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The Role of Female Pesantren Leaders in Fighting Radicalismin East Java Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to reveal female pesantren leaders' (hereinafter referred to as Bu Nyai) interests in countering radicalism, strategies for countering radicalism, and their role in countering radicalism. This research is useful for policymakers in counteracting radicalism and becomes a guideline for Bu Nyai in fortifying students from radicalism. This field research uses a comparative approach between the case and conceptual approaches. This study concluded that Bu Nyai's interest in warding off radicalism is caused by Bu Nyai's concern for the Islamic teachings of *rahmatanlilalamin* (mercy for all the worlds) and the harmful effects of radicalism. The strategy undertaken by Bu Nyai is the implementation of a pesantren curriculum, which inculcates and instills an understanding of *rahmatanlilalamin* Islam. In addition, Bu Nyais also provide advice to parents in general, particularly students' guardians, so that they become more selective in choosing educational institutions for their children. Bu Nyais also provide an understanding of the importance of a good attitude and fulfilling rights and obligations as Muslims, as well as equipping mothers and students with information technology (IT). Bu Nyais also emphasize economic strengthening and community empowerment. The role of the Bu Nyai is to protect students against repressive radicalism by instilling a religious ideology in accordance with the teachings of *ahlu sunnah waljama'ah* and *rahmatanlilalamin* Islam. Bu Nyai's actions against radicalism are curative in nature and can rehabilitate those exposed to radicalism.

Keywords: radicalism, Bu Nyai, pesantren

Introduction

Radicalism, both as an ideology and as a movement, never ends. It is always able to follow the trend of the times. Radicalism is a social fact whose spectrum spans to the international, national, and local arenas. So far, radicalism actors are identical to men, but now they have started targeting women and children, as stated by the Mayor of Surabaya, Tri Rismaharini (Lathifiyah, 2019). A similar view was expressed by the Head of the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), Suhardi Alius. Radicalism is intolerance, anti-NKRI, anti-Pancasila, and the spread of takfiri ideology needs to be explained to women. Hence, they will have the same understanding regarding radicalism and terrorism because they are starting to approach women and children. (Rahadis, 2019). The Head of the Police Public Relations Public Information Bureau, Dedi Prasetyo, began to see the involvement of women in acts of terrorism since the bomb attacks on three churches in Surabaya on 13th May 2018 (Halim, 2019).

In East Java, there are indications of radicalism in several areas, and even three state universities are suspected of being exposed to radicalism (Sativa, 2019). In Tulungagung, a female student was deported along with seven other Indonesian citizens from Syria for allegedly being involved in the ISIS network (Bomantama, 2019). In Lamongan, there was an attack on the police, and after being traced, it turned out that the perpetrators were exposed to radicalism. Likewise, the same case happened in Jember (Winarno, 2019).

Based on this reality, it is necessary to have an anti-radicalism movement as a form of reduction and counter. Counteracting radicalism is not only done by men, but also by women, and one group of women with a strategic position in society to ward off radicalism is Nyai (Danim, 2010).

Bu Nyai is one of the central figures in the pesantren; she is a leader, teacher, role model, and a source of advice for students (Marhumah, 2010). Thus, this phenomenon attracts the attention of researchers to examine the role of Nyai in counteracting radicalism. Choosing Bu Nyai because of her role and duties as a religious figure is also based on the narrative of the Director of the BNPT(Indonesian National Counter-Terrorism Agency), Hamli, that one of the sources of radicalism in the university is the level of education. They have been exposed to radicalism in their high school and Islamic boarding schools (Ariefana, 2010). East Java was chosen as the research site because there are several areas where indications of rampant radicalism exist.

