



RELIGION AND STATE IN ISLAMIC CONSTITUTIONAL LAW: THE ROLE OF PESANTREN IN STRENGTHENING SYMBIOTIC ISLAM AND THE STATE IN MADURA

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Abstract: The Pesantren Law further emphasizes the existence of pesantren which are responsible for spreading the ideology of patriotism. Pancasila has established a mutual need and benefit pattern between religion and the state. It is unique that the position of religion in Pancasila is based on the first principle. This follows the thinking of the pesantren in Madura, who believe that religion and the state cannot contradict each other because both have a mutually beneficial (symbiotic) relationship. The purpose of this article is to find out the strategy of the pesantren in promoting the symbiotic understanding of religion and the state in Madurese society, which has proved successful in preventing the spread of radicalism in Madurese Muslim society, where the process of spreading has been massive through social and online media. This research uses empirical legal research with legal sociology and legal anthropology approaches. The results of this study show that pesantren in Madura use two methods and strategies to spread the Islamic ideology of love for the homeland, namely internal and external strategies. Internal strategies are carried out through the pesantren teaching system, based on the postulates and advice on patriotism to its students. The external strategy is carried out through establishing a network of pesantren and madrasah branches and organizing the *ustad tugas* program in community life to build and maintain the Nusantara Islamic ideology that loves the country. This research improves public understanding of maintaining harmonious relations between religion and the state. This model of strengthening understanding can be a reference for the government in implementing policies to strengthen public understanding of the symbiosis of Islam and the state through religious institutions.

Keywords: legal culture; Islam and state; pesantren; Madura.

Abstrak: Undang-undang Pesantren lebih lanjut menekankan keberadaan pesantren yang bertanggung jawab untuk menyebarkan ideologi patriotisme. Pancasila telah menetapkan pola saling membutuhkan dan menguntungkan antara agama dan negara. Uniknya, posisi agama dalam Pancasila didasarkan pada sila pertama. Hal ini mengikuti pemikiran kalangan pesantren di Madura yang memandang bahwa agama dan negara tidak dapat dipertentangkan karena keduanya memiliki hubungan yang saling menguntungkan (simbiosis). Tujuan dari penulisan artikel ini adalah untuk mengetahui strategi pesantren dalam menyebarkan pemahaman simbiosis agama dan negara di masyarakat Madura yang terbukti berhasil mencegah penyebaran paham radikalisme di masyarakat muslim Madura yang proses penyebarannya sudah masif melalui media sosial dan media online. Penelitian ini menggunakan jenis penelitian hukum empiris dengan pendekatan sosiologi hukum dan antropologi hukum. Hasil yang diperoleh dalam penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa pesantren di Madura menggunakan dua cara dan strategi untuk menyebarkan ideologi Islam cinta tanah air, yaitu melalui strategi internal dan eksternal. Strategi internal dilakukan melalui sistem pengajaran pesantren yang didasarkan pada dalil-dalil dan nasihat-nasihat patriotisme kepada para santrinya. Strategi eksternal dilakukan melalui pembentukan jaringan pesantren dan madrasah cabang serta pengorganisasian program ustad tugas dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat untuk membangun dan mempertahankan ideologi Islam Nusantara yang cinta tanah air. Penelitian ini berkontribusi dalam upaya meningkatkan pemahaman masyarakat tentang pentingnya menjaga hubungan harmonis antara agama dan negara. Model penguatan pemahaman ini dapat menjadi rujukan bagi pemerintah dalam menerapkan kebijakan penguatan pemahaman masyarakat tentang simbiosis Islam dan negara melalui institusi keagamaan.

Kata Kunci: budaya hukum; Islam dan negara; pesantren; Madura.



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INTRODUCTION

This paper seeks to discuss and explain the work of pesantren in Madura in forming a society with a qualified understanding of Islam and the importance of loving the Indonesian homeland. The explanation of the relationship between Islam and the state and its teaching strategy amid community life that several Pesantren have practiced in Madura is expected to be one of the sources of reference by other

pesantren, the government, and parties who are concerned with efforts to create a generation of nations with Islamic and Indonesian insight.¹

This study is essential because lately, there have been several movements that have begun to openly spread the ideology of the caliphate in Madura, one of which has been carried out at the Al-Muntaha Islamic Boarding School through the "Multaqo Ulama Aswaja" event on September 24, 2023. This activity is thought to be a meeting of Islamic leaders who carry the idea of establishing a caliphate state in Indonesia because the foremost pioneer of this activity is Majelis Al-Buhuts Al-Islamiyah, which is one of the organizations of the supporters of the idea of the caliphate after the dissolution of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). The suspicion is even more vital considering that a meeting of HTI leaders was held at the Pesantren on November 22, 2019, where, at that moment, the caregiver of the Al-Muntaha Pesantren made a declaration of support for the movement to make Indonesia a country with the ideology of the caliphate. The declaration and meeting of leaders who support the caliphate are contrary to the roots of the pesantren tradition in Madura, which generally has a moderate understanding of the relationship between religion and the state and supports the establishment of the Pancasila ideology in Indonesia.

In addition to the above factors, this research is urgent because several pesantren in Madura have applied various strategies to strengthen people's understanding of friendly Islamic teachings that uphold the values of nationality and civility. Until now, pesantren in Madura have always formulated strategies and concrete steps to strengthen and maintain the Madurese people's understanding of the conception of the relationship between religion and the state. The strong knowledge of this community is beneficial to prevent the massive spread of Islamic ideology that narrates the conflict between Islam and the state.²

The author realizes that research on the relationship between religion and the state is a theme discussed previously in constitutional law and the study of *fiqh al-siyāsah*. Academics and researchers have conducted several studies on this theme. Some of these studies include research by Muchamad Ali Safa'at, published in 2022, entitled "The Roles of the Indonesian Constitutional Court in Determining State-

¹ Mo'tasim Mo'tasim et al., "Pesantren Dan Multikulturalisme Di Madura: Adaptasi Nilai Multikultural Dalam Menciptakan Kerukunan Masyarakat Multi Etnis Dan Agama," *Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam (Journal of Islamic Education Studies)* 8, no. 2 (2020): 173-94, <https://doi.org/10.15642/jpai.2020.8.2.173-194>.

