


# Nahdlatul Ulama's Local Islamic Wisdom Value and Its Role in Countering Extremism in Madura-Indonesia

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## Abstract

*This study examines the phenomenon of global extremism among the Madurese community and strategies for fighting against it through the role and function of Nahdlatul Ulama's local Islamic wisdom values. Based on analysis of field data, this study found that religious realities in Madura in recent years have received attention as the involvement of several communities in global terrorism networks has been revealed. Responding to this situation, swift steps are needed to prevent it. One maximizes the existence and role of Nahdlatul Ulama's local Islamic wisdom. In this context, NU, as the most prominent Islamic organization in Indonesia, has special religious tools to ward off all forms of religious extremism in Madura. The spiritual device in question is their religious paradigm, which has focused on four values, namely the value of justice, moderate values, balance, and tolerance.*

Dalam beberapa dekade terakhir, isu dan kasus ekstremisme di Madura semakin ramai diperbincangkan dan mengundang perhatian banyak kalangan. Pasalnya, pada tahun 2022, Tim Datasemen Khusus Densus 88 Antiteror melakukan penangkapan terhadap tiga orang warga setempat, yang diduga terlibat jaringan terorisme internasional. Studi ini memiliki tujuan khusus mengkaji fenomena ekstremisme global di kalangan masyarakat Madura serta strategi perlawanan terhadapnya melalui peran dan fungsi nilai kearifan lokal Islam Nahdlatul Ulama. Berdasarkan analisa data lapangan, studi ini mendapati temuan bahwasanya realitas keagamaan di Madura dalam beberapa tahun terakhir berada dalam situasi tidak baik-baik saja seiring terungkapnya keterlibatan sejumlah masyarakat dalam jaringan terorisme global. Menyikapi situasi ini, perlu adanya langkah sigap dan upaya melakukan mitigasi, salah satunya adalah dengan memaksimalkan keberadaan dan peran kearifan lokal Islam Nahdlatul Ulama. Dalam konteks ini, NU sebagai organisasi Islam terbesar di Indonesia memiliki perangkat keagamaan khusus untuk menangkal segala bentuk ekstremisme beragama di Madura. perangkat agama dimaksud adalah paradigma beragama mereka yang selama ini menitikberatkan terhadap empat nilai, yakni nilai keadilan, nilai moderat, nilai keseimbangan, dan nilai toleransi.

## INTRODUCTION

The study of issues surrounding religious extremism in Madura is essential and exciting. This is important because, as we all understand, in the last few decades, several areas in Madura have begun to be successfully infiltrated by religiously motivated extremism, whether in the form of beliefs or movements. Objective evidence of the existence of this group was confirmed after the arrest of some people in Madura who were strongly suspected of being involved in acts of terrorism in Indonesia. Some of them were the arrest of a husband and wife couple with the initials HS and I in Sampang Madura Regency, specifically in Bira Tengah Village, Sokobanah subdistrict, Sampang Regency (2019).<sup>1</sup> The Densus 88 Team arrested this couple because they had ties to the transnational terrorist organization *Islamic State of Iraq and Syria* (ISIS).<sup>2</sup> The latest is the arrest of a suspected terrorist with the initials MA in Sumenep Regency (2021). Based on field data research, MA is the leader of *Jemaah Islamiyah* (JI) and serves as the local regional Korda JI.<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the existence and role of Islamic boarding schools (Indonesian: *Pesantren*) in responding to the existence of terrorist groups and movements in Indonesia, many studies have been carried out on this matter. One of them comes from Amir Mu'allim (2006). Based on his study, the author found that since the tragedy of 11 September 2002 and the series of terror events in Indonesia after the 1998 reformation, the existence of Islamic boarding schools as famous institutions of Islamic education in Indonesia has often attracted suspicion. According to him, suspicions about the closeness of Islamic boarding schools to terrorist movements in Indonesia are entirely baseless.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, Islamic boarding schools, with their education system, which places great emphasis on local Islamic values and regional culture of the archipelago, have a significant role and

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<sup>1</sup> Fathor Rasi, 'Densus 88 Ciduk Terduga Teroris Wanita Asal Sampang Madura', <https://www.jatimpos.id/>, OKT 2019, <https://www.jatimpos.id/kabar/densus-88-ciduk-terduga-teroris-wanita-asal-sampang-madura-b1Xot9cmE>.