Literature Review

The research related to the Role of Bu Nyai in Countering Radicalism in East Java has not been studied yet. However, there are some researchers who studied of Bu Nyai and Female Islamic scholars. For example, Faiqoh conducted a study entitled "An agent of change in Islamic boarding schools", which broadly discusses about Bu Nyai's position as an agent of change in the pesantren. The research is focused on seeing the role of KH. Sahal Mahfudz's wife, who always provides space for discussion and is open to the institutional development process in his pesantren. Next, Muhyiddin Zainul Bahri discusses the role of nyai leadership in islamic boarding schools. The multi-site study was conducted in PsantrenAl Lathifiyah, Jombang, PesantrenNur Khadijah Denanyar Jombang, and PesantrenAl Hikmah Kediri. The study describes Bu Nyai's five leadership roles in the Islamic boarding school environment in Jombang, serving as a helper, caretaker, pathfinder of educational models, alignment, and empowerment of students. The next study was conducted by Hatta Abdul Malik who discusses about the cadreization of women's scholars in Central Java. Thepaper discusses the regeneration of the younger generation, the role of Islamic boarding schools and kyai, and the reproduction of female clerics. In addition, Sri Wahyuni and Zainal Arifin discusses Bu Nyai's democratic leadership in Islamic boarding school development. They describe Nyai Elfa Tsuroyya's democratic leadership model based on her characteristics such as cooperation, deliberation, delegation of authority, and drafting. The implications of her leadership style had a positive impact on the development of the Muntasyirul Ulum MAN Yogyakarta III Islamic Boarding School.

Based on the studies above, no research or articles were found that discussed the role of Bu Nyai in counteracting radicalism both at the national and regional levels in East Java. This research focuses on exploring the interest of Bu Nyai to actively participate in countering radicalism, discusses the role of Bu Nyai in countering radicalism, and the strategy Bu Nyai has taken in countering radicalism by taking research locations in East Java Province.

Research Method

This research is field research, in which the data were collected from the research site. In-depth interviews were conducted to learn more about this study's problems. The approach used is a comparative approach between the case approach and the conceptual approach. The case approach is used to identify and dissect the role of the mother in counteracting radicalism. Meanwhile, the conceptual approach was used to formulate various strategies for Nyai's mother to counteract radicalism.

Primary data sources were obtained through interviews with Bu Nyai in the East Java Province. In addition, literature that is closely related to radicalism, Islamic boarding schools, and Bu Nyai were collected. The number of respondents was 12 Bu Nyais, where the selection of Bu Nyai was determined based on indicators of the age of the Islamic boarding school they were taking care of. Bu Nyai, who acted as preachers or dai'ah, Bu Nyai, who held political or government positions, and Bu Nyai who owned a business were also recruited.

The data analysis process in this study applied three interconnected sub-processes: data reduction, data display and drawing conclusions or verification.

Bu Nyai's interest in the issue of radicalism

Based on interviews with Bu Nyai in East Java who were respondents to this study, there are several reasons. First, women or mothers as the center of the family. The rise of radicalism which targets women, according to several mothers, is because if the mother is exposed to or joins radicalism, then her children and husband will easily be carried away by their understanding. On the other hand, the role and involvement of women is indeed important in counteracting radicalism. As women, they must have a strong attitude in wasatiyah (in the middle, not radical and not liberal), because the role of a woman when she is married to whom it is and will produce offspring. If they are easily carried away by radicalism, then they will certainly educate their children in that direction. Another reason stated by the Bu Nyai is because women are the closest to children, so they are the ones who will educate and care for children, and the next generation is the product of a woman or mother's upbringing.

The second reason is the damage to the image of Islam as *Rahmatan Lil Alamin*. Bu Nyai should take part in counteracting radicalism because many radical-extremist groups are currently acting in the name of religion, some even under the guise of Islamic boarding schools. They experienced misinterpretation of some of the verses and hadiths carried out by some of these groups, so it is important to get things straightened out immediately, at least to the students at the Islamic boarding school. In addition, Bu Nyai's involvement was also to rectify the religious symbols that Ulama and Santri had used, which recently had a radical connotation caused by the actions of these radical extremist groups. This has tarnished the face of Islam*Rahmatan Lil Alamain*.