² M. Nasor and Jasmadi, "The Role of Pesantren in Maintaining the Unity of the Nation," in *Proceedings of the 1st Raden Intan International Conference on Muslim Societies and Social Sciences (RIICMuSSS 2019)*, 2020, 277-81, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.201113.052>.

Religion Relations." This study describes the role of the constitutional court's decision in strengthening the existence of symbiotic patterns of religion and state relations in Indonesian state life.³

Second, research by Lene Kühle, Ulla Schmidt, Brian Arly Jacobsen, and Per Pettersson was published in 2018 entitled "Religion and State: Complexity in Change." This research discusses the changing patterns of religion and state relations in the Nordic countries in Europe. Although the idea of separating religion and state has been implemented in European countries, including the Nordic countries, patterns that seek to make faith a means of legitimacy are increasingly widespread. Of course, this causes prolonged polemics in these countries.⁴

Third, research by Emmanuele Pavolini, Daniel Béland, and Rana Jawad was published in 2020 entitled "Mapping the Relationship between Religion and Social Policy." This research discusses the central role of religion in influencing a country's social policy. This research also emphasizes that no matter how the separation of religion and state has been practiced in many Western countries, religious values still cannot strongly influence the direction of social policy, especially policies that intersect directly with the behavior of individuals, political parties, and community organizations.⁵

Fourth, research was conducted by Ahmad Hamidi, Asasriwarni, and Ikhwan Matondang and published in 2021 entitled "The Relationship Between Religion and The State in Indonesia, and Its Relation to Islamic Law." This research discusses the similarities between the model of religion and state relations between the state of Medina during the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad and Indonesia, both of which have a basic legal foundation in the form of Al-Qur'an values. Both Madinah and Indonesia do not position Islamic law as state law, but the values championed by Islam are contained in the state constitution.⁶

The four studies above, which have relatively similar themes to this paper, do have fundamental differences because the average previous study discusses the

³ Muchamad Ali Safa'at, "The Roles of the Indonesian Constitutional Court in Determining State-Religion Relations," *Constitutional Review* 8, no. 1 (2022): 113-50, <https://doi.org/10.31078/consrev815>.

⁴ Lene Kühle et al., "Religion and State: Complexity in Change," in *Religious Complexity in the Public Sphere*, 2018, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-55678-9_3.

⁵ Emmanuele Pavolini, Daniel Béland, and Rana Jawad, "Mapping the Relationship between Religion and Social Policy," *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy* 33, no. 3 (2017): 240-60, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/21699763.2017.1363801>.

⁶ Ahmad Hamidi, Asasriwarni Asasriwarni, and Ikhwan Matondang, "The Relationship Between Religion and The State in Indonesia, and Its Relation to Islamic Law," *NEGREL: Academic Journal of Law and Governance* 2, no. 1 (June 18, 2022): 1, <https://doi.org/10.29240/negrei.v2i1.3783>.

pattern of the relationship between religion and the state in a normative state conceptual context. This paper explicitly discusses efforts to strengthen the symbiotic concept of Islam and the state in social life, as agreed upon by the founders of the Indonesian nation, especially the strengthening patterns carried out by several pesantren in Madura. So, the novelty of this research is that it is a model for enhancing the understanding of the relationship between Islam and the state through pesantren as part of an effort to neutralize the spread of Radical Islam by optimizing Madurese society's legal culture.

This research uses empirical legal research methods or non-doctrinal research. The choice of this method is due to the purpose and direction of the study, which is to find out the model of prevention and neutralization of religious understanding that is contrary to Pancasila, where the targeted institution is the tradition of spreading symbiotic knowledge of Islam and the state which several Islamic boarding schools in Pamekasan have carried out. Thus, this research approach uses a juridical-sociological and anthropological approach, with the premise that the law cannot be separated from various aspects of community life, such as values, attitudes, behavior, and traditions.⁷ In the context of this research, the values, attitudes, and models of the spread of the Islamic ideology of love for the homeland are through pesantren programs in Pamekasan in designing families that have a humanist view of Islam and can prevent the spread of an ideology that states Indonesia as a *ṭāghūt* and *kāfir* country.

THE CONCEPT OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION AND THE STATE, ACCORDING TO KIAI PESANTREN IN MADURA

The harmonious relationship between religion and the state in the view of the Madurese community, the majority of which are Santri, is caused by several things, among others: First, the teachings of the scholars and leaders of pesantren in Madura who have long emphasized the love of the homeland. Pesantren in Madura has carried out this noble teaching since the days of the struggle for independence until now, where the students are trained to become individuals who love the country and strengthen the unity among all the nation's children.⁸ Some classical literature

⁷ Victor Imanuel W. Nalle, "The Relevance of Socio-Legal Studies in Legal Science," *Mimbar Hukum - Fakultas Hukum Universitas Gadjah Mada* 27, no. 1 (February 15, 2015): 179, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jmh.15905>.

⁸ Ahmad; Agus Sunyoto; Rijal Mumazziq Baso, KH. Hasyim Asy'ari: *Pengabdian Seorang Kiai Untuk Negeri* (Jakarta: Museum Kebangkitan Nasional, 2021), 201.

has also encouraged the messengers to be loyal to their country.⁹ When traced in the scholarly treasures of the *kitab kuning*, the view of love for the homeland and the harmonious relationship between religion and the state refers to the opinion of Al-Ghazali, who considers that love for the motherland, which is manifested in a ready attitude to improve the welfare of the nation is *farḍ al-kifāyah*. The legal position of love for the country, which has the status of *farḍ al-kifāyah*, shows the importance of Muslims taking part in thinking and striving for the establishment and advancement of their country.¹⁰

Related to this, Hasyim Muzadi (Kiai Hasyim) once talked about the close relationship between religion and the state in the Islamic tradition of pesantren. The relationship between religion and the state is a relationship that is interrelated, needs, and mutually beneficial. The state certainly needs religious support so that all state policies, especially those related to the community's livelihood, can be carried out according to procedures and good values taught by religion. In this context, the contribution of religion is substantial in ensuring that state administration can run well by making the values and teachings of goodness built by religion a standard standard in every state policy.¹¹ On the other hand, religion also requires the state's role in ensuring that the existence of religion adhered to by its citizens is well guaranteed through state legal instruments.¹² The existence of legal instruments guarantees the freedom of its people to embrace and believe in religious truths and to carry out various religious rituals. Then, religious life can be carried out correctly and smoothly, and certain parties do not interfere with the community's spiritual life.

