

Contestation of Islamic Educational Ideology in Pesantren

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ABSTRACT

This study examines life's different ideas, values, and views, which are the basis of pesantren's thinking and philosophy. It leads to the contestation of educational ideology in determining the ways, values, and methods in pesantren's education. Influenced by the *Naqsabandiyah-Kholidiyah* order, it emphasises traditional *salafiyah sorogan* learning methods alongside practices of spiritual discipline, or *tirakat*, to deepen Islamic understanding. Over time, however, this foundation was supplanted by a *diniyyah* educational ideology, which structured classroom learning around classical texts and adopted the missionary methods of the *tabligh* congregation. It emphasises adherence to the *Sunnah* and mosque-centered outreach, which became central to Al Fatah Temboro's philosophy. Data collection for this study involved direct and indirect observations, structured interviews with key informants, and analysis of pesantren documentation. Data were then reduced, categorised, and verified through triangulation to ensure accuracy. The findings reveal that ideological competition within Al Fatah Temboro eventually led to establishing a unique ideology that defines the institution today. It becomes one of the greatest pesantren in Indonesia, with the *diniyyah* education system: *Jamaah Tabligh*, called as *diniyyah jamaah tabligh*.

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INTRODUCTION

The indigenous population of Indonesia, which already held spiritual beliefs influenced by Hinduism, Buddhism, and local animistic traditions, encountered Islam with the arrival of Arab traders. This encounter led to a unique cultural and religious acculturation process, integrating Islamic practices into cultural identities. This process created a dynamic cultural dialectic where Islam emerged as a new religion and contributed to shaping a rich cultural identity in Indonesia.¹ For instance, the Minangkabau people integrated Islamic values into their culture through the principle of *adat basandi syara', syara' basandi kitabullah* (customs based on Islamic law, Islamic law based on the Quran). They also transformed the *surau* (small prayer house) into a place of worship and a centre for Islamic education.²

In Aceh, Islamic law became the basis of positive law, accompanied by traditions such as *dzikir* and the *saman* dance, which incorporates Islamic ritual elements in collective songs or chants.³ Meanwhile, the Malay communities (Eastern Sumatra, Riau, Malaysia) saw the development of Sufi orders like the *Naqshbandiyah* and *Qadiriyyah*, which promoted Islamic teachings grounded in *tasawuf* (Sufism), practised through rituals like *dzikir* and *wirid*.⁴ Among the Bugis people, particularly kings who embraced Islam, such as Sultan Hasanuddin, Islamic principles (*Sara*) were adapted into their social lives and customs, making Islam an integral part of their cultural identity.

In the symbolic systems of Indonesia's ethnic communities, this acculturation is deeply ingrained, resembling two sides of a coin. The acceptance of Islam, despite its foreign origin, allowed it to become the religious identity of major ethnic groups. However, efforts by the ethnic communities have made it a religious identity for all tribes that embrace it.⁵

The gradual purification of Islam carried out by the Islamic scholars, figures, and kings who had embraced Islam earlier positively impacted the Islamic teachings. However, they were not always smooth. In communities where traditions were integral to social and religious life, purist movements rejecting customary practices often led to conflicts and resistance, as they were seen as threats to local cultural identities. For example, in Minangkabau society, tensions arose between purist Islamic teachings and their strong matrilineal traditions, where some customs were deemed incompatible with stricter interpretations of Islamic law. Radical purist movements that alienated communities from the international environment and threatened social stability also faced rejection when accompanied by extreme anti-cultural or anti-modernist rhetoric, triggering discomfort and drastic changes.

This interaction occurred between the 18th and 20th centuries and intensified as Indonesian youths studied Islamic sciences in the Middle East. Institutions like Al-Azhar

¹Ummi Sumbulah, "Islam Jawa dan Akulturasi Budaya: Karakteristik, Variasi Dan Ketaatan Ekspresif," *El-Harakah* 14, no. 1 (December 1, 2012): 51–68.

²Zelfeni Wimra, "Reintegrasi Konsep Maqashid Syari'ah Dalam Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 15, no. 2 (March 18, 2017): 17–32.

³Fuadi, *Relasi Zikir Dengan Rapa'i: Analisis Filosofis Tentang Zikir Sampai Tuba di Nagan Raya*, 2nd Ed. (Banda Aceh: Yayasan PeNa Banda Aceh, 2022), 5–10.

⁴Martin Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia; Survey Historis, Geografis, dan Sosiologis*, Revision Ed. (Yogyakarta: Mizan; Khazanah Ilmu Ilmu Islam, 1994), 28–34.

⁵Ali Mursyid Azisi, "Islam Nusantara: Corak Keislaman Indonesia dan Perannya Dalam Menghadapi Kelompok Puritan," *Empirisma: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Kebudayaan Islam* 29, no. (2020): 123–36.

University in Egypt, influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood's focus on integrating Islam and politics, the Islamic University of Madinah in Saudi Arabia, promoting Salafi-Wahhabi thought based on literal interpretations of the Quran and Hadith, refusing *bid'ah*.⁶ Turkey emphasised modern scientific knowledge with the rise of Recep Tayyip Erdogan and the Hizmet movement led by Fethullah Gulen.⁷ With movements like Jamaat-e-Islami by Abul A'la Maududi and Tablighi Jamaat by Maulana Muhammad Ilyas al-Kandhlawi, Pakistan emphasised strict adherence to Islamic law and personal religious devotion.⁸ These individuals returned to Indonesia with new discourses on religious purification, educational modernisation, and Islamic politics, influencing religious and educational ideologies.⁹

The religious ideology was manifested in efforts to purify Islamic practices from elements of *keburafat*, *takbayul*, and *bid'ah*, which were inherited from local traditions and Hindu and Buddhist influences.¹⁰ Despite Indonesia's success in developing a multicultural Islamic ideology embodied in Pancasila,¹¹ The country remains a recipient of ideological and movement influences rather than an exporter of religious ideas to the global stage, particularly in the Middle East.

Studies on these religious ideologies are crucial as transnational movements bring new phenomena to religious life in society.¹² Unlike Islamic organisations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), these movements transcend national and local boundaries. For instance, the preaching rhythm of Tarbiyah activists, Hizb ut-Tahrir youth, Tablighi Jamaat activists and *Salafi* youth,¹³ energise the contestation for the hearts of predominantly Shafi'i Muslim communities.¹⁴

As a social activity involving discursive and critical engagement with governance norms, both explicitly and implicitly, contestation is a constitutive for social change. It involves critical improvements to the rules.¹⁵

Leadership within a community is essential for advancing human civilisation as leaders

⁶Aksa, "Gerakan Islam Transnasional Sebuah Nomenklatur," *Yupa: Historical Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (2017): 1–14.

⁷Akhmad Rizqon Khamami, "Kontribusi Gerakan Nurcu Dalam Kebangkitan Islam Di Turki," *ISLAMICA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 10, no. 1 (August 29, 2016): 1–26.

