

Transformation of Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah Values: Between Spiritual Sustainability and the Risk of Commodification

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Abstract

Keywords:

NU Elite and Salafi;
Alfred Schutz's
Phenomenological
Approach;
Commodification of
Ideology.

This research aims to look for differences and gaps to find research gaps with previous research. To achieve this goal, the researcher asked the following research questions: first, competition for truth claims and the spread of Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah, NU elites and Salafi elites to compete for influence in their preaching to Pasuruan society; secondly, Santri and the community became a source of struggle for influence for the commodification of NU elites and Salafi elites in the political, economic and educational areas. Questions in the research will be asked of those who really understand and comprehend the themes raised in this research. This type of research uses qualitative research, with Alfred Schutz's phenomenological approach. The data used is primary data or main data. The data obtained comes from interviews with NU and Salafi elites, as well as city residents, as well as information taken from NU and Salafi books. Plus, field notes resulting from the observation process. The main data source is individual interview transcripts with NU and Salafi elites. The results of the research show that the form of commodification of Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah Salafi ideology focuses on da'wah, namely returning Islam to the Koran and Hadith and an Islam that is free from heresy, superstition and superstition. The Salafi preaching model is not oriented towards practical politics; it collaborates with the Pasuruan city government.

Abstrak

Kata kunci:

Elit NU dan Salafi;
Pendekatan
Fenomenologi Alfred
Schutz;
Komodifikasi
Ideologi

Penelitian ini memiliki tujuan untuk mencari perbedaan dan celah untuk menemukan gap penelitian dengan penelitian terdahulu. Untuk tercapai tujuan tersebut maka peneliti mengajukan pertanyaan penelitian sebagai berikut: pertama, Persaingan klaim kebenaran dan penyebaran paham Ahlusunnah wal jamaah elite NU dan elite Salafi untuk memperebutkan pengaruh dalam dakwah mereka pada masyarakat Pasuruan, kedua Santri dan masyarakat menjadi sumber perebutan pengaruh untuk komodifikasi elite NU dan elite Salafi pada wilayah politik, ekonomi dan pendidikan. pertanyaan dalam penelitian akan diajukan kepada mereka yang benar-benar mengerti dan faham tentang tema yang diangkat dalam penelitian ini. Jenis penelitian ini menggunakan penelitian kualitatif, dengan pendekatan fenomenologi Alfred Schutz. Data yang digunakan adalah data primer atau data utama, Data yang diperoleh berasal dari hasil wawancara dengan elite NU dan Salafi, juga dari masyarakat kota, serta informasi yang diambil dari kitab-kitab NU dan Salafi. Ditambah catatan lapangan (field notes) yang dihasilkan dari proses pengamatan. Sumber utama data tersebut adalah transkrip individual interview dengan para elit NU dan Salafi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bentuk komodifikasi paham Ahlusunnah wal jamaah Salafi berfokus pada dakwah, yaitu mengembalikan Islam pada alquran dan hadis serta Islam yang bebas dari bidah, tahayul, dan khurafat. Model dakwah Salafi tidak berorientasi pada politik praktis, mereka bekerjasama dengan pemerintah kota Pasuruan.

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, as the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, sometimes uses religion as a political identity (Adam, 2022). Quoted from news.uad.ac.id, there are five main causes of Islam breaking apart in Islamic and political affairs in Indonesia (Immawan Wahyudi, 2022). In Pasuruan, there are 350 Islamic boarding schools (Masitah, 2021). Some of them are ancient Islamic boarding schools that were founded around 1718, such as the Sidogiri Islamic boarding school, the Raudlatul Aqoidi Canga'an Bangil Islamic boarding school, the Kebonsari Pasuruan Salafiyah Islamic boarding school and the Keboncandi Islamic boarding school. The development of these Islamic boarding schools has undergone many changes, from Salaf or traditional Islamic boarding schools to modern Islamic boarding schools. All (Masitah & Kartiko, 2022; Muhakamurrohman, 2014; Ulya & Nikmah, 2024). Education is a conscious effort to improve the quality of the nation and will shape that character in the future (Kartiko, Rokhman, Priyono, & Susanto, 2024). NU carries out educational training led by LP Maarif NU and is based on the principle of *al muhafadhotu ala al qodimi as sholih wal akhdu bil Jadidi al aslah* to form humans who are rahmatan lin naturalin. In learning, the values that are strengthened and internalized are *tawazun* (balanced), *tawassuh* (moderate), *i`tidal* (fair and heartless) and *tasammuh* (tolerance) (Kartiko, Zuana, Sirojuddin, Rofiq, & Maarif, 2020). The belief of Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jamaah as practiced by Nahdlatul Ulama is the most suitable faith to support the development of national education now and in the future (Sultoni, Maskuri, & Mustafida, 2024).

