

# POWER-BASED ECONOMIC POLITICS IN PERSATUAN ISLAM (PERSIS) IN SAPEKEN, SUMENEP-MADURA

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**Abstract:** This research describes the phenomenon of contestation between the religious sects of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah and Islamic Unity (Persatuan Islam; Persis) in Sapeken, Sumenep-Madura and economy strategy played by Persis as the majority in the midst of NU's domination. This research is unique because of several reasons, 1) Sumenep-Madura is the basis of NU and Muhammadiyah, 2) Persis is able to shift the two religious' organizations. In several studies, the Madurese community is more pronounced with nuances *nahdliyin*, but the depiction of conditions in Sapeken is different and even inversely proportional. Therefore the current researcher offers a synthesis by raising the idea that Persis's power lies in the political economy strategy being played. In order to be more systematic, this research uses qualitative with a descriptive analysis approach. The data taken is only primary sources by going directly to the field through interview techniques and non-participatory observation. After that, the steps are analyzing the data, several important results were found, namely *first* is the strategy used to shift the traditionalist religious flow was combining the parts of the community economy that were not touched by NU and Muhammadiyah. *Second* is the religious-based political economy played by Persis controls the development side of the micro-macro economy. *Third* is the structures that are controlled as a form of religious political economy are economic aspects and educational aspect.

**Keywords:** economic politics; religion; religious movements; Islamic Unity.

**Abstrak:** Penelitian ini mendeskripsikan fenomena kontestasi aliran keagamaan Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah dan Persatuan Islam (Persis) di Sapeken, Sumenep-Madura dan strategi ekonomi yang dimainkan oleh Persis sebagai mayoritas di tengah dominasi NU. Penelitian ini unik karena beberapa alasan, 1) Sumenep-Madura adalah basis NU dan Muhammadiyah, 2) Persis mampu menggeser kedua organisasi keagamaan tersebut. Dalam beberapa penelitian, masyarakat Madura lebih ditonjolkan dengan nuansa *nahdliyin*, namun penggambaran kondisi di Sapeken berbeda bahkan berbanding terbalik. Untuk itu peneliti saat ini menawarkan sintesa dengan mengangkat gagasan bahwa kekuatan Persis terletak pada strategi ekonomi politik yang dimainkan. Agar lebih sistematis, penelitian ini menggunakan kualitatif dengan pendekatan analisis deskriptif. Data yang diambil hanya sumber primer dengan terjun langsung ke lapangan melalui teknik wawancara dan observasi non partisipatif. Setelah itu, langkah-langkah menganalisis data, ditemukan beberapa hasil penting, yaitu pertama strategi yang digunakan untuk menggeser aliran keagamaan tradisional dengan menyisir bagian-bagian ekonomi kerakyatan yang belum tersentuh oleh NU dan Muhammadiyah. Kedua, politik ekonomi berbasis agama yang dimainkan Persis mengontrol sisi pembangunan mikro-makro ekonomi. Ketiga, struktur yang dikuasai sebagai bentuk ekonomi politik keagamaan adalah aspek ekonomi dan aspek pendidikan.

**Kata kunci:** politik ekonomi; keagamaan; gerakan keagamaan; Persatuan Islam.

## Introduction

Indonesia is known as a unique country, its uniqueness is reflected in the diversity of ethnicities, races, languages and religions.<sup>1</sup> This diversity is a

<sup>1</sup> The diversity of ethnicities, religions, races, cultures and languages in Indonesia is the greatest and unique in the entire country. This recognition is illustrated by several things, 1) the majority are Muslim, of course this is unique because Islam is supported by a lot of diversity, 2) has a customary culture, this uniqueness is also a challenge for Muslims who have to integrate

distinct wealth possessed by the Indonesian state, however, this diversity may turn around causing

things that seem difficult to put together, 3) consists of many tribes, the uniqueness lies in the customs and traditions of their long-lived ancestors. Therefore, from these three uniqueness, the nature of diversity in Indonesia is always interesting to research and study. See more fully in Tabrani ZA, "The Theological Transformation of Indonesian Democratic Politics. (Telaah Singkat Tentang Masyarakat Madani Dalam Wacana Pluralisme Agama Di Indonesia)," *AL-UTIMA: International Journal of Government and Social Science*, vol. 2, no. 1 (2016), pp. 41-42.

turmoil everywhere, if it is not managed properly and correctly. As stated by Tolkhah (2010) that among the potential wealth of Indonesia that is very threatening to the nation's integration is social conflicts with religious backgrounds, either the six official religions or the sects of these religions.<sup>2</sup> In a sense, diversity can have a positive-constructive impact, on the other hand it can also have a negative-destructive impact.

Observing Indonesia's religious diversity, it is somewhat antique compared to the nature of religious diversity in other countries. This uniqueness can be seen from the hierarchical arrangement in the form of an upright pyramid. At the base of the pyramid there are six official religions adhered to, namely Islam, Protestant Christianity, Buddhism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Confucianism. In the middle of the pyramid are lined beliefs named "local religions" adhered to by minority communities such as the Kaharingan religion in Kalimantan and the Baha'i religion in Central Java.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, there are beliefs and understandings of each religion that do not go into the same main paradigm, but are called as *sempalan* such as Ahmadiyah, JI (Jemaah Islamiyah), LDII ((Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia; Indonesia Institute of Islamic Dawah), NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), Muhammadiyah and other religious sects.

These religious sects emerged as a consequence of the current sects of modern human thought. Initially, they were movements that wanted to reconstruct, refine, innovate, reform conventional normative thoughts in a religion.<sup>4</sup> Commonly, these religious thought reform movements deviate far from their original teachings, therefore gradually they cause noise, problems and lead to conflict.