⁸Barbara Metcalf, "The Madrasa at Deoband: A Model for Religious Education in Modern India," *Modern Asian Studies* 12, no. 1 (February 1978): 111–34.

⁹Aksa, "Gerakan Islam Transnasional Sebuah Nomenklatur," 1–14.

¹⁰Umma Farida, "Islam Pribumi Dan Islam Puritan," *FIKRAH: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan* 3, no. 1 (2015): 141–56.

¹¹Bastami, Romelah, and M. Nurul Humaidi, "Implementation of Pancasila Education Based on Sufism Values in Preventing Religious Radicalism at Muhammadiyah 1 Pamekasan Junior High School," *ISTAWA: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam (IJPI)* 09, no. 1 (2024): 89–102.

¹²Husnatul Mahmudah, "Transmisi Ideologi Fundamentalisme Dalam Pendidikan," *TAJIDID: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman dan Kemanusiaan* 1, no. 2 (October 31, 2017): 200–216.

¹³Umma Farida, "Radikalisme, Moderatisme, Dan Liberalisme Pesantren: Melacak Pemikiran Dan Gerakan Keagamaan Pesantren Di Era Globalisasi," *Edukasia: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Islam* 10, no. 1 (March 27, 2015): 145–63.

¹⁴Usman Usman and Jamiludin Usman, "Ideologi Pendidikan Islam Pesantren Di Indonesia Perspektif Muhammad Jawwad Ridla Dan William O'neal," *TADRIS: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 14, no. 1 (June 10, 2019): 115–31.

¹⁵Antje Wiener, "A Theory of Contestation —A Concise Summary of Its Argument and Concepts," *ResearchGate* 49, no. 1 (2017): 2.

mobilise progress.¹⁶ Activists, often led by youth, successfully spearhead activities in urban mosques. However, tensions sometimes arise from differing perspectives on preaching methods, leading to reactions from local communities.¹⁷ These challenges, however, mature education by fostering innovative educational models and enriching experiences, making education a vibrant arena for socio-political transformation.¹⁸ This social transformation reflects evolving societal perspectives time to time,¹⁹ and aims to maintain balance across geographical, biological, economic, and cultural dimensions.²⁰

Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools), one of Indonesia's oldest educational institutions, has significantly shaped distinctive behavioural patterns.²¹ Their origins can be traced back to the 13th century,²² When merchants also served as missionaries introducing Islam.²³ Their activities, often held in prayer houses or informal spaces, were initially uncoordinated.²⁴ . Pesantren systems are built upon five main elements: the *kyai* (Islamic teacher), *santri* (students), the mosque, dormitories, and the study of classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*).²⁵ Over time, they evolved to meet contemporary needs.

Research on Pesantren Al Fatah Temboro, such as Zainal Arifin.²⁶ A phenomenological study identified three leadership characteristics: charismatic, traditional, and rational. Charismatic authority stems from beliefs in the *karma* (*supernatural abilities*) and *the spiritual quality of the kya*. Traditional authority is reflected in pesantren traditions, affiliations with Tablighi *Jamaat*, and *Naqshbandiyah-Khalidiyah* practices. Rational authority is evident in the establishment of formal schools, reflecting Al Fatah's modernisation. The blend of Tablighi *Jamaat* ideology and NU traditions strengthens the *kyai's* charisma among students, local communities, and the Tablighi *Jamaat*, offering a unique model of spiritual leadership.

Other studies, like Ummi Kaltsum's work,²⁷ researched the packaging of ideology in

¹⁶M. Syafiq Humaisi et al., "Pesantren-Based Transformational Leadership in the Development of International Madrasah Innovation," *Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 22, no. 1 (July 1, 2024): 1–15.

¹⁷Musdah Mulia, "Perempuan Dalam Gerakan Terorisme Di Indonesia," *AL-WARDAH* 12, no. 1 (November 7, 2019): 80–94.

¹⁸William F. O'Neill and Omi Intan Naomi, *Ideologi-ideologi pendidikan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2001), x.

¹⁹Ridwan Idris, "Perubahan Sosial Budaya dan Ekonomi Indonesia dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Pendidikan," *Lentera Pendidikan : Jurnal Ilmu Tarbiyah dan Keguruan* 14, no. 2 (2011): 219–31.

²⁰Ni Nyoman Ayu Suciartini, "Urgensi Pendidikan Toleransi Dalam Wajah Pembelajaran Sebagai Upaya Meningkatkan Kualitas Pendidikan," *Jurnal Penjaminan Mutu* 3, no. 1 (February 28, 2017): 12–22.

²¹Umiarso El-Rumi and Asnawan Asnawan, "Kh. Abdul Wahid Hasyim Pembaru Pesantren Dari Reformasi Kurikulum, Pengajaran Hingga Pendidikan Islam Progresif," *Edukasia: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Islam* 13, no. 1 (November 29, 2018): 438.

²²Ahmad Darmadji, "Pondok Pesantren Dan Deradikalisasi Islam Di Indonesia," *Millah* 11, no. 1 (August 20, 2011): 235–52.

²³Andi Prastowo, Suyadi, and Sutrisno, *Pendidikan Islam Unggul di Era Revolusi Industri 4.0 dan Merdeka Belajar*, 1st Ed. (Jakarta: Kencana, 2021), 48, <http://www.prenadamedia.com>.

²⁴Husein Muhammad, *Islam Tradisional Yang Terus Bergerak*, 1st Ed. (Baturetno, Banguntapan, Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2019), 12.

²⁵M. Isa Sulaiman, *Sejarah Aceh: Sebuah Gugatan Terhadap Tradisi*, 1st ed. (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1997), 32.

²⁶Zainal Arifin, "Authority of Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Temboro Based on Jamaah Tabligh Ideology," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 6, no. 2 (December 27, 2017): 265–92.

²⁷Lilik Umami Kaltsum, "Kemasan Ideologi Dalam Pesantren," *Ushuluna: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin* 1, no. 2

Islamic boarding schools by taking three examples of Islamic boarding schools that are unique, namely the Tebuireng Jombang Islamic boarding school, which has a more moderate ideology with an inclusive understanding of Islam but still teaches mastery of classical books with a way of dressing that does not emphasise a particular model, with mastery of scientific material. Islam, which is contained in classical books, besides studying general lessons in formal schools, the Darussalam Gontor Modern Islamic Boarding School instils a modern, moderate ideology in terms of the way of thinking, modern way of dressing (complete with jackets and dasi), the learning model emphasises Islamic boarding school education with mastery of foreign languages (Arabic and English). The Al Fatah Temboro Islamic boarding school, which has a more conservative ideology with an understanding of Islam that seems fundamental and exclusive, refers to a distinctive dress style and focuses on mastering book material. -classical books but also dares to open formal classes with an understanding of general sciences, Al Fatah tries to concoct an ideology that seems conservative along with the ideology of the Tablighi Jamaah, which dares to approach society with da'wah Islam is practising religious commands in a more orderly manner, especially fardhu worship.

