremony), BKD also manages traffic flow, especially given the religious diversity in Berinding, where residents follow different religious organizations such as Nahdlatul Wathan, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, and As-Sunnah.

All these revitalization efforts depend on effective collaboration between the village government, community leaders, and the general public. According to Syafe'i's theory of social harmony, a harmonious society is achieved through good interactions among community members (Fitri et al., 2024). These positive interactions foster cooperation, which is defined as a joint effort by individuals or groups to achieve shared goals (Marlina, 2021). Based on this framework, researchers conclude that collaborative interactions between traditional leaders, youth leaders, and community members are vital to implementing government initiatives and sustaining the values of Sasak local wisdom—thereby fostering lasting social harmony.

Efforts of the Tuan Guru (Religious Leaders)

As someone who is believed to have excess knowledge in religious matters, religious leaders have charisma in the view of the community to be respected as leaders in several religious events. Max Weber, a German sociologist and political economist, defines charisma as a social symptom because of special needs for a leader (Firdaus et al., 2020). The charisma possessed by religious leaders makes people trust and follow the advice and is influential in maintaining the local wisdom values of the Sasak tribe community, one of which is by trying to revitalize the noble values that are starting to disappear in this modern era. Interviews were conducted with religious leaders related to the efforts made to revitalize the local wisdom values of the Sasak tribe in the midst of the current development of globalization as follows:

“As religious leaders, we try to continue to carry out regular studies or lectures every week as an effort to strengthen the spirituality of the community, then we also routinely hold celebrations of Islamic holidays by inviting famous Tuan Guru from other regions, as well as involving the role of young people and the community in general in the celebration” (*Tuan Guru H. Rahmat on 08-06-2024*).

HR's explanation above can be understood that the efforts of religious leaders in revitalizing the local wisdom values of the Sasak tribe amid the current development of globalization are to hold routine studies every week,

routinely hold celebrations of Islamic holidays by inviting Tuan Guru or religious figures from other regions as speakers so that the community is also not bored and gets a new perspective as a strengthener of spiritual aspects in themselves. This is in line with the efforts that can be made by religious leaders with their abilities in strengthening spiritual aspects to maintain the local wisdom values of the Sasak people, namely by providing advice/studies (Arrazak et al., 2022). The influence of the interaction of religious leaders in delivering messages will have an impact on the socio-cultural life of the community (Abubakar et al., 2018). Interactions carried out by religious leaders to the community in the delivery of studies/advice contain good values that can foster good attitudes or behavior in people's lives because religious leaders are considered role models in behavior and attitude by the community.

As Indonesian citizens who are required to believe in God, the spiritual aspect is very important to be strengthened in society, because when the obligation to God is carried out properly, the community will be able to create a harmonious living environment. Religion or Aqidah (belief) is believed to be an important source in overcoming the events of human life that are full of stress (Muzaenah & Makiyah, 2018). The existence of a strong spiritual aspect in a person will create a sense of calmness in him. Abraham Maslow developed the theory of the hierarchy of human needs into several parts, and self-actualization is the pinnacle of needs (Alfaruqy, 2021). Maslow's view of actualization is that when a person has reached harmony/balance between physical needs, love, security, appreciation, and self-actualization has been fulfilled, it will result in self-harmony in a person because basic needs and psychological needs are met. The fulfillment of the spiritual aspect in a person is included in the achievement of the concept of self-harmony in that person.

The most important value to be conveyed by religious leaders to a pluralistic society is the value of tolerance or mutual respect, mutual respect for all the differences they have. The value of mutual respect or mutual appreciation and respect is not only defined as acceptance of differences, but is more broadly defined as an attitude of mutual recognition, mutual openness, mutual understanding of differences, and not disputing these differences (Syahri et al., 2024). This value, if practiced in everyday life, will create a society that is free from conflict and full of peace. Peace is an atmosphere that every human being dreams of as a social being in the midst of existing differences.

Efforts of the Jeru Keliang (Traditional leaders in Lombok)

Jeru Keliang, as the Sasak people call traditional leaders, have very important roles and responsibilities as individuals believed to possess more knowledge about culture. The responsibility is not only toward the surrounding environment, but Jeru Keliang also has the duty to maintain the values of local wisdom and to be able to adapt to the times. According to Hasan, responsibility is the attitude or behavior of a person in carrying out their duties and obligations to God Almighty, oneself, society, and the environment, which consists of nature and socio-cultural aspects (Rahayu, 2016). This opinion is reinforced by Zubaedi, who states that responsibility is an attitude in carrying out the tasks that have been given or entrusted to someone (Syifa et al., 2022). Trust is a person's assumption and belief in something considered reliable and possessing high integrity (Tarigan et al., 2021).

The trust given by the community gives traditional leaders the task of dividing labor in preserving community customs. Emile Durkheim, a sociologist, explained the division of labor in community life as being based on the abilities possessed by individuals, with the aim of facilitating the organization of community needs (Arif, 2020). In line with their abilities, several efforts can be made by traditional leaders in revitalizing local wisdom and its inherent values, including holding training sessions themed around local wisdom with the goal of introducing it to the younger generation. This has been conveyed by the traditional leaders of Berinding Village as follows:

“We always try to introduce local wisdom as early as possible to the next generation, with the aim that they can integrate the noble values contained in it into their daily lives—such as by holding training for the *Sorong Serah Aji Krame* event, traditional dress training, and foreign language training—in order to prepare young people who have strong foundations so that they are not easily influenced by new cultures.”

The explanation of AA above shows that the efforts that can be made by *Jeru Keliang* or traditional leaders to revitalize the values of local wisdom of the Sasak tribe are by holding trainings or seminars related to culture, such as: (1) *sorong serah aji krame* training with the aim of introducing the next generation to one of the stages in the Sasak tribe's marriage rite, which has begun to fade due to the lack of interest from the younger generation to learn this local wisdom; (2) training in the fashion of Sasak traditional clothes with the aim that the younger generation and the community can learn how to wear proper and correct traditional clothes in accordance with what was taught by *papuaq baloq* (ancestors); (3) foreign language training for the younger generation with

the aim of preparing the community to face the development of globalization, so that local wisdom and the noble values contained in it are not replaced by new values and foreign cultures—especially in the Central Lombok region, which has been recorded by the Central Bureau of Statistics of West Nusa Tenggara Province as the district with the most local and foreign tourist visits compared to other districts. The efforts made are in line with the actions that can be taken by traditional leaders in revitalizing local wisdom values amid the development of globalization, such as holding seminars, trainings, and socializations (Darmuji & Arisman, 2020).