<sup>2</sup> Abd Hannan, 'Sinergi Kearifan Lokal dan Pendidikan Pondok Pesantren: Strategi Meredam Isu Ekstremisme di Madura', *Asketik: Jurnal Agama dan Perubahan Sosial* 6, no. 2 (2022).

<sup>3</sup> 'Ketua NU Sumenep Sikapi Gerakan Terorisme', NU Online Jatim, accessed 29 March 2022, <https://jatim.nu.or.id/madura/ketua-nu-sumenep-sikapi-gerakan-terorisme-2vahA>; Zainal Abidin et al., 'Teror atas Nama Jihad dalam Pandangan Civitas Pesantren Madura; Studi Kasus Pesantren Mambaul Ulum Bata-Bata Pamekasan Dan Pesantren Al-Amien Prenduan Sumenep', *Jurnal Istiqro'* 16, no. 1 (2018): 32.

<sup>4</sup> Amir Mu'allim, 'Isu Terorisme Dan Stigmatisasi Terhadap Pondok Pesantren (Meluruskan Kesalahpahaman Terhadap Pondok Pesantren', *Millah Jurnal Studi Agama*, VI, no. I (Agustus 2006).

contribution in strengthening the social cohesion of society, including countering all forms of religious radicalism and teachings. Many other studies also reinforce this finding, some by Mohammad Sulhan, *Pesantren sebagai Penangkal Radikalisme dan Terorisme* (2019).<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, even though there have been many academic studies that have tried to examine the issue of radicalism in Indonesia - including the two studies above -so far, there have not been many academic studies that specifically discuss how the local wisdom values of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) have a strategic role and function in counteracting movements and understandings of global radicalism.<sup>6</sup> Most of the existing studies so far have focused more on portraying the structural role of the state, which many people assume can be the answer to the problem of terrorism in Indonesia. There is nothing wrong with this thesis; it's just that examining the role and contribution of the state in eradicating extremism in Indonesia is not enough to look at activities structurally. Apart from that, many other things can be studied, such as the role of religious social institutions, as demonstrated by the Islamic mass organization Nahdlatul Ulama.<sup>7</sup> This void is what this article aims to fill and offer, namely describing and exploring the value of NU Islamic local wisdom, the existence of which can be used as a unique instrument for preventing and eradicating radicalism in Indonesia. Both radicalism at the ideological and movement levels directly connect with community social activities.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Religious Extremism Phenomenon in Madura

In several literary sources, radicalism is understood by many groups as a thinking construction that focuses on extreme behavior. Extreme means the extreme, highest and loudest, both extreme lefts, as adhered to by liberal groups and extreme right, as demonstrated by fundamentalists.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, in many practices, radicalism often requires efforts to bring about social change quickly and drastically. Usually, radicalism is carried out by utilizing violent actions and

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<sup>5</sup> Ari Prayoga and Mohammad Sulhan, 'Pesantren Sebagai Penangkal Radikalisme Dan Terorisme', *Dirasat: Jurnal Manajemen Dan Pendidikan Islam* 5, no. 2 (2019).

<sup>6</sup> A F Mursyidi and Abd Hannan, 'Nahdlatul Ulama, Pesantren, and Their Contribution to Strengthening National and State Buildings in Indonesia', *NAHNU: Journal of Nahdlatul Ulama and Contemporary Islamic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2023).

<sup>7</sup> Greg Fealy, *Ulama and Politics in Indonesia: A History of Nahdlatul Ulama, 1952-1967* (Australia: Monash University, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> Wachid Ridwan, 'Policing Terrorism: Pendekatan Pencegahan Ekstremisme Agama Dan Terorisme', *INDEPENDEN: Jurnal Politik Indonesia dan Global* 2 (April 2021): 10.

behavior.<sup>9</sup> As a thinking construct, radicalism can occur in all aspects. Although theoretically, radicalism is generally closer to practical politics, in many cases, radicalism can also be found in various other social domains.<sup>10</sup> No exception is radicalism in the religious sector. In the realm of religion, radicalism usually emerges from certain religious groups that emphasize their religious understanding and teachings on fatalism, fundamentalism and conservatism.<sup>11</sup>