Zulkhan Indra Putra²⁸ in *The Tablighi Jamaat Movement, Its Ideological Concept and Organizational Structure*, departing from the theory of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and the theory of organisational commitment, found that the tabligh congregation movement was able to survive and attract much interest from the wider community and even the world because they used a direct door-to-door approach by carrying a simple message, namely an invitation to practice worship with more *kaffah* (like prayer). The personal approach to conveying Islamic messages (da'wah) to Muslim communities combines several aspects of Sufism with strict adherence to Sharia and practical da'wah activities.

The novelty of this study lies in its exploration of the evolving educational dynamics at the Al Fatah Temboro Islamic Boarding School. Since its establishment in the 1890s, this institution has undergone multiple phases of transformation characterised by ideological contests and adaptations which influence the quality of Al-Fatah Temboro. This study explores the dynamics between classical Islam (*salaf*) and modernisation (*kehalaf*). This ideological contestation stems from the institution's quest to identify the most suitable educational model, *da'wah* philosophy, and teaching methodologies for students, as well as the ideal modes of interaction between the *pesantren* and the broader community. These ideological shifts significantly influence the educational quality and societal role of the Al Fatah Temboro Boarding School. This research identifies ideological contestation by employing Antje Wiener's theory of contestation and insights from M. Jawwad Ridla and William F. O'Neil on educational ideology. It is ultimately dominated by the *Jamaah Tabligh*, which is perceived as conservative and fundamentalist undertones. Additionally, leveraging the influences of socio-political dynamics, this research's novelty extends to exploring issues such as radicalism, religious tolerance, and national education policies to shape the ideology of *pesantren*.

(May 5, 2020): 131–49.

²⁸Zulkhan Indra Putra, "The Tablighi Jamaat Movement Its Ideological Concept and Organizational Structure," *Afkaruna* 9, no. 1 (2013): 16–25.

RESEARCH METHOD

This qualitative research focused on profoundly understanding social, cultural, or religious phenomena by interpreting and analysing rich contexts. The qualitative approach allows researchers to directly comprehend the experiences, views, and feelings of individuals or groups through in-depth interviews, non-participatory observations, text analysis, and focus group discussions. This approach is efficient for exploring complex phenomena, such as ideological contestation, as it helps explain how religious ideologies interact, conflict, or engage in dialogue within the pesantren community. It thoroughly examines programs, events, processes, and activities.²⁹

By positioning the researcher as the key instrument, the researcher actively observes, interviews, and interacts directly with the study subjects. Data was interpreted based on these interactions and the surrounding context. The researcher could adjust data collection methods in real-time and must build strong trust with participants.³⁰ To avoid subjectivity from the key instrument (stemming from their background, views, or understanding), the researcher must remain aware of their own biases and maintain reflexivity—a critical awareness of how they influence the research process. This enables the researcher to play a crucial role in collecting and interpreting data, demonstrating high involvement and the flexibility to adapt strategies to meet research needs in the field.

Primary data was obtained from key informants through in-depth interviews, including the biological daughters, daughters-in-law, and senior teachers of Al Fatah Pesantren. A notable uniqueness lies in their openness to external researchers, adjusted to the researcher's gender to avoid potential discomfort or misunderstandings from intense interactions in closed spaces. Interviews were conducted directly with Nyai Umi Minhatul Aziz, daughter of Kyai Mahmud, residing in the North Complex (a formal area for male students); Nyai Mas Mustafidatul Hasanah, wife of Kyai Ubaidilah Ahror, living in the central complex; and senior teachers such as Ustadh Munafisah and Ustadh Zainab, residing in Kampung Madinah, Temboro. Secondary data was gathered from documents and books discussing pesantren.³¹ This research also involved participatory and non-participatory observations to clearly understand the research object, including the participants' geographic conditions, location, learning facilities, educational activities, interaction with the community, and more. These observations were conducted during visits to the pesantren, including scheduled meetings with key informants and exploring natural cultural practices within the pesantren.

Data obtained through in-depth interviews, non-participatory observations, focus group discussions (FGD), and documentation are analysed in several steps. First, data transcription involves converting recordings into written text. Familiarisation with data follows, where the researcher immerses themselves in the collected material to identify emerging themes and hidden patterns. Coding is then conducted, assigning codes to significant data points using open or axial coding. The next step is theme development, which

²⁹Maemonah Maemonah et al., "The Shift in the Authority of Islamic Religious Education: A Qualitative Content Analysis on Online Religious Teaching," *The Qualitative Report*, September 5, 2022, 1830–46.

³⁰Robert Bogdan and Sari Knopp Biklen, *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theories and Methods*, 5th ed (Boston, Mass: Pearson A & B, 2007), 27–29.

³¹Sulaiman Tripa, *Diskursus Metodologi dalam Penelitian Hukum*, 1st ed. (Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing, 2019), 171.

involves identifying specific relational patterns that explain the phenomena under study by synthesising various coded categories. This is followed by interpretation and in-depth analysis, which examines how themes interconnect, what the data reveals about the phenomenon, and how all elements contribute to a comprehensive understanding. The final step is data presentation in the form of systematically organised, in-depth narratives that support the researcher's arguments and interpretations, backed by direct quotes from participants, field notes, or other documentation. Data verification and validation are conducted using triangulation techniques—comparing data from various sources or methods to ensure consistency—and member checking, where the analysis results are reviewed with participants to confirm accurate interpretations.³²

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Al Fatah Temboro has a long history in the process of changing its orientation from *halaqah tariqa* to *salafiyah* NU, then developed into a combined (*mixed*) *pesantren* with the opening of schools, madrasas and even colleges until finally, Al Fatah changed its orientation to become a *diniyyah* *pesantren* for tabligh pilgrims and became the largest *tabligh* congregation ideological development centre in East Java and even Southeast Asia until now.³³

Tariqa with Traditionalist Conservative Ideology

Around the beginning of the 18th century AD, the beginning of the arrival of Mbah Sontongolo in Temboro village preached religion with Islamic sharia displaying mystical aspects in recitation with the concepts of *wirid* and *dhikr*. Mbah Sontongolo's family is known as the first generation to revive Islamic da'wah in Temboro.³⁴

The condition of Temboro at that time was divided into two groups, namely Temboro *Abangan* and Temboro *Putihan*. Temboro *abangan* (Pule area and its surroundings) is described as a society that does not care about religion, both the implementation of sharia and education for its children. Meanwhile, Temboro *Putihan* (the middle part) is described as a society that practices religious sharia and pays attention to religious education for their children.³⁵ The teaching centre is in the central mosque, which will later become the central hut, with learning about the practice of the tariqa, such as creed, the practice of *fashalat* worship, prayer, *wirid*, and *dhikr*.