Research conducted by Masitah specifically stated that there was an *ahlusunah waljamaah* conflict between NU and Salafi groups in one region in Indonesia (Masitah, 2021). The Salafi movement is a continuation of Puritan theological preaching originating from the Wahhabi movement which emerged in the 18th century in the Arabian Peninsula (Rohman & Puspitasari, 2011). Research conducted by Redjosari on Salafi education which focuses on the propagation of monotheism, can trigger unrest in society which results in resistance in local communities because it is considered a significant threat to culture which has become a traditional part of people's lives (Redjosari, 2021). Salafi model Islamic boarding schools have their own approach in understanding and developing the education they provide. Regarding lineage and intellectual network, Salafi model Islamic boarding schools are not related to traditional Islamic boarding schools (also known as *Salafi yah*) or modern Islamic boarding schools such as Gontor and its network. This Salafi model Islamic boarding school follows specific religious views related to the Salafi movement, both in Indonesia and in various other Islamic regions (Meliani, Basri, & Suhartini, 2023). This Salafi model Islamic boarding school is experiencing quite rapid growth (Basri, 2013). The media channels used in preaching to broadcast their understanding are through print media, electronic media, and even internet media. Apart from that they also build mosques to attract public attention (Syahbana, 2015; Tabassum, 2023).

Based on the problem descriptions in the previous section, the following research questions can be asked: first, competition for truth claims and the spread of Ahlusunah

wal Jamaah, NU elites and Salafi elites to compete for influence in their preaching in the Pasuruan community, secondly, Santri and the community are the sources of competition. influence on the commodification of NU elites and Salafi elites in the political, economic and educational areas. Questions in the research will be asked to those who really understand and comprehend the themes raised in this research.

Although there has been some research on the role of *santri* and society in religious dynamics in Indonesia, research that specifically links their role to the commodification of NU elites and Salafi elites is still relatively rare. Therefore, this research will provide a new contribution to understanding the relationship between the commodification of religion and the role of social actors in Pasuruan society. Thus, this research will provide deeper insight into the dynamics of competition between NU and Salafi and its impact on society and religious institutions in Pasuruan.

RESEARCH METHODS

This type of research uses qualitative research, namely research that obtains data in the form of descriptive written and spoken words as well as interpretations of the behaviour being studied or the overall condition of the research (Aspers & Corte, 2019; Gerring, 2017; L. Haven & Van Grootel, 2019). With Alfred Schutz's phenomenological approach, he was able to translate phenomenology into sociology, especially the study of religion (Schutz, 1970). Schutz's efforts in phenomenological studies emphasize that consciousness and interaction are mutually forming. The data obtained in this research is primary data or main data, namely information related to the problem formulation, as previously mentioned (Grothaus, 2022). The data obtained came from interviews with NU and Salafi elites, city residents, and information taken from NU and Salafi books. Plus field notes resulting from the observation process. The main data source is individual interview transcripts with NU and Salafi elites. Nahdlatul Ulama administrators held group discussions with NU Cadre Mobilization (PKNU) training colleagues at the Al-Yasini Islamic boarding school. This main source of data is enriched with additional secondary data such as written documents, photos and video recordings or films. Data from additional sources plays a role in complementing, enriching and sharpening the information obtained from the main source.