In Indonesia, the issue and discourse of radicalism began to be hotly discussed after many terror attacks in the name of religion that occurred in the early 2000s, especially after the 1998 political reform. Several events that occurred in those years included the tragedy of the Bali Bombing I, Bali Bombing II, and the JW Hotel Bomb Terror. Mariot & Ritz-Carlton in 2003, which at that time caused at least ten more lives to be lost. Apart from the series of terror acts above, many other terrorist incidents have rocked Indonesia so far. The latest, namely the suicide bombing in front of the Cathedral Church, Makassar City, South Sulawesi, which caused two victims to fly (03/21).<sup>12</sup>

Two decades after reform, the problems of terror and anarchism are still ghosts that haunt Indonesia. This situation is increasingly finding resonance as the spread and movement of transnational religious organizations that promote global extremism and fundamentalism continue to grow. In the Indonesian context, transnational religious movements or understandings cannot be underestimated. Based on a study conducted by Amin Mudzakkir (2017), many international extremists are known to have succeeded in infiltrating Indonesia. Not only that, their existence has spread widely to many institutions and various regions in Indonesia. In particular, several regions have been known to have a normative and rigid religious culture, sociologically, including areas on the Madura Islands.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Zahid Shahab Ahmed and Galib Bashirov, 'Religious Fundamentalism and Violent Extremism', in *The Difficult Task of Peace*, ed. Francisco Rojas Aravena (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 245–60, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-21974-1\\_11](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-21974-1_11).

<sup>10</sup> Jay K. Dow, 'Party-System Extremism in Majoritarian and Proportional Electoral Systems', *British Journal of Political Science* 41, no. 2 (2011): 341–61, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123410000360>.

<sup>11</sup> Amin Mudzakkir, 'Konservatisme Islam dan Intoleransi Keagamaan di Tasikmalaya', *Harmoni* 16, no. 1 (30 June 2017): 57–74, <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v16i1.56>.

<sup>12</sup> Kompas Cyber Media, 'Terjadi Ledakan Bom Bunuh Diri, Gereja Katedral Makassar Trending di Twitter', KOMPAS.com, 28 March 2021, <https://www.kompas.com/tren/read/2021/03/28/125543665/terjadi-ledakan-bom-bunuh-diri-gereja-katedral-makassar-trending-di-twitter>.

<sup>13</sup> Debora Sanur L, 'Upaya Penanggulangan Terorisme Isis Di Indonesia Dalam Melindungi Keamanan Nasional', *Politica* 7, no. 1 (Mei 2016).

In Madura itself, acts of terrorism in the name of religion in the form of blowing up places of worship, such as suicide bombings and so on, are relatively rare and have never even happened to one particular type or religious group. So far, the problem of violence in the name of religion is more likely to occur due to conflicts between sects and religious beliefs, as happened in the conflict between Sunni and Shiite sects in Sampang, Madura.<sup>14</sup> However, the absence of cases of religiously motivated acts of terrorism in Madura does not necessarily mean that Madura is sterile from the presence of terrorist groups. Due to the fact based on field data searches, in several cases of terrorism that occurred in Indonesia, the perpetrators involved in them were known to have identified themselves as Madurese citizens.

There are at least five (5) cases of acts of terrorism occurring in Indonesia where the perpetrators are known to be Madurese citizens; *first*, the case of the attack on the Wonokromo Surabaya Police Headquarters. The terrorism case began when the perpetrator entered the Wonokromo Police SPKT room (8/19). The perpetrator, who at that time admitted he wanted to make a report, suddenly took out a sharp weapon and attacked the police officers who were serving him. As a result of his actions, the officer concerned suffered injuries to his hand, head and left cheek. After an investigation, the perpetrator was identified as Imam Musthofa, a resident of Karang Jati Hamlet, Talaga Village, Ganding District, Sumenep Regency, Madura. Based on field data searches, it is strongly suspected that the perpetrator was a member of the ISIS network because after searching the bag he was carrying, the police found a photocopy of paper with the words *La Ilaha Illallah*, which is characteristic of the *Islamic State of Iraq and Syria* (ISIS) terrorist organization founded by Baghdadi. This allegation was also strengthened by the testimony of the perpetrator's neighbors, who saw the perpetrator as a quiet person who rarely socialized, actively participating in study activities with his wife at an unknown religious assembly.<sup>15</sup>

