

THE PURITANISM OF THE PROGRESSIVE TRADITIONALISM:

Dynamics of Religious Life in Madura in Perspective on Conflict Theory of Lewis Coser

Edi Susanto

IAIN Madura

email: edihabermas@yahoo.co.id

Abstract: *This article is based on the phenomenological qualitative sociological research seeks to describe the research focus; the first, the spread of Islamic Puritanism ideology in an area of Progressive Traditionalism, especially on Madura island, second, the contact between Islamic Puritanism ideology and the ideology of Progressive traditionalism, and third, the implications of the contact between Islamic Puritanism ideology and ideology of Progressive Traditionalism especially in Madura. From the study, it was concluded that Islamic Puritanism ideology spread across the basis area of Progressive Traditionalism in Madura through traditional means (direct contact) and through media and modern preaching, while patterns of intersection between Islamic Puritanism Ideology and the ideology of Traditionalism Progressive in Madura involves a pattern of conflict and peaceful means, even though it is actually artificial peace like fire in the husk, and the implications of the contact between Islamic Puritanism and Progressive Traditionalism ideology to a certain extent is able to realize the reorientation of the religious pattern of progressive traditionalists and Islamic Puritans by being able to reduce the relative deprivation mentality and the attitude of alienation also the most authentic feeling.*

Keywords: puritanism, Progressive Traditionalism, religious life, conflict theory, Lewis Coser.

الملخص: هذا البحث العلمي يجري على أساس المنهج النوعي الاجتماعي الطواهري ويحاول إلى وصف تركيز البحث كما يلي؛ أولاً: انتشار الفكر البيوريتاني الإسلامي في وسط مجتمع التقاليد التقدمي الإسلامي خاصة في جزيرة مادورا، ثانياً: نمط الاتصال بين الفكر البيوريتاني الإسلامي وبين عقيدة مجتمع التقاليد التقدمي الإسلامي، وثالثاً: آثار الاتصال بين فكر البيوريتاني الإسلامي وبين فكر مجتمع التقاليد التقدمي الإسلامي في وسط مجتمع التقاليد التقدمي الإسلامي في جزيرة مادورا عن طريق الاتصال الاجتماعي المباشر واستخدام وسائل الإعلام والدعوة المعاصرة. ونمط الاتصال بين الفكر البيوريتاني الإسلامي وبين فكر مجتمع التقاليد التقدمي الإسلامي في مادورا يجري عن طريق الصراع والسلام. ولكن السلام مزيّف مصطنع مثل النار داخل الحطب. وتداعيات الاتصال بين مجتمع البيوريتاني الإسلامي ومجتمع التقاليد التقدمي الإسلامي إلى حد ما يستطيع أن يحقق إعادة التوجيه الديني حول مجتمع التقليديين التقدميين الإسلاميين والبيوريتانيين الإسلاميين من خلال القدرة على الحد من عقلية الحرمان النسبي وموقف الاغتراب و شعور الأصاله.

Abstrak: Artikel ini berbasis pada penelitian kualitatif sosiologis fenomenologis berusaha mendeskripsikan fokus penelitian; pertama, penyebaran ideologi Puritanisme Islam di daerah kantong Tradisionalisme Progresif khususnya di pulau Madura, kedua, pola persentuhan ideologi Puritanisme Islam dengan ideologi kalangan radisionalisme Progresif dan ketiga, implikasi persentuhan ideologi Puritanisme Islam dengan ideologi kalangan Tradisionalisme Progresif khususnya di Madura. Dari studi tersebut diperoleh kesimpulan bahwa penyebaran Ideologi Puritanisme Islam di daerah kantong Tradisionalisme Progresif di Madura ditempuh melalui cara-cara tradisional (kontak langsung) dan melalui media dan dakwah modern. Pola persentuhan Ideologi Puritanisme Islam dengan ideologi kalangan Tradisionalisme Progresif di Madura melalui pola konflik dan dengan cara damai, meskipun damai semu seperti api dalam sekam, dan implikasi persentuhan Ideologi Puritanisme Islam dengan Ideologi kalangan Tradisionalisme Progresif hingga tahapan tertentu mampu mewujudkan reorientasi pola keberagamaan kalangan tradisional progresif maupun kalangan Puritanis Islam dengan syarat mampu mengurangi mental deprivasi relatif dan sikap keterasingan dan perasaan paling otentik.

INTRODUCTION

In Azyumardi Azra's perspective, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is the largest religious social organization in Indonesia -even in the world¹- which since its birth was claimed to be a traditional Muslim guardian who is not diametrically opposed to Islam, has always been identified as a traditional Islamic organization (Traditionalism).² Such identification -to a certain extent- has spawned stigmatization for this very strong belief that followers of this organization are conservative, closed, -reform and change.³ The impression now does not find its relevance, especially if it is associated with a number of the NU. The NU has born a tendency to resist in a manner that is diametrically opposed to the stigma above.⁴ That is why the researchers identify the National Education as an organization that is Traditionalist in progressive.

Along with the political reforms that were rolled out after the New Order, it has opened up opportunities for the realization of freedom to express and articulate civil rights and political rights for all citizens. The existence of this freedom greatly enables Muslim communities to express their opinions more liberally, and form organizations, to choose principles/ideologies and *platforms*.⁵ Such momentum was used by various groups, including the Wahhabi Salafis to disseminate their thought and teachings in Indonesia, including in the island of Madura.

Salafi Islam which means teaching of the early period of Islam -the period of the Prophet and the period of the Companions- is the best period which is the most authentic reference source for Muslims. Salafi Islam with its characteristic always refers to the literalism of

¹ AzyumardiAzra, "Liberalisasi Pemikiran NU", in Mujamil Qomar, *NU Liberal: Dari Tradisionalisme Ahlussunnah ke Universalisme Islam* (Bandung: Mizan, 2002), 17.

² M.Ali Haidar, *Nahdhatul Ulama dan Islam di Indonesia: Pendekatan Fikih dalam Politik* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1994).

