



THE NEGOTIATIVE INTERRELATION BETWEEN THE VALUES OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION AND LOCAL CULTURE OF MULTICULTURAL COMMUNITY

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Abstract

This article aims to analyze the social construction of Tengger tribe community towards the values of Islamic education in the midst of local culture diversity. This study was done in Ngadas village, Bromo. The theoretical approach used in this article is Berger and Luckman's social construction theory, while the data collection techniques were observation, interview, and documentation. In the research findings, it is found that three entities of external elements become the attraction of the community, namely a) exemplary behavior of Islamic figures, b) contextual approach in understanding religious teaching by Islamic figures, and c) strategies and media for preaching namely socio-cultural-psychological strategy and socio-spiritual-magical strategy. Second, at the moment of objectification, local communities continuously interact with Islamic education values because they feel that Islamic values have been naturally institutionalized to the community needs. Meanwhile, at the moment of internalization, three typologies were found as a result of community self-identification of Islamic education values, namely a) normative-theological-conservative, b) sociological-pragmatic-calculative, and c) sociological-empirical-intuitive.

Keywords: Local wisdom, multicultural, Conservative, Pragmatic, Intuitive

A. Introduction

The interrelation between Islamic values and local culture of Tengger tribe in Ngadas village located in Poncokusumo district, Malang regency portrays a unique phenomenon of the encounter of cultural and religious multi entities. The uniqueness is not only shown from the interrelation aspect of elements and scope of cultural and Islamic values in ontological domain, but also in epistemological and axiological domains.

From sociological aspect, the implementation on Islamic education values was generally reconstructed by normative-theocentric approach. The education emphasized on values of *an sich* religious text, and neglected to the surrounding social problems (Ridwan, 2004: 49-56). The values of Islamic education which ideally should display the dimensions of love, togetherness, mutual help, justice, equality, openness, fairness, and

peace (Irawan, 2012), suddenly change by showing violent expressions and behavior (Khoiri, 2019).

This anxiety was relieved when all religions in the region, including Islam, Christian, Hindu, Buddha, Confucianism, as well as sects of belief showed adaptive, adoptive, and compromising relations pattern, including with the local culture. Therefore, in a relatively short time, the number of Muslim communities in Ngadas has reached 40% of the 1,897 population who were originally Hindus.

This fact encouraged the researchers to conduct empirical research by raising a specific issue on the community construction towards Islamic education values in the midst of local culture diversity of Tenggerese people in Ngadas village, Poncokusumo, Malang.

1). Islamic Education in Various Perspectives

In general, education in Islamic discourse has several popular terms, including *tarbiyah*, *ta'lim*, *ta'dib*, *riyadhah*, *irsyad* and *tadris* (Ahmad Syah, 2013). Based on Arabic *mu'jam*, *tarbiyah* has three linguistic roots, namely: a). *Rabbâ, yarbû, tarbiyah* which means 'adding' (*zâd*) and 'develop'. Education (*tarbiyah*) is a process of growing and developing what is in the students, from all of the physical, psychological, social, and spiritual aspects. b). *Rabbâ, yurbî, tarbiyah*: which means growing (*nasya'a*) and becoming more mature. Education (*tarbiyah*) is an effort to grow and develop the students physically, psychologically, socially, and spiritually. c). *Rabbâ, yarubbû, tarbiyah*: which means repairing (*ashlaha*), controlling things, maintaining and caring for, beautifying, feeding, nurturing, master, possessing, regulating and preserving sustainability as well as its existence (al-Batani, 1975).

Ta'lim is an artificial noun (*mashdar*) which comes from the root word '*allama*. Some Ulama translate *tarbiyah* to education, while *ta'lim* is translated to teaching. Education (*tarbiyah*) is based on cognitive, affective and psychomotor domain, while teaching (*ta'lim*) is more focused on cognitive aspects, such as teaching certain subject.

According to Muhammad Rasyid Ridha, *ta'lim* is defined as the transmission process of various knowledge to individuals without any boundary or certain condition (Ridha, 1372 H: 262)."

Ta'dîb is commonly translated to education of manners, etiquette, morals, and ethics. *Ta'dîb* which has the same root as *adab* means education of civilization or culture. An educated person is a civilized person, and vice versa, a quality civilization can be achieved through education.

The purpose of Islamic education (Hasan, 2006: 26). Islamic education can be interpreted as “the process of trans-internalizing Islamic knowledge and values to students through teaching, habituation, guidance, nurturing, supervision, and development of their potential, with the aims to achieve harmony and perfection of life in the world and in the hereafter (Mujib, 2006: 27). Islamic education which is essentially rooted in the real values of Islamic teachings will be used as a guide in this world and in the hereafter.

2). Multicultural Education in Various Perspectives

In its development, the existence of Islamic education becomes inseparable parts of a varied cultural dimension. An understanding with multicultural dimension is presented to expand the discourse of human religious thought which still maintains religious and cultural “selfishness”. Haviland stated that multiculturalism can be interpreted as a plurality of cultures and religions. Ideally, cultural pluralism means a rejection towards fanaticism, racism, tribalism and inclusive acceptance of existing diversity (Haviland, 1988: 16).

