

## MODERATE DA'WA STRATEGY OF ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL IN MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY AND MUSLIM MINORITY

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**Abstract:** This study focuses on the strategy of da'wa moderate from the religious figure, Islamic education institution, and Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) that shows the peaceful face, tolerant, democratic that was accepted with the multicultural society and Muslim minority. The location of this research is Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum in the Loloan Timur, Jembrana, Bali province it survived in the multicultural society. This study uses a qualitative approach. Informants were selected using purposive sampling and snowball sampling techniques. Meanwhile, data collection used interviews, documentation, and observation. Data analysis uses a three-oath analysis consisting of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. Validity is based on credibility by using triangulation techniques on methods, sources, and theories. This study found the strategi of da'wa moderate Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum in the multicultural society and Muslim minority are (1) continuing the culture "Ngeruwah", (2) implanting the values of tolerance on learning processes for the student of pesantren and society, (3) accommodating majority groups (Hindu) in a non-religious agenda, such as education, sport, and other agenda.

**Keywords:** Strategy, moderate da'wa, multicultural society, muslim minority

**Abstrak:** Kajian ini menitikberatkan pada strategi dakwah moderat dari tokoh agama, lembaga pendidikan Islam, dan pesantren yaitu menunjukkan wajah damai, toleran, demokratis yang diterima dengan masyarakat multikultural dan minoritas muslim. Lokasi penelitian ini adalah Pondok Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum Loloan Timur Jembrana Provinsi Bali bertahan dalam masyarakat multikultural. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Informan dipilih dengan menggunakan teknik purposive sampling dan snowball sampling. Sedangkan pengumpulan datanya menggunakan wawancara, dokumentasi, dan observasi. Analisis data menggunakan analisis tiga sumpah yang terdiri dari reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Validitas didasarkan pada kredibilitas dengan menggunakan teknik triangulasi terhadap metode, sumber, dan teori. Studi ini menemukan strategi dakwah moderat pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum dalam masyarakat multikultural dan minoritas muslim adalah (1) melanjutkan budaya "Ngeruwah", (2) menanamkan nilai-nilai toleransi dalam proses pembelajaran bagi santri pondok pesantren dan masyarakat, (3) Mengakomodasi kelompok mayoritas (Hindu) dalam suatu agenda non agama, seperti pendidikan, olah raga, dan agenda lainnya.

**Kata Kunci:** Strategi, dakwah moderat, masyarakat multikultural, minoritas muslim.

### A. Introduction

The existence of *pesantren* in a multicultural society is closely related to social acceptance which establishes some criteria, one of which is that pesantren do not make any threat against the prevailing peaceful existence and social harmony. In fact, although located in a region in which Muslim people constitute the minority group, pesantren have never received any threat and found themselves in conflict with the majority group of Hindu people. Of the systems supporting this social harmony is harmonious relationship among people with different religious beliefs having been built since the colonial era. In addition, the content of teachings Muslim preachers have spread contains no radical idea which likely issues threats against the majority group.

The support from Hindu people, who form the majority group of all the population in Bali, can be seen in a number of non-religious affairs, or even in some ceremonies held in pesantren. This shows the local wisdom popular among the Balinese, that is, *Menyama Braya*. Hindu people's participation in pesantren's non-religious affairs implies their recognition for the existence of pesantren. Pesantren's complaisant nature has made it easy for them to win Hindu people's acceptance.

Despite being a minority group in a multicultural society, pesantren always try to perform their mission, namely to instill Islamic values through formal, informal and non-formal educational institutions. In accomplishing their mission, they play educational (*tarbiyah*), religious, and social roles. With their educational institutions being media for implementing their planned programs, pesantren perform those roles by actively participating in promoting values to citizens. One of the simplest religious functions is for pesantren to provide people in their neighborhood with religious services<sup>1</sup> like reciting prayers in a ceremony of *selamatan* (a traditional ritual, usually involving reciting prayers and giving a feast, conducted in celebration of marriage, birth, death, etc.) held by Muslim community.

Another religious service is to spread religious teachings in the form of a religious speech which is often delivered in the ritual of *selamatan*. In giving a speech, a *da'i* (a person who practices *da'wa*) is to take into consideration religious and cultural aspects in which people differ from each other.