Third, Bu Nyaiconsiders the negative impacts of radicalism. The negative impact referred to here is the danger of radicalism. Bu nyai in East Java said that the dangers of radicalism were very clear, as they easily blamed people, were not aware of their thoughts and actions, and easily killed groups that were against their group. Radicalism in this sense is still present in most any group, along with the active passion for anger and blind ideals which are not controlled by science and self-approach to Allah SWT.

Bu Nyai also believes that one of the main tasks of Nyai at Islamic boarding schools is to prepare a generation of Muslims who are ready to become leaders in the future. When students and people do not fully understand the concept of radicalism, it will be very dangerous. You can imagine if they were influenced by radicalism and eventually became terrorists, or even gave bad influence to other people to become terrorists. The impact of

radicalism is very detrimental to the world, apart from property and even lives. What is even more detrimental is that the good name of Islam is at stake. Radicalism is like Covid-19, which spreads so easily. What is clear is that radicalism is very detrimental to all of us and must be eradicated.

Fourth, the aspects of moderation and religious tolerance in society within the framework of a big house called the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). The danger of radicalism groups tends to want to establish their own country. We live in Indonesia with various religions and tribes and very diverse lives. The presence of radicalism groups results in too much diversity being threatened if this group exists.

In general, it is known that Bu Nyai's interest in taking part in counteracting radicalism in East Java is inseparable from two reasons, namely:

1. Bu Nyai's attention to Islamic teachings that is rahmatan lil alamin.

The rise of radicalism has made Bu Nyai in East Java worry about the Islamic values and teachings of Rahmatan lil Alamin, as well as being the cause of the damage to the image of Islam, which is synonymous with peace and compassion, as Allah says:

"And We did not send you (Muhammad) but to (become) a mercy to all the worlds." (Qs. Al-Anbiya '(21): 107)

Scholars have different interpretations of the verse mentioned above. The intended mercy (the sending of the Prophet Muhammad) is addressed to the entire world, including the unbelievers, or only to the believers. According to Ath-Tabari, the first opinion is the most correct. As for the mercy for the believer, Allah will guide him, instill faith in him, and enter him into Paradise by doing what Allah has commanded him to do. As for those who disbelieve, (mercy) is in the form of delaying reinforcements, as was revealed to people who denied Allah's messengers before.

Radical groups often display violence and feel most self-righteous about the religious ideology they understand. Radicalists often cite verses and hadiths to legitimize their acts of violence, even though the meanings of these verses and hadiths are not what they understand. This means that the radical group misinterpreted some of the verses and hadiths incorrectly. Islamic teachings cannot be studied only in bits or only specific themes. Islamic teachings are complete in regulating the order of human worship of their God, regulating social issues and others.

Some religious texts teach about the prohibition of hurting other people, as in the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad:

From Abu Musa said, "O Messenger of Allah, which part of Islam is the most important?" Rasulullah replied, "Who the Muslims survived from his mouth and hands." (HR. Bukhari)

From Abdullah bin Amr bin al-Ash, that someone asked Rasulullah SAW., "What is the best (charity in) Islam?" Rasulullah SAW said, "You feed (people in need) and greet to people (Muslims) you know or you don't know."

Islam as a religion normatively ensures the realization of peace and safety for all mankind, and Muslims are none other than those who embody these noble Islamic values. The term Rahmatan Lil Alamin consists of two words, Rahmat which means affection, and Lil'alamin which means all of nature. The Islamic concept of rahmatan lil alamin is the idea and effort of Muslims, especially in Indonesia, to make Islam a mercy for all nature, not only salvation for humans but also for other natures. What is saved is hablun minallah, hablun min an-nas and also hablun minal alam. Human salvation means nothing if nature is not in safety. That is why Islam that saves is Islam that provides salvation for all. The Islamic idea of rahmatan lil'alamin develops a pluralist, humanist, dialogic and tolerant pattern of human relations and develops the use and management of nature with compassion (Yahya, 2021).