³ Shonhadji Sholeh, *Arus Baru NU: Perubahan Pemikiran Kaum Muda dari Tradisionalisme ke Post Tradisionalisme* (Surabaya: JPBooks, 2004), 3.

⁴ The three dissertations are the dissertation of Shonhadji Sholeh is adopted by the New Age of NU: 1. *Perubahan Pemikiran Kaum Muda dari Tradisionalisme ke Post Tradisionalisme*. 2) Laode Ida, *NU Muda Kaum Progresif dan Sekularisme Baru* and 3) Mujamil Qomar, *NU Liberal dari Tradisionalisme Ahlussunnah ke Universalisme Islam*.

⁵ M. Imdadun Rahmat dan Khamami Zada, "Agenda Politik Gerakan Islam Baru", *Tashwirul Afkar Jurnal Refleksi Pemikiran Keagamaan dan Kebudayaan*, Edisi No. 16 Tahun 2004, 27.

the texts of the Qur'an and the Hadith and applies a literal model of interpretation, in which religious texts are understood as textually or *harfiyah*, without using the *ta'wil* method which is often used by jurists, having given birth -at least two consequences. *First*, it encourages each individual to build an understanding of religion independently, and *second*, that principle -which refers to its source- it has destroyed elitism in religion. Basically, this principle reflects freedom or liberalization in religion, in the sense that each person has an equal opportunity and rights in interpreting religious doctrines. But unfortunately, the process of understanding carried out by Puritanical Islam tends to be literalistic, so they reject the diversity of expressions of religiosity, and put forward the unity of expression, namely Middle East expression -even expressions- only Arabic or Afghanistan.⁶ Such views, to a certain extent, have collided and come into direct contact with the majority of Madurese people who predominantly affiliate to the NU, in which Puritan Islamic groups assume that Muslims have been lost to *pristine* doctrine, rituality, and Islamic practice, and therefore need to be rectified.

The contradiction of understanding and contact will clearly lead to conflict, as well as new dynamics and faces that are very interesting, so researchers are interested in investigating the above mentioned with the theme Puritanism in Progressive Traditionalism aspect: Study of the Dynamics of Religious Life in Madura, covering 4 Regencies namely Sumenep, Pamekasan, Sampang and Bangkalan by using the Lewis Coser conflict theory perspective.⁷

By examining the above, it is hoped that *first*, this research can provide benefits in identifying patterns of the spread of Puritanism in 4 districts in Madura while at the same time recognizing its teachings. *Second*, by introducing the teachings of Puritanical Islamic groups, they

⁶ Abdul Mun'im DZ, "Mengukuhkan Jangkar Islam Nusantara", *Tashwirul Afkar Jurnal Refleksi Pemikiran Keagamaan dan Kebudayaan*, Edisi No. 26 Tahun 2008, 6.

⁷ Lewis A Coser was born in the city of Berlin in 1913. He obtained his Ph.D. D from Columbia University in 1968. His professorship was obtained from the University of Brandies, and from this university he worked extensively in the field of sociology. In 1975, Coser was elected president of the ASA (*American Sociological Association*). Many of his works on sociology, especially about the sociology of conflict, he tried to develop conflict theory George Simmel. His phenomenal work is *The Functions of Social Conflict*. Coser died on July 8, 2003 in Cambridge, Massachusetts at the age of 89. Check <https://www.researchgate.net/publication>

are expected to understand their logical thinking and religious logic, so that they are expected to form proportional attitudes in interacting -in the sense of transacting or collaborating- with these circles. *Third*, this research is expected to provide benefits in developing tolerance in the midst of differences and diversity of schools of thought and the dynamics of religious life which are increasingly polarizing, dynamic and rapidly developing, especially in Madura. *Fourth*, this research is expected to provide stimulation in examining similar phenomena in the regional context -at the same time in a theoretical perspective- so that the value of its benefits can be felt more in an effort to build mutual tolerance that is more authentic as well as contextual.

Based on this phenomenon, the *first* research focus was formulated, the spread of Islamic Puritanism⁸ ideology of Progressive Traditionalism, especially in the island of Madura. *Second*, the pattern of Islamic Puritanism ideology with the ideology of Progressive traditionalism and *third*, the implications of the Islamic Puritanism ideology with the ideology of Progressive Traditionalism especially on Madura.

The theme was deliberately chosen because there was a stigma that Madura was synonymous with NU, so it was often identified as the basis — even it is often said that the Madurese religion is NU and did not recognize the diversity of ideology or religious schools,⁹ on ignoring the fact that Madurese people are very “diverse” in term of religious platform such as Muhammadiyah, LDII and even Shia.¹⁰ This means that the dimensions of religious dynamics are well known there. On the other hand, the spread of radical Islam with some variations has also been known in Madura. The proof -among other things- can be listened by Ahmad Zainul Hamdi’s writing with the

⁸ The term Puritanism is often interchangeable with these terms namely: revivalism, fundamentalism, literalism, *ushuliyah*, *al-Ba’ath*, *al-harakah*, *muta’assibin*, *mutatharrifin* and others. See Afrohah, “Fundamentalisme: Korelasi Ideology Fundamentalis dengan Ideologi Gerakan Islam Modern”, *Al- Tahrir Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, Vol.18 No 1, 2018, 178-180.

⁹ Mein A. Rifa’i, *Manusia Madura: Pembawaan, Perilaku, Etos Kerja, Penampilan dan Pandangan Hidupnya Seperti Dicitrakan Peribahasannya* (Yogyakarta: Pilar Media, 2005), 42.

¹⁰ For example by the research in Sampang conducted by Imam Bonjol Juhari from IAIN Jember and Mohammad Afdillah from UGM and various other studies.

theme “*Radicalizing Indonesian Moderate from within: The NU-FPI relationship of Bangkalan Madura*”.¹¹

This qualitative research is characterized by the use of *data collection* methods, namely *participant observation* and *independent interviews* as primary data collection methods, so that qualitative research has a tendency to examine characteristics - among other things - having *key instruments*, more importantly the process of the product, tends to analyze data empirically.¹² When this research is seen from its nature, this research can be classified in survey research with a *case approach*, namely research carried out in an intensive manner, detailed and in-depth details of an organization or phenomena (*events*) that occur in the field that becomes the focus of this study.