Kyai Shiddiq is the third descendant who has completed his education at the Selopuro Islamic Boarding School with a concentration in *suluk* science and the *qadariyah-naqsabandiyah* tariqa under the murshid and *halaqah* caregivers Kyai As'ad bin Kyai M Thohir and K.H. Dimiyati. Especially after he had gone on Hajj, which took two years, and studied tariqa at the khonqoh of Shaykh Ali Ridlo in Jabal Abu Qubays for 7 months.³⁶ So, the traditionalist

³²Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*, Edition 3 (Los Angeles London New Delhi Singapore Washington DC: Sage, 2014).

³³Kamaruzzaman Bustamam-Ahmad, "The History of Jama'ah Tabligh in Southeast Asia: The Role of Islamic Sufism in Islamic Revival," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 46, no. 2 (December 26, 2008): 353–400.

³⁴Dadang Budiana, *Kronik Tiga Abad Temboro*, 1st Ed. (Temboro: Ponpes Al Fatah Temboro, 2023), 27–29.

³⁵Budiana, *Kronik Tiga Abad Temboro*.

³⁶During the reign of Saudi Arabia under Ibn Saud and the Wahhabi movement, the sites of the *thoriqot*

conservative ideology was growing in Temboro, which was then named Pesantren Al Fatah. Kiai consistently teaches the knowledge of certain *tariqa*, *suluk*, and *wirid* at the agreed time, either independently or in the congregation, which is believed to be able to get closer to the creator, make it easier to achieve what is desired and is considered to be able to bring sin (*bala*) if left intentionally.³⁷

The traditionalist conservative school in Islamic philosophy can be called the *almuhafidz* school, which only provides and learns valuable knowledge in the hereafter, so it requires those who want to study knowledge to begin by examining the Quran.³⁸ This background makes Al Fatah focus on the practice of *halaqah Ramallah tariqa*. The leadership model of the pesantren at that time, which was hereditary³⁹ made it easier for the next generation to adjust to the ideology of their predecessors.⁴⁰

KH Abdurrahman Wahid thought that many traditionalist scholars take the teachings of *wahdatul wujud* for themselves because they have mastered the shari'a, which is the fiqh of Islamic law. In other words, they reject the spread of *wahdatul wujud* among the general public. But for their own sake, they also practice the teachings in private. The teachings of *wahdatul wujud* used are mainly *wahdatul syuhud* (knowing the right before it happens in Javanese teachings is known as *weruh sedurunge winarah*).⁴¹

The *tariqat* here has two meanings. First, the *tariqat* is a spiritual education carried out by those who live a Sufism life and individually achieve a spiritual level called *maqamat* and *al-ahwal*. Second, the *tariqat* is an association (*jam'iyah*) or organisation established according to the rules set by a shaykh who adheres to a certain school of order. *Tariqa* is one of the ways a Sufi expresses his ideology. In other words, *tasawuf* is an effort to get closer to Allah SWT. Meanwhile, the *tariqa* is what a Salik takes to be close to Allah SWT. So, the *tariqa* and Sufism have a close relationship with each other.⁴²

In the pesantren tradition, *tariqa* is understood as careful obedience and obedience to Islamic rules and sharia both in rituals and social issues, such as undergoing *wira'I*, where the perpetrator always avoids haram and makruh acts by carrying out sunnah rituals before and after carrying out mandatory prayers and practising *riyadhab* (*tirakat*) by eating and drinking little.⁴³ It shows that the *tariqat*, in the process of educational enrichment that reflects noble

(Sufi orders) were closed and replaced with hotel buildings. See *Kronik Tiga Abad*, p. 30.

³⁷Nurcholish Majid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan*, [Cet. 2.] (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2009), 24.

³⁸Muhammad Syafiq Mughni and M Yunus Abu Bakar, "Studi Aliran Filsafat Pendidikan Islam Serta Implikasinya Terhadap Pengembangan Pendidikan Islam," *DIRASAH: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Pendidikan Dasar Islam* 5, no. 1 (2022): 81–99.

³⁹Abdul Gaffar Karim, "The Pesantren-Based Ruling Elite in Sumenep in the Post-New Order Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 3, no. 1 (June 1, 2009): 97–121.

⁴⁰O'Neill and Naomi, *Ideologi-ideologi pendidikan*, 336.

⁴¹M. Husni, *Pendidikan Pesantren Perspektif KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gusdur)*, 1st ed. (Surabaya: Uwais Inspirasi Indonesia, 2021), 209, www.penerbituwais.com.

⁴²See <https://an-nur.ac.id/tarekat-pengertian-sejarah-dan-aliran-alirannya/>. These *tariqa* fall under the category of *tasawwuf* (Islamic mysticism). Since the colonial era in the Nusantara region, *tasawwuf* has been developing, and the history of tarekat in Indonesia notes that these movements also participated in resisting colonial forces. Some of the major tarekat in the Islamic world include Qadiriyyah, Naqshbandiyyah, Syattariyyah, Samaniyyah, Khalwatiyyah, Tijaniyyah, Idrisiyyah, Rifa'iyyah, and Alawiyah. For further reading, see Martin van Bruinessen in *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat*, Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012, p. 241.

⁴³Fauzi, "Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah Di Indonesia; Antara Al-Asy'ariyyah Dan Ahli Hadits," *RUSYDLAH: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 1, no. 2 (Desember 2020): 156–76.

values and also has a considerable role in realising a spiritual revolution in society⁴⁴ from the beginning, is the path that a *Salik* (prospective Sufi) must take to be close to Allah to develop and be used by a group of people who become institutions that gather and bind several followers. In other words, the *tariqa* represents the institutionalised Sufism (education).⁴⁵

Al Ghazali views that education with conservative ideology tries to build an educational concept based on religious values but still wants the preservation of traditions.⁴⁶ Kyai Shiddiq did it to gain the sympathy of people new to Islam. So that they want to follow the teachings conveyed, this school believes that the sciences needed by humans are knowledge that brings benefits, not *madharat* in the hereafter. They are required to start learning from the book (Quran). Jawwad Ridlo added that practical knowledge includes studying hadith and *ulum al-hadith*, *ushul fiqh* and *nahwu shorof*.⁴⁷

The concept of *tariqa* by practising *wirid* and *dhikr* after performing prayers has become a tradition in Islamic boarding schools, including Al Fatah, which has a traditionalist conservative ideology. Facilitate groups of students who are *istiqomah* to do *suluk* by building rooms around the mosque.⁴⁸

Salafiyah with the Ideology of Modernist Intellectuals

After the death of Kyai Shiddiq, leadership passed to his eldest son, Kyai Mahmud, who also served as the *Rois Syuriah* of the Magetan branch. During this time, the influence of Islamic education began to emerge in Temboro, although challenges from the *mo-limo* community persisted. Mahmud started to consider reforms for both the short and long term. The ideas associated with the Salafiyah movement that entered Indonesia were viewed as compatible with the conservative traditionalist principles of Al Fatah. Moreover, this movement grew with influential figures of Salafiyah thought in the Middle East, such as Muhammad Abduh and Jamaluddin al-Afgani. Their ideas were embraced by Indonesians who travelled to perform Hajj and then returned to study Islam.⁴⁹