*Second*, the case of the attack on the coordinating minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs (Indonesian: *Menteri Koordinator bidang Politik, Hukum, dan Keamanan*/Menko Polhukam), Wiranto, which occurred in 2019, where one of the suspected terrorist network perpetrators was a woman from Sampang who lived in a rented house in the Gang Apel area, Pokoh Baru Hamlet, Tasikmadu

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<sup>14</sup> Masdar Hilmy, 'The Political Economy of Sunni-Shi'ah Conflict in Sampang Madura', *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 53, no. 1 (10 June 2015), <https://doi.org/DO-10.14421/ajis.2015.531.27-51>.

<sup>15</sup> Rosy, 'Begini Pengakuan Tetangga Terduga Teroris di Surabaya asal Madura', *kumparan*, Agustus 2019, <https://kumparan.com/mediaMadura/begini-pengakuan-tetangga-terduga-teroris-di-surabaya-asal-Madura-1rglBydyWMH>.

District, Karanganyar. According to residents, Hernawati and her husband lived in the house. Residents know the perpetrator's family is very close, rarely communicating or gathering with other residents. When the authorities searched his house, many pieces of evidence were found, some of which were the Preamble book on the importance of monotheism as a condition for accepting charity, six books, and one handbook of the law of allegiance. There is a strong suspicion that the perpetrator was a follower of a particular religious extremist group or organization who had previously been exposed to radicalism.<sup>16</sup>

*Third*, the arrest of the leader of *Jamaah Ansharut Daulah* (JAD) named Heri Setiawan (HS) or Abu Zufar. Abu Zafar himself was one of the JAD leaders who took part in a meeting between JAD leaders the day before the bombing of the church and the Surabaya Police Station, which at that time killed more than ten people. Apart from that, HS is also known to carry out training (*daurah*) actively. In 2014, HS attended training in Sengkaling, Malang, and then two years later, he was tracked down for training in Lamongan. Based on a track record search carried out by the police, HS was identified as having joined a terrorist group in 2014 along with three colleagues from Malang, Samsul Alrifin or Abu Umar, Sutrisno and Nurkholis. This group is a member of the JAD network, which is mentored directly by a JAD leader from Ambon named Abu Fida or Abu Gar.<sup>17</sup>

*Fourth*, the raid and detention of two married couples with the initials HS and I in Sampang Regency, Madura. Precisely in Bira Tengah Village, Sokobanah subdistrict, Sampang Regency (2019). Sampang Regency is a vulnerable area for the Madura region, especially in the north coast region (Indonesian; *Pantai Utara/PANTURA*), such as Sokobanah District. Based on field data searches, the two couples were arrested by the Densus 88 Team because they had ties to the transnational terrorist organization *Islamic State of Iraq and Syria* (ISIS). The discovery of the terrorist organization network in Sampang, Madura, at that time was a result of the arrest of a family of suspected terrorists in Brondong District, Lamongan.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Fathor Rasi, 'Densus 88 Ciduk Terduga Teroris Wanita Asal Sampang Madura', <https://www.jatimpos.id/>, OKT 2019, <https://www.jatimpos.id/kabar/densus-88-ciduk-terduga-teroris-wanita-asal-sampang-Madura-b1Xot9cmE>.

<sup>17</sup> Liputan6.com, 'Polri Sebut Terduga Teroris Surabaya Tertular Paham Radikal di Lapas Madura', [liputan6.com](https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/4236893/polri-sebut-terduga-teroris-surabaya-tertular-paham-radikal-di-lapas-Madura), 24 April 2020, <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/4236893/polri-sebut-terduga-teroris-surabaya-tertular-paham-radikal-di-lapas-Madura>.