Data collection steps in phenomenological research involve conducting in-depth interviews with individuals who experience the same phenomenon (Nasir, Nurjana, Shah, Sirodj, & Afgani, 2023). Apart from in-depth interviews, data collection procedures in phenomenological research also involve observation and documentation as important elements (Schutz, 1972). During the period from January to December 2022, researchers consistently conducted field research to collect data. The main method used in data mining is in-depth interviews. This interview was applied in research to describe the process of commodification of Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah beliefs carried out by the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Salafi elites, as well as to analyze the conflict over influence between the two groups.

The data analysis process in phenomenological research involves several stages. The initial step, called Horizontalization, involves highlighting key statements contained in the interview transcript. This step aims to understand how participants experience the phenomenon being studied. Next, the Developing Clusters of Meaning stage involves grouping important statements into themes that have similar meanings. The third step, Textural Description, relates to a detailed description of the participant's experience of the phenomenon. Meanwhile, the fourth stage, Structural Description, aims to provide an overview of the situation or context that influences participants in experiencing the phenomenon (Aspers & Corte, 2019). Finally, the Essentialization stage involves preparing a report that reflects the essence of the participant's experience of the phenomenon based on previously collected textual and structural descriptions (Gerring, 2017).

Research data still has the potential to have weaknesses; therefore, to ensure objectivity and validity, data validity strategies are needed, one of which, according to John W. Creswell, is triangulation. In applying source triangulation, the researcher took several steps, including, first, comparing the results of field observations with interview data (Creswell & Creswell, 2013). For example, information indicating support for the Republic of Indonesia displayed on the gates of Salafi institutions was verified directly by Salafi informants. Second, match the results of observations with documentation. As an illustration, the activities of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) are compared with the announcements written by NU elites which have been published in the media. Third, validate the interview results with other interviews. For example, information obtained through interviews with a research ustad was compared with confirmation from NU and Salafi congregations.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Research Results

Based on interviews with several Mustasar NU Pasuruan Regency, their strong views on NU members' attitudes when facing several decisions from PBNU are as follows.

"I hope that NU members can be more assertive and critical in several important matters. First, I see the importance of always being critical and vocal towards PBNU decisions that are considered controversial or confusing to NU members as a whole."

Regarding the question about the steps taken by NU administrators, the answer is as follows:

"NU administrators have a great responsibility to protect and strengthen the teachings of Ahlusunah wal Jamaah. They must ensure that Muslims follow the right NU scholars, who have a clear legal basis, so that we can be safe in this world and the hereafter."

Meanwhile, regarding the PBNU decision which does not always have to be followed in its entirety, the following is the answer from one of the kyai in Pasuruan Regency.

“PBNU's decision is important, but not all decisions made by PBNU represent the opinions of the kyai in the regions. For example, the decision to replace the term "kafir" with "non-Muslim" is something that is widely questioned. I emphasize that Muslims should only follow kyai or habaib in the regions who have a clear legal basis. Do not follow scholars whose legal basis is unclear.”

From this data, it shows that one of the NU mustasars in Pasuruan City expects NU residents to be firm and critical in at least three things, namely; Firstly, always be critical and vocal about PBNU decisions which are considered to cause controversy and confuse the NU community as a whole. Second, NU administrators must protect and fortify Ahlusunah wal jamaah and the Islamic ummah must follow the correct NU ulama, just be steadfast in order to be safe in the hereafter. The reason is that pious people used to have the character of always carrying out religious orders first rather than ordering other people, then being sincere without any interests and fearing Allah. Third, NU should not be clashed between ustads and other ustads, kiai and habibs because one of the characters of the Ahlusunah wal Jamaah is to love and be loved by the habaib because in the habaib's body is the blood of the Prophet Muhammad. Love for habaib is a form of love for the Prophet Muhammad. Apart from that, most of the ulama in Indonesia are originally from Arabia. The arrival of Arab scholars to Indonesia to spread Islam while trading and teaching us love, not hatred. Fourth, all PBNU decisions are not the decisions of kiai in the regions, such as the word "kafir" being replaced by the word non-Muslim. In order for the Islamic ummah to have a correct understanding, they should only follow kiai or habaib in the area whose legal basis is clear and should not follow kiai whose legal basis is not clear.