This opinion is corroborated by Hildigradis' view that efforts to maintain culture include cultural experience and cultural knowledge (Dayningrum & Ritonga, 2023). These two efforts align with those made by traditional leaders, namely the *sorong serah aji krame* training, which in its implementation can serve as a forum for learning—especially for the next generation—as well as a place to be directly involved in cultural experiences during the implementation of Sasak community weddings. These efforts will certainly create strong solidarity between the government, religious leaders, traditional leaders, youth leaders, and community leaders in general, which will help realize social harmony in the community environment. As revealed by Dahesihsari et al. (2019), social harmony will be realized if a sense of solidarity, tolerance, and harmony can be carried out properly. Researchers see that the solidarity between traditional leaders and youth in carrying out these efforts will create a forum for the younger generation to learn and practice the local wisdom of their region.

Efforts of the Youth Leaders

The next generation has a great responsibility to continue the local wisdom of their region. As those who possess greater physical strength, the younger generation is the only hope for the community to maintain the values of the local wisdom of the Sasak tribe so that it is not lost to the times. In addition to supporting and participating in several programs from the government, religious leaders, and traditional leaders, the younger generation also takes initiative in revitalizing local wisdom and the values contained in it. Youth leaders are trying to form a community called “Remaje Sasak” as an information center about local wisdom, which can be joined by young men and women of the Sasak tribe as a forum for sharing information, learning, and direct practice related to local wisdom.

In line with this, Karl Mannheim, a sociologist, defines generation as

a social construction of age equality within a span of 20 years in the same dimension and historical context (Samakul & Lizardo, 2024). The age span in the “Remaje Sasak” community, from 15 to 30 years, reflects this theory. This is also in accordance with what was conveyed by the youth leader of Berinding village as follows:

“We have a community called *Remaje Sasak* which functions as an information center related to the culture or local wisdom of the Sasak tribe, then usually we will participate in community activities such as weddings and others” (Interview with Berinding village youth leader, Zaki Fahrul Hadi on 08-06-2024).

ZFH’s explanation above shows that youth leaders are trying to form a community called “Remaje Sasak,” which functions as an information center related to local wisdom and a gathering place for Sasak youth to learn and practice directly in cultural events. They also participate in local wisdom activities organized by the region with the aim of introducing these values to the younger generation, who will inherit them from their *papuq baloq* (ancestors). The existence of this community facilitates Sasak youth participation in activities held by the village government, religious leaders, and traditional leaders as part of the effort to preserve and pass on local wisdom and noble values.

In addition to providing information for youth, the “Remaje Sasak” community promotes the value of brotherhood, fostering unity among Sasak youth in preserving and practicing the values of local wisdom to create a harmonious community environment in line with the motto of the Central Lombok community: *Tatas, Tuju, Trasma*. The “Remaje Sasak” community plays an important role, particularly in their participation in the stages of birth, marriage, and death rites. Participation is defined as the involvement of a person or group in various activities related to the community to achieve shared goals (Supriani & Arifudin, 2023). Youth participation is often essential as a *wasilah* or intermediary in inviting religious leaders, traditional leaders, and the community in general.

The next role of youth in the Sasak community typically includes serving as greeters and hosts during *gawe nyunatan*, *gawe ngawinan*, and *gawe nyongkolan*. Five days prior to the *nyongkolan* event, from morning to noon, youth assist the host and surrounding community in preparations. This includes setting up *taring/terop* (tents), collecting *nyiur* (coconut), *ares*, jackfruit, *gedang* (banana), and *serebuk* ingredients—staple foods served at the *gawe* event. Furthermore, youth play an essential role during the *nyongkolan* (bridal procession), serving

as *dayang-dayang* who accompany the bride and groom.

The positive values contained in these traditional stages serve as guidance for the younger generation in preserving local wisdom, especially in the Berinding village community, Kopang District, Central Lombok Regency. Value is something regarded as true and used as a behavioral reference in society (Yuliyana et al., 2021). Youth participation in such events fosters important values such as mutual cooperation, collaboration, and a stronger sense of brotherhood, all of which contribute to creating social harmony within the community environment.

Table 1. Efforts to revitalize the local wisdom values of the Sasak tribe

Village Head	Tuan Guru	Jeru Keliang	Youth Leader
Organizing festivals with cultural themes, holding village anniversary events with cultural themes	Organizing regular study/conducting weekly advisories	Organizing the training of <i>sorong serrah aji krame</i>	Participating in village events
Renovating historical buildings such as regional monuments, traditional houses and large mosques	Traditional costume workshop	Cultural dress training for the younger generation	Establishing a local wisdom information and practice community called “Remaje Sasak”
School curriculum development from elementary, junior and high school levels.	Celebrating every Islamic holiday by cooperating with the youth	Organize foreign language training	

This study, which employs a qualitative ethnographic approach to explore the revitalization of local wisdom within the Sasak community in Berinding Village, is limited by several factors inherent to its methodology. First, the scope is geographically and culturally narrow, focusing solely on one village, which may not fully represent the diversity of Sasak practices across the region. Second, the use of purposive sampling and reliance on key informants such as the village head, religious leaders, and youth leaders may introduce bias, as their perspectives may not capture the broader community’s views. Third, the researcher’s role as the primary research instrument, while allowing for deep

engagement, may affect objectivity, especially during participant observation. Additionally, the data collection period from March to August 2024 may not account for cultural events or revitalization efforts occurring outside this timeframe. These limitations suggest that while the findings provide valuable insights into the cultural practices and preservation efforts of the Sasak community in Berinding Village, they may not be generalizable to other contexts without further comparative studies.