<sup>18</sup> Ghinan Salman, 'Densus 88 Tangkap Suami Istri di Madura, Salah Satunya Dokter Gigi', [KOMPAS.com](https://www.kompas.com), 23 August 2019,

*Fifth*, and most recently, the issue of radicalism or terrorism among the Madurese community emerged after the arrest of a suspected terrorist with the initials MA in Sumenep Regency (2021). During the search, the police confiscated evidence, such as a bow and several books. Among the local community, the suspect MA is known as a primary food businessman who often sends his business to several island areas in Madura. Based on field data research, MA is the leader of *Jemaah Islamiyah* (JI) and serves as the local regional coordinator of JI. *Jemaah Islamiyah* itself is an extremist organization with an Islamic background in Indonesia that has the dream of establishing an Islamic-based state in Southeast Asia, including Indonesia.<sup>19</sup>

### **NU's Attitude Towards Issues and Actions of Religious Radicalism in Madura**

The issue of terrorism among Islamic boarding schools in Madura is not new. The issue about it has been around for a long time and has even been suppressed among Islamic boarding schools since 2014. This year, the terrorist movement has taken the form of a concrete and massive movement. Their movement pattern is very systematic and neat, using religious methods generally accepted among Madurese people, namely holding recitations establishing and affiliating with certain Islamic boarding schools with understandings or ideologies similar to their movement.<sup>20</sup> Ironically, based on information obtained in the field, those (terrorists) who were recorded as having carried out guerrillas in Madura were not ordinary terror actors but came from elite-class terrorist groups. Two of them are Noordin M Top and Abu Husna or Abdurrohman bin Toyyib, terrorist suspects who were arrested in early 2021 in Malaysia. In Indonesia, Abu Husna himself is known as the founder of the *Jemaah Ansharul Khilafah* (JAK) congregation and also the former Head of the Education Division of the *Jemaah Islamiyah* (JI) terror group led by Abu Bakar Baasyir.<sup>21</sup>

Apart from taking the form of recitation activities, the movement patterns and spread of terrorism in Madura were also carried out by the perpetrators under the guise of *Tahfidz* houses. It seems they deliberately established this

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<https://regional.kompas.com/read/2019/08/23/16533111/densus-88-tangkap-suami-istri-di-Madura-salah-satunya-dokter-gigi>.

<sup>19</sup> Abdul Basri, 'Madura Darurat Radikalisme', *Radar Madura*, 14 November 2021, <https://radarMadura.jawapos.com/kolom/catatan/14/11/2021/Madura-darurat-radikalisme/>.

<sup>20</sup> MataMadura, 'Hermawati; Terduga Teroris asal Sampang Masuk Jaringan Sejak 2014', *Mata Madura*, 22 October 2019, <https://mataMaduranews.com/hermawati-terduga-teroris-asal-sampang-masuk-jaringan-sejak-2014/>.

<sup>21</sup> 'Ketua NU Sumenep Sikapi Gerakan Terorisme', *NU Online Jatim*, accessed 29 March 2022, <https://jatim.nu.or.id/Madura/ketua-nu-sumenep-sikapi-gerakan-terorisme-2vahA>.

program to attract public attention and secure their movement so that groups outside them do not detect it.<sup>22</sup> Not only is it a *Tahfidz* house, but this group has also established a kindergarten educational institution which is directly under the Wahhabi ideology. Based on field data searches, at least five kindergarten educational institutions are suspected of having affiliations with it. Lastly, the religious guise they use as a nest for their activities to spread their understanding is by providing scholarship programs to study abroad. This program is generally given to Muslim students who wish to continue their education at the university level.<sup>23</sup>

The increasing issue of religiously motivated terrorism and radicalism in several areas in Madura, starting with cases of terrorism in Sampang and Sumenep, has ultimately attracted quite a lot of attention from some parties, starting from kyai, Islamic boarding schools, local leaders, and not most minor religious, social organizations. in Madura. In the ranks of social and religious organizations, serious responses and attention came from the administrators and activists of the Nahdlatul Ulama organization in all branches in Pamekasan, especially the organization's leaders. As the most prominent Islamic organization in Indonesia, NU circles see that the practices of violence and radicalism demonstrated by many terror actors do not reflect faithful Islam.<sup>24</sup> In their view, the practice and acts of terrorism are heinous acts and do not reflect humanity. Those who are involved in acts of terror in the name of not only denying the actual teachings of religion but, more than that, have tarnished the local culture of the Madurese people, which has been synonymous with religious traditions. Nahdlatul Ulama. Like the religious traditions of the *Nahdliyyin* in general, the Madurese people highly uphold the religious principles of Nahdlatul Ulama, the principles of moderation, justice, tolerance, and always maintaining balance.