Islam also forbids someone from being ghuluw/extreme, as the words of the Prophet Muhammad said:

From Ibn Abbas said, Rasulullah SAW., said: "Keep yourselves away from exaggeration (ghuluw) in religion. Verily excess in religion has destroyed those before you." (Narrated by al-Nasa'i)

According to Abdurrahman bin Mu'alla al-Luwaihiq, there are two kinds of ghuluw, namely al-ghuluw al-kulli al-i'tiqadi (related to matters of faith) and al-ghuluw fi al-juz'i al-'amali (related to problems of behavior). Meanwhile, Yusuf al-Qardhawi gives the characteristics of people with religious extremist thoughts: First, they have fanatics of an opinion and do not acknowledge or blame other opinions. Second, They oblige human beings on something that is not obligatory by Allah upon them. Third, they aggravate something that is not in place. Fourth, They have rude and harsh attitudes (except in the middle of a battlefield and in the context of implementing legal sanctions). Fifth, they have a prejudice against humans. Sixth, they fall into the abyss of disbelief (takfiri) (Yahya, 2021).

2. Impact of the dangers of radicalism

Bu Nyai's interest in radicalism cannot be separated from their concern about the impact of this understanding of radicalism. As told by the Bu Nyai respondents in this study, it appears that they are concerned about security, peace and order, both at the family and national scales.

There are two dangers that Bu Nyai is most worried about from the rise of radicalism. First: the weakening of moderation and religious tolerance in society within the framework of the big house called the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Even though Islam teaches its adherents to respect each other's differences and teaches religious tolerance, Bu Nyai's concern in this aspect is actually correct and is also based on the siyasa fight rule which reads:

"For them there are rights like the rights that we have and they are burdened with obligations like the burden of obligations towards us" (Djazuli, 2019)

Based on these rules, there are equal rights and obligations in interacting and socializing as fellow human beings and fellow Indonesian citizens. Even though they have different tribes, different schools of *fiqh*, different religions and so on, they all have the right to worship and gain knowledge. Likewise, they all have an obligation to maintain order and peace.

Second, the fear of the destruction of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Radicalism, synonymous with thoughts or movements against government policies, will endanger the country. Because when policies made by the government are openly opposed or negatively narrated and then conveyed to the public or their groups, what happens is there is a delegitimization of the community towards the government, causing chaos and political uproar, which in the end, the government and the state are destroyed.

Bu Nyai feels that the existence of radicalism is not only dangerous in terms of religious understanding, but far from that, if radicalism has turned into a political movement with what she believes is an ideology to establish an Islamic state, then what will happen is chaos within the state, security and order. This will cause loss of property and lives. Even though Islam highly values wealth, life, honor, reason, and religion, all of which are formulated into five basic religious principles that must be safeguarded or what are known as *ushul al-khamsah*.

Islam places great emphasis on the importance of obeying leaders, in this case the government. Obedience to leaders is everyone's obligation (Makmun and Huda, 2019), as emphasized in the Qur'an Surah al-Nisa' verse 59:

O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you should believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is the best [way] and best in result (Qs. Al-Nisa: 59)

There is also a hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, which explains the command to obey leaders, including:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abu Huraira that the Holy prophetical said: Whoso obeys me obeys God, and whoso disobeys me disobeys God. Whoso obeys the commander (appointed by me) obeys me, and whoso disobeys the commander disobeys me. The same tradition transmitted by different persons omits the portion: And whose disobeys the commander disobeys me. (Narated by Muslim)

Obedience to the leader is an obligation. One example of obeying the leader is not violating the legal products made by the leader. Thus, Bu Nyai's involvement in counteracting radicalism in East Java by providing knowledge about radicalism and its dangers is a very appropriate and justified attitude based on a siyasa fiqh review. This is in accordance with several siyasa fiqh rules which read:

"The policy of a leader towards his people depends on the benefit" (Djazuli, 2001)

Based on the rules mentioned above, it can be understood that a leader has an area of supervision over the people he leads, so his regulations and policies must be based on the public good. Leader policies are not considered legal, according to shara' except for the benefit of the people they lead (Makmun, 2018). Therefore, it can be understood that what is done by Bu Nyai who incidentally is a leader for students must be based on the benefit of the students, and the benefit of alumni in particular, as well as society in general.