From the perspective of modern legal state theory, the existence of religion embraced by citizens is indeed one of the rights that cannot be reduced in its fulfillment.¹³ The right to freedom of religion and belief is a fundamental right whose position cannot be reduced by anyone at any time and under any

⁹ Salafuddin Noor, Ahmadi Hasan, and Nuril Khasyi'in, "Review of Political Theory of Islamic Law Abul 'Ala Al Maududy Positive Perspective of the Political System of Indonesian Islamic Law," *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pemikiran* 23, no. 1 (2023): 36–49, <https://doi.org/10.18592/sjhp.v23i1.9626>.

¹⁰ Muh. Hanif Dhakiri, *Pedoman Berpolitik Warga NU* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2014), 112.

¹¹ Agung Ali Fahmi, "Implementasi Kebebasan Beragama Dalam UUD Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945" (Universitas Indonesia, 2010), 79–80.

¹² Matthias Koenig, "Governance of Religious Diversity at the European Court of Human Rights," in *Religious Diversity and Interreligious Dialogue* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 59–72, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-31856-7_5.

¹³ Imam Subchi et al., "Religious Moderation in Indonesian Muslims," *Religions* 13, no. 5 (May 17, 2022): 451, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13050451>.

conditions.¹⁴ The state's existence through its legal instruments will be able to support the establishment of human rights principles, which, in the tradition of the rule of law, is one of the characteristics of the establishment of a state. The upholding of human rights guarantees, including the right to religion and belief, is one of the prerequisites of the conception of a modern legal state.¹⁵

State legal guarantees for the existence of religion are also one legal instrument that can strengthen the position of local religions in the national legal system.¹⁶ The existence of state guarantees through these legal instruments is the basis for legitimizing each religion so that its adherents can carry out a variety of religious activities safely and avoid interference from parties who have the potential to hinder the implementation of spiritual activities of a religion.¹⁷ In a modern legal state system, state legal legitimacy is fundamental because it relates to state legal protection if there are things in religious activities that harm the interests of religion.¹⁸ *Secondly*, the teachings and traditions of the Madurese people advocate love for the homeland. This can be seen from the cultural distinctiveness in the people's obedience, submission, and submission hierarchically directed to four central figures in life. The four figures are *Buppa*, *'Babbu*, *Ghuru*, and *Rato* (father, mother, teacher, and government leader). It is to these four figures that the Madurese community gives respect and submission in carrying out community life.¹⁹

The four central figures above are highly respected and obeyed by the Madurese community; this is not only because they are sourced from local traditions, but the existence of this teaching is also caused by religious teachings that require the people to obey the four figures. Related to the Madurese people's

¹⁴ Musferah Mehfooz, "Religious Freedom in Pakistan: A Case Study of Religious Minorities," *Religions* 12, no. 1 (January 13, 2021): 51, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12010051>.

¹⁵ Muwaffiq Jufri, *Hukum Dan Hak Asasi Manusia; Dasar Teori Dan Praktiknya* (Depok: Rajawali Pers, 2023), 72-73, <https://www.rajagrafindo.co.id/produk/hukum-dan-hak-asasi-manusia-dasar-teori-dan-praktiknya-muwaffiq-jufri/>.

¹⁶ Muhammad Lukman Hakim, Indah Dwi Qurbani, and Abdul Wahid, "A Paradox Between Religious Conviction and Recognizing The Freedom of Others on Measuring Religious (in)Tolerance Index in East Java, Indonesia," *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, no. 1 (2023): 1-16, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2191443>.

¹⁷ Robert W. Hefner, "Islam and Institutional Religious Freedom in Indonesia," *Religions* 12, no. 6 (June 7, 2021): 415, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12060415>.

¹⁸ Ridwan Arifin et al., "The Adversity on Establishing Places of Worship: Has Religious Freedom Failed in Indonesia?," *Legality: Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum* 29, no. 1 (February 15, 2021): 93-113, <https://doi.org/10.22219/ljih.v29i1.15317>.

¹⁹ Muwaffiq Jufri, Agung Ali Fahmi, and Saiful Abdullah, "Peran Strategis Kiai Pesantren Dalam Diseminasi Gaya Hidup Halal Di Madura," *Al-Huquq: Journal of Indonesian Islamic Economic Law* 5, no. 1 (2023): 1-19, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/alhuquq.v5i1.7872>.

submission to the *rato* figure, it can be interpreted as obedience to the nation's leader. In the classical view of the Madurese people, the state's existence is very respectable in guaranteeing and ensuring the orderly life of the community. Thanks to the state, economic, social, and religious life can take place dynamically, which is very beneficial for the continuity of community life. For this reason, Madurese's love and obedience to state policy are two of the four central figures that must be obeyed besides the father, mother, and teacher.²⁰

Madurese people also believe in the state's role in ensuring the orderly activities of community life. The state's existence with its legal instruments has guaranteed the community access to any activity, including the free practice of the religious teachings adopted by the Madurese community.²¹ Without the rule of law, religious activities and rituals would not be as peaceful as the Madurese people can enjoy today. The state guarantee on religious activities is essential for the Madurese community because many models of religious rituals are carried out, ranging from recitation assemblies and *shalawat kamrat, koloman*, and many other forms of rituals. The many rituals could only have been carried out smoothly and securely with regulations supporting these activities. That is why it is natural that the Madurese people, to this day, have a patriotic spirit and a great love for the integrity of the Indonesian nation.

PESANTREN STRATEGIES IN THE SPREAD OF SYMBIOTIC ISLAM AND THE STATE IN MADURA

The discussion above has shown the views of Santri and Pesantren scholars regarding the relationship between religion and the state, which has a mutually beneficial and needy relationship (symbiotic mutualism).²² The role of Santri is also huge in efforts to form a society with the spirit of Pancasila. In this regard, some methods have been carried out by pesantren in Madura to create a culture that is competent in the field of religion and has the character of Pancasila.