Within NU's internal circles, structurally, the Islamic boarding school community's rejection of the issue of terrorism and radicalism in Madura came

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<sup>22</sup> Audrey Santoso, 'Polri: 2 Teroris yang Dibekuk di Jatim Amir JAD Madura dan Lamongan', *detiknews*, Agu Baca artikel detiknews, 'Polri: 2 Teroris yang Dibekuk di Jatim Amir JAD Madura dan Lamongan' selengkapnya <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4681077/polri-2-teroris-yang-dibekuk-di-jatim-amir-jad-Madura-dan-lamongan>.

Download Apps Detikcom Sekarang <https://apps.detik.com/detik> 2019, <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4681077/polri-2-teroris-yang-dibekuk-di-jatim-amir-jad-Madura-dan-lamongan>.

<sup>23</sup> 'Ketua NU Sumenep Sikapi Gerakan Terorisme'.

<sup>24</sup> KH. Taufik Hasyim, 'Madura Darurat Radikalisme dan 'Tak Ramah Lagi', *Media NU Pamekasan* (blog), 10 November 2021, <https://pcnu-pamekasan.or.id/madura-darurat-radikalisme-dan-tak-ramah-lagi/>.

from Islamic boarding school leaders who were active in social and religious organizations in the community. In this regard, KH. Taufiq, head of the Sumber Anonm Pamekasan Islamic Boarding School who is also Chairman of the Pamekasan Regency Nahdlatul Ulama (PCNU) Branch, is of the view that the emergence of the issue of terrorism among the Madurese community in the last decade, directly indicates that the existence and religious reality of the Madurese community is currently in decline—a bad situation. The socio-religious construction of Madurese society, which was previously known as calm, gentle, polite and full of respect for others, has now become increasingly sinister, vicious and frightening; with the introduction of extremism teachings and understandings, the religious face of Madurese society has slowly changed. This view has recently been found in the religious behavior of some groups of Madurese society, which often emphasizes exclusivism and anarchism in establishing relationships or social relationships with other groups, especially with certain religious groups that have different viewpoints from their own—both perspectives at the level of understanding, more so at the level of political interests.<sup>25</sup>

Responding to this problematic situation, the organization of Nahdlatul Ulama administrators and activists agreed to urge the Madurese people to be genuinely selective in choosing educational institutions or study councils. It's not easy to be tempted, let alone believe, in the existence of educational institutions that use jargon or the guise of religion only as an attraction magnet. Clarifying the *sanad* or historical scientific and institutional background needs clarity. This situation also serves as self-criticism for all socio-religious figures and organizations in Madura so that they are more active and maximally play their role and position as part of the social system and local wisdom of regional education. In the context of eradicating and handling radicalism in Madura, the Nahdlatul Ulama social organization, with its subtle, dynamic, fluid, relaxed and tolerant religious culture typology, carries out a function and influence that is not only large but also strategic in its efforts to ward off and fight against all a form of spreading radicalism and terrorism among Madurese society in general.

### **The Value of NU's Local Islamic Wisdom and Its Role in Countering Extremism in Madura**

Viewed from an etymological perspective, the concept of local wisdom consists of two words: wisdom and local. Wisdom comes from the root word '*arif*', which

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<sup>25</sup> Firdausi Firdausi, 'Ketua NU Sumenep Sikapi Gerakan Terorisme', *NU Online Jatim*, 15 November 2021, <https://jatim.nu.or.id/Madura/ketua-nu-sumenep-sikapi-gerakan-terorisme-2vahA>.

means wise, clever, clever and knowledgeable.<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, the word local contains the meaning of local, occurring in one place only and not evenly distributed. Based on this reading, local wisdom assumes the meaning of values, creativity and views that contain characteristics of wisdom that apply specifically to a particular area. Thus, the terminology of Islamic boarding school local wisdom education refers to the social construction of their education, which contains elements of locality and regionalism regarding both the learning system and teaching materials or curriculum.