Sidogiri's response to Kiai Said's opinion was that the Shiites themselves did not want to recognize themselves as Ahlusunah wal jamaah and the Sunni ulama also did not want to accept the Shiites because they did not want to accept the companions of the Prophet Muhammad. Shia and Sunni are not different in furu'iyah but different in ushuliyah. This is in accordance with the opinion of kiai Hasyim Asy'ari who firmly rejects Shiism. "*Ahlusunah wal jamaah* are those who follow the Messenger of Allah, the Companions, imams of the schools of jurisprudence, aqidah and Sufism as exegetes and hadith experts. Apart from that, Shiites are not considered Ahlus Sunnah because they do not accept Shabat.

To make it easier to understand some of the Sidogiri Islamic Boarding School's criticisms regarding the concept of Ahlusunah wal jamaah as manhaj al-fikr kiai Said Aqil Shiroj mentioned above, we present them in the following table:

Table 1 Criticism of Sidogiri Islamic Boarding School towards the concept of Ahlussunnah wal jama'ah as manhaj al-fikr kiai Said Aqil Shiroj

NO	Kiai Said Aqil Siraj	Pesantren Sidogiri
1	The Prophet Muhammad's preaching had an overtone of power politics.	The Prophet's preaching was purely a divine message, not political in nature and with ambitions to become king.

2	Jabariyah is a belief in the qada and qadar of Allah. Qadha' and Qadar Allah came from the political ruler Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan.	Allah's qada and qadar are not Jabariyah understanding. Jabariyah does not understand Ahlusunah wal jamaah. Qadha' and Qadar are not from Muawiyah but from the Koran.
3	Sunni, Shia and Mu'tazilah are Islamic Ahlusunah wal jamaah who have different furuiyah.	Shia and Mu'tazilah are not Ahlusunah wal jamaah. They are different because of their ushuliyyah.

Based on the data above, the concept of the position of Ahlusunah wal jamaah as the Hasyim Asy'ari sect of kiai is more accepted by the NU Pasuruan board and Islamic boarding schools than the concept of Ahlusunah wal jamaah as manhaj al-fikr which was rejected by the NU branch administrators in Pasuruan Regency and Islamic boarding schools. Sidogiri as the oldest Islamic boarding school in Pasuruan is a product of power and knowledge. Power produces knowledge and knowledge produces power. Between the thoughts of Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari and Kiai Said Aqil Siradj is a power that gives birth to science. Power here is not like Marx's concept of power which means ideology and consciousness and Weber's concept of power is bureaucracy in society. The edge of power according to Michel Foucault is the implementation of a strategy that is carried out and in which there are rules, a regulatory system in which humans have a certain relationship with each other.

The consequence of Ahlusunah wal jamaah as manhaj al-fikr is that people are free to choose Shia, Mu'tazilah and Salafi Islam from within the pillars of Ahlusunah wal jamaah in the form of Uluhiyah, Nubuawah and the apocalypse. Then, the Pasuruan people, whose level of knowledge about Islam is very minimal, tend to be confused about where to stand on how to carry out and direct their Islamic faith. The author found this in areas far from around Islamic boarding schools, such as Tosari, which still have strong Javanese nuances.