In addition to religious services, the social role of pesantren prompts them to contribute to maintaining peace in a multicultural society by practicing da'wa in a peaceful manner instead of violent means and displaying tolerant attitudes. In reality, pesantren have been used to acculturation by assimilating local cultures not contradicting Islamic values, like *selamatan* to celebrate birth (*lahiran*) or death (*tahlilan*) or a local tradition of Jembrana people called *ngeruwah* (asking forgiveness for early ancestors or families). According to Mujamil Qomar<sup>2</sup>, such inclusive attitude is one of pesantren's amazing transformations, just as expected from an Islamic educational institution. The transformation from being exclusive to being inclusive is the positive and constructive thing of a change.

Pesantren are often founded in response to hopes and aspirations of people towards religious educational institutions. Besides, such traditional institutions as pesantren become reliable means for sharing Islamic values and instilling them into people in such a way that they are set in the Islamic way of life.<sup>3</sup> In this regard, pesantren are necessary for practicing Islam. One of the primary missions pesantren have to fulfil is to educate people to be *santri*.<sup>4</sup> The education process deals with humans' positive and negative sides and external influences like environment bucking religious traditions or cultures contradicting Islamic teachings. In such conditions live pesantren as an effective counter. Moreover, A. Wahid Zaini, as cited by Mujamil Qomar<sup>5</sup>, in another aspect of social life, pesantren serve as educational institutions of moral and cultural training. To survive in a multicultural society, pesantren have to face both internal and external challenges as well as the process of social interaction which without good interpersonal communication with the majority group in Bali (i.e., non-Muslim or Hindu people) potentially leads to a serious conflict. Pesantren in Bali discharge responsibilities different from those of Pesantren in Jawa, where Islam is the religion held by the majority of population. In a multicultural society like Bali, Pesantren are supposed to build up a harmonious relationship with people with

<sup>1</sup> Taufik Abdullah, *Islam dan Masyarakat: Pantulan Sejarah Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1987), 111.

<sup>2</sup> Mujamil Qomar, *Pesantren dari Transformasi Metodologi Menuju Demokratisasi Institusi* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2005), 72.

<sup>3</sup> Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), 14.

<sup>4</sup> Mohammad Tidjani Djauhari, *Masa Depan Pesantren: Agenda yang Belum Terselesaikan* (Jakarta: Taj Publishing, 2008), 88.

<sup>5</sup> Mujamil Qomar, *Pesantren dari Transformasi Metodologi Menuju Demokrasi Institusi* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2005), 23.

different religious belief and, at the same time, consistently practice Islamic teachings and teach those teachings to their students (*santri*) and members of society in a peaceful manner.

As mentioned before, in a region where Muslim community forms the minority group, only pesantren with the ability to accommodate people's need and maintain healthy relationship among people with different religious beliefs can survive and be trusted to provide education for people. There are a total of 112 pesantren in the province of Bali, spread in 8 regencies and 1 city. Jembrana is a regency in Bali with the most pesantren, numbered 39 pesantren.<sup>6</sup> This shows that pesantren as an educational institution have gained wide acceptance of Jembrana people, be they Muslim or non-Muslim.

In the flow of time and the dynamic nature of society, recently there has been social discord with the occurrence of some radical Islamic organizations which intensified the conduction of religious events amid the social life of Muslim community in Jembrana. However, most people rejected ideas of these organizations which they thought contradict Islamic principles they have upheld and practiced for generations, best known as *rahmatan lil' alamin*. The way people practice their religion inevitably varies according to their religious consciousness and academic backgrounds. Meanwhile, the religious consciousness pesantren have developed in peaceful manner can accommodate local cultures in line with Islamic teachings in such a way that it can be accepted by common people. The tolerant attitude and moderate view make it possible for pesantren to have built harmonious relationship among religious believers even since the colonial era.

In building their spiritual life, people of Jembrana have a dependence and need for developing and practicing five dimensions of religiosity, as described by R. Strak dan C.Y. Glock<sup>7</sup>, including (1) the dimension of religious belief; (2) the dimension of religious behavior and participation; (3) the dimension of religious experience; (4) the dimension of religious knowledge; and (5) the consequential dimension. In particular, Muslim people of Jembrana, Bali, need two of the five dimensions: the dimension of religious knowledge and the dimension of religious behavior and participation.