Conclusion

The results of this study conclude that political elite figures, such as village heads, and non-political elite figures, including religious leaders, traditional leaders, and youth leaders, play an important role in maintaining and preserving local wisdom values. Several efforts have been made to revitalize local wisdom and its noble values: (1) the village head organizes events such as the village anniversary celebration with a cultural theme, cultural music festivals, and revitalization of cultural heritage sites including places of worship, traditional houses, regional monuments, and historically significant buildings. The village head also supports curriculum development through initiatives like Cultural Wednesdays, mandates traditional clothing as a school uniform every Saturday for elementary schools, and integrates local wisdom into junior high school subjects; (2) religious leaders conduct weekly religious studies and organize Islamic holiday celebrations involving the younger generation; (3) traditional leaders provide training on *sorong serah aji krame* (a traditional ceremony), traditional clothing, and foreign languages; (4) youth leaders establish the “Remaje Sasak” community as a center for information, learning, and hands-on practice of the Sasak people’s local wisdom values.

To ensure the preservation and revitalization of Sasak local wisdom, it is essential for all related parties to collaborate. Local governments should institutionalize cultural activities, integrate local values into school curricula, and preserve cultural heritage. Religious leaders are encouraged to engage youth through regular religious studies and celebrations that align with cultural values. Traditional leaders should provide cultural training in rituals, traditional attire, and language to help youth adapt while maintaining identity. Youth leaders, through communities like *Remaje Sasak*, should facilitate peer-led cultural education and participation in traditional events. Educational institutions must also collaborate with cultural leaders to incorporate local wisdom into learning materials and student activities.

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KIAI AZAIM IBRAHIMY'S THOUGHT ON HAPPINESS AND WELL-BEING: THE AT- TAWAZUN APPROACH IN SOCIETY 5.0

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Abstract

In the face of Society 5.0 and rapid digitalization, younger generations are increasingly vulnerable to emotional imbalance, a diminished spiritual connection, and weakened social bonds. This study explores the thoughts of K.H.R. Ach. Azaim Ibrahimy on happiness and psychological well-being, as conveyed through the Majelis Dzikir Basmalah YouTube channel, and examines their alignment with Martin Seligman's PERMA model. This study addresses a gap in existing research by integrating the spiritual teachings of Kiai Azaim Ibrahimy with Seligman's PERMA model to explore well-being in Islamic boarding schools, a context largely overlooked in both Islamic and psychological literature. Its novelty lies in offering a holistic framework that combines local spiritual wisdom with positive psychology to respond to the mental health challenges of pesantren communities in the digital Society 5.0 era. Using a qualitative hermeneutic-ethnographic approach, the research reveals that Kiai Azaim's teachings resonate with the five pillars of PERMA: gratitude as a source of positive emotion, spiritual engagement through religious devotion, harmonious interpersonal relationships, a meaningful life rooted in service, and a sense of accomplishment encompassing both worldly and spiritual success. The study further analyzes

the implementation of the At-Tawazun counseling model in pesantren (Islamic boarding school) settings, which incorporates local wisdom through practices such as *uswah hasanah* (exemplary conduct), *ta'zhim* (reverence), *khidmah* (service), and *riyadhah* (spiritual discipline). These traditions foster spiritual, social, and psychological harmony within the pesantren environment. The findings underscore the strategic role of pesantren-based counseling as a contextual, holistic, and culturally grounded approach to enhancing mental well-being in the digital age. Consequently, pesantren emerge not only as spiritual institutions but also as vital centers for nurturing psychological resilience amid global change.

Di tengah tantangan era Society 5.0 dan digitalisasi, generasi muda menghadapi ketidakseimbangan emosional yang kian kompleks. Ketergantungan pada teknologi, tekanan sosial media, serta melemahnya ikatan spiritual dan sosial berkontribusi terhadap menurunnya tingkat kebahagiaan dan kesejahteraan psikologis. Studi ini bertolak dari kegelisahan tersebut, dengan meneliti pemikiran Kiai Azaim Ibrahimy tentang kebahagiaan dan kesejahteraan jiwa yang disampaikan melalui kanal YouTube Majelis Dzikir Basmalah, dan mengaitkannya dengan model PERMA dari Martin Seligman. Melalui pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode hermeneutik-etnografis, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa ajaran Kiai Azaim selaras dengan lima dimensi PERMA: syukur sebagai sumber emosi positif, keterlibatan spiritual dalam ibadah, relasi sosial harmonis antar santri, makna hidup dalam bingkai pengabdian, serta pencapaian yang mencakup keberhasilan dunia dan akhirat. Penelitian ini juga menelaah praktik konseling At-Tawazun di pesantren yang mengintegrasikan kearifan lokal melalui metode *uswah hasanah*, *ta'zhim*, *khidmah*, dan *riyadhah*. Teknik-teknik ini terbukti efektif dalam menumbuhkan keseimbangan spiritual, sosial, dan psikologis di lingkungan pesantren. Temuan ini menegaskan pentingnya pengembangan pendekatan konseling berbasis pesantren sebagai model alternatif yang kontekstual, relevan, dan holistik untuk memperkuat ketahanan mental di era digital. Dengan demikian, pesantren tidak hanya berfungsi sebagai lembaga pendidikan spiritual, tetapi juga sebagai pusat penguatan kesejahteraan psikologis yang adaptif terhadap dinamika global.

Keywords: *happiness, pesantren, psychological well-being, society 5.0*

Introduction

Psychological happiness and well-being have become increasingly relevant topics in positive psychology, particularly in the digital era marked by global challenges. Technological advancements offer significant benefits, including instant access to information and seamless communication across borders. However, they also bring substantial negative consequences, such as social media addiction, emotional disturbances, and a decline in the quality of social interactions. In this context, younger generations are particularly vulnerable

to rising levels of emotional and mental imbalance. The sharp increase in smartphone and social media use among adolescents is strongly associated with heightened symptoms of depression, anxiety, and social isolation (Rambaree et al., 2020). Furthermore, the World Health Organization highlights that the surge in mental health issues among youth is largely driven by uncontrolled digital exposure, which exacerbates identity crises and disrupts life balance (World Health Organization, 2020). These developments underscore the urgent need for holistic approaches that go beyond digital literacy to include the strengthening of spirituality, the cultivation of healthy social relationships, and the promotion of sustained psychological equilibrium.

The society 5.0 era, which integrates digital technology with various aspects of human life, presents both challenges and opportunities for improving quality of life, including mental health (Arifin, 2020; Fukuyama, 2018). Therefore, an approach is needed that not only relies on materialistic solutions but also integrates dimensions of spirituality and life balance to address these challenges. Such a holistic approach ensures that technological progress aligns with human values, fostering sustainable well-being in the digital age.