The informants consisted of community leaders and elements of society (kiai, scholars, academics, practitioners, and others) related to research topics and problems, while the purposive sampling chosen was not based on certain strata (*class*), random for a certain (*area*), but rather the consideration of certain goals. Therefore, the determination of research subjects was carried out by (1) *extreme or deviant sampling*, which was used to select informants who tended to have less participation in purification activities and progressive traditionalism activities but still cared. (2) *Intensity sampling* used to select informants who have involvement in purification activities and activists of progressive traditionalism movements. (3) *maximum variety sampling* in the sense that the researcher tries to get informants who become very adequate knowledge about purification and about progressive traditionalism and (4) *critical cases sampling* which is trying to obtain informants who are critical of the two phenomena.

The data analysis was carried out by phenomenological analysis. In general, data analysis with a phenomenological perspective consists of four stages, namely:¹³ (a) The first stage, namely trying to

¹¹ Ahmad Zainul Hamdi, “Radicalizing Indonesian Moderate Islam from within: The NU-FPI relationship in Bangkalan Madura”, *Journal of Indonesian Islam*. Vol. 13 No. 1 Juni 2013, 71-95. Hamdi tried to explain the interaction between radical Islamic circles - represented by FPI with moderate Muslims - represented by NU in Bangkalan Regency.

¹² SuharsimiArikunto, *Prosedur Penelitian Suatu Pendekatan Praktik* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1996), 9.

¹³ O. Hasbiansyah. “Pendekatan Fenomenologi: Pengantar Praktik Penelitian dalam Ilmu Sosial dan Komunikasi”, *Mediator Jurnal Komunikasi*, Vol. 9 Nomor 1 Juni 2008, 171-172.

describe as clearly as possible the phenomenon experienced by the research subjects. All track records or transcription interviews with research subjects are transcribed (*transferred*) to written language. (b) The second stage, *Horizontalization*, where the researcher attempts to inventory statements and important affirmations that are relevant and in accordance with the topic. In this stage of *horizontalization* researchers are very important to be patient in delaying the assessment (*bracketing/epoche*), meaning that the element of their subjectivity “should not” interfere with efforts to specify important points, as research data, obtained from interviews.¹⁴ (c), the third stage, *Cluster of Meaning*, researchers try to classify (*statement*) the statements (*informants*) to themes or units of meaning, and set aside statements that are repetitive. This stage consists of three subs, namely (1) Textural description, where researchers write their own experiences, namely trying to describe what they experience as individuals, (2) Structural description, namely researchers try to write as objectively as possible about how the phenomenon is experienced by informants. Researchers also try to find all possible meanings based on their own reflection (*researchers*), both in the form of opinions, judgments, feelings and expectations of research subjects regarding the phenomenon they experience, (3) essence description, ie researchers try to construct a holistic description of the meaning and essence of the experiences of the subjects. Next is (d) The fourth stage, reporting, namely trying to report in writing about the results of the research based on the steps above.

To check trustworthiness, the data required to check the validity is done through (1) extending the intensity of attendance or extension of participation. Researchers increase the volume, intensity, and time of attendance to examine whether data findings in the field are by chance or actually occur. In this case, researchers come and interview repeatedly on the subject under study. (2) Deepening observations namely researchers increase the intensity and volume of observations of the phenomena studied, both concerning the textural

¹⁴ The term *epoche* is the term used by Edmund Husserl. *Epoche* himself places something between two brackets, What is meant is “trying to forget the meanings of objects for a while and trying to see objects directly with intuition without the help of previous meanings. This *epoche* is identical with the term *reduction* which becomes a principle that is fundamental to a phenomenological attitude. Check Juhaya S. Praja, *Philosophy and Ethics Flow* (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2008), 180.

description and structural description, and (3) Triangulation, which is a technique for obtaining data validity using various sources. That is, data sources, especially interviews, not only provide one person, but several people are taken purposively (*purposive sampling*) so that the data obtained is really a factual reality, and is not something by chance. Besides triangulation of data sources, triangulation methods are used to check the validity of the findings, which appear in the use of various methods in which their functions are to cover the weaknesses or limitations of each method of data collection used.

THE SPREAD OF ISLAMIC PURITANISM IDEOLOGY IN MADURA

A practice of life -whatever it is, including religious customs or traditions- is socialized in various ways. For example, the spread of word of mouth, dissemination through social media, television or through direct contact, through reading (books, magazines, and others).

Suham, S.Ag – A *Madrasah*'s Teacher Tsanawiyah Lenteng - stated that the practice of religious Puritanism in Daramistah Lenteng Sumenep was initially pioneered by Ust. Moh. Rusydi, a community leader in Daramistah village, who brought Ustadz Abu Bakar Ba'asyir - a hardline Muslim figure from Central Java - used to be around the 1990s. Ust, Rusydi slowly introduced behavior that approaches Puritanical Islam. For example, he debated the religious practices of the people in the village.¹⁵

This was justified by Badri with his statement that “The santri of Ustadz Rusydi were not all Madurese, he said, showing that they seemed to be from Central Java, since they speak a soft Javanese language. Another important thing is to use white pants (*celana cingkrang*), above the heels, and maintain a beard even if only a little and the most prominent is the forehead blackened like a former prostration “. ¹⁶

Furthermore, Badri added: Besides using white pants, not smoking, his clothes were always dressed in white ‘koko’ clothes, and

¹⁵ The interview was conducted on April 1, 2018 at the Residence of Suham, S, Ag (49 years), Lenteng, Sumenep at 08.00. a.m.