Salafiyah Islamic boarding schools are identical to traditional Islamic boarding schools, whose ideology is *ahlussunnah wal jamaah*. The characteristic of Al Fatah as a salafiyah hut is to teach yellow books with the method of *sorogan*, *wetonan* and *bandongan*, including books in the field of *Nahwu-Shorof* such as Al-Jurumiyah, 'Imriti, Sarh Alfiyah Ibn Malik. Books in the field of jurisprudence such as *Safinatunnajah*, *Sullamuttaufiq*, *Fathul Qarib*, *Fathul Mu'in*, *Fathul Wahhab*, *I'anatutthalibin* and *Al Iqna*. The book of the field of tafsir is the *Jalalain tafsir*. Books in the field of hadith, such as *Riyadhushsholihin*, *Nailulautar*,

⁴⁴Amir Maliki Abitolkha and Muhammad Basyrul Muvad, *Melacak Tarekat-Tarekat Muktabarah di Nusantara*, Cet.1 (Kuningan: GoresanPena, 2020), 2, www.goresanpena.co.id. Lihat juga Said Agil Siraj, *Dialog Tasawuf Kiai Said Akidah Tasawuf dan Relasi Antar Umat Beragama*, Surabaya: Khalista, 2012, h. 76-77.

⁴⁵Abitolkha and Muhammad Basyrul Muvad, 4. Lihat juga Muhammad Yusuf Musa dalam *Falsafah al Akhlaq fiy al Islam*, Kairo: Muassasat al-Khanji, 1963, h. 752

⁴⁶Nurohman, "Konsep Pendidikan Al-Ghazali Dan Relevansinya Dalam Sistem Pendidikan Di Indonesia," *As-Salam: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam & Pendidikan* 9, no. 1 (June 26, 2020): 41–60.

⁴⁷Usman and Usman, "Ideologi Pendidikan Islam Pesantren di Indonesia Perspektif Muhammad Jawwad Ridla Dan William O'neal," 115–29.

⁴⁸Mundzier Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat*, Cet. 1 (Jakarta: Asta Buana Sejahtera, 2009), 192.

⁴⁹Emna Laisa, "Islam Dan Radikalisme," *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 1, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 1–18.

and Sufism, such as the books of *Ihya 'Ulumuddin* and *Daqa'iqul Akhba*.⁵⁰

Salafiyah is a method that teaches Islamic sharia purely without addition and subtraction. Salafiyah was founded and compiled by Shaykh Islam Ibn Taymiyyah (728 AH) and Ibn al-Qayyim Al-Jauziyyah (751 AH) from the Qur'an, hadiths, deeds and sayings of salaf scholars. Then in 1206 AH, Muhammad bin Abdil Wahab spread what had been compiled by Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn al-Qayyim Al-Jauziyyah Rahimahumallah in the Arabian Peninsula.⁵¹ His followers have a great spirit and militant to spread Islamic da'wah by returning to the Qur'an and Hadith according to the understanding of the companions and tabi'in known as *salafu al shalih*, in addition to reminding them to free themselves from all kinds of *takbayul*, *bid'ah* and *keburafat*.⁵²

During this period, there was a shift from traditional *salafiyah* pesantren to mixed pesantren. The salafiyah system, studying classical books, is integrated with the modern system, namely general sciences, and is taught in classes, including introducing computer devices guided by experts. Kyai Mahmud's modernisation is by organising madrasah and school education but still maintaining the characteristics of salafiyah, who are tariqa through studying classical books and the habit of wirid and dhikr. Kyai Mahmud developed the verse *al-hirzi*, a compilation of Qur'anic verses used for dhikr every morning and evening.⁵³

The embedding of the name "school" before the name "madrasah" is Kyai Mahmud's strategy to attract the interest of parents who do not want to enrol their children in the boarding school (madrasah) until its name becomes Sekolah Madrasah Wajib Belajar (SMWB) or Compulsory Learning Madrasah School. In this madrasah, the religious subject matter is given, including tauhid, fiqh, hadith, date, and tasrifan, while many of the general sciences taught are imported from outside Temboro. SMWB was established in 1965 and began to increase the level of classes until, in 1967, it succeeded in opening three classes, marking the establishment of Madrasah Tsanawiyah Al Fatah; at that time, the name was still using *muslin* and *Muslim Al Fatah*. This is done because it realises that education is also a preventive solution for a nation that experiences humanitarian and national problems. After all, through education, the nation's next generation will be built to be superior physically and psychologically.⁵⁴

The local education office welcomed the condition of education in Al Fatah, and they invited cooperation to establish a Religious Teacher Education School in Temboro. PGAN was based for 4 years, according to the Decree of the Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, dated November 21, 1967, in the Syirkah complex (now a cooperative). The following two years became PGAN for 6 years according to the Decree of the Minister of

⁵⁰Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat*, 197.

⁵¹In the book *Nazarat fi Janbaratit Tauhid*, there is an important note quoting one of the researchers in *Al-Fikrul Islamiy Al-Hadis* by Dr. Abdul Maqshud Abdul Ghani: "If we compare the thoughts of Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab and Ibn Taymiyyah on certain issues of *aqidab* (creed), they are almost identical and do not differ, except that Ibn Taymiyyah elaborated on his views, substantiating them with evidence and arguments, and refuting opposing opinions with proof and citations. In contrast, Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab presented his explanations more concisely."

⁵²Wahyudin Hafid, "Menyoal Gerakan Salafi di Indonesia (pro-Kontra Metode Dakwah Salafi)," *Al-Tafaqqub: Journal of Islamic Law* 2, no. 1 (December 20, 2020): 29–48.

⁵³Interview with Munafisah at Komplek Pondok Pusat on Saturday, January 13, 2023 (9.00 AM).

⁵⁴Sutrisno, *Pendidikan Islam Berbasis Problem Sosial*, 1st Ed. (Jogjakara: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2012), 86.

Religion of the Republic of Indonesia No. 357 dated May 5, 1969, with the principal of the definitive school, Rd. Ahmad Badawi (one of the sons of Kyai Duri Sawo Ponorogo) until 1982, continued by Drs. H. Mudzakir Adnan. However, in 1978, the government overhauled the 6-year PGAN, which was divided into two levels, namely 3-year MTs (junior high school level) and 3-year PGA (high school level). Until MTsN Temboro (headed by Mohdiyat Sofyan) and MAN Temboro (headed by Rd. Ahmad Badawi), but in 1990, MTsN and MAN were moved to Magetan while still using the name Temboro.