In general, the conflicts that occur against

these sects are caused by their exclusivity which gives rise to negative claims on certain groups. Between groups often have different views, not in line, not the same in one religion. Some others admit that what they understand is the most correct in accordance with the main teachings (sects). Generally speaking, these religious sects have two kinds of thoughts, first, religious sects that are doctrinally opposed to textual (religious teachings mainstream). Second, religious currents teachings that are not in line with the understanding of the teachings of the group's sects.<sup>5</sup>

The differences in this understanding become serious problems that have an impact on communal conflict. Psychological pressures against a background of different views give rise to a feeling of sentiment that is quite frontal. Causing social tensions that causes social communication. In fact, in some cases, it has triggered conflicts for quite a long time, some of them have claimed the victims of conflicts among religions. The real examples can be seen in the conflict between the Tauhid Islamic sect in Pandeglang, the Sunni-Shi'a conflict in Sampang,<sup>6</sup> and conflicts among other religions.

The depiction of typology, character, socio-religious conditions of religious sectarian conflict can also be seen in Sapeken District, Sumenep-Madura. The existence of one of the Islamic religious sects, namely the Islamic Unity (Persatuan Islam; Persis) is able to encourage the majority of the congregation in the midst of the domination of other socio-religious streams such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. In the Sumenep region, this is the only area where such a religious phenomenon has occurred. Exactly with the way of thinking of the puritan doctrine - which is culturally and customary for the Madurese people - it is difficult to accept, yet still exists and stands tall, even has a congregation or a majority community.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Imam Tolkhah, *Mewaspada dan Mencegah Konflik Antar Umat Beragama*, (Jakarta: Departemen Agama RI, 2001), p. 02.

<sup>3</sup> Nugroho, "Management of Religious Conflict: the Case of Islam Tauhid in Pandeglang, Banten." *Jurnal PENAMAS*, vol. 27, no. 2 (2014), pp. 31-244

<sup>4</sup> Suyadi and Widodo, "Millennialization of Islamic Education Based on Neuroscience in the Third Generation University in Yogyakarta Indonesia," *QJIS: Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2019), pp. 173-92.

<sup>5</sup> M. Nuhri Nuh, *Kelompok Salafi di Kabupaten Lombok Barat*, dalam buku yang diterbitkan oleh Balitbang RI, *Kasus-Kasus Aliran/Paham Keagamaan Aktual di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Puslitbang, 2009), p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Aziz and Matnin, "Jurnal Dalam Tinjauan Sosial Ekonomi Politik Pada Konflik Sunni-Syiah di Kabupaten Sampang," *Kabilah: Journal of Social Community*, vol. 3, no. 2 (2018), pp. 223-240.

<sup>7</sup> El-Rumi, "The Young Kyai (Lora) and Transformation of the Pesantren in Madura," *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic and Social Studies*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2020), pp. 119-21.

In general, the majority of the Madurese community is identical to the type of society that adheres to traditional Islam, under the socio-religious movement Nahdlatul Ulama. It can even be said, apart from NU, it is considered not to be Muslim, from the fanaticism of the Madurese people to the organization.<sup>8</sup> Between traditional Islam and puritan Islam are very different, the puritanism movement brought by Persis is not easy to develop in the Madura region. Yet in reality, Persis was able to shift traditional ideology and place it as a minority movement in Sapeken, Sumenep-Madura.

Historically, the contradiction between traditional Islam (NU) and *puritan* Islamic understanding (Persis) is due to differences in views on Islamic culture. For puritan Islamic understanding, it views that Islam must be cleaned of cultural influences, forms and beliefs from outside Islam such as syncretic culture. Meanwhile, for traditionalist Islam, which believes that culture is a part of Islam, Islamic teachings are expressed in the form of a cultured tradition in addition to issues of worship and also muamalah. Traditional Islam views that the concept of thinking by completely removing culture from the framework of Islamic teachings is irrelevant.<sup>9</sup>

These two Islamic religious understandings pose a separate challenge for religious understanding in Sapeken, Sumenep-Madura. The purification that Persis has been intensifying towards traditional Islamic understandings in the Sapeken Islands has also created conflicts that are not only in the physical realm, but have caused deep psychological turmoil. Even though in the end, Persis was able to be in a minority position and has grown to this day.

Based on the researcher's observations observed from religious phenomena, it seems clear

that power ideology does not lie in the nature puritanical it carries, but there are other factors that are more dominant, namely the political economy and authority rolled by Persis. Persis is able to control government sectors, local economic resources are micro and the *blast*ers on his side. Therefore, Persis research in the Sapeken Islands, Sumenep-Madura is interesting to consider that Persis is in the majority and the strategy approach power of religion that is able to become the majority with a power-based political economy approach.

## Method

This research is qualitative in nature by collecting data in the field (field research). The scriptive qualitative nature was deliberately chosen to expose the political and religious power rolled by Persis in the midst of the great power of other religious organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah. Another, the researcher to become a key instrument of research data.<sup>10</sup> The location selection was based on reasons, 1) Exactly being the majority religious organization there, 2) in that area there was a sympathetic struggle contest between Persis, NU and Muhammadiyah. Researchers used two data mining methods, interviews guided and non-participatory observation.<sup>11</sup> The collected data analyzed interactively, if there is a deficiency in certain categories, data search is carried out again.<sup>12</sup> After the researcher believes it is complete, the data is analyzed through three stages, namely; first, data reduction; second, data presentation; third, drawing conclusions.<sup>13</sup>

## Typology of Religious Sects

Starting from judging by the historicity of conflicts over Islamic religious sects, it has been

<sup>8</sup> Muhammad Itsbatul Haq, "Tasawwuf (Sufism) as the Basis for Internalizing Humanist Character of Indonesian Muslims (Case Study of Pesantren in Yogyakarta and Madura)", *Sunan Kalijaga: International Journal of Islamic Civilization*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2019), pp. 235-262.