Pasuruan City, although there are many Islamic boarding schools, and many of the millennials who are dry about their religion choose Salafi because according to them it is considered to be purer in Islam and looks more applicable to Islam, such as wearing a veil for women, Salafi people are very friendly with their fellow congregants and often share. and always shows harmony among his congregation. Apart from that, they chose Salafi because they compared it with NU, where the time of our research coincided with the political season, so their answer was that they were confused about choosing a figure who practiced Islam correctly and well, namely Salafi, because the kiai at that time were busy with choosing the president and winning legislative candidates. . To facilitate understanding of these findings, the author presents them in the following table:

Table 2 Ahlusunnah wal elite congregation of NU Pasuruan

Knowledge	Figure/Position	The truth character of knowledge	Rule	Consequences	Pasuruan Community Attitudes
Ahlussunnah wal jamaah as a sect	Rais Akbar and founder of NU (kiai Hasyim Asy'ari)	a. The truth is the result of the ijihad of priests in theology, fiqh and Sufism. b. Al-Sawad al-A'zham.	There is a Humanitarian Qanun. and the implementation of Ahlussunnah wal congregation at the Pasuruan Islamic boarding school.	It is easy for people to learn Islam and there is a basic basis for practicing it	The habaibs and kyai always promote Ahlussunnah wal jamaah as a school of thought and implement it in the Pasuruan Islamic boarding school. People follow what their Habib and Kiai role models say
Ahlussunnah wal jama'ah as manhaj al-fikr	Chairman of PBNU 2010-2020 kiai Said Aqil Siradj.	Metode berfikir keagamaan yang mencakup semua aspek kehidupan	Think based on moderation, balance and tolerance.	People are free to choose their sect in the Islamic religion from within the Nubuwah and Doomsday corridors	The Habaib, the NU of Pasuruan district, and the Sidogiri Islamic boarding school disagree.

Thus, the truth of Ahlusunnah wal jamaah's thinking as a madhhab or Ahlusunnah wal jamaah as manhaj al-fikr depends on the power relations that spread across the structure of NU branches (village level NU), Islamic boarding schools and the culture of the nahdliyin community itself. Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari has found a place in Pasuruan society, especially in Islamic boarding schools in Pasuruan. In this context, Islamic boarding schools can be called a miniature NU organization. Relations between Islamic boarding schools in Pasuruan are very strong, especially since the Sidogiri Islamic boarding school is the oldest Islamic boarding school, has the largest number of alumni and students and is most respected in making references to any decisions regarding NU, religious laws and so on. Meanwhile, PBNU Chairman Kiai Said Aqil Siradj's thoughts about Ahlusunnah wal jamaah as manhaj al-fikr received rejection from the kiai and habib as role models for the people of Pasuruan who always invite the Nahdliyin community to be critical in thinking about every PBNU decision, especially the thoughts of kiai Said Aqil

The results of the research are that although there are differences of opinion between fellow Salafi ulama regarding several of the things above, the data above shows that there were strong Salafi da'wah efforts from Muhammad Ali in Pasuruan City, such as establishing Islamic boarding schools, educational institutions, creating books, holding recitations in mosques. In particular, Muslim women's recitations in agreed community homes, social service, making books, preaching out of cities and islands

show the persistence of Salafi preaching and modification of Salafi preaching which has a strong basis as the basis for Muhammad Ali's preaching thought, starting to establish Islamic boarding schools, integrated educational institutions, radio, websites, house-to-house preaching, mosques, and social service, amid a society which is a combination of Muhammad Ali's Salafi ideology, knowledge and the interests of his preaching which Jurgen Habermas calls "*rational communicative action and enlightenment*".

The communicative ratio is that of the community (the Pasuruan community and the Salafi ulama). Social change and development do not originate from mere strength and strategy, but what is more decisive is the intensity of logical and flexible communication to learn more practically and remain ethical. From this rationalization model, three objectives can be achieved. The first is the emergence of new situations and conditions for the continuation of traditions and knowledge that are adequate for the needs of life and the need for cultural reproduction. Second, maintaining legal community integration, coordination, and group consistency guarantees a new integrated situation. Third, creating a new situation in the collective of the new generation requires positive and rational socialization and communication.

Among Muhammad Ali's other preaching strategies was communication. Muhammad Ali communicated satisfactorily. Muhammad Ali wanted to make the Salafi ulama understand the meaning of establishing an educational institution by combining two curricula and defending the Republic of Indonesia and the people who protested the establishment of their educational institution claiming to be terrorists, so it would be refuted by itself.