Religious knowledge is really necessary for Muslim people of Jembrana to strengthen their religious faith. Besides, the knowledge is highly instrumental in comprehending *kitab-kitab kuning* (classical Islamic texts), one of the most popular icons for the pesantren life. In this term, people, *kitab kuning*, and pesantren assemble together into components of religious knowledge. Masdar Hilmy<sup>8</sup> introduced the term 'systematic relationship' to illustrate the relationship of students of pesantren (*santri*) with *kitab kuning*, people, and government. As one of the raw inputs of pesantren, people can be considered learners (*santri*) and can take a part in pesantren's traditional religious education (*ngaji*). Their participation in pesantren's learning activities without being domiciled there is one of the best forms of people's support to pesantren and their effort to meet their need for religious knowledge and practices.

Besides, involvement in pesantren's activities enabled Muslim people of Jembrana to learn preserved local knowledge derived and adapted from social norms and customs of local people. What is more, Muslim people of Jembrana, most of them are ethnic Malays and speak Malay language<sup>9</sup> in their daily conversation, can also actively participate in preserving their own traditions. In short, pesantren has become the center of preserving and practicing religious rituals of local people.

<sup>6</sup> The list of pesantren in 2008/2009. The Directory of Pesantren, Directorate General of Islamic Education, Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. Published on the official website [www.pendis.kemenag.go.id](http://www.pendis.kemenag.go.id)

<sup>7</sup> R. Strak dan C.Y. Glock, "Dimensi-dimensi Keberagamaan" dalam. *Agama: Dalam Analisa dan Interpretasi Sosiologis* translated from the original work, entitled *Sociology of Religion*, Roland Robertson, ed (Jakarta: PT RajaGrafindo Persada, Cet III, 1993), 295-297.

<sup>8</sup> Masdar Hilmy, *Pendidikan Islam dan Tradisi Ilmiah* (Malang: Madani, 2016), 98.

<sup>9</sup> Dhururudin Mashad, *Muslim Bali: Mencari Kembali Harmoni yang Hilang*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Kautsar, 2014), 155.

## B. Research Method

This is qualitative research using the case study approach. John W. Creswell<sup>10</sup> said that a case study includes a real-life issue in a contemporary context and setting. What is unique in this research is the continuing existence of Manba'ul 'Ulum of Loloan Timur amidst some factors supporting or hampering its effort to survive in a multicular society in Jembrana regency, Bali. The pesantren was founded in 1930 and has a genealogical relationship with some other pesantren in Jembrana, Bali. This case study is intrinsic,<sup>11</sup> for the researcher's interest in the uniqueness if the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum is related to its moderate da'wa strategy in the multicultural society of Jembrana, Bali.

This research was conducted in the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum, located in the administrative village of Loloan Timur, Jembrana, Bali. Founded on 11 August 1930 and considered to be the oldest pesantren in Bali, the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum was the main reason for which the selection was made. Besides, the pesantren has good and strong relationship with Jembrana people, in particular Muslim people of Loloan Timur, in their religious life. With its moderate da'wa strategy in a multicultural society, it has been well accepted even by the majority group of Hindu people since 1930. Another unique characteristic of the pesantren is the utilization of rhymed books (*syair*) in almost all subjects taught in the pesantren, such as *tajwid* (the study on the pronunciation of Qur'anic words), *fiqh* (the study on Islamic jurisprudence), and *tasawwuf* (the study on Islamic mysticism).

The administrative village of Loloan Timur is the region mostly equipped by ethnic Malays. They preserve Malay cultures, such as Malay language, in their everyday life. The Malay language they use grammatically resembles the one used by Riau Malays on which Malaysian and Indonesian languages are based. Loloan Malay language was first introduced by a subordinate of Syarif Tua of Johor, Malaysia. The Loloan Malay community has been known by Malaysians so well that in 1995 Datok H. Saleh<sup>12</sup> of Malaysia Cultural Studies Department came to visit the pesantren. Recently, while the researcher was in the pesantren, a one of the students of UNISZA of Trengganu, Malaysia, was doing research there.