<sup>9</sup> Yuka Kayane, "Understanding Sunni-Shi'a Sectarianism in Contemporary Indonesia: a Different Voice from Nahdhatul Ulama Under Pluralist Leadership", *Indonesia and the Malay World*, vol. 48, no. 140 (2020), pp. 78-96.

<sup>10</sup> Cik Hasan Bisri, *Pilar-Pilar Penelitian Hukum Islam Dan Pranata Sosial*, (Jakarta: Grafindo Persada, 2004), p. 56.

<sup>11</sup> Bungin, *Penelitian Kualitatif: Komunikasi, Ekonomi, Kebijakan Publik, Dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya*, (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2008), p. 108.

<sup>12</sup> Sugiono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif Kualitatif Dan R & D*, (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2014), p. 246.

<sup>13</sup> Creswell, *Research Design, Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, Trans, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2016), p. 105.

presented a long ago before Islam entered Indonesia. The main division of religious sects occurred in the post-Hijrah period when the people of Mecca and Medina were heterogeneous (multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural). But the figure and intelligence of the Prophet were able to reduce and manage conflicts into the seeds of brotherhood which was formalized with the existence of the Medina Charter. But when Rasulullah passed away, a war of *Shiffin's* broke out which broke Islam into several sects; *khawarij*, *shi'a*, *sunni*.<sup>14</sup> During the time, these currents created serious conflicts that have divided Muslims, up to now, both in Indonesia and at the global level. This is because the divisions within the body of Islam continue to this day.

As a Pancasila state, Indonesia accepts and protects religious sects that originate from official religions, provided that they do not tarnish other religions and sects and do not cause chaos.<sup>15</sup> Growth-proliferation of religious sects in Indonesia are caused by differences in how to understand the texts of the Quran and the hadiths, there are trending textual (pure text), there is a contextualist (combining text with conditions), thus giving rise to a general typology of the left-wing, right-wing, and moderate sect.<sup>16</sup> The ideological typology of thought of contemporary religious sects in Indonesia can be seen below.

First, the type of religious sect that is endogenous religious movement, which is an ideology that wants to change the main characteristics of religious teachings by trying to interpret the text of Quran with modern patterns

<sup>14</sup> In Michael S's understanding, these Islamic schools have five characters in sociology, namely 1) having individuals who support the opinion of one person, 2) not mentoring different views from others, 3) having mainstream doctrine which is believed to produce truth, 4) exclusive character, where each sect views that other groups are wrong, 5) rejects the religious class which it considers wrong, 6) there is strong hostility, both due to theological and political defenses. See in Machael S. Northcott, *Sociological Approach dalam Langaji*, "Dinamika Aliran Keagamaan Sempalan: Tinjauan Perspektif Sosiologi Agama," *Hikmah*, vol. XII, no. 1 (2016), p. 146.

<sup>15</sup> Alexander Aur, "Dialog Negara Hukum Demokratis dan Agama: Memotret Deliberasi Politik Berbasis Agama di Indonesia dengan Perspektif Filsafat Politik Jurgen Habermas", *Jurnal Ultima Humaniora*, vol. II, no. 1 (2014), pp. 79-97.

<sup>16</sup> Fuad, "Akar Sejarah Moderasi Islam Pada Nahdlatul Ulama," *Tribakti*, vol. 31, no. 1(2020), pp. 153-55.

and is relevant to the needs of the times.<sup>17</sup> This type of sect is known as reformers who want Islam to play a role in the development of modern science. These sect carries a liberal and rational ideology, the embryo of their thought says that all Islamic teachings are in accordance with the times, so that there are no inconsistencies, then they are interpreted freely. So that many liberalist religious currents have emerged.

Second, the type of religious sect is exogenous religious movement, namely the type of religious sect that is survivalist, conservative, fundamentalist. How to interpret religious texts that rely on the text alone, regardless of changing conditions and situations, where and how the context of the place is based.<sup>18</sup> The law contained in the religious text is a fixed price, if it is punished by cutting off one's hand, then the hand must be cut off under any circumstances. Textual understanding does not see the context, and is exactly the same as described by the text, does not accept human thinking, opposes *qiyas* (analogical reasoning) and *ijma'* (consensus of legal opinion).

Third, the type of religious sect that is generative religious movement, namely a moderate ideology, in that sense, does not understand the text freely nor is it textual, but is in the middle. This religious sect seeks to maintain the originality of the text, but on the other hand it is neither radical or fundamental.<sup>19</sup> Therefore Islam is carried out upholds humanity, justice, balance, deliberation which are the values of Islam.

From the three typologies of religious sects above, a number of names emerged, such as NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), FPI (Front Pembela Islam; Islamic Defenders Front) Muhammadiyah, HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia), Shi'a, LDII (Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia; Indonesia Institute of Islamic Dawah), Ahmadiyah and so on. However, when it is related to the character and way of religion of the Indonesian people which prioritizes the character of culture, culture and customs,

<sup>17</sup> See in Jeffrey K. Hadden, "Religious Movements" dalam Edgar F. Borgotta dan Rhonda J.V. Montgomery", *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, vol. IV, no. II (2000), pp. 2364-2365.

<sup>18</sup> Jeffrey K. Hadden, "Religious Movements...", p. 2366.

<sup>19</sup> Jeffrey K. Hadden, "Religious Movements...", p. 2367.



finally moderate typology becomes the majority and the religious sect with the most congregation is Nahdhatul Ulama because it has a balanced history and national character.<sup>20</sup>

### Institution-Based Islamic Economic Contribution

The Islamic economy referred to in this discussion is the *zakat*, *infaq* and *sadaqah* (ZIS) institutions, in the last few years the development of zakat institutions around the world has touched a fantastic level, especially in the aspects of the community empowerment movement. This development has a double impact on the polarization of the paradigm of social thought; on the one hand, it increases the belief and interest in the existence of an Islamic economy, on the other hand it creates ambitions for authority by utilizing the existence of an Islamic economy. This phenomenon illustrates how this Islamic philanthropic institution is able to speak a lot to develop the people's economy while reducing poverty.