In the digital era, pesantren—traditional Islamic educational institutions—have begun utilizing social media and digital platforms to expand their outreach in religious preaching (*dakwah*) and moral education to the wider public. YouTube has emerged as one of the key platforms adopted by pesantren communities to convey Islamic values, spiritual teachings, and perspectives on happiness and well-being in a broader and more contextualized manner. This medium serves not only as a tool for documenting religious sermons but also as a space for articulating pesantren thought in responding to contemporary challenges in an adaptive and inclusive way.

Pesantren, as traditional Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, play a strategic role in shaping students' character and spirituality. They not only focus on the transmission of religious knowledge but also emphasize the inculcation of moral values, ethics, and life balance. In facing the challenges of globalization and digitalization, pesantren need to integrate traditional values with more adaptive modern approaches (Arifin & Fatah, 2023; Arifin et al., 2024; Arifin, 2020). One of the figures who has made a significant contribution to this discourse is Kiai Azaim Ibrahimy hereinafter Kiai Azaim, caretaker of the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic Boarding School. His views on happiness and well-being, grounded in Islamic spirituality, can be accessed through the Majelis Dzikir Basmalah YouTube channel, which offers

a unique perspective on life balance through a holistic and integrative lens.

This study adopts Martin Seligman's PERMA model as its theoretical framework, as it comprehensively represents five core dimensions of psychological happiness and well-being: Positive Emotion, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, and Accomplishment (Seligman, 2018). The model has been widely utilized in contemporary positive psychology research due to its flexibility and adaptability across diverse cultural settings, including religious and traditional educational institutions such as pesantren. Several studies have also shown that the PERMA-based approach can enhance subjective well-being, resilience, and the quality of social relationships in various contexts (Cabrera & Donaldson, 2023; Turner et al., 2023).

The concept of happiness and well-being taught by Kiai Azaim shares similarities with Seligman's PERMA model, particularly in its emphasis on meaning in life and social relationships. However, Kiai Azaim's approach also enriches the perspective of positive psychology by integrating dimensions of Islamic spirituality, such as *tawakal* (trust in God), *ikhlas* (sincerity), and *khidmah* (devotion). These values are not only deeply rooted in pesantren life but also offer relevant solutions for addressing global challenges such as emotional imbalance, individualism, and moral degradation.

As awareness of mental health and psychological well-being continues to grow within pesantren communities amid the challenges of the digital era, there has been a gradual emergence of initiatives to develop counseling approaches grounded in local wisdom and Islamic spirituality. Pesantren serve not only as centers for transmitting Islamic knowledge but also as institutions for character formation and spiritually based psychological healing. In this context, the implementation of happiness and well-being in the daily lives of *santri* (Islamic boarding school students) can be realized through the *At-Tawazun* counseling technique—an indigenous pesantren-based model that emphasizes balance across spiritual, emotional, and social dimensions. *At-Tawazun* counseling is not solely intended to address psychological issues, but also to cultivate resilient and morally upright individuals capable of facing global challenges with a positive and optimistic mindset (Arifin & Ummah, 2021; Arifin & Zaini, 2014; Arifin, 2021).

Although studies on happiness and well-being from both positive psychology and Islamic perspectives are widespread, research specifically integrating the thoughts of Kiai Azaim with Seligman's PERMA model remains limited. Prior studies, such as those conducted by Joshanloo and Pavlova, have examined

the concept of happiness within Islamic contexts, yet they have not addressed its implementation in Islamic boarding school education (Joshnloo, 2013; Pavlova, 2022). Moreover, existing research tends to be theoretical and lacks a focus on connecting spiritual concepts with the modern-day challenges faced by pesantren in the digital era.

Recent studies on the interaction between digital technology and mental health provide important insights into the challenges and opportunities emerging in the Society 5.0 era. Balcombe and De Leo highlight that although digital technology improves access to mental health services, significant obstacles remain, such as inadequate infrastructure and limited user readiness for sustainable technology adoption (Balcombe & De Leo, 2020). Scott et al. emphasize the negative impacts of excessive technology use, including addiction, emotional disturbances, and diminished social skills (Scott et al., 2017). Meanwhile, Lattie et al. underscore the potential of technology to offer more inclusive and comprehensive online therapy services (Lattie et al., 2019). Synthesizing these findings, it becomes clear that mental well-being issues in the context of Society 5.0 are increasingly complex and demand holistic, adaptive approaches—integrating technological advancements with local wisdom and spiritual values to effectively address the challenges of digitalization.

A synthesis of these perspectives suggests that mental well-being in the Society 5.0 era has become multidimensional. Rapid technological development presents both opportunities and risks that require integrated responses. Recent research underscores the importance of combining technological innovation with local wisdom, spiritual guidance, and socially oriented strategies that promote emotional and social balance. Such integration is essential to mitigate the adverse effects of digitalization while maximizing its potential to support the well-being of individuals and society at large (Minhaji & Arifin, 2021).

One notable figure who contributes spiritual solutions to these challenges is Kiai Azaim, an Islamic religious leader (Kiai) and the caretaker of the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Sukorejo Situbondo Islamic Boarding School. This institution, established by Kiai Syamsul Arifin in 1908, has been led across generations by Kiai As'ad Syamsul Arifin (1951–1990), Kiai Fawaid As'ad (1990–2012), and, since 2012, by Kiai Azaim (Arifin, 2014; Hasan, 2003; Ibrahimy & Arifin, 2018, 2019).

As an educator, Kiai Azaim utilizes digital media in his preaching, notably through the Majelis Dzikir Basmalah YouTube channel, which he joined on December 10, 2017. The channel has 15.9 thousand subscribers

and features 53 uploaded videos containing spiritually themed lectures and religious reflections. In addition, his preaching is also present in Jam'iyah Shalawat Bhenning, which operates the official YouTube account Majelis Shalawat Sokarajeh, boasting 99.6 thousand subscribers, 220 videos, and a total of 11,571,372 views. Through these digital platforms, Kiai Azaim conveys Islamic messages that emphasize spiritual and social balance in responding to global challenges.

The purpose of this study is to explore Kiai Azaim's concept of happiness and well-being as communicated through the Majelis Dzikir Basmalah YouTube channel. YouTube was chosen as the medium because it serves as a primary digital platform where pesantren begin to articulate and disseminate spiritual teachings and values related to happiness in a broader and more contextualized manner, particularly in the era of digitalization and Society 5.0. Videos from the channel were selectively curated based on their relevance to the themes of happiness and well-being, as well as their capacity to authentically and inclusively represent pesantren discourse.