Bu Nyai provides correct understanding and provides information about the dangers of radicalism to students, alumni and the public as a step towards achieving benefit and rejecting harm, as the rule of fiqh reads:

"Achieving benefit and rejecting harm" (Musbikin, 2001)

Apart from that, Bu Nyai's participation in countering radicalism is a form of obedience to the leader, where the government incessantly rejects and counteracts radicalism.

Bu Nyai's Strategy to Counter Radicalism

Each Bu Nyai has her own way and strategy in counteracting radicalism in East Java. Based on the researcher's interviews with Bu Nyai who were respondents to this study, here are some of the strategies carried out by Bu Nyai:

First, the pesantren curriculum teaches and instills a straight understanding in accordance with Islamic teachings that are rahmatan lil alamin. All Bu Nyai interviewed emphasized aspects of the Islamic boarding school curriculum. Bu Nyai always emphasizes giving Islamic religious lessons according to ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah al-Nahdliyah. The selection of the curriculum and books that become the guideline in Islamic boarding schools is the primary key to instilling the values of religious moderation, and Islamic values which are *tasamuh*, *tawasuth*, *tawazun*, *ta'adul* and so on.

Second, they give advice to parents in general and guardians of students, in particular, to be more selective in choosing educational institutions for their children. Because there are also educational institutions under the guise of Islamic boarding schools, what is taught is not the same as in Islamic boarding schools. Bu Nyai also often provides insights to the students regarding religious beliefs or beliefs that are wrong and deviate from the real Islam

Third, they provide an understanding of the importance of morals. One source of violence is due to a moral crisis. Smart is not enough if someone does not have morals and manners.

Fourth, they provide an understanding of the importance of fulfilling rights and obligations as Muslims. They emphasize on not demanding rights without paying attention to their obligations as a Muslim. Fifth, Bu Nyai and students must understand and master the development of information technology (IT). The development of times and technology is increasing rapidly. For this reason, people they are required to keep abreast of these technological developments. The Covid-19 pandemic outbreak, which hit the whole world two years ago, has stopped human activity. The education sector, in particular, was changed to a technology-based education system. In addition, recitation and religious studies were also temporarily stopped and switched to using social media and YouTube. Therefore, in the end, many people learn religion through the internet, which also becomes a problem if the channel being viewed is radical.

Sixth, they strengthen the economy and community empowerment. Strengthening the economy can be one way, so that material things do not easily lure people but with the condition that they must follow their ideology, namely radicalism-extremism. Seventh, they equip students with activities to strengthen the ideology of *ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah al-Nahdliyah*.

Bu Nyai's Role in Countering Radicalism

All this time, Bu Nyai's position seemed to be subordinated to the Kiai, as if Bu Nyai was only the second class after the kiai. In fact, if we look at her role and duties as a Kiai's wife or as a woman who has knowledge of the Islamic religion, then we will see that their role and duties are quite significant, especially in relation to sectors of life that are difficult for men to reach or approach.

Bu Nyai's involvement in counteracting radicalism targeting women has a significant role. Bu Nyai's role in counteracting radicalism can be seen from the following.

First, Bu Nyai's role is repressive of the wide spread of radicalism. This role is more directed in the form of planting religious ideology that is in accordance with the teachings of *ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah* and *Islam which is Rahmatan lil Alamin*.