The population number of ethnic Malay in Loloan Timur is 2,245 people.<sup>13</sup> Muslim people of Loloan originated from the Malay land (Kuala Trengganu) and Buginese people having been inhabiting Bali since the 17th century. Their existence is a historical evidence that Islam has been preached and practiced in.<sup>14</sup> The Muslim community in Loloan differs from other ancient Muslim communities in that the former has still survived and maintained Islamic and Malay traditions as their ancestors' heritage for them to preserve. They even use Malay language in their daily communication.

Historically, Islam came to Loloan by the way of Muslim Buginese people. They came to Loloan in two steps: the first was in 1653-1655, and the second was in 1660-1661 following the end of Makassar War between the Sultanate of Gowa and VOC (The Dutch East India company). Buginese people first sailed in the 16th century, when wars between some sultanates in South Sulawesi were raging and were followed by wars against the Dutch Colonial until the 19th century.<sup>15</sup>

The data source of this research was determined using the snowball sampling technique, while the research data were collected by means of interviews, participant observation, and documentation. Informants were selected with help from *Kyai* (a religious and pesantren leader) and graduates of the pesantren. Some of the informants were considered to be the key informants, including KH. Muhammad Zaki HAR, KH. Drs. Fathurrahim Achmad, M.Pd.I, and *Bu Nyai* (the wife of *Kyai*) Hj. Musyarrafah. Other informants involved were common people of Loloan, including Muslims, Hindus, and Christians, as well as village apparatus, namely *lurah* (the village head) and *kepala lingkungan* (the hamlet head).

This research used the descriptive-qualitative analysis, meaning that data collected were described in words, not in numbers. The analysis process went through three steps: data reduction, data display, and conclusion (data verification). This analysis began at the beginning of the research process and

<sup>10</sup> John W. Creswell. *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches Third Edition*, (ousand Oaks, California: SAGE, 2013), 76.

<sup>11</sup> Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Penerjemah, Dariyatno dkk, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, Cet 1 2009), 301

<sup>12</sup> H. Zaki, an interview taking place in the pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum, 21 April 2018.

<sup>13</sup> The document of the local government of the administrative village of Loloan Timur of the profile of the local government of the administrative village of Loloan in 2017

<sup>14</sup> Dhurorudin Mashad, *Muslim Bali: Mencari Kembali Harmoni yang Hilang* (Jakarta: Putaka Al-Kaustar, 2014), 155.

<sup>15</sup> I Wayan Reken, *Sejarah Perkembangan Islam di Bali Khususnya di Kabupaten Jembrana* (Private Secretary of Archeologie and History of Antiquity at Regional Jembrana Historical Society, 1979), 3.

continued to go throughout the data collecting process. The data in analysis were about the effort made by the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum of Loloan Timur in order to survive in a multicultural society of Jembrana regency, Bali.

To improve the credibility of the research data, on the adoption of the moderate da'wa strategy in the pesantren's effort to respond to any challenge and survive long in the multicultural society of Jembrana, Bali, the researcher adopted the triangulation technique, that is, data triangulation, methodological triangulation, and theory triangulation.

### C. Discussion

Since it was founded in 1930, as a educational institution of traditional Islam, the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum Loloan of Timur has become a religion-based social institution for people of Jembrana, particularly those of Loloan Timur. Loloan, as well as an institution of da'wa which presents a moderate view. Much as it is located in a region with a seamless blend of some different ethnics and religious beliefs, where Muslim people becomes a minority group, the pesantren has managed to serve its prime functions, at least including religious functions (*dīniyah*), social functions (*ijtima'i yah*), and educational functions (*tarbawiyah*).<sup>16</sup> To serve this purpose well, the pesantren adopts moderate strategies to respond to differences and challenges in a multicultural society like Jembrana regency, Bali.

Some of the strategies the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum has implemented in performing its religious functions are described as follows.