²⁰ Naufil Istikhari and Ulfatur Rahmah, "Ngaji Ka Langgar: The Educational Nursery of Moderation of Islam in Madura," *Islamuna: Jurnal Studi Islam* 7, no. 2 (2020): 106-24, <https://doi.org/10.19105/islamuna.v7i2.2278>.

²¹ Hasanatul Jannah and Danang Purwanto, "Tengka Tradition in Madura: Constructive Role of Ulama as Religious and Cultural Leaders," *SHAHIH: Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary* 7, no. 1 (June 21, 2022): 43-54, <https://doi.org/10.22515/shahih.v7i1.5201>.

²² Abd A'la et al., "Islamism Denounced: Madura Kiais' Perspective of Nationalism," *Karsa: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 29, no. 2 (December 27, 2020): 134-60, <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v29i2.4876>.

1) Internal Strategy

As Syaikhona Kholil did in producing a generation of people who love the country, Syaikhona Kholil gave a sidenote in the form of the phrase "*ḥubb al-waṭan min al-īmān*" in one of the fiqh books. Sidenotes themselves to the *kitab kuning* (Arabic classical references) Islamic rules, commonly referred to as *ḥawāshī*,²³ Aiming that teachers always remember essential messages that must be conveyed to their students at every moment of recitation. From these marginal notes, it can also be concluded that Syaikhona Kholil's spirit of love for the country and the struggle against all forms of colonization are always transmitted by his students in the momentum of recitation.²⁴

This shows that teaching love for the country is essential and must provide a marginal note to his students.²⁵ This fact is not surprising because, in the Madurese community's oral culture,²⁶ Syaikhona Kholil's charisma is not only known as an Ulama but also famous as a Kiai who consistently rejects all forms of colonization. This was done in the momentum of recitation and various concrete actions through the resistance movement.²⁷

²³ Rifqi Muhammad and Gustina Gustina, "Care For Indonesian Union With The Five Principles Of Love For The Country Of Syaikh Kholil Bangkalan Perspective," *Inovasi-Jurnal Diklat Keagamaan* 16, no. 2 (December 28, 2022): 150–60, <https://doi.org/10.52048/inovasi.v16i2.350>.

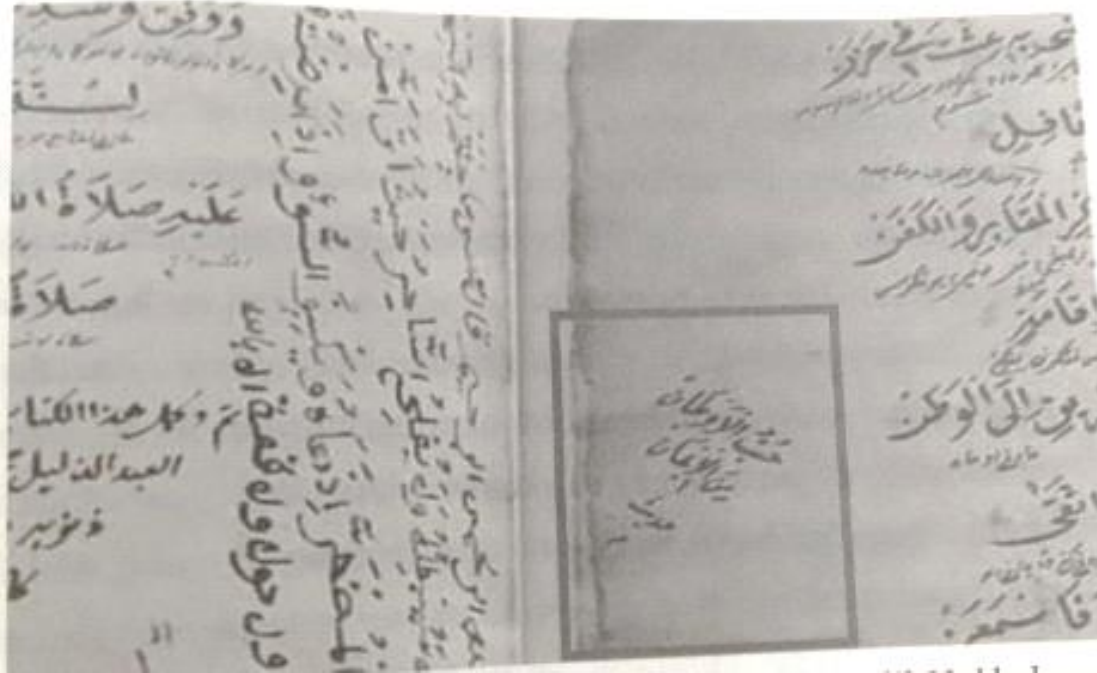
²⁴ Humaidi Ahmad, "Syaikhona Muhamad Kholil: Motif Perjuangan Melalui Pendidikan, Karya Dan Pesantren," *Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Pranata Islam* 12, no. 1 (2021): 110, <http://ejournal.kopertais4.or.id/madura/index.php/syaikhona/article/view/4364/3109>.

²⁵ Deasy Simandjuntak, "Disciplining the Accepted and Amputating the Deviants: Religious Nationalism and Segregated Citizenship in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Law and Society* 8, no. 1 (February 20, 2021): 88–107, <https://doi.org/10.1017/als.2020.49>.

²⁶ Moh. Zahid and Moh Hasan, "The Existence of Wasathiyah Islam in Madura; An Analysis of Urban Society's Acceptance of Islamic Content on Social Media," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 13, no. 2 (2018): 382, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v13i2.1875>.

²⁷ M. Fikril Hakim, *Korelasi Antara Syaikhona Muhammad Kholil Bangkalan Dan NU: Mengenang Dan Menghayati Perjuangan Sang Inspirator* (Kediri: Lirboyo Press, 2019), 37–38.

Figure 1. The editorial of "Hubbul Authon" written by Syaikhona Kholil



Source: Syaikhona Kholil's manuscript in the office of Lajnah Turats 'Ilmi Syaikhona Muhammad Kholil

In addition to the manuscript above, Syaichona Kholil's handwriting as a form of resistance to the existence of the Dutch East Indies Government in Indonesia can also be found in one of the manuscripts in the form of a letter envelope originating from the Dutch East Indies Government Attache addressed to Syaichona Kholil. On the envelope, there is Arabic handwriting which means "Ya Allah, that this (the Dutch East Indies government) is a robber and thief, so cut it off."²⁸

²⁸ Muhaimin, *Biografi Syaikhona Muhammad Kholil; Guru Para Ulama Dan Pahlawan Nasional* (Bangkalan: CV. Orang-Orang Madura, 2022), 233.