With this style of preaching, Muhammad Ali accepted all the consequences both from the surrounding community and from previous Salaf scholars. Therefore, Muhammad Ali chose to communicate and argue rather than resort to violence in order to translate his critical thought revolution to society and Salafist scholars. So Muhammad Ali's choice in avoiding conflict with the local community and still being able to carry out his mission was to use therapeutic criticism, namely criticism to prove that his Salafi sect was not from the group of terrorist experts and did not commit the heresy that other Salafi clerics would accuse him of.

Another finding is that there are two forms of conflict between the NU elite and Salafis in Pasuruan, both real and non-real. The real conflict involving the people of Pasuruan City is the dispute over the Hidayatullah Mosque in Margo Utomo, Kebonagung sub-district, Pasuruan City. The problem is that the Hidayatullah mosque was originally a waqf from Imam Soebari for the benefit of the Margoutomo community mosque. The mosque was handed over to Nadzir (mosque manager). Of the many mosque takmirs who are not active and activities at the mosque are weakening, so there are some Arabs (Salafis) who live in the Margo Utomo area who care about the mosque so there is an initiative to maintain and repair the mosque so that it is in good and comfortable condition. Due to this conflict, the Ministry of Religion (Kemenag) of Pasuruan city mediated mediation which was immediately handled by the head of the Ministry of Religion together with the police chief of the Pasuruan city resort and the

police chief of the Purworejo sector but both of them ignored it and filed an appeal accompanied by their respective advocates.

unreal conflict between NU and Salafi. This non-reality conflict occurs through social media, both via YouTube and articles shared via the internet, and both respond to each other and often argue with each other. The debate, among others, first, regarding monotheism. The Salafi (let's call him Ustad F) accuses the Asya'irah aqidah (the Salafis' nickname for al-Asy'ari's followers) of committing deviation because Asya'irah holds the view that the Koran is not kalamullah and is heretical because he practices takwil and equates Asya'irah's opinion with Mu' Tazilah who has the view of believing that the Koran is a creature.

The Ustad representing NU (called Ustad F) answered that the word of Allah has the same Qadim nature as the Qudrah and Ira>dah nature of Allah, so its position is not a creature, not an artificial one, not a new thing. Meanwhile, what Imam Asy'Ari means by the Koran is that the Koran's creation is the sound, the pronunciation, and the letters contained in the mushaf are something new where the language of the Koran is Arabic which is used in human conversation.

From the conflict data on Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah claims between NU and Salafi above, it shows that the two of them have conflicts, both material and non-material. The material conflict between the two has been resolved peacefully. Meanwhile, each non-material conflict between NU and Salafi has its own ingroup conflict within their group. However, the NU ingroup conflict is still open minded, meaning it is still open and its basic nature is still the same, namely in its aqidah it follows the Asy'ari Imam school, while its fiqh follows the Shafi'i school of thought, and its Sufism follows Imam Junaid and Imam Ghozali. Meanwhile, in the Salafi ingroup conflict, there are contradictory and contradictory ideas, thus causing one figure to become heresy against another Salafi figure.

Discussion

NU and Salafi elites in Pasuruan both use the commodification of *Ahlusunnah wal jamaah* understanding in political, economic and educational aspects (Kanafi, Dahri, Susminingsih, & Bakhri, 2021). The values of Ahlusunnah wal *jamaah* which were commodified by the NU elite include first, the legal basis of Ahlusunnah wal jamaah is the *Koran, hadith, kias* and *ijmak ulama*, so it is mandatory for nahdliyin citizens to follow Pasuruan ulama, because *Al-Ulama Warathatu al-Anbiya'*.