¹⁶ Badri is an Islamic Religion Teacher (PNS) in the Lenteng District of Sumenep. The interview took place at his house on April 1, 2018 at 1:00 p.m. until finished,

if the prayer was rather long. If you read al-Fatihah it is read without *bismillah* or perhaps the *Basmalah* is not hardened. If it stands a little awkward ‘*ngakkang*’ (wide), so that each leg of the prayer touches. For those women, the face is not necessarily white, even more, black and generally veiled (*bercadar*).¹⁷

The impression was that almost the same was shown by Moh. Bahwi, in my opinion, the spread of Puritanism ideology in the village was slow but convincing and increased a lot. The indication is that younger and younger people are dressed in what they call ‘*jalabiyah*’, namely long robes, turban, and what they call ‘*isbal*’, namely ‘*pantolan*’, which is only up to the ankles. More and more young people who maintain long beards even though their beards grow (not thick). The women wear very wide veils (*Syar’i veils*) and use what they call niqab, which is the form of black clothing that covers the entire body. Many of them have been dressed in this way, even though they know that the Palengaan area in the area is a large Islamic boarding school in Pamekasan.¹⁸

Then Mohammad Bahwi added: “I also often see young people who are keen on religion active in the Islamic Spirituality Unit (ROHIS) in their schools. They also often see television shows such as TV Wesal, TV Rodja and TV MTA (*Majlis Tafsir Al-Qur’an*) and almost every morning after dawn until 6.00 a.m. I often hear Radio Rodja broadcasts. TV and radio, in my view, are indeed based on Wahabi.”¹⁹ The next, he added, “Wahabi, in my opinion, is harder than the Muhammadiyah and even Islamic Unity (PERSIS). In this way, in my opinion, the spread of Puritanism is very prioritizing the purity of Islam, and Islam which is free from Bid’ah.”²⁰

The same impression was also explained by Edy Sukanto who stated: “Because I happened to be entrusted with the trust of being the head of the village, in this village that I led there was also a growing number of Muslims who called the Puritans. The characteristics are

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ M. Bahwi (51 years) is a PAI Supervisor in Palengaan Laok Pamekasan Village. The interview took place at his home on April 14, 2018 at 09.00 a.m.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

they are very aggressively spreading religious ideas through da'wah according to them -*halaqah* and *daurah* ".²¹

Furthermore, Sukanto added: "Almost every week with small participants and now it's getting bigger, but *militant*. They are very fanatical about maintaining their religious beliefs. The participants of this activity are generally young people (*detngodethen*), high school equivalent, but ... that ... the forehead is black because - often prostrate, serious if invited to a discussion always ask for the basis and reasons based on the Qur'an the and hadith ".²²

Sukanto added: "They are generally intellectual. Nice to discuss and disagree. And try to fortify their opinions with reading material. Their reading material is generally used to be al Muslimun magazine, now they change to *Sabili* magazine, a magazine that I think is indoctrination ".²³ Sukanto added: "The recitation activity they held was known as *halaqah*, a forum for studying Islamic knowledge where an ustadz taught and provided material according to a particular book and the participants sat in a circle to listen to the lessons given."²⁴

Another informant, H. Umar Sholihin, also stated: "This Puritanism of wahabi, in my opinion, is generally spread through Radio broadcasts. In this case, Radja radio is the pioneer. In my view, the salafis believe that Muslims must first be Islamized through a gradual process ".²⁵ Furthermore, he added: "these stages cover - what they call - *tarbiyah* (education) and *tasfiyah* (purification) before the application of the Shari'ah is perfectly realized. To fulfill this goal, their activists eagerly committed to da'wah activities through what is called dawrah."²⁶

Solihin added: "There is something else that becomes their specialty so that they are easier to recognize. If their women are generally dressed in black to wrap around their bodies, including their faces. The clothes they call the *niqab*".²⁷ Next he added "For

²¹ Edy Sukanto (50 years) is the Head of Banyu Pelle Village in Sokobanah Sampang District and PGAN Pamekasan alumni. The interview took place at his house on April 15, 2018 at 09.00 until completion.

²² Ibid

²³ Ibid

²⁴ ibid

²⁵ H. Umar Shalihin (50 years) is a PAI supervisor in Bangkalan Regency. The interview took place at his home on April 22, 2018 at 09.00 until completion.

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Ibid

the male, the most common sign of them is their blackened forehead. They also use clothing over their ankles, and at the same time have long beards, even if only a little / not thick “.²⁸

In the observations of researchers, it is known that indeed, in appearance, young people who join in the activity talk more intellectually, in charity they are happy with differences and accentuate differences with Muslims in general as if they are crossing over their breasts, while other Muslims do not. In dress, they are happy with *Cingkrang* clothes. Their foreheads are black because of prostration or because they are rubbed.²⁹ Then their women were also happy with black and veiled clothes, so their faces were unclear.³⁰

Thus, behavior patterns that are different from those of ordinary people such as using koko clothes, cingkrang pants, beards, mukena do not have to be white and then touching the social realities of the surrounding community which will not cause an attitude of wanting to know more “deeply” from society. Then there arises social friction, a touch of curiosity, arises a sense of sympathy or antipathy, the desire to imitate and so on.

Based on the data as seen above it can be affirmed that the spread of Islamic Puritanism in Madura was traversed through diverse and *divergent* processes ranging from direct ways and physical relations to the *sharing* of ideas

THE CONTACT OF ISLAMIC PURITANISM IDEOLOGY WITH PROGRESSIVE TRADITIONALISM IN MADURA

The pattern of contact with Islamic Puritanism ideology with the progressive ideology of traditionalism can be traced and described as follows:

Agus Wijaya, revealed as follows: “The Puritanical mission here is initially not frontal and informal ... It starts with young people who are happy with religious themes. They are generally young people

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ Observations were made at Ridlwan Mosque on Jalan Jokotole Pamekasan starting March 18, 2018 for several days. Observations were carried out by involving several informants

³⁰ Ibid

who like to organize, for example, active in OSIS (Intra School Student organizations) in their schools”.³¹