#### 1. Preserving the Tradition of "Ngeruwah" and Holding It Massively

The tradition called 'ngeruwah' is an annual event, usually held in *Sha'ban* (the eight month in *Hijri* calendar), by praying for forgiveness for early ancestors. *Ngeruwah* was once held personally. However, given the need for considerable financial expenditure for this event, only those financial security managed to hold this event. For this reason, the founder of the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum initiated the holding of this event massively in order that all Muslim people in Jembrana could participate in the event. Since then, people has celebrated the tradition and preserved it in the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum. This helped the pesantren to have social legitimacy<sup>17</sup> to accelerate its development to serve as the agent of social change. It was the social legitimacy that helped build up public trust that the pesantren is a reliable Islamic educational institution and *Kyai* with his educational excellence and spiritual authority can lead his *santri* and common people to better social and spiritual life in a complex society. With their unique characteristic usually called a sub-culture<sup>18</sup>, pesantren are likely to build and develop a humanist and religious social environment.

Muslim people of Jembrana, despite their limitation on their social-religious interaction, have a deep desire to hold religious events in a large congregation, or what Clifford Greetz usually called 'the communal feast'.<sup>19</sup> They want to celebrate a religious events and traditions in a collective way, as do Muslim people in Java with their tradition of "*selametan*", believed to be a social and mystical symbol. For Muslim people of Loloan, Jembrana, practicing religious activities collectively will produce positive effects on religious education and practices. The positive effects

<sup>16</sup> Mujamil Qomar, *Pesantren dari Transformasi Metodologi Menuju Demokrasi Institusi* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2005), 22.

<sup>17</sup> Fuaduddin TM, "Diversifikasi Pendidikan Pesantren: Tantangan dan Solusi", *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan* 5, no. 4 (Oktober-Desember 2007): 31-33.

<sup>18</sup> In this term, according to Gus Dur, there are three elements enabling pesantren to be considered a sub-culture: first, strong leadership not co-opted by the government; second, the use of classical Islamic books as reference guide; and third, the adoption of the existing system in the wider society. See KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, *Pondok Pesantren Masa Depan*, in Said Aqil Siraj at all, *Pesantren Masa Depan Wacana Pemberdayaan dan Transformasi Pesantren* (Bandung: Pustaka Hidayah, 1999), 13-14.

<sup>19</sup> Clifford Greetz, *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Kebudayaan Jawa* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2014), 3.

will be high motivation to do positive things together, a heightened sense of solidarity among fellow Muslims, and even the social integrity in everyday life.

Subsequently, it will be obvious that the dialectic process involving religious doctrines and local traditions plays important roles in social and religious life of society, taking into consideration the fact that a society is a mixture of individuals with a strong belief in God and transcendental things, and at the same time with strong interaction with local cultures. The interaction between Islam and local traditions does not necessarily mean that Islamic teachings will be distorted by various local traditions, but in fact, such interaction will give rise to variant practical forms of Islamic teachings characteristic of Indonesia, a country with high cultural, racial, and religious diversity. In this dialectic process, which involves other processes of adaptation and acculturation and even sacrifices, not all variant practical forms can suit Islamic views. Islam, which is a divine revelation that is absolute and transcendental, provides a firm basis for filtering human cultures which are relative and subjective. However, having undertaken an adaptation process which often caused problems and differences to emerge, some variants of Islamic practices have survived and won the acceptance of local people.

In the late 1980s, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) promoted an idea called 'Pribumisasi Islam'<sup>20</sup> (indigenization of Islam). This idea illustrates how a divine, normative teaching from God can be transformed into human cultures without having to lose its identity. Furthermore, Abdurrahman Wahid mentioned that by adopting Arabism, people cut themselves off from their cultural roots. In this sense, traditions as a part of people's true cultures should be preserved as long as they do not contradict Islamic values.

## 2. Embodying the Value of *Tawassuṭ* (Moderation) in Da'wa Activities and Learning Processes

The values instilled into *santri* (students) of the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum and common people in its neighborhood is the embodiment of the principle *Islam Rahmatan Lil 'Alamin*. The fact that this principle becomes the moral guidance means that the tolerant view has been taught since the era of the founder (*muassis*) of the pesantren. The following rhymed work of KH. Ahmad al-Hadi Bin Dahlan helps ascertain this fact.