As highlighted by the National Zakat Agency (Baznas) through the publication of the National Zakat Statistics, the last three years have noted that the zakat funds collected nationwide are astonishing. In 2016-2017, the collection of zakat funds at the central Baznas level reached 153 billion, Provincial Baznas 448 billion, even the Regency Baznas and Amil Zakat Institutions were 3 and 2 trillion, respectively. In 2018, all zakat funds collected were 8 trillion and in 2019-2020 it rose to 30 percent, namely 10.2 trillion.<sup>21</sup> The fantastic contribution of the ZIZ institution in changing the community's economy from the weak to the strong. Therefore, it is natural that the economy is in the forefront of dragging the direction of society's idealism.

The depiction of the data and achievements above shows that the ZIZ institution has made

a full contribution to realizing the ideals of social welfare as an Islamic financial institution that is philanthropic. Ibn Khaldun (d. 808 H.) nicknamed the father of Islamic economics at least shows that Islamic economic institutions (*bait al-mâl*, previously focused on managing *zakat*, *infaq*, *sadaqah* and *waqf*) have three variants of societal polarization both at the level of ideas and compulsion, first changing the negative paradigm of profit orientation in the economy, in the sense that the ZIS institution as an Islamic economic institution displays differently from other interest-based financial institutions. This condition implies that Islamic economic institutions have high contributive power to people's thinking patterns.

Second, the Islamic economic institution (ZIS) empowers the community through a philanthropic system. This means that ZIS relies on the existence of the theory of rights and obligations, Muslims who are affected by obligations must channel it to poor Muslims through institutional management. The up-down theory does not injure the concept of profit theory at all, it is even free from the element of arrogance of pragmatism. Third, Islamic financial institutions (ZIS) have a high influence on the community, apart from being considered religious and social, ZIS is also driven by influential Islamic scholars, so it is not uncommon for ZIS to be ridden by certain powers..<sup>22</sup>

### Strategy of Religious Politics

In essence, every religion has a close correlation with humans both in spiritual, emotional and psychological terms. Without being forced, humans realize that they need God, need guidance to act and other forces outside of themselves.<sup>23</sup> However, in understanding the source of religious texts, there are differences due to the different scientific qualities of each. Therefore, raises the sects. It is in the context of these schools and sect that the contestation, strategies for getting support (congregation.) From the community to continue

<sup>20</sup> Nazar Nurdin, "NU dan Sumbangan untuk Indonesia (Argumen-Argumen Ideologis tentang Pidana Mati Pelaku Korupsi)", *Jurnal Iqtisad: Reconstruction of Justice and Welfare for Indonesia*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2020), pp. 124-141.

<sup>21</sup> Badan Amil Zakat Nasional, *Statistik Zakat Nasional 2019*, (Jakarta: Liaison dan Pelaporan Baznas, 2020), p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> Huda, "Pemikiran Ekonomi Bapak Ekonomi Islam; Ibnu Khaldun," *Econoimca*, vol. IV, no. 1 (2013), pp. 103-105.

<sup>23</sup> Sari, "Dinamika Perkembangan Spiritualitas dan Relevansinya Terhadap Pendidikan Islam," *Tadbir: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam*, vol, 8, no. 1 (2020), pp. 53-65.

to develop. Because, a true religious thought, will be followed by many followers. Thus, in the midst of the religious sect contestation there is a strategy to be followed, that strategy is called “religious politics”.

In contrast to religion which depends on genealogical or environmental interventions. Religion is determined by the religion of parents, teachers and directed teaching. However, in the aspect of choosing a religious sect, it requires intellect, observation and determination to which one is more inclined to follow. Because religion itself has several principles or values that invite thinking. Among them are: first, religious belief. This level is related to a person's belief in the truth of religious teachings or dogmatic religious streams.<sup>24</sup> Knowledge of God affects all human life, both mental and physical. Differences in understanding about the nature of God can give rise to different sect, such as Mu'tazilah, Murjiah and Asy'ariyah.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, divinity is the vanguard of the existence of a religious sect.

Second, religious practice. A ritual or worship dimension that refers to the level of one's obedience in carrying out religious orders. Obedience to the ritual dimension is related to the mindset and rationality of the religious adherents. For rational adherents, every religious ritual must be acceptable to reason, while for adherents *salafiyah*, ritual must be in line with the heart, as well as other adherents.<sup>26</sup> This kind of view causes individuals to see the positive and negative sides of religious sect.

Third, religious feeling. Namely the spiritual dimension which teaches about the determination of the human heart. How far is a person's sensitivity when experiencing tests in life. In connection with the experiences gained in carrying out the religious teachings that are understood. A religious sect, teaches about commitment, independence,

determination, patience, etc., all of these are called spiritual experiences.<sup>27</sup> Each religious sect is judged by its adherents, whether it is able to make their hearts and minds survive when they are exposed to life's tests or not. Herein lies the religious strategy in sight.

Fourth, religious knowledge. This dimension is the most influential indicator for gaining followers, especially in urban areas. In this dimension, the level of knowledge and understanding of a person (*ustadz, kiai, ulama*, other religious authorities) is measured by people who happen to experience contestation.<sup>28</sup> To what extent the intellectual authority can be accepted by the community as a religion that is in accordance with its objectives, that is where the religious sect is believed to be. Therefore, in this position, the existence of authority is very decisive in understanding his thinking.