Furthermore, Agus added: “they questioned the practices and religious patterns that have become traditions, such as the problems of khilafiyah and other issues that touch on the religious traditions of the NU people. They are critical of tradition, for example towards death festivities, they see as bid’ah which does not need to be preserved. They said -these Puritanical children, and not my word mas- the religious practices of the old people were bid’ah, not in accordance with the hadith and the Qur’an. The practice was not exemplified by the Messenger of Allah, because it was not blessed by Allah. Their prayers were rejected.”³² And finally, Agus Wijaya added: “for me their attitude is critical, you should not be hostile. But invite them to have a dialogue with a cold head and not be opposed. But in reality, community leaders say” *na ‘kana’ tombu bheri ‘la a fatwa’. na ‘kana’ ghi ‘bhuru taoh aghemah. Ta ‘usa kasambhu’, jhe ‘lajjhenih.*³³

As with the reaction of Saiful Anam who stated firmly: “They must be justified. Their way of thinking has been exposed to the thoughts of the Wahhabis who flourished in Saudi Arabia. And this is not suitable for people in Indonesia, especially what else on the island of Madura.”³⁴ Anam added: “They must be straightened out so they don’t like to forgive people. This, in my opinion, is very dangerous. It can be a conflict with the kiyai. Therefore, their way of thinking about this religion must be changed. This happens because religion is understood to be too dzahiri, the pious people are those who practice their worship in accordance with what the Prophet exemplifies, it must be exactly the point. That’s their view. In my opinion, it can’t be like that. We can’t imitate the Prophet Muhammad exactly, because we are far behind the Prophet.”³⁵

Then Anam added: “religion for them is only a ritual. As a result, religion only relates to ritual piety. Religious practices that are not in

³¹ Agus Wijaya, M.Pd. I (50 years) is a PPAI supervisor in Bangkalan. The interview was conducted at his residence on April 22, 2018 at 10.00 to completion.

³² Ibid

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Saiful Anam (45 years) is a graduate of PGAN Pamekasan and PAI Teacher (PNS) in Modung Bangkalan District. The interview took place May 29, 2018 at his house at 11:00 finish

³⁵ Ibid

accordance with the example of the Prophet, are rejected and need to be rectified. Something crooked must be straightened out, how can do that. That's their perspective. So it is very *fihiyyah*.”³⁶

Then, the reaction of Ustadz Juhari, M.Pd. I. related to the contact of Puritanism ideology is “we must be wise. They are indeed too excited. So we also have to be wise. If our reaction is rude, they will definitely move to another heart. Therefore we must be wise, according to the way of the Qur'an. The Qur'an teaches *Ud'u Ila Sabili Rabbika bil Hikmah wa al-Maw'idzat al-Hasanah wa Jadilhum billati hiya ahsan* “. We in dealing with them should not be conflictual. Fire, if it is fought with fire, it become burnt (*Api di lawan dengan api, sajhendhaddhi*). Fire must be fought with water, it can go out (*Api harus dilawan dengan air, biar padam*). Even so, their da'wah is also non-conflictual. They are critical but not controversial. Like establishing a boarding school and avoiding preaching directly with the general public. For example, the Al-Ittihad Camplong Islamic boarding school. Even standing up to now greatness.”³⁷

Next, he added: “Their approach for carrying out their da'wah is neat and measurable. Its existence is acknowledged by the Camplong community and its surroundings. In fact, many cadres of nahdhiyyin have lodged their children there because the hut is neat. The fiqh is clear, the curriculum is neat even though the school is Islamic Unity. We know that Persis is more rigid than Muhammadiyah. But the Fiqh thought is good. They have a good magazine, *al Muslimun*.”³⁸

The observation of researchers, indeed in Al-Ittihad Persis Islamic Boarding School Camplong was taught *fiqh* according to the KH Abdul Kadir Hassan style model and it is different from NU Fiqh. But students (santri-santri) were also taught Ushul Fiqh, thus giving an opportunity for differences in religious practices at the Islamic Boarding School. And the teacher (ustadz) not only came from the Bangil Islamic Unity Islamic Boarding School, but also alumni from Al-Amin Prenduan Islamic Boarding School.³⁹

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Researcher's observations involving informants were carried out on May 10, 2018 and May 29, 2018 conducted at Alittihad Lodge, Camplong Sampang.

Thus it can be concluded that the contact of Islamic Puritanism Ideology with the ideology of Progressive Traditionalism especially in the Four Districts in Madura, can take place in a peaceful pattern (*quasi-harmony*) and -not infrequently in contact- in conflictual disharmony even if it does not openly conflict, conflicts are like coals in chaff which otherwise can explode and escalate into open conflict

CONTACT OF ISLAMIC PURITANISM IDEOLOGY WITH PROGRESSIVE TRADITIONALISM IN MADURA:

Implications

The contact of Islamic Puritanism ideology with the ideology of progressive traditionalism has given rise to “pseudo harmonies” and conflicts even though not with open conflict, but closed conflicts. This gives birth to certain sociological and normative implications.⁴⁰

Related with that problem, Ustadz Ahmad Ruhan stated: “In my view, both progressive traditionalist Islam and Puritanical Islam, with that relationship, whether they are harmonious or friction can learn from each other, that is, traditionalists can learn the advantages and at the same time - the weakness of Puritans and soon “.

Ustadz Ruhan further added: “With mutual learning, the diverse relationships gave birth to what the Prophet Muhammad said that the difference was mercy. The differences can result in a variety of colors of life, and the existence of the colorful thing is a beautiful thing in life “.⁴¹

The same thing was also stated by H. Suhmawi Thohir who emphasized: “We know that our ideology is the ideology of Ahlus Sunnah wal jama’ah, which has an open and eclectic character towards local traditions that are very different from Puritanical ideology with textualism and tend to prioritize text” .⁴²

⁴⁰ Ust. Ahmad Ruhan, Former (52 years old) former IAIN student of Sunan Ampel Tarbiyah Faculty Pamekasan lives in Andulang, Sumenep Gate and works as a PAI (PNS) teacher. The interview took place at his house on May 20, 2018 at 08.00 until finished.