Figure 2. Manuscript of Syaichona Kholil's Handwriting on a Dutch Letterhead



Source: Source: Syaikhona Kholil's manuscript in the office of Lajnah Turats 'Ilmi Syaikhona Muhammad Kholil

The writing indicates Syaikhona Kholil's furious expression against the existence of the Dutch East Indies Government, which has been despotic and arbitrary towards the indigenous people, so it must be resisted and complained to God. This manuscript also signifies the typical model of the struggle of the pesantren in Madura to be free from the colonial regime by involving the role of God in every movement of struggle. The pesantren, especially in Madura, practiced physical resistance through the battlefield and battles. They performed *tirakat* and prayers so that all their struggles would get the pleasure of Allah, the Lord of the Worlds.²⁹ Until now, Syaichona Kholil's tradition has also been continued by his students, the

²⁹ Aah Syafaah, "Menelusuri Jejak Dan Kiprah Kiai Kholil Al-Bangkalani," *Jurnal Tamaddun : Jurnal Sejarah Dan Kebudayaan Islam* 5, no. 1 (2017): 22-39, <https://doi.org/10.24235/tamaddun.v5i1.1964>.

majority of whom are indeed permanent clerics in Madura, Java, and other regions in Indonesia. This is done to foster Santri's love for their homeland so that pesantren people have the same spirit in efforts to achieve, maintain, and defend independence.³⁰ This is a form of an effort to protect freedom from all disturbances. One of the efforts that can be used as an example related to the efforts of Pesantren Kiai in Madura in producing nationalist santri is what was done by Mudatsir Badruddin (Kiai Mudatsir), the fifth caretaker of Pesantren Miftahul Ulum Panyepen Pamekasan (1971-present).

In educating and teaching his students, Kiai Mudatsir always provides them with advice on nationality. Such advice and teachings are conveyed when giving *kitab kuning* recitations or when they can give speeches at boarding school events. Quite a lot of advice on the importance of maintaining the spirit of the motherland has been delivered, one of which is his advice on the significance of santri in practicing the teachings of Pancasila. According to him, if the Islamic community in Indonesia, especially the Santri, does not accept the existence of Pancasila as the ideology of the nation, then their lives will be unsettled, not peaceful, and potentially fall into the abyss of destruction.

Kiai Mudatsir's teachings were popularized by several social media accounts and information media of the Pamekasan Regency Nahdlatul Ulama Branch Management (PCNU Pamekasan), with the intention that this noble teaching can be disseminated to the broader community and not only accessed by Muslim communities in Pamekasan. The dissemination of wise words about Pancasila by pesantren kiai certainly has implications for traditionalist Muslim communities who still consider the figure of pesantren kiai as one of the figures capable of providing religious enlightenment. Thus, spreading Kiai Mudatsir's teachings about Pancasila through social media is the right step to instill in all levels of society in Indonesia Islamic values that love the homeland.³¹

Another example that explains the teachings and examples of pesantren kiai in describing the close relationship between religion and the state to their santri is what the late KH did. Abdul Hamid Mu'in (Kiai Hamid) is the fourth caretaker of the Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School (1984-2004). Kiai Hamid

³⁰ Shoni Rahmatullah Amrozi, Maskuri Maskuri, and Peni Catur Renaningtyas, "Genealogi Pengajaran Islam Dan Nasionalisme Agama KH. Zaini Mun'im Dan KHR. As'ad Syamsul Arifin," *Islamika Inside: Jurnal Keislaman Dan Humaniora* 6, no. 2 (2021): 140-62, <https://doi.org/10.35719/islamikainside.v6i2.108>.

³¹ Taufiq Hasyim, *Ber-Islam, Ber-NU Dan Ber-NKRI; Lima Tahun Pengabdian Di PCNU Pamekasan* (Pamekasan: Yayasan Paddhang Bulan, 2020), 99-100.

gave an example to the Santri by initiating cooperation between the pesantren and the state security forces (TNI and Polri) to overcome security disturbances that afflicted the people of Bettet village and its surroundings at that time. The model of this collaboration was to involve the Santri and the state security apparatus in maintaining and disciplining village security. Thanks to this harmonious relationship between the TNI and the santri, the security situation in Bettet village recovered.

This method was carried out in Bettet village and other villages in Pamekasan by involving santri in the "ABRI Masuk Desa" activity, which aimed to create a safe, peaceful, and advanced social order. Yusuf Aziz's pattern forms a social order movement based on cooperation between ulama and umara.³² Some of the efforts, recommendations, teachings, and examples of kiai pesantren above at least reinforce the views that have been born around the harmonious relationship between religion and the state in the scientific tradition of pesantren in Madura. The role of pesantren in creating a safe, peaceful, and prosperous social order accompanied by teachings of love for the country is clear evidence that the contribution of pesantren is not only during the struggle for independence but until now to realize the ideals of independence by building a system and order of society that is safe, peaceful, and has the character of Pancasila.

The various methods applied by kiai pesantren to introduce the importance of harmonizing Islamic understanding that supports the establishment of the joints of the state is an effort by kiai pesantren in Madura to produce cadres of students who will have the enthusiasm to care for independence and fill the legacy of independence in our beloved country through a variety of activities that bring benefits not only to the interests of upholding religious values but also to uphold the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

All efforts that have been made by pesantren in Madura to strengthen nationalism for the Santri and the surrounding community are a form of internalization of state regulations and Islamic laws that indeed encourage Muslims to love their country. The command to love and care for the government has arguments in the Qur'an and Hadith. The proof of love for the country in the Qur'an can be found in Surah Al-Qashas verse 85, which means, " Indeed (Allah) who obliges you (to carry out the laws) of the Qur'an will indeed return you to the place

³² Yusuf Aziz, *Kiai Hamid Bettet; Biografi Dan Karomah* (Pamekasan: Yayasan Paddhang Bulan, 2020), 79.