The analysis employed a qualitative approach, examining the narratives, symbolism, and spiritual messages conveyed in the videos to illustrate how the pesantren concept of happiness and well-being aligns with Martin Seligman's PERMA model. This model—comprising five core dimensions: Positive Emotion, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, and Accomplishment—was selected for its widespread acceptance as a framework for understanding authentic happiness and serves as the primary lens for its application within the pesantren life.

Through this study, it is hoped that a deeper understanding can be gained of how Kiai Azaim's perspective on happiness and well-being—by integrating Islamic spirituality with principles of positive psychology—can be meaningfully applied in pesantren life. The pesantren-based *At-Tawazun* counseling approach represents one such effort to promote a more holistic model for supporting students' mental health and well-being amid the increasingly complex realities of the digital and globalized era. This study thus aims to contribute to the formulation of innovative and sustainable solutions to the modern challenges faced by pesantren.

Method

This study employs a qualitative approach using a hermeneutic-ethnographic method to explore and understand Kiai Azaim's thoughts on happiness and

well-being, as conveyed through the Majelis Dzikir Basmalah YouTube channel (from April 7, 2020, to October 26, 2024). This approach was chosen because the study aims to uncover the deeper meanings of the concepts of happiness and well-being based on Islamic spirituality as expressed by Kiai Azaim, as well as how these ideas are implemented in the life of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) (Mappiare, 2009; Çınarbaş et al., 2020).

The hermeneutic method was employed to interpret the texts delivered by Kiai Azaim in various lectures and studies published on the YouTube channel, with a focus on interpreting the meanings contained in his teachings on happiness and well-being. This study analyzed the words, phrases, and concepts used by Kiai Azaim to convey the ideology of happiness and well-being based on Islamic spirituality. A total of 21 videos were selected, spanning from April 7, 2020, to October 26, 2024. Each video was analyzed using a coding scheme to organize and categorize the content according to the main themes that emerged from the discussions.

The hermeneutic method is used to interpret the texts delivered by Kiai Azaim in various lectures and studies published on the YouTube channel, with a focus on interpreting the meanings contained in his teachings on happiness and well-being. In this context, the analysis focuses on the words, phrases, and concepts used by Kiai Azaim to convey the ideology of happiness and well-being based on Islamic spirituality (Arunasalam, 2018; Gadamer, 2004).

The ethnographic method is employed to examine the application of these ideas within the context of Islamic boarding school life, particularly at the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School. This study directly observes the *At-Tawazun* counseling practices implemented in the *pesantren* as part of an effort to promote holistic well-being among students. Through the ethnographic approach, researchers explore the social, cultural, and religious dynamics that shape life within the *pesantren*, as well as the interactions between students, caregivers, and the institutional environment that influence the implementation of Kiai Azaim's ideas (Arifin, 2021; Arunasalam, 2018).

Data collection included detailed field notes and participant quotations obtained through interviews and informal conversations with students and caregivers. These qualitative data provided rich insights into how the *At-Tawazun* counseling technique operates in practice and how it contributes to the spiritual and emotional resilience of the *pesantren* community. This qualitative approach allows researchers to gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the influence of Kiai Azaim's teachings on Islamic boarding school life, as

well as how the concepts of happiness and well-being can be applied to address the challenges of globalization and the digital era.

Finding and Discussion

The Concept of Happiness and Well-Being of Kiai Azaim Ibrahimy

This section presents the findings of the study by exploring the concept of happiness and well-being as articulated by Kiai Azaim, particularly as conveyed through his sermons and teachings in the *Majelis Dzikir Basmalah* forum. Drawing from a qualitative hermeneutic-ethnographic approach, the discussion aligns his thoughts with Martin Seligman's PERMA model of positive psychology. Each pillar—Positive Emotions, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, and Accomplishment—is examined in light of Kiai Azaim's spiritual teachings and the *pesantren* context, revealing a distinctive synthesis of Islamic values and psychological well-being that addresses the challenges of the digital era and Society 5.0.

Positive Emotions: Positive Emotions as Pillars of Happiness

As Kiai Azaim stated in one of his lectures, "May we always be servants who are good at being grateful to Allah, the Lord of the universe." This statement encapsulates his fundamental view that positive emotions are not merely transient feelings but serve as the primary foundation for achieving true happiness and well-being. Kiai Azaim emphasizes that authentic happiness is deeply rooted in spiritual awareness, particularly through the practice of gratitude. According to him, happiness is not determined by physical comfort or worldly achievements but rather by the depth of gratitude that arises from a sincere heart and genuine deeds. This perspective challenges materialistic notions of happiness and reorients the understanding of well-being toward an Islamic spiritual framework, where gratitude (*shukr*) plays a central role in fostering inner peace and resilience.

Gratitude, according to Kiai Azaim, is a way of seeing everything as a gift—not only when things are good but also when facing challenges. By developing positive emotions rooted in gratitude, individuals can find inner happiness that does not depend on external conditions but rather on the acceptance of God's destiny. This perspective fosters resilience and cultivates a deeper sense of peace, especially during times of uncertainty and hardship.

Engagement: Deep Involvement in Life

As Kiai Azaim expressed, “A good sentence is like a good tree—its roots go deep, its branches reach the sky, and it brings benefits.” This metaphor reflects his belief that true well-being comes from deep spiritual and social involvement. He emphasizes *tafakuriyah* worship, or contemplating nature, as a way to strengthen spirituality and achieve inner peace. This practice helps balance worldly life with spiritual goals. In Kiai Azaim’s view, doing good deeds, consistently following religious teachings, and fulfilling duties with discipline are essential for well-being, as they build personal strength and create harmony with others and with God.

This kind of involvement is not only beneficial for individuals but also for the wider community. Kiai Azaim also emphasized the importance of wise engagement with technological developments. He stressed that technology should be used to strengthen religious values and improve the welfare of the people—not as a tool to replace social and spiritual relationships.

Relationships: Building Harmonious Relationships

Kiai Azaim once said, “A good relationship with God and fellow human beings is the key to true happiness”. This statement affirms that harmonious relationships are a fundamental element in achieving happiness. For Kiai Azaim, good relationships not only involve fellow human beings but also spiritual connection with God and ecological harmony with nature. Healthy and balanced relationships serve as the primary foundation for realizing collective well-being.