In addition, Syauqi Abu Kholil argued that Islam accept the concept of pluralism and welcome the religious diversity among them. Thus, there is no religion that has humanity concept more than the concept in Islam (Kholil, 1993: 45). The approach used in this research was using social construction theory by Berger and Lucmann.

B. Discussion

Based on the field data regarding social construction of the community towards the Islamic education values in Tenggerese people in Ngadas village, Bromo, Poncokusumo, Malang Regency, the findings are as follow:

1). External Factors which Attract the Community in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang to Adapt toward Islamic Education Values

Three external elements of Islamic education values that attract the community are: 1) exemplary behavior of Islamic figures, 2) contextual understanding of the figures about Islamic teachings messages, and 3) preaching strategies and media done by the figures. The behaviors of Islamic figures that describe the values of Islamic education are humble, modest, discipline, patient, thankful, acceptance, intelligent, wise, broad-minded, and love cleanliness.

The religious figures with universal values that have been institutionalized in their personalities have made them respected and charismatic community leaders. It is induced by two labels of leadership identity they have at the same time, namely religious leaders and community leaders. Religious leaders who are also community leaders are often called

kyai, *ustadz*, or religious figures. Prophet Muhammad is also an example and role model as stated in the Qur'an, as written in Surah Al-Ahzaab verse 21 which means "Certainly you have in the Messenger of Allah an excellent exemplar for him who hopes to reach Allah and the Last Day (the day of reaching Allah before death) and remember (repeat the Name of) Allah much."

Religious and community leaders are central figures who are very deserving in cross-cultural society. Multi-life leaders who are able to handle complex social problems, which are not only limited to handle socio-religious issues but also lead and pioneer other social activities. *Kyai* or religious leaders also involve and responsible for economic problems, culture, security, social conflicts, politics, law, fatwas, including other mythical issues. Religious and community leaders always respond to these various issues voluntarily. From their roles, it can be seen the holistic and comprehensive role of religious and community leaders in their social life. Therefore, being religious leaders is not easy; they are great leaders (Surah Al-Qalam: 4) and have social multi-talents.

Being an exemplary figure is being a walking dictionary, which becomes very effective in leadership practice. In almost all elements and aspects, *kyai* as religious leaders serve as role models for society as well. In Islam, *uswah hasanah* is interpreted as a role model (Aziz, 2014: 16)/ exemplary or role models in various things that should be imitated and followed (Department of P and K, 1995: 218).

Epistemologically, the implementation method of exemplary figure can be seen as the path that someone wants to take in order to achieve certain goal (Armaj, 2002: 87). This is the importance of the exemplary behavior of a leader in the leadership process. Their words are the picture of their behavior, and vice versa (Surah Ash-Shoff: 3).

The second is the contextual understanding of the figures towards the messages of Islamic teachings. Contextual understanding is able to be related to social needs. The religious leaders have shown a contextual and down-to-earth model of understanding Islamic teachings. Contextual understanding is defined as an understanding that involves the context of the situation where the situation take place, or situations that accompany the emergence of a text (Solahudin, 2016: 3).

A more general contextual understanding is also stated by Muhajir, that contextual is an understanding related to a certain context. In terminology, contextual has various meanings, including efforts to understand the meaning to anticipate various problems that often occur. It is also defined as meanings that are related to the past, present and future (Muhajir, 2000: 263-264). Contextual understanding of religious leaders which captivates the community is the understanding that is directed at the practice of humanity, namely

harmony, *guyub*, *teposliro*, tolerance, *andap asor*, mutual cooperation, mutual help, tolerance, mutual respect, *srawung*, *nyopo*, love and affection.

Contextualization of religious understanding is a necessity for elites wherever they are to be suitable with their environment and era. The spirit of contextualizing the values of Islamic education must be in line with the phrase of '*al-islâamu shâlihun likulli zamân wa makân*'. The values of actualization and universalization of Islamic teachings depend on how the religious elites formulate the meaning of these teachings. The meaning formulation here means an understanding that can be perceived based on the level and needs of the community ('*alâ qodri uqûlihîm*').

Meanwhile, the third entities which attracts the community is the strategies/ approaches and media for preaching that are developed by the religious figures in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang. According to the emic data from data collection in the field, there are two strategies used. The first strategy is psychological sociocultural strategy. This preaching strategy features some attitudes namely wise, patient, sincere, accepting, friendly, natural, subtle, not flashy, cultural, in line with emotion of the object (suitable). The strategy practiced by Islam religious figures in Tenggerese people in Ngadas village, Bromo is theoretically relevant to psychological sociocultural strategy. Psychological sociocultural approach in education psychology sees the abnormality is not caused by solely individual factor, but also environment and social factor. However, Vygotsky, a well-known figure in psychology, has a different view that the direction of human thought can be understood by tracing its conscious actions through the origins of the historical social interactions that underlie it (Psychodemia, 2018).

Unintentionally, the preaching strategy of the religious figures in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang has strengthen Vygotsky theory since their behaviors are socio humanistic behavior which is cultural and psychologically affects the people to adapt to Islamic education teachings.