Of the four dimensions, all sides have an effect on how meaningful a religious understanding is. The higher the level of mastery, the more people believe and follow. According to Glock and Stark (1998), the four dimensions that become objects of contestation to reach followers of this religious sect are added to the religious effect, namely the dimensions that become absorbent due to the attitudes and actions of congregations and their authority, the more they help, do good, give, cooperate and have a good attitude. other, then the community will be attracted to become followers.<sup>29</sup>

## Religious Traditions of the Community Sapeken, Sumenep

Statistically, none of the people of the Kangean Islands are non-Muslims, all are Muslims. From being so fanatical, Islamic teachings are integrated with the preservation of community culture, so that there is a strong smell between

<sup>24</sup> Muhsin, Rochmawati, and Huda, “Revolution of Islamic Proselytizing Organization,” *QUIIS: Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 7, no. 1 (2019), p. 55.

<sup>25</sup> Dja'far, “Memahami Teologi Islam,” *Jurnal Nazharat*, vol. XV, no. 1 (2014), p. 45.

<sup>26</sup> Hilmy, “Akar-akar Transnasionalisme Islam Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI),” *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2011), p. 156..

<sup>27</sup> Arifanto, “Islamic Campus Preaching Organizations in Indonesia: Promoters of Moderation or Radicalism?,” *Asian Security*, vol. 14, no. 6 (2018), pp. 1–20.

<sup>28</sup> Setiyani, “The Exerted Authority Of Kiai Kampung In The Social Construction Of Local Islam,” *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2020), pp. 51–75.

<sup>29</sup> C.Y. Glock & R. Stark, “Religion and Society in Tension,” (New York: Randn McNally, 1996), pp. 39–40.

religion and culture. As also researched by Bustami (2001), culturally, the Kangean community has its own culture and is different from the culture of the Madurese community in general.<sup>30</sup> These cultural differences can be seen from the level of language used in respecting one's religious knowledge. The highest language is carried out on the figure of a cleric or kiai. As stated by Santoso, an elementary school teacher there.

*On the island of Kangean, it still has a strong culture of having langgar-langgar (small traditional mosque), a place to recite the Quran after every Maghrib. In every village, there are kiai-kiai or ustadz (Islamic leaders or clerics) who teach, they are respected for their knowledge and services. Teachers of the Quran are mentioned as figured here, because their roles are multiple. It is not only a matter of religion, but everything else such as household matters, donated land, punishment, and others. The teachers of the Quran are also respected because they do not ask for remuneration, sincerely teach the Quran even their lives are formed the same, coming from farming, fishing and working in shops.*<sup>31</sup>

When conducting observations, researchers found that the origins of Kangean people are actually unique. They are originally from Madura, Arabic, Malay, Balinese, Makassar and even Chinese. At first, they were formed religious because of their ancestors, such as Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism. However, after mingling with the indigenous people of Kangean, all of those origin people became followers of Islam. Religion is the main guideline in communication and social interaction. From the aspect of language, they use the grammar based on religious moral, the way they communicate is based on *layyinan wa thama'an*, *slametans* which have the nuances of dhikr and supplication to Allah, even the construction of buildings is also heavily influenced by the customs of the Arab nation, this is what

they call with acculturation of religion and culture.<sup>32</sup>

Several studies reveal the acculturation practices, such as 1) *selametan bumi*, when on the interview, it was stated that the reason the researcher conducted *slametan* is because of the fear of God's wrath for His followers who are not grateful, too afraid of his taxable treason that happens to those who destroy the earth. This *slametan* tradition has become the culture of the community annually, some of them even celebrate this event for every fishing harvest. 2) *slameten* for seven months of women's pregnancy, the researcher himself observed that that tradition has been running for a long time, there are two reasons, namely; the spirits do not bother the unborn baby and endow the baby with brilliant physical and intellectual abilities. Generally, the prayers of the village kiai are expected. 3) the tradition of three days of death, seven days, forty days, one hundred and one thousand days for the deceased. According to the community statement, reading the Quran, giving alms and even the activity filled by religious event, *tausiah*, are also sent to those who passed away as parts of the good traditions of Islam, therefore it needs to be preserved.<sup>33</sup>

The tradition of *slametan* is the most dominant in the religions of the Sapeken community, Sumenep. They believe that the earth / sea is the main source of livelihood. Even though they are Muslims as a whole, the remnants of Buddhist and Hindu teachings are still attached. The results of the researcher's observations observed that they believed in the gods who resided in the sea, they called *Mbo Ma Dilao* (god of sea). In Benny Baskara's research (2016), a belief in the god of the sea was the belief of the Hindu community since a long time ago, in Indonesia itself, people and community who are still maintain and preserve this belief are those who are in Bali and Central

<sup>30</sup> Abd. Latif Bustani, "Islam Kangean," *Antropologi Indonesia*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2014): pp. 72–73.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Santoso, Sumenep, Februari 07, 2021.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Moh. Zaini, a vilage leader in Sapeken who understands the religious community in Sapeken, Sumenep, Februari 07, 2021.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Nur, a popular name, the son of a local traditional leader who has long been collecting data on the community based on religion, education and economy, Sumenep, Februari 07, 2021.

Java. Dewa Mbo Ma Dilao consists of four, namely *Mbo Janggo*, *Mbo Tambirah*, *Mbo Goyah* and *Mbo Dugah*.<sup>34</sup>

However, when the information was extracted, it turned out that belief in these gods was only a tradition, and some informants even mentioned that these gods were likened to sea guards in the form of good spirits. In that sense, all the ruins of Hinduism are not shown in the ritual aspects of Hinduism, but are preserved while not contradicting Islamic teachings. In addition, Kangean people arguably believe in spirits, demons, spirits, and other supernatural powers that are commonly believed by traditional societies. As revealed by local traditional leaders.