Kiai Azaim emphasized that excessive exploitation of nature would ultimately harm human well-being itself. Therefore, maintaining a balanced and just relationship with the environment is essential for creating sustainable happiness. This thought aligns with the principle of *at-tawazun*, or balance in all aspects of life, which serves as a core foundation in facing the challenges of digitalization and Society 5.0.

Kiai Azaim also emphasized the importance of relationships that are mutually respectful and loving, as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad SAW and his companions. In a loving relationship, true happiness can be found. In this modern context, Kiai Azaim warned of the dangers of dependence on technology that can damage interpersonal relationships, especially within the family. Technology should be used to strengthen relationships, not replace them, and the use of technology must be balanced so that the quality of social

relationships is maintained.

The Meaning of Life: Finding a Greater Purpose

Kiai Azaim stated, “The meaning of life is not only about material achievements, but also about a spiritual relationship with Allah and nature.” For him, true meaning in life comes from devotion to Allah and serving others, not just worldly success. He often explains this through the analogy of the ocean and the human body, noting that two-thirds of the body is water—symbolizing the deep connection between humans and the universe. This reflects his belief that life’s purpose includes maintaining harmony with nature as part of spiritual balance.

In this context, life is not only seen as a series of worldly achievements but as a spiritual journey filled with sacrifices for higher values. Kiai Azaim invites people to interpret life as devotion to God, which is reflected in good deeds and the cultivation of noble character. In the face of technological advances, he emphasizes the importance of preserving spiritual values to ensure that the meaning of life remains intact, even as the world continues to change.

Achievement: A Meaningful Spiritual Process

According to Kiai Azaim, “True accomplishment involves effort and struggle that are not easy, both in worldly and spiritual aspects.” For him, the meaning of achievement does not lie merely in material success or visible social recognition, but also in the spiritual sincerity that accompanies it. Genuine achievement is the result of an inner journey marked by sacrifice, patience, and steadfastness in upholding principles and faith. In this view, success is not evaluated solely by outcomes but by the process of struggle that cultivates deep meaning and spiritual resilience.

Kiai Azaim often uses the analogy of pearl formation to illustrate the process of spiritual achievement. A pearl is not formed instantly; it emerges through a long, painful, and pressurized process. Likewise, a human being—only through sincere and sacrificial struggle—can produce noble values that are meaningful for both the self and society. Thus, true spiritual and social achievement results from an inner journey that is inseparable from a transcendent dimension.

The concept of accomplishment in Kiai Azaim’s thought reflects the principle of *At-Tawazun*, or balance—between spiritual and social dimensions, as well as between worldly life and the hereafter. One is not considered successful

solely by mastering technology or achieving a high-ranking career, but by the ability to balance such accomplishments with spiritual awareness, religious commitment, and concrete contributions to societal welfare. This balanced view redefines success as a holistic integration of personal achievement, faith, and social responsibility.

Furthermore, Kiai Azaim emphasizes that true accomplishment occurs when a person gains a deeper understanding of the self and the Creator. This awareness fosters inner peace, tranquility, and authentic well-being. In the modern context, Kiai Azaim also reminds Muslims of the importance of engaging with technological advancements while remaining grounded in strong spiritual foundations. Technology, he argues, should not become a mere tool of materialistic domination but must support religious values and the common good.

By integrating spiritual, social, and moral dimensions, Kiai Azaim's perspective on happiness and well-being invites society to understand happiness as a continuous spiritual journey. In this context, happiness is not derived from material pleasures alone but from spiritual consciousness, harmonious relationships, and accomplishments achieved through sacrifice for higher values. Such an understanding encourages a more meaningful and enduring pursuit of happiness, rooted in purpose and faith.

Amid the rapid currents of globalization and the advancement of digital technologies in the era of Society 5.0, Kiai Azaim's teachings remain both relevant and vital. He reminds us that balance (*At-Tawazun*) must be the foundation of both achievement and happiness. The modern human must safeguard spiritual values to avoid losing direction in the pursuit of worldly progress, so that true prosperity can be realized—a prosperity that embraces both the outer and inner aspects of life, in both worldly and eternal dimensions.

Implementing At-Tawazun Counseling in Pesantren Life of Society 5.0

Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) today are no longer detached from the influence of technological development and digitalization. Once characterized by simplicity and minimal use of technology, *pesantren* have now transformed into part of the digital Society 5.0, which integrates advanced technology with humanistic and spiritual values. The hallmark of Society 5.0 lies in the utilization of technology—especially artificial intelligence—to support human life holistically, including in the fields of education, mental health, and character formation. Amid the complexities of contemporary challenges,

pesantren are expected not only to serve as religious educational institutions but also as centers for inner development that can respond to the psychosocial needs of students in a relevant and meaningful way.

In this context, the *At-Tawazun* counseling technique offers a timely and contextual approach. *At-Tawazun* is a counseling model that emphasizes balance between spiritual and worldly aspects, as well as between individual and social responsibilities. This approach instills the understanding that true happiness and psychological well-being are not achieved solely through material gains or academic success, but through inner stability, harmonious social relationships, and closeness to God.

One concrete technique in the implementation of *At-Tawazun* counseling is the use of digital media, including YouTube videos, as a form of video therapy. This technique utilizes the power of visual storytelling to deliver moral, spiritual, and psychological messages effectively and engagingly. In the pesantren setting, religious lectures or sermons by charismatic figures such as Kiai Azaim serve as therapeutic tools that support the counseling process. These videos are not merely informational; they are transformative tools that evoke spiritual awareness and reinforce values such as perseverance, sacrifice, and balanced living. The messages are conveyed not only rationally but also emotionally, allowing students to internalize each piece of advice with full awareness.

The inclusion of video therapy within the *At-Tawazun* framework illustrates how pesantren can adapt to the digital age without compromising their intellectual and moral essence. *At-Tawazun*-based counseling creates a space for students to gain holistic self-understanding, reflect on life experiences, and develop psychological resilience in facing academic, social, and digital pressures. This innovation highlights the potential of pesantren to become dynamic centers of mental and spiritual development in modern times.