In 1977, Al Fatah established a university affiliated with Universitas Sunan Giri (UNSURI) through a distance learning program. However, this initiative lasted only three years before closing in 1980. In 1983, Al Fatah launched private junior and senior high schools, which operated until 1993, when they, too, were discontinued. Subsequently 1987, a private Madrasah Aliyah (MA) was established, followed by a private Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) the next year.⁵⁵ During this period, Al Fatah navigated significant challenges stemming from shifts in government educational policies, which introduced substantial regulatory complexities. In response, Kyai Mahmud restructured the institution's academic model, opting for a class-based system rather than strictly adhering to the MTs and MA levels. This decision allowed the existing MTsN and MAN schools to continue functioning under the local government's jurisdiction.

The ideology of *salafiyah* in collaboration with modernism is reflected in the learning curriculum, where the students are equipped with lessons in the yellow books but do not abandon general lessons according to the needs of the times. As well as the learning model already in the classrooms, it is no longer *sorogan* or *bandongan*.⁵⁶

The concept of *salafiyah* in the community of *tabligh* pilgrims, especially in Indonesia, is oriented to four groups, namely *first*, traditional *salafiyah*, which is almost the same as *ablussunnah wal jamaah* (ASWAJA) and is still tied to *madhab* Shafi'i, which the Temboro Islamic boarding school practises, *and second* reformist (modern) *salafiyah* who want to return Islam to its source, reject traditions that are *shirk*, superstition, superstition, and carry the theme of the Islamic reform movement and are not involved in politics. *Third*, *salafiyah* da'wah prioritises the purification of faith and practices the ways of life in the time of the prophet Muhammad and the three generations after him strictly and harshly. They do not involve themselves in politics. The *fourth* is ideological *salafiyah*, which carries the formal Islamic sharia constitution in the lives of Muslims, such as the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), HTI, and the Indonesian Islamic Sharia Enforcement Committee.⁵⁷

Diniyyah* with the Ideology of *Tabligh Jamaah

Al Fatah's saturation with education and teaching ended by eliminating the terms MTs and MA and replacing them with "class". Namely classes 1-6 *diniyyah*, after which students will enter the *daurotul hadith* one and *daurotul hadith* two classes, then continue with *the fiqh takbosus* class for two years so that the length of time students study at Al Fatah is 10 years.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Budiana, *Kronik Tiga Abad Temboro*, 108–10.

⁵⁶Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat*, 197.

⁵⁷Haedar Nashir, *Islam Syariat: Reproduksi Salafiyah Ideologis Di Indonesia*, 1st Ed. (Bandung: Mizan Pustaka, 2013), 171–72.

⁵⁸Muhammad Luthvi Al Hasyimi, "Dampak Faham Keagamaan Jama'ah *Tabligh* Terhadap Perubahan

The curriculum used is the diniyyah class model 1-6, divided into two models: formal and tahfidz. Both are in different cottage complexes, namely the formal and tahfidz complexes.⁵⁹ In the formal complex, diniyyah lessons in the form of classic books are given in the morning, and general lessons are offered during the day, while the evening is a time to repeat lessons and self-reflection. Meanwhile, in the tahfidz complex, Qur'an lessons in memorisation are carried out in the morning, and diniyyah lessons in the form of classic books are given during the day.⁶⁰

The provision of lessons about classical books in Al Fatah started when Kyai Siddiq led the pesantren and has been maintained until now, in addition to the Al Fatah manoeuvre by accepting tabligh pilgrims by changing the total physical appearance of all its students, both male and female, into core values that cannot be abandoned and have been rooted in the identity of the Al Fatah Islamic boarding school. The term "ngaji kitab" is the branding of Al Fatah to maintain its distinctiveness. These values are the main foundation and common good for managing pesantren, including the vision and mission, policies, and orientation for pesantren development.⁶¹

Da'wah of tabligh pilgrims was recorded as having entered Temboro, Magetan, around 1980.⁶² When Ahmad Shabur and his congregation stayed in touch with Temboro Magetan, they received a good welcome from Kyai Mahmud. 'Abd al-Şabūr is one of the scholars and professors of Alighard University in India.⁶³ The concept and methods of preaching to the *tabligh* congregation group did not contradict his ideology he gained a more special spiritual experience when performing congregational prayers with the *khuruj* group. Then Kyai Mahmud sent his son and son-in-law to study directly in Pakistan.⁶⁴ After returning, they can apply the ideology of the tabligh congregation in Al Fatah, which is committed to improving themselves through the teachings of Prophet Muhammad.

Followers of *tabligh* is a revivalism movement in Islam, which is a religious phenomenon characterised by a strong emphasis on Islamic identity and practice.⁶⁵ This is the beginning of a new chapter of Islamic education that collaborates the diniyyah system with the da'wah ideology of the tabligh congregation so that it becomes a distinctiveness of Al Fatah. Kyai Mahmud, as the leader of the Islamic boarding school, has paved the way for Al Fatah to be brighter until now. In the typology of kyai, Kyai Mahmud deserves to be included in the charismatic type because he can become a murshid for all his students, his

Sistem Pendidikan Di Pondok Pesantren Al Fatah Desa Temboro Karas Magetan," *INTELEKTUAL: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 1 (2017): 99–108.

⁵⁹Observation at Pesantren Al Fatah Temboro, on Saturday, January 13, 2023 (8.00 – 9.00 AM).

⁶⁰Interview with Munafisah at Komplek Pondok Pusat on Saturday, January 13, 2023 (9.00 AM).

⁶¹Ahmad Fauzi, Suheri, and Bayu Fermadi, "Habitualization of Pesantren Values as Social Capital in Building Moderate Islamic Education," *Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 22, no. 1 (July 3, 2024): 127–39.

⁶²Moh Yusuf, "Prinsip Ikrām Al-Muslim Gerakan Dakwah Jamaah Tabligh Dalam Membangun Masyarakat Religius Di Temboro Magetan," *ISLAMICA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 10, no. 2 (March 29, 2017): 299–324.

⁶³Samsul Munir, *Pluralisme Madzhab: Dakwah Jama'ah Tabligh di Kampung Madinah*, 1st Ed. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Ilmu, 2015), 139.

⁶⁴Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren salafiyah Terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat*, 206.