In the economic aspect, helping the economic prosperity of Muslims is a blessing, and in the educational aspect, NU's education is very comprehensive according to the needs and interests of the world and the hereafter (Karimullah, 2023). The motivation for the NU elite to commodify is because the kiai are charismatic and have an Islamic boarding school where the students are very obedient, and the critical awareness of the kiai as an NU elite in fighting for the benefit or sound of the Islamic ummah. The strategy for commodifying the understanding of Ahlusunnah wal jamaah elite NU is to use socialization during routine recitations in mosques, *istighosa* akbar, hauls, and alumni

meetings. The NU elite empowers alumni and students as employees and workers in the economic and educational aspects. This means that the NU elite in the political aspect has the people's mandate to fight for the people's interests. In the economic aspect, the NU elite can make alumni and students economically prosperous. In the field of elite education, NU prepares NU cadres who are ready to work by creating education according to the work needs of students.

What the NU elite does in political, economic and educational aspects is a balanced commodification between the selling points of the Ahlusunah wal Jamaah understanding carried out by the NU elite and what the nahdliyin citizens get, both aspirations in a policy, economic prosperity and adequate education. In the context of commodification in the education sector, NU elites and Salafi elites may use strategies and efforts to gain support, influence the curriculum, and control educational institutions. The following are examples of NU and Salafi commodification in education, such as the influence on the curriculum, the establishment of educational institutions and the influence on extra-curricular activities.

Table 3 Commodification of NU and Salafi in the Education Sector

Commodification of Education	NU	Salafi
Curriculum	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Incorporate Nahdlatul Ulama's religious values into the educational curriculum. 2. A moderate, tolerant and inclusive understanding of Islam. 3. Local history and culture related to NU traditions are recognized and taught. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Incorporate a more conservative and traditional religious approach into the curriculum. 2. Promote a more literal understanding of Islam and emphasize the implementation of sharia. 3. The curriculum reflects values that are in accordance with the Salafi interpretation of Islam.
Establishment of Educational Institutions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Establish educational institutions, such as madrasas or schools, that reflect NU's religious views and values. 2. Offer Islamic education based on the teachings of Nahdlatul Ulama, with an emphasis on inclusivity and tolerance 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Establish educational institutions, such as Islamic boarding schools or schools, that teach an understanding of Islam according to the Salafi interpretation. 2. Emphasizes teaching more conservative and traditional Islamic teachings, with an emphasis on adherence to sharia principles

Extracurricular activities	Using extracurricular activities, such as religious study groups, social activities, or humanitarian projects, as a means of expanding their influence among students and the community	Organizing extracurricular activities that focus more on understanding and implementing Salafi values in everyday life, such as regular recitations, da'wah activities, or religious training
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By using this approach, both the NU elite and the Salafi elite are trying to commodify the influence and support of santri and the community in educational institutions. They use education as a tool to shape religious thoughts and values according to the views of each group.

The establishment of a school that was packaged as nationalist but pure Islam became a label or brand which made Salafis increasingly accepted in the people of Pasuruan city to the point where there were more and more congregations. This congregation continues to develop through a network of friendship and brotherhood, showing that there is a pure and peaceful Salafi group. The congregation of sympathizers or muhajirin are invited to think and be involved in Islamic events and teachings by Salafis to ensure pure Islam and not carry out activities or traditions that contain heresy. These congregations and sympathizing congregations were accommodated in a halaqah event and their generation or children were directed to school at al-Ihsan Elementary School belonging to the As-Sunnah Salafi foundation by the Pasuruan Salafis.

Brands of pure Islam Ahlusunnah wal jamaah, returning to the Koran and Sunnah, politeness and peace which is manifested in the form of social service, distribution of sacrificial meat, and distribution of disaster compensation is a commodification of Pasuruan Salafis in attracting the sympathy of the congregation and sympathizers from all levels of the Pasuruan city community. Salafis in Pasuruan are not jihadi Salafis who move like the Muslim Brotherhood, but pure Salafis who focus their preaching on the teachings of faith and fiqh with designs that attract the sympathy of the people of Pasuruan. Pasuruan Salafis really understand Pasuruan's social society, which is dominated by nadliyin residents, therefore Salafis in their preaching really pay attention to treatment and packaging. Salafi congregations from sympathizers or muhajirin elements, especially millennials and factory employees, moved or emigrated to Salafi because they felt unprotected by the NU elite, felt they did not fit in, which caused disappointment and wanted to look for new identity options. This means that Salafi da'wah can be said to be successful in carrying out its da'wah with all its treatment and packaging.