*The important thing is not worship to god, if we forbid that, then it is not good for our understanding of Islam, it is not true that religion is contrary to existing traditions, what is actually important is that it is not contrary to Islamic teachings, which have the same contents namely alms, dhikr, praying led by kiai, that's Islam. Actually, people don't really know about the existence of these gods, they only know the term of slametan bumi. The aim is also to give thanks to God's grace, because God's blessings are given gifts and sustenance.*<sup>35</sup>

The type of belief in spirits in Kangean community illustrates that they still retain traditional religious styles, such as the implementation of *slametans*, *rituals of rakaat*, that is done at sea and some others. When they want to go to sea, their tradition is to perform ritual offerings in the hope of asking God to give bountiful results and avoid the spirits of the rulers of the sea. *Slametan jalan* (done in the road), which is believed to bring back evil spirits from the sea that disturb humans. This kind of belief continues to develop up to now and is celebrated simultaneously regardless of religious sect. Thus, the existence of tradition is maintained

in Kangean archipelago, even though there are many sects. Though it looks contrary to the teachings of the Islamic religion from the outside, the objective of implementation is actually based on the values and principles of Islamic teachings.

### Trisula, Religious Movement in Sapeken, Sumenep

The upheaval of religious movements on the island of Sapeken began in the early 20th century (according to local traditional leaders circa 1965). Prior to the entry of the religious movement, Kangean community's way of religion was still traditional like Maduranese and Javanese people in general, namely reciting Quran, congregational prayer in *langgar-langgar*, *slametan laut*, *haul*, *sesajen*, burning incense every Friday night. That means, the religious foundations that were originally founded were conservative, traditional and fanatical.<sup>36</sup>

Only later after the major NU and Muhammadiyah organizations come and visit Sapeken area, people began to get to know *tahlilan*, the celebration of the Prophet's birthday, and the activity of *dzikir*. The community also knows about formal education, big business and so forth. The two organizations did not compete with each other, because NU chose traditional and cultural aspects of the ancestors and villages as its targets, while Muhammadiyah combed elite urban areas. Since several years, both of them have existed to gain congregation, even according to the results of interviews, NU is very dominant compared to Muhammadiyah, because it is more accepted and responsive to culture.

In the 1980's, Persatuan Islam (Persis) known as Islamic Unity came to be a puritan religious sect. The researcher could not reveal the early history of Persis 'arrival, from the informants' information that he only mentioned that Persis came from trade and marriage factors. Because Kangean people often trade to various regions of the archipelago. In that year, the number of NU residents was greater, especially on the cultural

<sup>34</sup> Benny Baskara, *Islam Bajo Agama Laut*, (Banten: Javanica PT Kaurama Buana Antara, 2016), pp. 67–68.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Safruddin Nur, a Sapeken community who is recognized as a religious expert, has a langgar and a student of reciting the Quran. There, he was called as kiai, Sumenep, Februari 07, 2021.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with H. Subaida, a government official, Sumenep, Februari 07, 2021.



plains, while Muhammadiyah dominated ethnic Chinese descent, a small portion of the priyayi and traders, because Muhammadiyah was more combining the elite and visionary sections of the upper class. Meanwhile, at that time, Persis was only followed by a small part of the community. But then, the wind of support blew to Persis, Muhammadiyah was reported as a “*kafir*” (infidel) sect by some people, while NU was considered a pure traditionalist, Persis was considered to be in the middle and at that time was commanded by a respected local figure, Ustadz Dailamy.<sup>37</sup>

According to Sujipto’s statement, the three religious sects are like someone who are slipping rice, namely:

*The analogue is that Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) seemed took the whole rice, also small rice, the juice and skin were all taken by NU. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah only took the rice skin and Persis took the whole rice. This parable means that NU always takes part in every tradition of society, while Persis and Muhammadiyah are only part of the real things. Maybe, because the people’s mindset is starting to advance, they think of tradition as just a celebration.*<sup>38</sup>

The existence of these three religious sects brings people’s understanding of the three Islamic ideologies at once. People must be able to distinguish which ones are compatible with their diversity and which are not. In the process, the three ideologies give birth to significant dynamics regarding the influence and dominance of traditionalist, modern and puritan Islamic organizations. The three tridents of Islamic religious ideology can be explained below.

First, Traditional Islam (NU). Understanding traditionalist Islamic teachings, in the history of Sapeken was first under KH. Abu Hurairah in 1930, he came from Pambauwang Mandar, Makassar, South Sulawesi who was married to a woman

of Sapeken. Scientifically, KH. Abu Hurairah has carried out intellectual wanderings to various countries such as Philippines, Singapore and Malaysia with the aim of trading and preaching. In addition, his scientific knowledge has been studied in Mecca for about a whole year at the Grand Mosque. He is also a student of KH. Abdul Wahid and Muhammad Saleh al-Yamani.<sup>39</sup>

First, traditional Islamic understanding was conveyed through the recitation and religious groups in Sapeken island, Sumenep. The recitation congregation comes from inside and outside area of Sapeken islands such as Flores, Sulawesi, Lombok and Sumbawa. In understanding traditional Islamic teaching, KH. Abu Hurairah taught the sources of books of turats such as *al-Umm*, *safinat an-Najah*, *bidayah al-mujtahid* and others. After doing a lot of recitation and being followed by many people, formal education was then established, from *madrasah* (elementary level) to *Aliyah* (high-school level), then non-formal educational institutions such as the Quran garden a kind of a place to memorize the Quran and *diniyah* school (school of learning Islamic Holy books) were also established. Understanding the teachings of Islam below, is easily accepted by all levels of society from rural to urban areas. In addition, KH. Abu Hurairah is very flexible and in line with cultural traditions.<sup>40</sup>

Second, Modern Islam (Muhammadiyah). The modern Islamic movement under the Muhammadiyah religious sect, namely KH. Edi Narjo Ajib he came from Sulawesi. Sanad studied in Medina and Yemen for seven years. The religious movement that was built was more about combing intellectual and economic movements, the basis of da’wa was started by building modern formal Muhammadiyah schools. In these institutions, Muhammadiyah intensified preaching and strengthened religious understanding. The spirit of da’wa is more dominated by ethnic of Chinese descent, traders and some government and priyayi elites.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Interview with Moh. Zaini..., Sumenep, Februari 07, 2021.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with ad-Dailamy Abu Hurairoh, one of a respected *kiai*. Apart from being the son of the great *kiai* Abu Hurairah, he is also a carrier of the Persis flow to Sapeken. It was in Dailamy’s hands, Persis was able to develop rapidly up to now, Sumenep, Februari 08, 2021.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with ad-Dailamy Abu Hurairoh..., Sumenep, Februari 08, 2021.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with ad-Dailamy Abu Hurairoh..., Sumenep, Februari 08, 2021.