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² H. Suhmawi Thohir (50 Years) is a former Sunan Ampel IAIN student at the Tarbiyah Faculty Pamekasan who works as a community leader. The interview took place at his home in the village of NBrajih Gapura Sumenep on May 20, 2018 at 13.00 until completion.

Suhmawi added “we are as Aswaja people must develop behavior as referees and do not grow fertility or develop conflict (*Khairul Umur awsatuha*). We must be tolerant, and continue to develop tolerant behavior under any circumstances. That must be kept”.⁴³

Humaydi -a Jama'ah of Ridwan Pamekasan Mosque- also gives a good impression with his opinion that The lesson of the difference is that we will become more mature. Different is beautiful and very interesting in life. For me, the difference is inevitable, our physical form is different, our culture is different. Our bodies are not the same. Different is the sunnah of Allah, you can imagine if everything is the same, life is bland and not dynamic.⁴⁴

Therefore, it can be affirmed that the implications of ideological contact with Islamic Puritanism with Ideology of Progressive Traditionalism especially in the four Districts in Madura can more mature us as humans, giving birth to something good that is able to see differences as something positive.

DISCUSSION

That extreme behavior in any matter including religious matters is destructive and deserves to be avoided because it is “closer to destruction and danger and further from security and tranquility”. Furthermore,⁴⁵ Yusuf Qardhawi added:

“Islam is the middle way (*wasathiyah*) in everything, both in terms of concepts, *aqidah*, worship, relations with human beings and in legislation. God is called by Allah as “*Straight path*”, which distinguishes humans from the path of adherents of various religions and philosophies which become an example of “those who are created by Allah Swt” and the way of those who are heretics, those whose concepts of life cannot overreach or waste and neglect.”⁴⁶

However, it must also be understood that such behavior (*extreme or al- tathrufuf orughuluw*) is also a product of interaction with other

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Humaydi (44 years) is a teacher at SD al-Munawarah Pamekasan living in Jalan Kabupaten Pamekasan. The interview took place on May 27, 2018 at his house at 7:00 p.m. to finish.

⁴⁵ Yusuf Qardawi, *Islam Jalan Tengah*, terj. Alwi AM (Bandung: Mizan, 2017), 21.

⁴⁶ Ibid

communities that cannot be avoided at the same time there is dialogue with each other. The fact that the growth of ancient ideology of Islam is a longing -and also the obsession- of the supporters to realize a “not boring” order, free from corruption which they say is “far from God’s grace”, free from Westernization, which they consider the threat of *taghut* which undermines and pollutes their faith massively, so that they gradually hold halaqah and dawrah. In connection with this, Noorhaidi Hasan wrote:

“Their presence is increasingly felt because they tend to distinguish themselves from “*everything that goes on*” in general in the communities around them. By organizing themselves into the bonds of small, tightly and exclusively small communities, they show a strong desire to renew and follow the example of the Prophet Muhammad and the first generation of Islam, a community that is perceived to generally practice pure Islam, which is ideal. It is clear that they want to offer an alternative community model that is different from the modern Western model and aims to match what they consider to be westernization.”⁴⁷

With concepts and obsessions that are seeking identity and at the same time trying to create a community style of the Prophet community, which they imagine as a community of *baldatun thayyibatun wa Rabbun Ghafur*, a society which -again according to them- an egalitarian society, a society that never conflicts so he is a public figure which was blessed by Allah Swt., the desirable figure of society.

However, the figure of an egalitarian society and without conflict as coveted by Puritanical Muslims is truly realistic and exists in the history of early Islam (Islamic period of the Prophet and his later companions). In this case, Nadirsyah Hosen emphasized:

“Spreading mercy and improving morality main mission Nabi. It is not possible for other people to convert to Islam or force themselves to follow our own fatwas and interpretations or even force others to follow our political choices. Coercion of others is not mercy and not a noble character. *Laikraha fi al-Din* (there is no compulsion in

⁴⁷ Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militansi dan Pencarian Identitas di Indonesia Pasca orde Baru* (Jakarta: LP3ES-KITLV, 2008), 31.

religion).⁴⁸

And in their view “*a force to become a Muslim*” which in reality never existed at the time of the Prophet and the great friends never existed. In their view (the Puritans) must be manifested in real and concrete life, for example, the effort to realize what they declare with the caliphate system. But is it true, Islam wants the Caliphate system? In this case, Nadirsyah Hosen asserted:

“It is true that in classical Islamic teachings there is a discussion of the obligation to appoint a caliph, imam or amir. But this does not mean that the institution of the “*caliphate*” as imagined by Islamic groups, must be copied exactly. The obligation to appoint a caliph is an obligation to appoint a leader, whose presence is a necessity in a political institution. The main sources of Islam, namely the Qur’an and the hadith, do not specify in detail and rigidly the manner of choosing leaders and governance mechanisms. Forcing a system called “*caliph*” is “*an error*”. This is the first mistake in understanding khilafah.”⁴⁹

In this context, Noorhaidi Hasan emphasized:

“Salafis believe that Muslims must first be Islamized through the gradual evolutionary process that encompasses education (*tarbiyah*) and purification (*tasfiyah*) before the full implementation of sharia can be realized. To fulfill this goal they are passionately committed to da’wah activities (from the Arabic basic words *da’wa*, calling, which generally refers to the notion of inviting, which is an obligation for every Muslim), by participating in the implementation of *halaqah and dawrah*.”⁵⁰

Because of these obsessive ideas, Puritans tend to engage in counter productive activities, moreover based on a feeling that deprivation is relative on the one hand feeling inferior to the modern world, but on the other hand feeling more authentic, so that their behavior appears extreme.

In this context, Khaled Abu al Fadl wrote:

⁴⁸ Nadirsyah Hosen, *Islam Yes, Khilafah No! Doktrin dan Sejarah Politik Islam dari Khulafaar-Rasyidin Hingga Umayyah* (Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2018), 6.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 30.

⁵⁰ Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam*, 32.