of return."³³ Ismail Haqqi Al-Hanafī Al-Khalwathī, in his tafsīr, argues that this verse shows the recommendation to love the country; this is based on the prophet's expression on his hijrah journey to Medina, which repeatedly mentions "homeland." Ismail Haqqi also mentioned that Allah realized his prayer by returning to Makkah. In his further statement, Ismail Haqqi also mentions the words of Umar ibn Khattab, who said that if it were not for the love of the motherland, the country would have been damaged (arid), so because of the love of the homeland, the countries were built.³⁴

The existence of the argument about the recommendation to love the country above can also be found in several hadiths. One of them is narrated by Anas ibn Malik, who mentioned that the prophet Muhammad when returning from traveling and seeing the walls of Medina, accelerated the pace of his camel. If he rode a camel, he moved it (to speed up) because of his love for Medina.³⁵ Ibn Hajar Al-Asqalany mentions that this Hadīth provides two clues. The first clue is about the virtues of Medina for Muslims, while the second is about the recommendation to love the motherland.

2) External Strategy

In addition to socializing the understanding of the harmony of religion and the state through activities within the pesantren, the pesantren kiai in Madura also tried to instill Islamic and national values through activities outside the pesantren by going directly to the community. Related to this effort are two models of activities carried out, among others: *First*, forming a network of pesantren and Islamic education institutions with the model of establishing and forming pesantren and madrasah branches.

This pattern is applied by several pesantren in Madura, one of which is Pesantren Miftahul Ulum Panyepen (Pesantren Panyepen). This method conceptualizes the existence of Pesantren Panyepen as a main pesantren. In contrast, several other pesantren are positioned as pesantren and madrasah branches because

³³ Moch Nur Ichwan, Arskal Salim, and Eka Srimulyani, "Islam and Dormant Citizenship: Soft Religious Ethno-Nationalism and Minorities in Aceh, Indonesia," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 31, no. 2 (April 2, 2020): 215–40, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2020.1780407>.

³⁴ Ahmad Yani and Megawati Barthos, "Transforming Islamic Law in Indonesia from a Legal Political Perspective," *Al-Ahkam* 30, no. 2 (October 30, 2020): 159–78, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2020.30.2.6333>.

³⁵ Meir Litvak, "'God's Favored Nation': The New Religious Nationalism in Iran," *Religions* 11, no. 10 (October 21, 2020): 541, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11100541>.

each madrasah branch's educational curriculum must be the same as the curriculum applied in the main pesantren.³⁶

This management system and pesantren education curriculum have been carried out since the early days of the establishment of Pesantren Panyepen by sending the sons and relatives of the pesantren caregivers to areas that need religious guidance. In this period, the pesantren network that was formed was 5 (five) boarding schools consisting of 1) Pesantren Miftahul Ulum Banyuwayu Pamekasan, 2) Pesantren Miftahul Ulum Bettet Pamekasan, 3) Pesantren Miftahul Ulum Karang Durin Sampang; 4) Pesantren Miftahul Ulum Sumber Arasy, and 5) Pesantren Miftahul Ulum Banyuputih Kidul Lumajang.³⁷

In the next period, the concept of madrasah and pesantren ranting continued to get a positive response from the community, which wanted to implement a curriculum connection pattern with Pesantren Panyepen. The latest data obtained from the Profile of Pesantren Panyepen mentioned that the number of pesantren and madrasah branches is 70 pesantren, and madrasah branches are spread in several regions in Madura. The distribution of madrasahs and Islamic boarding schools, among others, is as described in the table below:

Table 1. Distribution of Pesantren and Madrasah Ranting Pesantren Panyepen

No	Regional	Number of Madrasah and Pesantren Ranting
1	Sampang	Fifty-six branches are spread across the sub-districts of Sokobanah, Tamberu, Karang-penang, Ketapang, and Camplong.
2	Pamekasan	Thirteen branches are spread across Palengaan, Pegantenan, Pasean, and Batumarmar sub-districts.
3	Sumenep	1 Branch located in Pasongsongan sub-district

Source: Profile of Pesantren Panyepen, 2020.

The table above shows that one of the efforts made by pesantren is to standardize the Islamic education curriculum through the madrasah ranting system. This effort is made to maintain the quality of Islamic education and ensure that the materials taught in madrasahs outside the pesantren are by the materials taught by the pesantren. The suitability of Islamic education materials and curriculum is one of the efforts to minimize the Radical Islamic movement in Madura.

³⁶ Tim Penyusun, *Manajemen Penyelenggaraan Program Ustad tugas Pondok Pesantren Miftahul Ulum Panyepen* (Pamekasan: Media Panyepen, 2017), 31.

³⁷ Penyusun, 33.

The solid relationship and control of the main pesantren in ensuring the suitability of the application of the education curriculum in madrasah and branch pesantren is an effort so that the understanding and noble tradition of pesantren thinking about the importance of Islam *tasāmuḥ* and the teachings of love for the country can be well disseminated to the broader community. This can also be referred to as an organized effort of the pesantren's primary goal in terms of developing a religious society and neutralizing the influences and teachings that declare Indonesia as a *kāfir* country and *ṭāghūt*.

Ṭāghūt is a term in Islam that refers to a pattern of worship that does not worship Allah and is followed by attitudes that are willing to do anything according to the orders of their worship against the teachings set by God. The *ṭāghūt* country narrative is often raised by the propagators of the Islamic State movement in Indonesia to influence the public that the Indonesian state is not a country that is by Islamic teachings. According to this movement, the reason for calling Indonesia a *ṭāghūt* state is the establishment of formal state laws that do not directly refer to the laws written in the Qur'an and hadith.³⁸ This movement does not have many followers in Indonesia because it is contrary to the general view of Muslims in Indonesia, who consider this country to be a country by Islamic teachings. The strong understanding of the majority of Muslims in Indonesia is partly due to the many Islamic boarding schools, including in Madura, which always spread humanist Islamic teachings and advocate always loving the country.³⁹

Madrasah ranting is one of the programs of pesantren in Madura that successfully neutralizes the spread of Radical Islam. The success of this activity is based on the fact that until now, there have never been alums, santri, and sympathizers of pesantren in Madura who have been involved in terrorism activities in the name of religion.⁴⁰ In other areas outside Madura, there was news related to the arrest of terrorists and the explosion of suicide bombers, and such events have never been found in Madura. This shows that the love of the people of Madura for their country is so great.