In responding to the challenges of the Society 5.0 era, *At-Tawazun*-based counseling can serve as a strategic instrument in shaping students who are not only spiritually strong but also capable of critical thinking, adaptability, and maintaining a balanced orientation in life. This approach aligns with the thought of Kiai Azaim, who emphasizes that true happiness and well-being are not merely about worldly accomplishments, but are the fruit of spiritual struggle involving balance among the heart, mind, and actions.

Thus, the integration of *At-Tawazun* counseling into pesantren life has now become part of the digital ecosystem. It offers a tangible contribution to

building an educational environment that promotes mental health, life balance, and character formation among students in the era of digitalization and Society 5.0. Pesantren are not only moral fortresses but also innovative spaces that cultivate spiritual wisdom in an ever-evolving technological landscape.

The *Uswah Hasanah* technique, or positive role modeling, is one of the most effective methods for maintaining students' moral balance amid the increasingly complex flow of digital information. In a digital world filled with vast amounts of information and external influences, the role of the *ustadz* as a *murabbi* (spiritual mentor) is crucial in providing examples for students to follow. This role modeling not only reflects religious and ethical values but also offers practical guidance on how to wisely navigate social and technological challenges. This technique aligns with the Positive Emotion and Engagement dimensions of the PERMA model, as role models foster admiration, love, and active participation in emulating positive behaviors.

The *Ta'zhim* and *Khidmah* techniques, which instill the values of mutual respect and service, form the foundation for healthy social relationships within the pesantren community—especially in the digital era, where technology often leads to shallow social interactions (Popa et al., 2018; Sari et al., 2020). These techniques serve as cultural and spiritual strategies to rebuild closeness, compassion, and empathy. They contribute directly to the Relationships dimension of the PERMA model by strengthening supportive and meaningful social bonds.

The *Silaturrahim* (maintaining relationships with others) and *Siyahah* (spiritual journeying or travelling) techniques emphasize the importance of maintaining relationships with family, society, and nature. In an era where many individuals experience isolation due to technology, spiritual and home visits serve as effective means of building deeper social and spiritual connections. In addition to reducing dependence on cyberspace, these activities enhance the *Meaning* dimension by fostering awareness of life's interconnectedness and greater purpose. These techniques act as bridges between digital life and meaningful social reality.

Meanwhile, the *Targhib* technique (encouraging good through hope or reward) plays an essential role in igniting students' enthusiasm and interest in positive activities amid various digital distractions. The digital era often presents temptations that divert attention from spiritual goals. This technique encourages students to remain focused on productive and beneficial activities such as worship, study, and good deeds. It corresponds to the Achievement

dimension of the PERMA model by helping students set and attain meaningful goals through intrinsic motivation.

The *Ta'zir* technique (educational sanctions), contributes to maintaining students' moral and spiritual balance. In the digital world—where negative and unregulated behaviors can easily spread—this corrective yet humane approach enables students to understand the consequences of their actions without feeling alienated. By deeply instilling awareness of social and religious norms, this technique reinforces the Meaning and Engagement dimensions, helping students reflect on values and actively participate in self-improvement.

The *Gerbat* or *Gerakan Batin* technique (silent and inward-focused spiritual practice), which focuses on balancing physical and spiritual life, is vital for managing stress and anxiety caused by global and digital pressures. In Society 5.0, marked by sophisticated technology, students face increasing mental strain. This technique provides spiritual space to maintain inner peace, regulate emotions, and strengthen the spiritual bond with Allah (Samsul Arifin & Zaini, 2020; Yasid, 2007). Therefore, *Gerbat* supports the Positive Emotion and Engagement dimensions of the PERMA model by fostering calmness and active involvement in spiritual practice.

The principle of *Yassiru wa laa tu'assiru* (“make it easy, do not make it difficult”), rooted in *Usul al-Fiqh*, emphasizes the importance of offering realistic, practical, and contextually appropriate solutions in guiding students. Amid rapid and disruptive changes, this principle helps students adapt by reducing the mental and social burdens caused by global and digital pressures. It contributes to the Meaning and Positive Emotion dimensions by providing hopeful, accessible guidance that fosters optimism in navigating digital complexity.

By integrating At-Tawazun counseling techniques within the PERMA framework, pesantren offer a comprehensive approach to fostering students' happiness and psychological well-being. According to Kiai Azaim, happiness is not merely about worldly achievement but about inner balance, spiritual depth, and meaningful social relationships. In the context of the digital Society 5.0, these techniques concretely embody the integration of Islamic values with positive psychology—grounded in local wisdom yet competitive on a global scale.

Overall, the application of *At-Tawazun* counseling techniques in the context of Islamic boarding school life during the digital era and Society 5.0 is essential for promoting students' psychological well-being and happiness.

These techniques help students maintain a balance between the spiritual and digital worlds and reinforce social values that equip them to face contemporary pressures. By combining the moral principles of Islamic boarding schools with the demands of technological adaptation, the *At-Tawazun* technique provides a solid framework for shaping individuals who are balanced, fulfilled, and prepared to meet the challenges of an increasingly complex global world.

Kiai Azaim's thoughts on happiness and well-being offer a holistic perspective that integrates spiritual, social, and psychological dimensions—highly relevant to addressing global challenges in the Society 5.0 era. Kiai Azaim's approach, which centers on the concept of *At-Tawazun* (balance), aligns with Martin Seligman's PERMA model, which emphasizes five key dimensions in achieving happiness: Positive Emotions, Engagement, Social Relationships, Meaning in Life, and Achievement (Samsul Arifin, 2020a, 2021; Seligman, 2018).

In the Positive Emotion dimension, Kiai Azaim highlights the importance of gratitude as a key element in building sustainable happiness. Gratitude—expressed through speech, inner experience, and good deeds—forms the basis of psychological resilience. This view aligns with the findings of Balcombe and De Leo, who emphasize the significance of internal values in improving mental well-being. However, Kiai Azaim's approach places greater emphasis on spirituality as the foundation for overcoming psychological challenges, rather than relying on material or technological achievements (Balcombe & De Leo, 2020).

Kiai Azaim also emphasizes the importance of engaging in *tafakuriyah* activities—contemplating the greatness of God in nature—as a means of attaining inner peace and cultivating awareness of a higher purpose in life. This resonates with the findings of Lattie, Lipson, and Eisenberg, who suggest that the wise use of technology can enrich an individual's life, although their work does not explicitly address spiritual engagement (Lattie, et. al., 2019). Kiai Azaim's perspective offers a solution by underscoring the importance of spiritual value-based activities in counterbalancing the negative impacts of technology on mental well-being.