“Puritan movements deal with everything with their extreme logic, theological ties Wahhabism and salafism produce a contemporary tendency rooted in feelings of defeat, alienation, and frustration. The fruit of these two theological fuses is the strong isolation, not only of the institutions of modern world power but also of Islamic heritage and traditions.”⁵¹

Furthermore, al-Fadl emphasized:

“Puritanism is not represented by formal institutions. Puritanism is a theological orientation, not a neatly structured school of thought. For this reason, people find various ideological variations and tendencies in them. However, the consistent characteristic of Puritanism is the ideology of supremacy, that they always feel superior and superior, which functions as compensation for feelings of defeat, powerlessness, and alienation, accompanied by an attitude of self-arrogance in which the feeling is always right when dealing with “*the other*” not always easily classified -is the “*other*” is the West, atheists in general, Muslim heretics, or even Muslim women. In terms of ink, it is appropriate to describe the orientation of Puritans in Islam as a group that always feels superior and superior, because that orientation views the world from the perspective of the level of excellence of a group and extreme polarization. Instead, it became a simple apologetic, the orientation of the purists responded to their sense of helplessness and defeat by raising symbolic power that did not know compromise and arrogance, not only to non-Muslims but even to fellow Muslims and women in particular.”⁵²

As long as the extremities continue to exist, and religious moderation is absent -or in Khaled Abu el Fadl’s terms, moderates are ‘silent majority’- then intolerance, jealousy and religious conflict will still be “*Bara dalam sekam*” which can explode at any time, especially if it is ignited by the political axis.

Therefore, fanaticist attitudes to an argument and opinion, and rejecting arguments and other opinions are important to avoid, obliging humans to be something that is not obliged by Allah Swt. to themselves

⁵¹ Khaled Abou el Fadl, *Selamatkan Islam dari Muslim Puritan*, terj. Helmi Musthofa (Jakarta: Serambi, 2006), 117.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 117-118.

is important to avoid, dhahiri or textual tendencies in understanding the verses of the Qur'an. Its validity is very questionable, following what is disguised and leaving or ignoring things that are clearly important is questioned, contradicting things that are of a secondary nature (*furu'*) and forgetting important problems to be abandoned, exacerbating things that are not appropriate should be questioned, their attitude rough and hard on other people whose opinions are very important to be eliminated, and mistrust in humans -no matter how he is- is important to be eradicated, let alone forgetting other Muslims whose Muslim ideology is different -as often done by Puritans- very important to eliminate.

In this context, Yusuf Qardhawi quoted a history of hadith, which the author of the Kutib intentionally follows:

“In the authentic hadith of Usamah bin Zaid, it is reported that whoever pronounces *La ila haa Allah*, then he has entered Islam and maintained his soul and wealth. Even if he uttered the sentence out of fear and wanted to take refuge from the sharpness of the sword, then his calculation to Allah. As for us, it is enough with those born (real). Because of that, the Prophet condemned with the utmost condemnation of Usamah when he killed someone on the battle field after the sentence of the creed. He asked: You killed him after he pronounced *Lailaha illallah*? Answer Usamah: “He only said that sentence because he wanted to take refuge from the sword blow”. Then he asked again: “Why don't you split his chest? Then what do you do with the sentence *Laila-lallah*? Then, said Usamah next, “the Prophet said incessantly so that I really wanted that day if I became a Muslim.”⁵³

In this context the tradition of moderation (*wasathiyah*) is important to be mainstreamed in political policies and traditions of religious life in this country. In this connection, Qardhawi writes:

“Middle attitude (*moderate*) is one of the characteristics of Islam. He is one of the main pillars, with which Allah distinguishes His people from others: “*And thus We have made you a medium (just) nation that you may be the bearers of witness to the people and (that) the Messenger may be a bearer of witness to you...*” (QS. al-Baqarah: 142). That is a just and righteous people, who will be

⁵³ Qardhawi, *Islam Jalan Tengah*, 57-58.

witnesses in the world and the hereafter at the same time as human tendencies, right or left, from the right middle arm.”⁵⁴

For this reason, it is important to actualize a tradition of constructive dialogue that realizes a constructive dialogue that respects the diversity of scientific disciplines and the dynamics of the scientific paradigm by trying to seriously examine the wara experts’ thoughts and ideas and try to put forward wise attitudes in preaching and dialogue, and most importantly –The last but not live — accustoms to prejudice towards people who have different perspectives with us.

Here, the perspective of conflict theory Lewis Coser is very relevant, put forward. Coser sees conflict in a more positive and more functional perspective. In its perspective, conflict functions in maintaining the status quo.⁵⁵ Coser further emphasized that conflict can help tighten loosely structured group bonds. Communities that experience disintegration or conflict with other communities can improve the integration of integration.⁵⁶

Furthermore, Coser added, internal conflicts within a group can help realize cohesion through alliances with other groups. In a society, conflict can activate the role of individuals who were originally inactive, even isolated. Conflict can also help the communication function. Before conflict, a group may not believe in the position of their enemy, but as a result of conflict, group positions and boundaries often become more clarified, so that individuals become increasingly able to decide to take appropriate action in relation to their enemies. In other aspects, conflict also allows conflicting parties to find better ideas about their relative strengths and at the same time increasing the possibility of getting closer to each other or making peace with each other.⁵⁷

In the context of a conflict function that allows warring parties to be able to find better ideas about their relative strengths and increase the possibility of approaching or reconciling each other.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 22,

⁵⁵ George Ritzer dan Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*. terj. Alimandan (Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2005), 157.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 159

⁵⁷ Ibid

CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that (1) the spread of Islamic Puritanism ideology of Progressive Traditionalism, especially in the four districts in Madura, is pursued through traditional means (direct contact) and also through the media and modern da'wah. (2) Pattern of Islamic Puritanism Ideology Contact with the ideology of Progressive Traditionalism especially in the Four Districts in Madura through conflictual patterns and through peaceful means, even through artificial peace such as fire in husks, and (3) Implications of Islamic Puritanism Ideology with Ideology among Progressive Traditionalism, especially in the Four Districts in Madura to a certain extent, is able to realize the reorientation of the religious pattern of progressive traditionalists and Puritanists of Islam on the condition that they are able to reduce the relative deprivation mentality and the most authentic attitude of alienation and feeling.