From a terminology perspective, the term local wisdom contains several meanings. One of the most commonly used definitions is wisdom, referring to various natural social riches that grow and develop in a society, which are trusted and recognized as essential to strengthening social cohesion among community members.<sup>27</sup> From this understanding, some essential keywords are natural social wealth, societal growth and development, and social cohesion. As social, natural wealth, local wisdom is not only about physical natural resources but can also be a product of community social creativity such as traditions, customs and culture. Growth and development mean that its existence is not exported or imported from outside but is purely born from the reality of the local community. Social cohesion implies that local wisdom has the fundamental value of forming and strengthening social relations and integration of local communities. Referring to these three keys, it can be concluded that Islamic boarding school local wisdom education means an education system that genuinely originates and develops within the local community, is a product of regional culture and has a set of values that functions explicitly to strengthen the social integration of Madurese society as a whole.

Local wisdom can also be understood as a system of knowledge, ideas, values, skills, experiences, behavior and traditional habits carried out by people in a particular area.<sup>28</sup> With the complexity of these values, to certain limits, local wisdom has a particular use or function to answer some problems in society. Regarding its function, Sirtha (in Sartini 2004) states that local wisdom, which consists of culture, tradition, knowledge, creation and a set of other local values, has four (4) essential functions: 1) Conservation and preservation of natural

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<sup>26</sup> Rinitami Njatrijani, 'Kearifan Lokal Dalam Perspektif Budaya Kota Semarang', *Gema Keadilan* 5, no. 1 (2018): 16.

<sup>27</sup> Daniah Daniah, 'Kearifan Lokal (Local Wisdom) Sebagai Basis Pendidikan Karakter', *Pioner: Jurnal Pendidikan* 5, no. 2 (2016).

<sup>28</sup> Noviana Afiqoh, Hamdan Tri Atmaja, and Ufi Saraswati, 'Penanaman Nilai Kearifan Lokal dalam Pembelajaran Sejarah Pokok Bahasan Perkembangan Islam di Indonesia Pada Siswa Kelas X IPS di SMA Negeri 1 Pamotan Tahun Ajaran 2017/2018', n.d., 12.

resources; 2) Developing human resources; 3) Development of culture and science; 4) Faith, belief, literature and outlook on life.<sup>29</sup>

These four functions, especially developing culture, advice, and belief, can be used to develop and strengthen the social system in all aspects, including educational, economic, political, and religious aspects. In terms of religion, amidst the massive spread of extremism and radicalism in some religious groups in Madura, religious views based on local wisdom can be projected as a solution. The religious views in question are none other than NU's Islamic religious values. That NU, with all its superiority and excellence values, can be the answer to the growing issues of radicalism and terrorism, which in recent years have begun to show their existence in Madura. The big question now is, how do we understand the value of the local wisdom of NU Islam in Madura in a concrete sense? How do we understand the role and position of Islamic boarding school local wisdom values as a strategy to counter extremism in Madura, whether extremism in its radical, liberal or terrorist forms?

About the problem of this research, the idea of NU Islamic local wisdom as an instrument to fight and ward off extremist movements in Madura presupposes three essential points. *First*, as is commonly understood, Islamic boarding schools have an educational culture that focuses on religion. The religious characteristics of Islamic boarding schools in Madura are unique, namely that they strongly emphasize traditional religious culture, which grows deeply rooted in the life of the local community. Regarding this, Yanwar Pribadi (2013) explained that, culturally, most Islamic boarding schools in Madura are affiliated with NU. In its Islamic culture, NU is known as a religious organization that greatly emphasizes its understanding and teachings on the values of moderation, such as justice, moderation, balance and tolerance.<sup>30</sup> This fact causes NU and Madura's Islamic boarding schools to have solid and harmonious emotional ties or relationships. Therefore, it is understandable that in their religious system and rituals, people in Madura adopt Islamic traditions and paradigms generally accepted within the NU organization. Thus, this is where the idea of Islamic boarding school local wisdom in the agenda of de-radicalization and resistance to extremism in Madura finds its relevance. That

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<sup>29</sup> Sartini, 'Menggali Kearifan Lokal Nusantara: Sebuah Kajian Filsafati', *Jurnal Filsafat*, 37, no. 2 (Agustus 2004).

<sup>30</sup> Lihat Yanwar Pribadi, 'Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture', *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*; Vol 51, No 1 (2013) DO - 10.14421/Ajis.2013.511.1-32 51, no. 1 (15 June 2013), <https://aljamiah.or.id/index.php/AJIS/article/view/151>.