The social relationship dimension in the PERMA model is closely related to the concept of *silaturrahim* taught by Kiai Azaim, who considers harmonious relationships with others, nature, and God as key elements of well-being. Although Scott, Valley, & Simecka highlight the negative impacts of excessive digital connectivity, which can lead to feelings of alienation, Kiai Azaim offers

a solution by balancing digital and physical interactions, and strengthening social relationships through pesantren values (Scott, D., et. al., 2017).

The meaning of life according to Kiai Azaim is rooted in a spiritual relationship with God and nature, as the main source of happiness. His view is in line with Seligman's research, which shows that the search for the meaning of life contributes greatly to well-being (Seligman, 2012). However, unlike the universal positive psychology approach, Kiai Azaim's teachings emphasize the meaning of life as part of devotion to God. In a digital era that often causes fragmentation of values and confusion of identity, this teaching provides concrete guidance for finding a solid meaning of life amidst global change.

The dimension of achievement in Kiai Azaim's thinking is not measured solely based on worldly success, but through contributions to spiritual and moral values in society. This is in line with Kasinathan et al.'s research on Society 5.0, which integrates technology and sustainability to improve social welfare, but Kiai Azaim emphasizes closeness to God as a true achievement (Kasinathan et al., 2022). This concept provides a new perspective in the discussion of well-being by highlighting the balance between the worldly and the spiritual in achieving sustainable happiness.

The application of *At-Tawazun* counseling in pesantren life is a unique aspect of Kiai Azaim's thinking that distinguishes it from other happiness studies. Techniques such as *uswah hasanah* (positive role models), *ta'zhim* (respect), and *khidmah* (serving others) build mental resilience and social well-being. This approach differs from the digital therapy discussed by Galatzer-Levy, Aranovich, & Insel, which focuses on technology-based interventions (Galatzer-Levy et al., 2023). *At-Tawazun* offers a more holistic community-based alternative and pesantren values in addressing mental health challenges in the digital era.

Overall, Kiai Azaim's thinking on happiness and well-being provides a relevant and unique perspective in facing global challenges in the era of Society 5.0. By integrating the concept of *At-Tawazun* and the PERMA model, his teachings offer a balanced approach to managing the impact of technology on mental well-being. Comparison with previous research shows that Kiai Azaim's thoughts offer holistic solutions by emphasizing the spiritual and cultural values of Islamic boarding schools as the foundation for sustainable happiness, enriching the literature on mental well-being in the digital era, and opening up space for the integration of local traditions and global innovation.

The thoughts of Kiai Azaim on happiness and well-being, which focuses

on the concept of *At-Tawazun*, provides a holistic approach that is relevant to facing global challenges in the era of Society 5.0. As a recommendation, it is important to integrate spiritual values into mental well-being programs, both at the pesantren level and the general public. Approaches such as gratitude, contemplation, and *silaturrahim*, which were emphasized by Kiai Azaim, can be the foundation for building stronger mental resilience in facing the negative impacts of technology.

At-Tawazun-based education and counseling programs need to be developed to strengthen harmonious social relationships, reduce the impact of excessive digital connectivity, and deepen the meaning of life rooted in spirituality. The wise use of technology, by prioritizing spiritual involvement in digital life, can also be a solution to balance the increasingly profound impacts of globalization. Through this approach, individuals are guided to navigate the digital era with mindfulness, purpose, and inner stability.

In addition, pesantren-based *At-Tawazun* counseling, which emphasizes values such as *uswah hasanah*, *ta'zhim*, and *khidmah*, can be a more holistic alternative in helping individuals overcome mental health challenges in the digital era. This community-based approach, which prioritizes the balance between the worldly and the spiritual, offers a more sustainable solution in building true happiness, amidst rapid technological developments. The implementation of this concept not only enriches the literature on mental well-being, but also paves the way for the integration of local traditions and global innovations in responding to the challenges of the times.

Conclusion

This study explores the thoughts of Kiai Azaim on happiness and well-being, as conveyed through the Majelis Dzikir Basmalah YouTube channel, and analyzes them using Martin Seligman's PERMA model. The main findings indicate that his perspectives are highly relevant to the five dimensions of the PERMA model—Positive Emotions, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, and Accomplishment. Kiai Azaim emphasizes the importance of gratitude as the foundation for positive emotions; engagement in meaningful activities; harmonious relationships with God, others, and nature; and a sense of meaning in life that extends beyond material concerns to include spiritual and social contributions. According to him, true accomplishment involves effort and struggle in both worldly and spiritual realms.

In addition, the *At-Tawazun* counseling technique has proven effective

in fostering holistic well-being within Islamic boarding schools by integrating spiritual, social, and psychological dimensions. Techniques implemented in pesantren settings—such as *uswah hasanah* (exemplary conduct), *ta'zhim* (reverence), *khidmah* (service), *silaturrahim* (social bonding), and spiritual meditation—contribute to character development and help cultivate inner balance and mental resilience in facing the challenges of the digital era and globalization.

However, this study has certain limitations. It primarily focuses on Kiai Azaim's thoughts within the context of pesantren life and does not provide an in-depth empirical analysis of the application of the *At-Tawazun* counseling technique across other pesantren. Furthermore, the impact of external factors—such as globalization and digital technology—on students' well-being requires further exploration. For future research, it is recommended to conduct empirical studies on the effectiveness of the *At-Tawazun* counseling technique in various Islamic boarding schools and to examine more deeply the interaction between digital technology, mental well-being, and pesantren-based education. Further research could also expand the scope of analysis on the integration of spiritual values within the positive psychology framework in the context of the Society 5.0 era.

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TRANSLITERATION GUIDELINES

Arab	Latin	Arab	Latin
ا	a	ض	dh
ب	b	ط	th
ت	t	ظ	zh
ث	ts	ع	‘
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	h	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q

د	d	ك	k
ذ	dz	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	و	w
ش	sy	ه	h
ص	sh	ى	y

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Use only recommended SI units. Numerals should be used for all numbers of two or more digits, and for single digits when attached to units of measure. Abbreviations should be defined in parentheses after their first mention in the text in accordance with internationally agreed rules.

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