From those phenomenons, it is recommended for each parts to develop a mature attitude in religion, so that they can be religious in a more polite and more civilized manner. It is also recommended to make moderate diversity and make deradicalization a mainstream of Indonesia's diversity, so that religious pluralism is truly a blessing. Furthermore, research on this topic is recommended in a point of view as well as other approaches so that the topic or theme can improve its usefulness in the dynamics of people's lives.

REFERENCES

- Afrohah, "Fundamentalisme: Korelasi Ideology Fundamentalisme dengan Ideologi Gerakan Islam Modern", *Al-Tahrir Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, Vol,18 No. 1, 2018: 176-192.
- Azra, Azyumardi. "Liberalisasi Pemikiran NU", dalam Mujamil Qomar, *NU Liberal Dari Tradisionalisme Ahlussunnah ke Universalisme Islam*. Bandung: Mizan, 2002: 17-23.
- El-Fadl, Khaled Aboe. *Atas Nama Tuhan*, terj. Cecep Lukman Yasin Jakarta: Serambi, 2004.
- , *Selamatkan Islam dari Muslim Puritan*. Terj. Helmi Mustofa. Jakarta: Serambi, 2006.

- Haidar, M. Ali. *Nahdhatul Ulama dan Islam di Indonesia Pendekatan Fikih dalam Politik*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1994.
- Hamdi, Ahmad Zainul. "Radicalizing Indonesian Moderate Islam from within: The NU-FPI relationship in Bangkalan Madura", *Journal of Indonesian Islam*. Vol. 13 No. 1 Juni 2013 : 71-95.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. *Laskar Jihad, Islam, Militansi dan Pencarian Identitas di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru*. Jakarta: LP3ES-KITLV Jakarta, 2008.
- Hasbiansyah. O. "Pendekatan Fenomenologi: Pengantar Praktik Penelitian dalam Ilmu Sosial dan Komunikasi", *Mediator Jurnal Komunikasi*, Vol. 9 Nomor 1 Juni 2008: 163-180.
- Hosen, Nadirsyah, *Islam Yes Khalifah No! Doktrin dan Sejarah Politik Islam dari Khulafaar Rasyidin hingga Umayyah*. Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2018.
- <https://www.researchgate.net/publication>
- Ida, Laode. *NU Muda Kaum Progresif dan Sekularisme Baru* Jakarta: Erlangga, 2004.
- Jamhari dan Jajang Jahroni, *Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers-PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2004.
- Moleong, Lexy J. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: RemajaRosdakarya, 1998
- Mubarak, M. Zaki. *Genealogi Islam Radikal Di Indonesia Gerakan pemikiran dan Prospek Demokrasi*. Jakarta: LP3ES, 2008.
- Muhammad, Agus. "Islam Nusantara ditengah Gelombang Puritanisme", *Tashwirul Afkar* Edisi No.26 tahun 2008: 22-45.
- Nakamura, Mitsuo. "The Radical Traditionalism of Nahdlatul Ulama in Indonesia; Personal Account of the 26th National Congress", Semarang Juni 1979.
- Nimer, Muhammad Abu, *Nir Kekerasan dan Bina Damai Dalam Islam: Teori dan Praktik*. Ter. Irsyad Rafshadi dan Khairil Azhar, Bandung: Alfabet dan Paramadina, 2010.

- Praja, Juhaya S. *Aliran-Aliran Filsafat dan Etika*. Jakarta: Prenada Media, 2008.
- Putra, Shri Heddy Ahimsa. “Fenomenologi Agama: Pendekatan Fenomenologi Untuk Memahami Agama”, *Walisongo* Vol. 20 No. 20 November 2012.
- . *Paradigma Profetik Islam Epistemologi, Etosdan Model* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2017).
- Qardawi, Yusuf, *Islam Jalan Tengah Menjauhi Sikap Berlebihan dalam Beragama*, ter. Alwi AM. Bandung: Mizan, 2017.
- Qodir, Zuly. “Deradikalisasi Islam Dalam Perspektif Pendidikan Agama”, *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*. Vol. 1 Nomor 2 Desember 2012,
- Qomar, Mujamil. *NU Liberal Dari Tradisionalisme Ahlulsunnah ke Universalisme Islam*. Bandung: Mizan, 2002.
- Rahmat, M. Imdadun. *Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalism Islam Timur Tengah Ke Indonesia*. Jakarta: Erlangga, 2007.
- Rahmat, M. Imdadun dan Khamami Zada, “Agenda Politik Gerakan Islam Baru”, *Tashwirul Afkar Jurnal Refleksi Pemikiran Keagamaan dan Kebudayaan*. Edisi No. 16 Tahun 2004: 26-41.
- Rakhmat, Jalaluddin, *Islam Aktual Refleksi Sosial Seorang Cendekiawan Muslim*. Bandung: Mizan, 1992.
- Rifai, Mien Ahmad. *Manusia Madura Pembawaan, Perilaku, Etos Kerja, Penampilan dan Pandangan Hidupnya Seperti Dicitrakan Peribahasanya*. Yogyakarta: Pilar Media, 2005.
- Ritzer, George. dan Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern.*, Terj. Aliman dan. Jakarta: Kencana, 2004.
- Sholeh, Shonhadji. *Arus Baru NU: Perubahan Pemikiran Kaum Muda dari Tradisionalisme ke Pos-Tradisionalisme*. Surabaya: JP Books, 2004.
- Wahid, Dindan Jamhari Makruf, “Prolog: Radio, Dakwah dan Ruang Publik Islam” dalam Din Wahid dan Jamhari Makruf, ed., *Suara Salafisme Radio Dakwah Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: PPIM UIN Jakarta-Prenada Media, 2017.