⁶⁵Arif Zamhari, "Defending Islamic Tradition: Theological Responses of the Hadrami Majlis Taklim Groups Toward the Salafi-Wahabi Preaching Movement in Contemporary Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 16, no. 1 (June 1, 2022): 75–102.

family and his environment with the knowledge and charity he must give birth to spiritual qualities that radiate the value of *karomah* for his surroundings.⁶⁶

The emergence of *tabligh* congregations in Indonesia responds to local Islam and international Islam to embody the spirit of prophethood and its companions to form an Islamic society that combines faith, sharia, and *ma'rifab*.⁶⁷ Al Fatah's joining the *tabligh* congregation caused resistance among NU and Muhammadiyah organisations in Magetan, Al Fatah was accused of spreading deviant Shi'a and Ahmadiyah beliefs. The Kyai in Al Fatah occupy positions in the NU organisation. This conflict triggered the dismissal of Kyai Mahmud from NU management. Still, it did not happen because the Chairman of NU at that time, Abdurrahman Wahid, viewed the *tabligh* congregation as not contradicting the teachings of Islam and NU. However, it is solely a method of preaching to the community to invite them back to the prophet's sunnah and the companion's behaviour.⁶⁸

Membership of the *tabligh* congregation movement is based on freedom regardless of school or *madhab*, sect, and organisational background, in its *da'wah*, they are led by an *amir*.⁶⁹ Amir, or a leader, oversees the spreading of *da'wah* (Islamic teachings) based on Islamic traditions such as Nahdlatul Ulama but using the ideology of *tabligh*. The similarity of the *tariqa* school is the basis for Kyai Mahmud to open his hands wide for the presence and development of *tabligh* worshippers in Al Fatah. Even now, Al Fatah still preserves the *halaqah* of the *Naqshabandiyah tariqahalaqoh tarekat Naqshabandiyah*.⁷⁰

From this point of view, the *tabligh* congregation is described by scholars and observers as a peaceful and law-abiding movement.⁷¹ The movement adopted an informal organisation and maintained an introverted institutional profile. Stay away from the media and avoid publishing detailed information about its activities and membership.⁷² Although Al Fatah studied the books of *Shafi'iyah*, it did not prevent him from accepting the *tabligh* method brought by the Indian *tabligh* congregation who practised the Hanafiyah *madhhab*. This shows that the ideology of the *tabligh* congregation will not change the *madhab* of its adherents if it is still in the four *madhabs* that are characteristic of Sunni Islam, namely the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafii, and Hanbali *madhabs*.⁷³

⁶⁶Arifin, "Authority of Spiritual Leadership at Pesantren Temboro Based on Jamaah Tabligh Ideology," 265–92.

⁶⁷Bustamam-Ahmad, "The History of Jama'ah Tabligh in Southeast Asia," 353–400.

⁶⁸Suparta, *Perubaban Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah Terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat*, 226–27.

⁶⁹Bustamam-Ahmad, "The History of Jamaah Tabligh in Southeast Asia," 353–400.

⁷⁰This *tariqa* was founded by Khwajah Baha al-Din Muhammad Naqshaband (717–791). Its distinctive characteristics include adherence to the creed of *Ahl al-Sunnah*, avoiding *rukhsah* (religious dispensations), choosing *azimah* (strict legal rulings), practicing *muraqabah* (awareness of being under Allah's supervision), always feeling Allah's presence nearby, turning away from worldly grandeur, and engaging in silent remembrance (*dhikr khabfi*). The Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah tarekat was established by Mawlana Khalid al-Baghdadi (1827), characterized by its centralized discipline and the concept of *rabitah* (spiritual connection with the *shaykh*) before performing *dhikr*. See John L. Esposito (ed.), "Naqshabandiyah," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, Volume 3, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. Also, refer to Heri MS Faridy et al. in *Ensiklopedi Tasawuf*, Bandung: Angkasa, 2008, p. 934.

⁷¹Khamim and Hibulloah Hadziq, "Tradisi Menghafal Hadis Di Pesantren Al-Fatah, Temboro Karas Magetan (analisis Fenomenologi)," *UNIVERSUM* 12, no. 2 (January 31, 2019): 111–25.

⁷²Indra Putra, "The Tablighi Jamaat Movement Its Ideological Concept and Organizational Structure," 16–25.

⁷³Zainal Arifin dalam Disertasi "Kepemimpinan Spiritual Pesantren Temboro-Strategi Kebudayaan Kyai dalam membentuk Perilaku Religius", UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2017, 147.

This conflict impacted the guardians of Al Fatah students, who flocked to move their children to other boarding schools. However, this did not weaken Al Fatah; it improved itself even more and remained consistent with the tabligh congregation until the following years. Al Fatah experienced an increase in the number of students until 2023, when there were 22 thousand more male and female students at Al Fatah, with 2k more students from abroad. By occupying more than 200 hectares of land, Al Fatah is currently in the process of building a large mosque that can accommodate more than 10k worshippers.⁷⁴ In addition, Al Fatah is also the centre of tabligh worshippers in East Java. Every Friday night, *ijtima'* is always held at the Trankil mosque (central mosque) and is attended by hundreds of worshippers (*Tablighi*) from various cities outside Magetan to listen to *bayan* maghrib and isha from the Kyai Al Fatah or Ustadz tabligh pilgrims who come from abroad, sometimes accompanied by invitation to do khuruj then continued with mudzakaroh together their respective groups.⁷⁵

Several significant changes were made after Al Fatah absorbed the Tabligh congregation's ideology. Among them, the ideology changed, from previously ASWAJA-NU to ASWAJA-*Jamaah* Tabligh as well as the curriculum by adopting references to the main books of the Tabligh *Jamaah* plus the *mubasabah* method, which is a particular time for self-introspection in the aim of increasing charity, so that there is a motivation that today is better than yesterday.⁷⁶ The primary commitment of the tabligh congregation is not to involve themselves in practical politics and not to discuss religious issues that are *khilafiyah*.

Since Al Fatah is led by Kyai Uzairon Thoifur Abdillah, the eldest son of Kyai Mahmud, it upholds the traditions of the *Naqshabandiyah* tariqa. It prefers the term "*niyyah*" over "*salafiyah*," even though they are similar in practice.⁷⁷ This choice helps to avoid misunderstandings related to the Salafi movement, which is often equated with the Wahhabi interpretation established by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, who rejected Sufi teachings and was even anti-Sufism and tariqa. In contrast, the Tabligh congregation embodies a character of zuhud, marked by simplicity and a strong desire to emulate the Prophet and his companions. This zuhud character aligns with one of the key aspects of Sufism, leading to a more Sufistic approach among Tabligh pilgrims. Therefore, the ideology guiding Al Fatah today is rooted in the diniyyah of the *Tabligh* congregation.

The concept of ideology reflects a discovery arising from political conflict. The groups in power in their minds become so intensely shackled to the interests of a situation that they cannot easily see specific facts that will destroy their sense of mastery.⁷⁸ With its distinctive position, pesantren is expected to be an alternative to people-centred development and, simultaneously, a centre for value-oriented development.⁷⁹ This is also what distinguishes the

⁷⁴Interview with Umi Aziz at Komplek Pondok Utara on Saturday, January 13, 2023 (1.00 PM) and Zaenab in field observation on Saturday, January 13, 2023 (8.00-9.00 AM).

⁷⁵Hj Futiaty Romlah, "Peran Jama'ah Tabligh Dalam Pembinaan Pendidikan Agama Islam Pada Masyarakat Desa Temboro Kecamatan Karas Kabupaten Magetan," *Cendekia* Vol. 9 No. 1 (June 2011): 82–95.