*Antara satu dan lain agama  
Hiduplah rukun jalan bersama  
Di dalam garis sila yang lima  
Rumahlah Tuhan tetap bergema.*

The concept of moderation in the practice of Islam in Indonesia has some characteristics, as mentioned by Masdar Hilmy, it's (1) non-violent ideology in propagating Islam; (2) adapting the modern way of life with its all derivative, including science and technology, democracy, human rights and the like; (3) the use of rational way of thinking; (4) contextual approach in understanding Islam, and (5) the use of *ijtihad* (intellectual exercises to make a legal opinion in case of the absence of explicit justification from the Qur'an and Hadith).<sup>21</sup>

Hilmy mentioned some characteristics, such as being tolerant and cooperative and harmonious relationship among people with different religious beliefs. Instead of being reached simultaneously, harmonious life discussed in this research is built through a lengthy, complicated process involving the processes of socialization, and adaptation. Of all the processes involved, the most important part will be to accommodate the majority group of non-Muslim people in non-religious activities, such as education, sports, and other natural activities, in such a way that an individual can respect and accept other individuals irrespective of the difference in religious beliefs and faith.

<sup>20</sup> Zuhairi Misrawi, ed, *Menggugat Tradisi: Pergulatan Pemikiran Anak Muda NU* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2004), 89.

<sup>21</sup> Masdar Hilmy, "Whither Indonesia's Islamic Moderatism? A Reexamination on the Moderate Vision of Muhammadiyah and NU", *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 07, no. 01 (June 2013): 28.

Additionally, through educational activities, the pesantren educates *santri* and common people to be tolerant to the extent that the values of *tawassuṭ* (tolerance) are set in their way of life. The values are embodied in the learning activities of educational institutions in the pesantren and in *majelis ta'lim* (public forums on Islamic teachings) under the auspices of the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum. Some of the values promoted are described in detail as follows.

**a. The value of *I'tiqadiyah wa al-Nafsiyah***

The first and ultimate value of Islamic education is the value of *I'tiqadiyah wa al-nafsiyah* (theological-psychological values), values based on religious faith (*iman*). Muslim people call this value the pillars of *iman*. KH. Ahmad al-Hadi bin Dahlan mentioned in his rhymed work:

There are six pillars of *iman*  
*(Rukun Iman banyaknya enam)*  
 The existing of God must be truly believed in  
*(Adanya Tuhan wajib di tanam)*  
 Deep in your heart, believe in it, my friend  
*(Di sanaubari teman menanam)*  
 Know Him to the fullest – so on  
*(Harap dikenal sampai mendalam, dan seterusnya)*

**b. The value of *Tashri'iyah***

The value of *tashri'iyah* urges that the consciousness about the importance of obeying Islamic laws by performing what is obligatory and avoiding committing what is prohibited according to Islamic laws. Such consciousness about upholding Islamic laws, such as practicing five daily prayers which are obligatory for Muslim people, will clear their path to find salvation in this life and in the afterlife. In his rhymed work, KH. Ahmad Al-Hadi mentioned

The pillars of *salah (shalat)* number thirteen  
*(Rukun shalat ya tiga belas)*  
 The first is to state intention clearly  
*(Pertama niat terang dan jelas)*  
 The second is an honest statement of consecratory magnification  
*(Kedua takbir ihram yang tulus)*  
 The third is to stand upright (orthostasis) – so on  
*(Ketiga qiyam berdiri lurus, dan seterusnya)*

**c. The value of *khuluqiyah* (the ethical value)**

Ethical values are about enforcing exemplary behaviors on the basis of the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the prophet Muhammad (*As-sunnah nabawiyah*). KH. Muhammad Zaki, the second leader (*mudir*) of the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum, succeeding its founder and first leader, stated that Islam relevance consists of three main values: 1) theological values (*i'tiqadiyah*), 2) legal values/Islamic laws (*syari'ah/fiqih*), with the Qur'an as the main reference source, and 3) ethical values (*akhlaq*). He further explained that those values are embodied in classical books taught in the pesantren and in Malay-written books. The use of both classical Arabic-written books and Malay-written books has become characteristic of the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum. Those books taught are written by Shafi'i scholars. In addition, Ustadz Shohabil Mahalli, M.Si said that the founder (*muassis*) of the pesantren displayed good behavior even to non-Muslim people, namely by employing a Hindu teacher to teach mathematics to his son privately.