NU, with its moderate religious education system, can be a bulwark for self-protection and resistance to radicalism and terrorism movements in Madura.

*Second*, like the NU religious traditions and culture, it is almost certain that all NU institutions in Madura pay considerable attention to the various values and traditions developed in the Madurese Muslim community. The thickening of Islamic traditionalism in the NU religious system and culture in Madura has, to a certain extent, made the Madurese people's religious mentality open and opened themselves to regional religious creativity.<sup>31</sup> This fact shows how the Islamic building within the NU institution can freely coexist with diversity, thus making itself familiar and popular among Madurese society. NU's religious system is quickly accepted and even integrated into community life. Concretely, the unique character of NU Islam, which has been known to the general public as quite inclusive, dynamic, flexible and universal, must be acknowledged as having made a significant contribution to developing the concepts of tolerance, plurality and respect for human rights as a whole. Thus, through this significant contribution, NU's Islamic religious values can answer several religious problems that have often arisen among the Madurese community in recent years. The problem of extremism is no exception, which is currently starting to creep in and develop in several Islamic organizations and movements in Madura. Regarding this, Abd A'la (2020), in his research, revealed that the problem of extremism in Madura could not be underestimated because its existence has spread widely and has even managed to sneak into many Islamic boarding schools (Indonesian: *Pesantren*).<sup>32</sup>

Apart from the two factors above, another reason why the idea of Nu Islamic local wisdom values is strategic in efforts to ward off the extremism in Madura is that NU has always been synonymous with the existence of charismatic and influential figures called *kiai*. In Giddens' language, if NU represents education and a forum for religious da'wah, which carries out the role and function of religious structuring, *kiai* is a symbolic representation of a social class with a strategic role and function as a religious agent. In this strategic position, *kiai* and NU organizations are central in producing and reproducing various social systems that create a culture of inclusivism, moderation and plurality in religion. It is oriented towards efforts to eradicate and resist all forms of acts of religious extremism, both ideologies and movements. The hope of

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<sup>31</sup> Nasrullah Nasrullah, 'Islam Nusantara: Analisis Relasi Islam dan Kearifan Lokal Budaya Madura', *Al-Irfan* 2, no. 2 (2019): 24.

<sup>32</sup> Abd A'la and Ahwan Mukarrom, 'Power-Knowledge Relations of the Elder and the Younger Madurese Muslim Scholars in Propagating Islamism in Madura: A Counter-Narrative', *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 10, no. 1 (2020).

going there is very likely to come true, considering that the kyai themselves have the status of little kings in Islamic boarding schools. With this status, he can intervene and enlighten the public about the dangers and significant threats of religious extremism movements to stability and the nation's future.

## CONCLUSION

Religious dynamics in Madura in recent years have begun to raise concerns as issues of extremism have spread among Madurese society. The revelation of the involvement of some Madurese people in a network of global terrorist organizations or movements such as the *Islamic State of Iraq and Syria* (ISIS), *Jamaah Ansharut Daulah* (JAD), *Jamaah Ansharul Khilafah* (JAK), and *Jemaah Islamiah* (JI) led by Abu Bakar Baasyir, that's all is strong evidence of the problem and threat of religious extremism in Madura. Be it extremism in the form of movements, ideologies, politics, or especially extremism with a religious background. Responding to the development of religious extremism in Madurese society, there needs to be a unique attitude or response to counter the spread of extremism in Madura, one of which is by strengthening the role of the Islamic religious values of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). In this regard, NU, through its religious traditions and culture full of local wisdom values, plays a strategic role and functions in efforts to fight the spread of extremism in Madura. In the religious culture of the Madurese people, apart from being interpreted as the reality of the authenticity of the regional religious system, the Islamic organization NU can also be interpreted as building local wisdom in the local community, representing the religious traditions of the Madurese people. Religious tradition is the paradigm and behavior of one's religion, which always prioritizes a great respect and appreciation for local religious symbols and structures, always being gentle and wise in responding to all forms of differences. By considering these superior and superior values, the existence or existence of NU Islamic local wisdom values can not only play a significant role in shaping and strengthening the social integration of Madurese society but more than that. It is also hoped that it can become a bulwark protecting the local community from the influence of global extremist movements and teachings, whether extremists with a religious, ideological or political background.

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