³⁸ Saifudin Asrori et al., "Encouragement of Jihad Arguments for Radicalization and Extremism in Indonesia," in *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Islam, Science and Technology (ICONIST 2019)* (Paris, France: Atlantis Press, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200220.023>.

³⁹ Arief Budiono et al., "Cyber Indoctrination Victims in Indonesia and Uzbekistan: Victim Protection and Indoctrination in Practice," *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System* 3, no. 3 (November 8, 2023): 441–75, <https://doi.org/10.53955/jhcls.v3i3.127>.

⁴⁰ Zakiyah et al., "They Are Just the Same; Everyday Life of Terrorists' Families in East Java Indonesia," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 18, no. 1 (June 1, 2023): 54–79, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v18i1.8343>.

Another portrait of the success of this method of forming pesantren and madrasah branches is when, in Sampang Regency, there were rumors of the presence of Shi'a followers. According to the results of research conducted by Jazim Hamidi, the Sunni-Shia issue in Sampang had become a classic problem and had been going on since the 90s. However, the intensity of the conflict can be controlled by the figurehead factor of the late KH. Zaini Sholeh (Kiai Zaini) is the second caretaker of Miftahul Ulum Karang Durin Sampang Islamic boarding school, which is also one of the branches of Pesantren Panyepen.⁴¹

Kiai Zaini's prominence reduced the heated conflict in the community by conveying religious and national messages about maintaining a sense of security and peace in the state and spiritual life. Kiai Zaini also emphasized dialogue efforts to resolve this issue involving family members, related parties, and state security. Even this step succeeded in reducing the heated conflict. In this case, Kiai Zaini emphasized that peaceful and familial ways of resolving the issue of differences in religious understanding have civilizational value compared to imposing the will of one religious understanding by suppressing and carrying out violent actions that make the image of religion terrible.⁴²

However, after the death of Kiai Zaini in 2011, apart from the fact that the regeneration in Pesantren Karangdurin was still relatively new, there were also no more figures who were able to unite these two religious communities, which led to Sunni-Shia conflict and violence in Sampang Regency. This was caused by the strong insistence of some religious figures who had a radical understanding of responding to differences in spiritual knowledge.⁴³ Moreover, the insistence on violence did not only come from religious groups in Sampang but also from other regions within Madura or outside Madura.⁴⁴

The success of this pesantren branch method in creating a community order that loves the country is due to the position of pesantren as a traditionalist Islamic educational institution whose existence still influences the midst of the lives of

⁴¹ Eugenia Brandao Da Silva et al., "A Model of Election Supervision Based on Village Judicial Institutions; A Review of Legal Anthropology in Madura," *Trunojoyo Law Review* 6, no. 1 (February 28, 2024): 96-119, <https://doi.org/10.21107/tlr.v6i1.23230>.

⁴² Mukhlis et al., "Rejection of Former Shia Community in Sampang Perspective on Human Rights Law: Discourse of Religious Rights and Freedom in Indonesia," *Lex Scientia Law Review* 7, no. 2 (2023): 237, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15294/lesrev.v7i2.72156>.

⁴³ Mun'im Sirry, "Muslim Student Radicalism and Self-Deradicalization in Indonesia," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 31, no. 2 (April 2, 2020): 241-60, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2020.1770665>.

⁴⁴ Muwaffiq Jufri, "Analisis Putusan Pengadilan Negeri Sampang Nomor 69/Pid.B/2012/PN.Spg. Prespektif Hak Kebebasan Beragama Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Pancasila Dan Kewarganegaraan* 1, no. 2 (2016): 102-10, <https://journal2.um.ac.id/index.php/jppk/article/view/825>.

Muslim communities in rural and inland areas, especially for Madurese Muslim communities, the majority of which have traditionalist Muslim characters. The attitudes, traditions, and policies of pesantren to teach the view of an integrative relationship between Islam and the state can be a source of reference for Madurese people who see the importance of maintaining Islamic insights that are aware of the nation's life. A view that seeks to make religion a source of inspiration in advancing the state's life.⁴⁵

Furthermore, in addition to forming and establishing branch pesantren, the efforts made by pesantren in Madura to socialize the symbiotic understanding of religion and the state are by sending senior santri to specific communities that have established cooperation with pesantren. This concept is commonly called the Program *Ustad Tugas* (PUT). This PUT is widely practiced by pesantren in Madura, including two pesantren, which are the research locations in this paper, namely Pesantren Miftahul Ulum Bettet (Pesantren Bettet) and Pesantren Panyeppepen.

The basic idea of organizing this program originated from the concerns of pesantren kiai towards the condition of the community, which needed guidance in strengthening religious understanding. Based on this condition, the pesantren kiai tried to formulate unique ways and methods so that the program that would later be run could be accepted and receive appreciation from the community who needed guidance in living their daily lives. Furthermore, the PUT method is the best choice because it establishes intimacy between the community and the pesantren delegation assigned to foster the community.

This PUT is a pesantren method that sends its santri to provide religious understanding and assistance to people who need spiritual guidance. The general criteria used to determine the figure of the duty ustad who will be sent later include that the santri must have completed the *diniyah* (religious) education level set by the pesantren. Usually, the level of *diniyah* education is the highest in each pesantren institution.

This criterion is determined based on the experience that Santri, who has completed the *Diniyah* education program, certainly has a qualified religious understanding. This is an asset for Santri not only in providing religious knowledge to the community but also in neutralizing the rapid spread of anti-Indonesian Islamism, which has been increasingly spread by certain parties and groups, both in

⁴⁵ Ahmad Zainul Hamdi, "Radicalising the Traditionalists; A Contemporary Dynamic of Islamic Traditionalism in Madura-Indonesia," *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman* 15, no. 1 (2020): 1-21, <https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2020.15.1.1-21>.

Madura and outside Madura.⁴⁶ With the mastery of qualified arguments, the Santri are believed to solve all the problems that occur in community life, especially those related to efforts to maintain the teachings and traditions of traditionalist Islam, which are tolerant and have a spirit of unity amid religious diversity.