**3. Accommodating non-Muslim people in non-religious events**

Located geographically near to non-Muslim people, especially Hindu community, the pesantren is supposed to make a successful adaptation and socialization with them, which can involve making a collaborative action in many aspects. What the first leader of the pesantren did can be taken as a vivid example of the successful adaptation and socialization: he established an

economic relation with Chinese people of Jembrana in his effort to have communication with general public by way of social activities. As is known, the process of socialization involves three elements: an individual, society, and mind. In the theory of symbolic interactionism, communication can be established in the presence of significant symbols. Social activities consist of (1) an initial impulse of individuals; (2) others' support to the impulse; and (3) the result or meaning of an activity. Meanings lie in the relation of these three elements.<sup>22</sup>

Subsequently, the theory of *salad bowl*, developed by Horace Kallen, does not abandon local traditions, but accommodates good traditions outside *WASP*, each contributing to building up the American culture as a national culture. In this theory, different cultures are not blended into one particular culture in a homogeneous society in such a way that immigrants feel that the theory of *salad bowl* assimilates into new cultures and at the rightly same time keeps alive particular traditions handed down from their ancestors.<sup>23</sup> Using this theory, it can be understood that Muslim people and non-Muslim ones have their respective traditions, but in their social interaction both can closely interact and improve good and open communication. For example, in the centenary celebration of KH. Ahmad al-Hadi bin Dahlan, many of the students of SMKN Melaya participated in the event of exploring the forest between Singaraja and Negara by going along the forest. They were involved and given the same facilities as were Muslim students. This was the implementation of one of the Islamic teachings, that is, *ukhuwah insaniyyah*. As for Hindu people, with the principle called *menyama braya*, they can accept Muslim people as their fellow believers.

According to H.A.R. Tilaar<sup>24</sup>, the definition of traditional multiculturalism has two main characteristics: (1) the need of recognition and (2) the legitimacy of cultural diversity, or cultural pluralism. The former includes essential things in the effort of a new cultural behavior (*the other*). It is the need of recognition that helps maintain the existence of the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum in the multicultural society. In this respect, Hindu people have recognized the existence of Muslim community in Jembrana, with which they have established harmonious relationship since the colonial era. Such acceptance and recognition also result from the moderate da'wa strategy of the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum which accommodates Hindu people in some non-religious events. In line with this fact is the statement of Bikhu Parekh<sup>25</sup> that in a multicultural society, conferring rights on some groups or individuals may become necessary for accomplishing such purposes as political integration and social harmony.

#### D. Conclusion

Based on the aforementioned discussion, the moderate da'wa strategy adopted by the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum in a multicultural society includes three strategic moves. The first is to preserve the tradition of "*Ngeruwah*", which is a local tradition of Malay people of Jembrana, usually by the rich, which then the pesantren hold in a massive way so as to involve as many people as possible. The second is to embody the value of *tawassut* (tolerance) in learning activities provided for students of the pesantren (*santri*) and general people. Through learning activities, the pesantren suggests that respecting other people is necessary in daily life and is good behavior to fellow believer. Similarly, in conducting public Islamic forums, well-regarded Islamic teachers (*asatidz*) deliver their speech in a peaceful manner and stress the importance of respecting other people. The third is to accommodate the majority group of Hindu people in non-religious activities and events such as high school equivalency (HSE), sports games of futsal and the centenary

<sup>22</sup> Sindung Haryanto, *Spektrum Teori Sosial Dari Klasik hingga Postmodern* (Jogjakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2012), 80.

<sup>23</sup> Safi Mahmoud Mahfouz, "America's Melting or Salad Bowl: The Stage Immigrant's Dilemma, *Journal of Foreign Languages, Cultures & Civilization*, 1, no.2 (December 2013).

<sup>24</sup> H.A.R. Tilaar, *Multikulturalisme, Tantangan-Tantangan Global Masa Depan dalam Transformasi Pendidikan Nasional* (Jakarta: Grasindo, 2004), 83-84.

<sup>25</sup> Bikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (Harvard: Harvard University Press), 262.

celebration of the da'wa of KH. Ahmad Al-Hadi bin Dahlan. It is the moderate da'wa strategy that helps the Pesantren Manba'ul 'Ulum to survive in a multicultural society.

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