<sup>41</sup> Interview with ad-Dailamy Abu Hurairoh..., Sumenep, Februari 08, 2021.

Third, puritan Islam (Persis). After traditional religious understanding and modern Islam developed rapidly in the Sapeken islands, it was not until 1949 that the puritanism movement brought by the Islamic Union (Persis) religious sect was brought in by a civil servant assigned to Sapeken District, namely H. Sahwanuddin. Puritanism has its base in Bandung, H. Sahwanuddin himself was a pioneering part of Persis in Bandung which was brought to the Sapeken islands. Initially, the spread of this puritanism was very little through recitation of Quran, there were only two students who participated, namely Wak Arit and Wak Sahabat.<sup>42</sup>

Several years later, in 1953 to be precise, one of the Persis figures, Ahmad Bajuri, who was the treasurer of the Persis Islamic Boarding School in Bangil, East Java, came to Sapeken island for trading and preaching purposes. He also married a woman from Sapeken archipelago. However, the preaching driven by al-Bajuri has not yet reaped the results of the community. Until 1962, a puritan Islamic figure who was originally a member of Muhammadiyah H. Jamal Sulaiman from Bugis, South Sulawesi, intended to find a family that was none other than HKH. Abu Hurairah. Finally Jamal settled there and carried out the spread of puritanism.

As a result, the three figures (H. Sahwanuddin, Ahmad Bajuri and H. Jamal Sulaiman) collaborated to develop puritan Islamic preaching in the Sapeken Islands. Like what KH. Abu Hurairah, their model of da'wa was also through recitation of the ta'lim and tahkim assemblies. However, it is religious feedback or benefits from religious beliefs that attracts the community, namely by providing scholarships to children of community leaders to seek complete knowledge at Persis and Muhammadiyah Islamic boarding schools, such as KH. Ad-Dailamy Abu Hurairah, H. Muhammad Ali, H. Natsir and others, they are sons of respected figures, and children of NU and Muhammadiyah figures.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Interview with ad-Dailamy Abu Hurairoh..., Sumenep, Februari 08, 2021.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with ad-Dailamy Abu Hurairoh..., Sumenep, Februari 08, 2021.

The religious da'wa movement of the three figures above, was also ineffective. It was only in 1970, after the children who were given scholarships had finished their studies, they collaborated to spread puritanical Islam or Persis, such as ad-Dailamy Abu Hurairah and H. Ali. From there, they were able to develop exactly and be accepted by the community. It can be said that puritanism was able to develop rapidly after going through three waves of da'wa namely the years 1949-196 brought by Ahmad Bajuri, 1967-1972 which was under Jamal Sulaiman and 1972 which was driven by ad-Dailamy and was able to shift the traditional ideology that was previously known as Sapeken community.

### Conflict and Puritan-Based Political Economy Movement

The success of the Persis puritanism movement is actually supported by ad-Dailamy's intelligence. In 1991, ad-Dailamy even changed the name of the NU-based *pesantren* called *Pesantren* Abu Hurairah to "*Pesantren* Persis Abu Hurairah", this further emphasizes that Persis dominates in its entirety from all aspects. In addition, ad-Dailamy intelligence capable of reading opportunities and strength (power) of Kangean Island community character. When NU combed the ideological and cultural areas and Muhammadiyah moved in the structural realm, Persis took part in the economic sphere as the basis of religious political movements, while the ideological sphere from traditional to puritan was not the main target, but would follow by itself if it was able to dominate the economic sphere.<sup>44</sup> This is the key to the success of the Persis movement in Sapaken Islands.

Although the main spirit of the Persis puritanism movement has changed the religious reality of society mixed with pre-Islamic beliefs such as dynamism, Hinduism, to be returned to the mainstream Islamic teachings, but in the da'wa strategy combing the aesthetic goal of religious economics. Purification of aqidah, worship and

<sup>44</sup> Interview with H. Yasak, One of the kiai who also takes care of the *pesantren* Persis Abu Hurairah, Sumenep, Februari 08, 2021.

sharia containing superstition, *bid'ah*, *khurafat* must be abandoned and return to Islamic teachings without *bid'ah*. Putanisasi is done by arousing social problems, such as unemployment, ignorance, suffering.

The religious political economy strategy begins with the concept of worldly asceticism, which is to uncover the side of the social problem to be used as a guide in instilling puritanism. The religious political economy movement is reflected in their devotion to Persis by fostering a high spirit of human development. Such as maximizing religious doctrine to improve work ethic. Religion instructs them not to be lazy, orders them to work and try, so that Persis prepares jobs and encourages their work ethic. Thus, the puritan Persis conducts various trading businesses such as building stores, factories, restaurants and places to prepare wedding receptions. The comparison between the political economy between Persis, NU and Muhammadiyah can be described below.