The steps taken by NU repeat the religious values promoted by NU, by means of which NU can actively promote religious values that are in accordance with the teachings of Nahdlatul Ulama. They can emphasize the diversity, tolerance, and

inclusivity, which are hallmarks of NU, while showing that these can be well integrated into existing school curricula. Increase participation in the community to strengthen relations with society and NU elites can actively participate in community activities, such as social, cultural and sports activities. This helps to build trust and engagement with the community directly (Nugraha, 2024; Yani et al., 2022).

In the field of education, NU has developed a comprehensive educational program detailing pure Islamic values in line with the teachings of Nahdlatul Ulama. In this way, they can offer an educational alternative that remains purely Islamic but also reflects diversity and inclusiveness. Using media and communication to spread information about the positive contributions they have made to society, including in the field of education. This can help build a positive image and overcome stigmatization that may be associated with NU through local mass media, social media and radio broadcasts at both local and regional levels (Jannah, Rodliyah, & Usriyah, 2023; Kader, Rofiq, & Ma`arif, 2024).

Another thing that is done is to form a strong network of friendship and brotherhood between students and the community, creating positive social bonds. This can help strengthen NU's influence in the local environment. Improving the quality of halaqah and religious education programs held by NU (Jazil et al., 2023; Maghfiroh et al., 2024). This includes developing programs that are attractive to congregants and sympathizers, as well as focusing on religious aspects that can build a deep and positive understanding of Islamic teachings by NU traditions and finally by strengthening cooperation with existing educational institutions, both public schools and religious schools that are not affiliated with Salafi. Through this collaboration, NU can ensure that their values can encompass a wider range of students and educational environments.

CONCLUSION

NU's education is very comprehensive according to the needs and interests of the world and the hereafter. Meanwhile, the commodification form of Ahlusunah wal Jamaah Salafi ideology focuses on da'wah, namely returning Islam to the Koran and Hadith and an Islam that is free from heresy, superstition and superstition. The Salafi preaching model is not oriented towards practical politics; it collaborates with the Pasuruan city Government. They are open and flexible in interacting with society, and are nationalistic. The research results show that NU in the socio-political order uses students, alumni and NU residents to elect leaders and perpetuate power, where from these positions they can issue policies that benefit NU and de-radicalize Salafi groups. The findings were that the commodification of the NU elite contained an interaction between the kiai and his students as well as the *nahdliyin* community, regardless of the respect and obedience of the students.

Another limitation in this study is that its scope is limited to Pasuruan, where there is a lack of balance in the comparative data between NU in Pasuruan City and Regency while Salafi data is only in Pasuruan City. Even though there is an Islamic Association (Persis) in Pasuruan Regency as a follower of Salafi teachings, it is very

difficult to penetrate for this research because it is very exclusive to both the informants and the Islamic boarding school. This differs from Salafis in Pasuruan City, which are very inclusive, although within certain limits. For NU Pasuruan, it is necessary to continue the development of intellectual traditions strengthen economic empowerment evenly in both city and district and develop a more modern service system. Apart from that, when serving in Government or MUI, NU should improve its Musawah (egalitarian) attitude when deciding policies that do not discriminate against others due to differences in understanding and traditions.

From this study, the author found several things that can be used as a basis and recommendations for further research. Future research should not be limited to Pasuruan City but also cover wider areas, such as Pasuruan Regency. In other words, because the analysis of the interaction between NU and Salafi groups, what happened in Pasuruan may be different from other areas, and the study will provide a very representative Pasuruan. In addition, the author recommends further research to examine further how NU ideology occurs at various social levels, from kiai to *santri* to the *Nahdliyin* community, and how this interaction affects socio-political dynamics

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