In addition to being a servant of the people in religious issues, *Ustad tugas* also must spread Islamic teachings that recognize the existence of the Republic of Indonesia, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, and accept Pancasila as the state ideology. Such provisions are contained in the guidebook for implementing the task teacher program, where the task of spreading Islamic teachings characterized by Pancasila is one of *Ustad tugas*' responsibilities in the field. This aligns with other responsibilities such as spreading Islam *ahlus sunnah wal-jama'ah*, Islam that embraces local traditions and spreading other traditional Islamic understandings as taught in the scope of pesantren and Nahdlatul Ulama.⁴⁷

The community embraces this conception; this can be seen from the increasing interest in this program, and in specific periods, the pesantren even lacked students to be sent.⁴⁸ For example, in Pesantren Bettet, due to the shortage of students for the PUT program, some students who had been sent the previous year decided to be involved in this program again in the hope of not disappointing the community, which wanted the presence of the *ustad tugas* in their area. For 2023, the demand for ustadz tugas is 108 people spread to regions of Madura and outside Madura, with the distribution of the number in each region as shown in the table below.

Table 1. List of regional assignments of *ustad tugas* of Pesantren Bettet in 2023

No.	Regional	Needs (people)
1	Pamekasan	63
2	Sampang	28
3	Sumenep	5
4	Bangkalan	2
5	Lumajang	3
6	Purbalingga (Central Java)	2
7	Jember	1

⁴⁶ Muhammad Jailani and Suyadi, "The Impact of Neuroscience-Based Modern Islamic Education on the Aspect of Creative Imagination and Development of Religious Moderation on Madura Island," *Islam Transformatif* 6, no. 2 (2022): 33, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30983/it.v6i2.5793>.

⁴⁷ In full, the responsibilities of the ustad are 1) obeying the rules of the pesantren and the kiai council; 2) maintaining pesantren ethics and avoiding disgraceful behaviour that could potentially damage the spirit of the pesantren among the community; 3) spreading and teaching the values and teachings of ahlussunnah wal-jama'ah Islam based on the local traditions of the pesantren community; 4) upholding the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (*Pedoman Penyelenggaraan Program ustad tugas Pesantren Panyeppep*, p. 3-4).

⁴⁸ Yusuf Aziz, *Kiai Hamid Bettet; Biografi Dan Karomah*, 35.

8	Gresik	1
9	Bekasi	1
10	South Kalimantan	2
11	Berau (East Kalimantan)	1

Source: Guidelines for Ustad tugas Program of Pesantren Bettet in 2023

The table above shows the high interest of the community in the ustadz tugas program offered by Pesantren of Miftahul Ulum Bettet so that the pesantren's opportunity to nurture the community's understanding of the harmonious relationship between religion and the state as taught by Islam can be quickly disseminated amid community life. With this program, pesantren no longer only educates Santri, who studies in an internal environment, but can also guide and teach the community about the importance of caring for the Indonesian state. In line with the interest in PUT in PP Bettet, public interest in PUT PP Panyepen also shows a number that is not small. The number of PUT requests for 2023 was recorded at 112 people, with regional distribution as shown in the table below.

Table 3. List of regional assignments of ustad of Pesantren Panyepen in 2023

No	Regional	Needs (people)
1	Sampang	61
2	Pamekasan	30
3	Sumenep	11
4	Pontianak	2
5	Bangkalan	2
6	Riau	1
7	Jember	3
8	South Kalimantan	2

Source: Guidelines for Ustad tugas Program of Pesantren Panyepen in 2023

The table above shows the community's enthusiasm for this PUT. This indicates that the community is still fond of the pesantren scientific tradition that can combine aspects of religious knowledge, regional traditions, and national insight. This model of empowering people's spiritual understanding should be a source of reference for the government in campaigning for the importance of the

relationship between religion and the state.⁴⁹ People need to be convinced that religion and the state are not contradictory as conceptualized in the teachings and views of the pesantren.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, in terms of effectiveness theory, the pattern of organizing Pesantren education that always provides direction and implements a curriculum of love for the country is the implementation of the provisions of Article 2 letter (b) of Law No. 18 of 2019 concerning Pesantren.⁵¹ Although the tradition of understanding nationalism in pesantren had already existed before the mandate of this Pesantren Law, the pattern of organizing nationality-based pesantren in this study is carried out by pesantren in terms of spreading Islam that loves the country within the internal scope of the pesantren and the external scope by forming and establishing a network of pesantren to apply Islamic teachings characterized by Pancasila.

CONCLUSION

Understanding the relationship between religion and the state in the scientific tradition of pesantren in Madura is a pattern of relationships that need and benefit each other. Religion becomes strong because the state guarantees it, while the state becomes advanced and prosperous due to its policies based on religious values. The strategy to socialize this understanding is done internally and externally. The internal method is done by organizing recitations and wise messages about the close relationship between religion and the state. Meanwhile, the external method establishes pesantren or madrasah ranting and organizes the *ustad tugas* program. Both methods are intended to ensure a common understanding between the pesantren and the community about maintaining an understanding that harmonizes the relationship between religion and the state. This step is also intended to provide sufficient knowledge for the community outside the pesantren to be able to prevent

⁴⁹ Muhammad Irfan Helmy, Ahmad Darajat Jumadil Kubro, and Muhamad Ali, "The Understanding of Islamic Moderation (Wasatiyyah Al-Islam) and the Hadiths on Inter-Religious Relations in the Javanese Pesantrens," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 11, no. 2 (December 8, 2021): 377-401, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v11i2.351-376>.

⁵⁰ Anthin Lathifah et al., "The Construction of Religious Freedom in Indonesian Legislation: A Perspective of Maqāṣid Ḥifz Al-Dīn," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 6, no. 1 (June 27, 2022): 369, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v6i1.10957>.

⁵¹ Mohamad Sobirin and Karimatul Khasanah, "The Pesantren Scholars' Fatwa on Global Warming and Climate Change: An Integrative Analysis of Islamic Law, Theology, and Environmental Sciences on the Practice of Multidisciplinary Ijtihad," *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 10, no. 1 (December 31, 2023): 1-16, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2023.2193023>.

and neutralize the spread of Islamic ideology that is contrary to the values of Pancasila and the ideology that states that Indonesia is a *ṭāghūt* and *kāfir* country.

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