Tabel 1.1 Economic Activities of Religious Sects

No.	Sects	Restaurant	Event Organizer	Store	Zakat Institution	Factory
01	NU	-	1	7	-	-
02	Muhammadiyah	-	4	2	-	-
03	Persis	8	-	33	2	2
Amount		8	5	42	2	2

Source: research data in 2021

The table above illustrates that Persis fully controls the economic sector of society, and even builds micro-macroeconomic businesses for the welfare of Sapeken community. This is proven by the fact that many stores, restaurants and even factories consist of local employees who are able to market their products outside Sapeken area. With this political economy, people do not need to be taught to become members of Persis, they automatically follow because it is believed that Persis is a religious sect that cares for its congregation.<sup>45</sup> With this also, the tendency of

Sapeken people to make the fishing profession their only means of livelihood is gradually being abandoned. Indirectly, leaving the tradition of going to sea, also forgetting the various *slametans* that accompany it.

In addition, Persis has two Islamic philanthropic institutions, namely *zakat*, *infaq* and *sadakah* institutions in two villages at once. ZIS fundraising is taken from traders, civil servants, businessmen and some Muslims who are considered to be burdened with obligations. Then, these funds are managed either through productive, revolving, investment, stocks and so on, the results of which are intended for the poor and people who have micro-businesses but need capital. It is this contribution that has made Persis really master the heart and love to side with the Islamic religious sect in Sapeken.

This religious-nuanced political economy had many impacts, apart from the preservation of the puritanism, Persis was able to master aspects of the social structure which were partially controlled by Muhammadiyah. Some of the structures that are controlled are:

- 1) the government or the sovereign. The government's role is very large in producing policies related to religion, politics and religion in Sapeken Islands. The government, which consists of a village head and a sub-district head, influences various aspects, including human development programs. Therefore, the role of the government, also determines the contestation of the influence of religious sects. By controlling the economic sector of society, there will be cooperation between Persis and the government, both of them are closely related, with this phenomenon, Persis can control important structural areas.

Persis's relationship with the government legitimizes and smoothes the political economy strategy. Even the government's position is a partner in the microeconomic empowerment program. The government ranks from every village to sub-district fully support the activities and ritualistic of the puritanical Islamic

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Asnawi, One of teachers in State Elementary School who adheres to and as the follower of

Persis sect, Sumenep, Februari 08, 2021..

understanding of Persis. Support from the government has further strengthened Persis' dominance in Sapeken, in addition to being a means of legitimizing religious political strategy, it is also a partner.<sup>46</sup>

- 2) entrepreneurs or businessmen. Sapeken archipelago is a potential agribusiness area, it's just that people prefer to go to sea than develop agribusiness potential. This opportunity was actually used by Persis to master microeconomics. Several entrepreneurs consisting of businessmen and security (thugs) are invited to support each other, they become business partners and workforce partnerships. The ability to fund Persis has indeed been prepared, because it is fully supported by the Bangil-based Pesantren Persis.<sup>47</sup> The type of Sapaken people who do have a high work ethic as a fisherman is used as a force for strong preaching Persis. Between fishermen, traders and local potential businessmen to establish an intense cooperation to build a factory. Almost all people participate in developing the business initiated by Persis.
- 3) priyai or aristocrats. Some kiai or religious authorities, either NU or Muhammadiyah, partially moved ideologically to Persis. The reason is that the program is just as real and realistic as the economy and education are growing rapidly. From the interview results, the reason for the ideological move was because the differences between NU, Muhammadiyah and Persis were not much different and both were Islamic. Meanwhile, in the realm of economy and education, Persis has dominated and is more systematic. From the number of educations, it can be statistically described below:

Tabel 1.2 Number of Educational Institutions  
for Religious Schools

No.	Sects	Primary School	Junior High School	Senior High School	University	Pesantren's
01	NU	5	3	3	-	2
02	Muhammadiyah	1	1	-	-	-
03	Persis	8	3	2	1	3
Amount		14	7	5	1	5

Source: research data in 2021

From the table above, it is clear that Persis has complete educational institutions from the most basic level to tertiary institutions and is even supported by the existence of Islamic boarding schools. Meanwhile, other religious organizations are under Persis. This condition indicates that Persis is mostly chosen to be a place of learning, which indirectly, students and alumni become part of Persis with the ideology of puritanism. The existence of this educational institution is the strength to become the majority.

## Conclusion

From the discussions above, it can be concluded that two important things are: first, Sapaken archipelago, Sumenep-Madura is an area that adheres to a traditionalist religious ideology, since the arrival of the Islamic Unity (Persis) with the ideology of puritanism, people of Sapeken abandoned their ideology and tradition brought by the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The strategy used to shift the sects of traditionalist religion was combing the parts of the community economy that were not touched by NU and Muhammadiyah. Exactly being able to take advantage of the opportunity to become a strength. Exactly does not make puritan ideology the main focus as was done by NU and Muhammadiyah, but controls the economic side as the heart of the social system, which in itself, society's ideology turns puritanical automatically.

Second, the religious-based political economy played by Persis leads to control of the social structure network from the root to the most dominant, da'wachanging the trading pattern of Sapeken community into an agribusiness area. The structures that are controlled as a form of religious

<sup>46</sup> Interview with Manshur, a traditional leader as well as a kiai who owns a langgar in the Sapeken archipelago. Since the development of NU and Muhammadiyah, Mansur took part in the upheaval of this religious sect, Sumenep, Februari 08, 2021..

<sup>47</sup> Interview with ad-Dailamy Abu Hurairoh..., Sumenep, Februari 08, 2021.



political economy are: 1) micro-macroeconomic aspects, by building job opportunities, funding students, building micro businesses, and establishing two large factories, 2) integrated educational aspects, building kindergarten to tertiary educational institutions that supported by the existence of the mastery of Islamic Boarding School supported by partners as part of the legitimacy of the power of Persis, namely, 1) the government or sovereign ranging from village heads to sub-districts, 2) entrepreneurs or businessmen, all who have business and capital are embraced to work together to build Sapeken, 3) priyayi or nobility.

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