Bu Nyai provides guidance, direction and education to the students. Santri are equipped with the basics of Islam with their correct understanding, so they will not be easily influenced by extreme and violent religious beliefs because the majority who are exposed to radicalism are people who lack religious knowledge. Bu Nyai instills an understanding of religious moderation in every study and Islamic religious education based on the classical (yellow) books typical to Islamic boarding schools. The teachings given by Islamic boarding schools are oriented towards the embodiment of Islam rahmatan lil alamin. Therefore, pesantren are more tolerant and open to the pluralism of life in the nation and state. Thus, maintaining and preserving Islamic boarding schools and their teachings is the same as fortifying the Republic of Indonesia from radical movements that threaten the younger generation, such as the santri.

Second, Bu Nyai's role in counteracting radicalism is curative. This means that if it turns out that there are alumni who are exposed to radicalism, then Bu Nyai graciously accepts them to be made aware of and given guidance. For those exposed to radicalism, Bu Nyai provides advice on religious moderation. Particularly for pesantren alumni who are exposed to radicalism when they have graduated from Islamic boarding schools, they will be invited to visit the Kiai and Bu Nyai and then be advised and reminded to return to the Islamic teachings of *rahmatan lil alamin* and *aswaja annahdliyah*.

Third, Bu Nyai has a role in controlling and monitoring Islamic boarding school alumni. This role is also part of establishing a friendship with alumni, because even though they are no longer at the boarding school, Bu Nyai's love and attention are still given to alumni. Therefore, almost all Islamic boarding schools have an association forum for alumni.

Based on the narratives of several Bu Nyai, the bond between Islamic boarding schools, in this case Kiai and Bu Nyai, and alumni is very strong. Even though the alumni are scattered in various corners of the region, the kiai and Bu Nyai still hear and know the news of the alumni. The attention of Kiai and Bu Nyai to alumni is also a monitor on their religious understanding or ideology. When there are alumni who begin to deviate from the Islamic

understanding of *ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah* and Islam which is *rahmatan lil alamin*, the Kiai and Bu Nyai will advise the alumni and invite them to return to the teachings that have been taught so far at the boarding school.

The majority of Bu Nyai who were interviewed by the researchers hoped that the alumni would not hesitate to come to the Islamic boarding school if there was something they do not understand. Kiai and Bu Nyai are always ready to help or answer any problems. Even though they have graduated, they should keep in touch with thepesantren, so that they are not easily influenced by wrong beliefs.

Based on the role of Bu Nyai above, it can be seen that Bu Nyai does not only serve as Kiai's wife, but they have an essential role. Bu Nyai has made a significant contribution ideologically to the religion of students and alumni. Bu Nyai continuously teaches about the religious understanding of *ahlu sunnah wal jama'ah* and *Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin*. The alumni are expected to apply the knowledge they gained from the pesantrenand are not influenced by radical-extreme religious understandings.

Conclusion

Bu Nyai has a crucial role in overcoming radicalism, though it is frequently underestimated. Bu Nyai not only takes care of her family's needs, but also deals with important issues, one of which is radicalism. Bu Nyai feels compelled to be actively involved in counteracting radicalism because they are concerned about the importance of Islam *rahmatanlilalamin* teachings and the great impact of the dangers of radicalism.

The strategy undertaken by the Bu Nyai is the imposition of the pesantren curriculum, which teaches and instills an understanding of *Islam rahmatanlilalamin*. They advise parents to be more selective in choosing educational institutions for their children. They provide an understanding of the importance of morality and the importance of fulfilling rights and obligations as Muslims. They prepare parents and students for the rapid development of information technology (IT). Economic strengthening and community empowerment are also their focus. The role of the Bu Nyai is to ward off repressive radicalism by instilling a religious ideology that is in accordance with the teachings of *ahlu sunnah waljama'ah* and Islam which is *rahmatanlilalamin*.

Bu Nyai's role in counteracting radicalism is repressive to the widespread spread of radicalism. This role is more directed in the form of inculcating religious ideology in accordance with the teachings of ahlu sunnah waljama'ah and Islam, which is *rahmatanlilalamin*. Bu Nyai's role in counteracting radicalism is curative. This means that if it turns out that there are alumni who are exposed to radicalism, then Bu Nyai are happy to give them guidance.

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