⁷⁶Interview with Munafisah at Komplek Pondok Pusat on Saturday, January 13, 2023 (9.00 AM).

⁷⁷Nyai Mas Nyai Mas Mustafidatul Hasanah in an interview at the Central Pondok Complex on Saturday, January 13, 2023, from 07:00 to 08:00 WIB

⁷⁸I Ketut Wisarja and I Ketut Sudarsana, "Refleksi Kritis Ideologi Pendidikan Konservatisme Dan Liberalisme Menuju Paradigma Baru Pendidikan," *Journal of Education Research and Evaluation* 1, no. 4 (December 6, 2017): 283–91.

⁷⁹Majid, *Bilik-Bilik Pesantren*, xxi.

school pioneered by Kyai Mahmud from other madrasas in Temboro that existed first; other schools are not institutionalised, while the school/madrassa established by Kyai Mahmud is institutionalised so that there must be quality standardisation and management is required to be more professional.

Kampung Medina and the Victory of the Contest that Benefited the Community

Temboro Village is unique; it has a village (hamlet) called Kampung Medina because the activities and social interactions of the community are oriented to the city of Medina. The mention of Kampung Medina for the people of Temboro is closely related to the existence of the Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School because it started Islamic education in Temboro and the role of the *tabligh* congregation movement. *Jamaah* of *tabligh*, as a non-mainstream Islamic group, proclaims Arabization values in the spread of its movement.⁸⁰ Starting from the way men and women dress that resemble the Arabs, namely wearing robes and wearing a veil. Also, the habit of the people who rush to the mosque or prayer room to pray in the congregation when the call to prayer is heard. Shops will be closed, and buying and selling transactions will be stopped as soon as the call to prayer is heard.⁸¹

The ideology of the *tabligh* congregation was not contrary to Al Fatah, who at that time adhered to the ideology of *shafi'iyah* by practising the *naqsabandiyah* tariqa. According to Kyai Mahmud, the *da'wah* carried out by the *tabligh* congregation is similar to Sunan Kalijaga's *da'wah*, a four-month *khuruj da'wah* model. *Yen kali ilang kedunge, yen pasar ilang kemandange, yen wong wadon ilang wirange, enggal-enggal topo lelono njajah deso milangkori ojo bali sak durunge patang sasi, entuk wisik soko hyang nidi* (Allah).⁸² *Topo lelono*, interpreted as spreading *da'wah*, invites goodness, reviving mosques and prayer rooms to encourage congregational prayer as one of the teachings broadcast by the *tabligh* congregation. Such a model of *da'wah* is not uncommon in the NU movement because NU inherited Walisanga's *da'wah* business.⁸³

The religiosity of the local community in Temboro has undergone significant changes. In this sense, religiosity generally refers to the degree of religious behaviour, belief, or spirituality. Religiosity has five aspects: ideological, ritual, experiential, knowledge or cognitive, and consequential. Religiosity is divided into two forms: intrinsic religiosity and organisational religiosity. The first form refers to the salvation of religion or the assumption of personal importance in life, while the second refers to religious social activities.

The increase in the nuances of religiosity not only occurs in the implementation of ritual worship but also touches the social, cultural, and *muamalah* aspects of the community, which are rooted and become an Islamic habitus, one of which is the attitude of tolerance for fellow *khuruj* and *masturah* practitioners in Temboro.⁸⁴ It is not spared from the sense of

⁸⁰Ikbar Ikbar, Febri Nurrahmi, and Hamdani M. Syam, "Kohesivitas Pada Kelompok Jamaah Tabligh," *Jurnal Komunikasi Global* 8, no. 2 (December 30, 2020): 258–70.

⁸¹Mustaqim Pabbajah et al., "Kampung Madinah: The Construction of Jamaah Tabligh for the Arabization Process in Magetan, East Java," *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)* 6, no. 1 (April 30, 2022): 1–12.

⁸²Yusuf, "Prinsip Ikrām Al-Muslim Gerakan Dakwah Jamaah Tabligh Dalam Membangun Masyarakat Religius Di Temboro Magetan," 299–324.

⁸³See <https://islam.nu.or.id/syariah/meneruskan-tradisi-berdakwah-para-pendahulu-gI2Jk>, accessed on 17 November 2023 at 05.00 WIB

⁸⁴Ahmad Salim et al., "Madrasah as Habitus for Increasing Tolerance in Multi-Religious Society," *Cendekia: Jurnal Kependidikan Dan Kemasyarakatan* 21, no. 2 (November 30, 2023): 148–62.

humanising humans. Humans who believe and are devoted to their Gods.⁸⁵

Temboro deserves to be called the "Village of Medina" because most of the population wears Muslim clothes, and about 99 percent of women wear long veils. It is not easy to find women who do not wear a veil. Indeed, children have been accustomed to wearing Muslim clothes and skullcaps since the beginning.⁸⁶ In carrying out its influence, tabligh pilgrims hold six main principles, namely shahada, upholding the *kbussyu' wal kbudu'* prayer (praying with inner concentration and humility before Allah SWT), knowledge, and remembering God or *dhikr*. Glorifying every Muslim, being sincere in every activity, and tabligh.⁸⁷

CONCLUSION

The ideological contestation within Al Fatah Islamic Boarding School represents a dynamic interplay of competing ideologies that shape its educational direction, values, methods, and objectives. This contestation encompasses tensions between traditionalism and modernism, as well as between liberal and conservative perspectives, occasionally leading to misunderstandings, such as associations with Wahhabi Islam due to visible changes in student attire, including the adoption of the *niqab*. The Kyai, as the institution's highest leader, integrates the da'wah-oriented ideology of the Tabligh Jama'at with a curriculum that combines classical Islamic texts and modern scientific studies. This ideological contest has been ongoing since Kyai Mahmud assumed leadership from his father, and it intensified with the arrival of a Tabligh Jama'at delegation led by Ahmad Sobur, a professor at Aligarh University in India.

Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, along with its Tablighi followers, profoundly shapes the religious, social, and economic life of Medina village. The shared religious identity among residents and students, marked by similar attire and practices, fosters a strong, unified community spirit. This devotion is evident during prayer, when merchants pause their business to attend the mosque, highlighting their collective commitment to faith and worship over daily commerce.

⁸⁵Muhmidayeli Muhmidayeli, "Ideologi Dan Moralitas Kependidikan Islam: Suatu Telaah Filosofis Arah Bangun Pendidikan Islam Dalam Paradigma," *Al-Fikra: Jurnal Ilmiah Keislaman* 2, no. 1 (July 26, 2017): 29–41.

⁸⁶Pabbajah et al., "Kampung Madinah," 1–12.

⁸⁷Husaini Husda, "Jamaah Tabligh Cot Goh: Historis, Aktivitas dan Respon Masyarakat," *Jurnal Adabiya* 19, no. 1 (July 17, 2020): 29.

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