The preaching strategy with a psychological sociocultural approach is not an approach that suddenly pay attention to the behavior and traditions of the community. It is rather a behavior that has been built through a long process, which is the negotiation process between the Islamic value system (al-Qur'ân and al-Hadith) that shows contextual understanding and based on the needs of psychological values (Sham and Nazim, 2015) and local culture so that it creates humanist understanding in the midst of society. The negotiable dialectic between the value system and local cultural conditions is a key that is highly emphasized by the local Islamic religious leaders. The religious leaders have been trying to discuss religious texts according to the local language (Luthfi, 2016). As an

example, the term *haram* in Islam is not easily accepted. They are not interested in using the term *haram*, but rather accept the term “*sirikane*”, which in the local language means curse. The terms *haram* and *sirikane* are two different terms, but have the same intent and purpose. However, for the religious elites, the word “*sirikane*” is seen as more effective to be used in the community.

Second, the strategy used is magical socio-spiritual preaching. This strategy is chosen based on the needs and tendencies of social activities of the community in general. The magical socio-spiritual activities become the main interest of the community. It is a social activity that concerns on Islamic education values because they are perceived as having the potential for real solution for people’s lives. The solutions for their life are those which are cheap, relevant to the needs of the community, populist, modest, and affordable by the general public. In this case, the magical socio-spiritual preaching has provided a different perspective on the results of the preaching. In its practice in Indonesia, this strategy has been proven as peaceful way according to the interests of local cultural values that has made this country to have the largest Muslim population (Masykur, 2019: 28).

Terminologically, spirituality is the energy that leads a person to have a deeper self-awareness to connect with God (Uthman. M, 2017) and the nature that surrounds that person (Yulianti, 2011). Similar view was stated by Lubis (Lubis, 2002) in his theory that the magical spiritual approach has essential meaning for human society, because magical things in the form of strong faith can act as a person's consolation in grief. It becomes the source of inner strength in difficulties. A prayer has spirits that can raise enthusiasm and expectation (Tajiri, 2019), because of the safety and peace for being in God’s protection. It eliminates fear because the feeling of always being God’s supervision. Although problems are always coming to people’s life, there are always solution to it based on the instructions written in God’s verses. People also behave well because it has been exemplified by the prophet. Someone who has high spiritual intelligence always behaves as a dedicated leader, it is someone who is responsible for bringing higher missions and values to others and providing instructions for their implementation (Mahmudah and Azizah, 2017).

This approach is considered by the community to calm their heart in this world and hereafter, save them from any disturbance from God’s creatures, either from human beings, animals, or spirits. Meanwhile, the needs of the community for this purpose have reached the highest level, so that the approach chosen is considered relevant to date. Thus, religious leaders who are pious (academic), wise (intuitive), and powerful (spiritual) are needed (Mahmudah and Azizah, 2017).

In people's perspective, the spiritual values of Islam are believed to be able to give multidimensional solution (Mahmudah dan Azizah, 2017), both for the solution in this world or in the hereafter. The solution for their live in this world is the Islamic spiritual value through pray and the choice of lucky days which can easily bring their prayer to come true (Nasrudin, 2019: 42).

The celebration held by the member of community such as marriage, birth, building a house, moving house, starting a business, death commemoration, planting and harvesting crops, and children's first day of working always begin and are marked by *selamatan*, or a gathering where people pray and enjoy meal together. In *selamatan*, the people accumulate all of their wishes. The host will invite religious leaders to read prayers and *dhikr* as well as choose a lucky day and invite neighboring communities to take part in this ritual according to the wishes of their respective communities. This is the rhythm of the *selamatan* ritual which is the core of Javanese religion (Roibin, 2013: 5), especially in the community in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang. There is no day except for *selamatan*. According to Roibin, mystically, the *selamatan* ritual is a very principal sacred ritual that determines the success or failure of a person's intentions in society (Roibin, 2013: 5).

This situation makes the values of Islamic education as an effective way to attract the local community. Other than the description beforementioned, the magical socio-spiritual approach sometimes also presents in the form of supernatural behavior of a religious figure, which requires spiritual, magical, mystical, and mythical processes (Mahmudah and Azizah, 2017). This potential is also in great demand by the public because with this supernatural power, they can conquer and defeat both physics and psychology of the opponents, who can be tyrannical human beings, wild animals, as well as other supernatural beings (Nasrudin, 2019: 42) who always interfere with their life.

Islam is not conflicted and confronted with the culture in the society. All the media in existing cultural spaces are creatively and subtly formulated by Islamic religious leaders with Islamic teachings. Religious leaders try to present Islamic values and formulate them with the local culture and language (Humaidi, 2015: 199-212). Thus, Islam and its values are very accommodating and collaborative (Nasruddin, 2015: 44) with multi-cultural and diverse traditions. Islam is not a stranger, but Islam is also the host. The values of Islamic education are omnipresent, inherent, enrich, and inspiring the community through the example, understanding, and preaching strategies of Islamic religious leaders. The presence of Islam and its values attract public attention for they reconcile, reassure, attract, protect, please, and love. Islam can be seen as full of harmony and humanity (Febriana, 2018: 85) also because of the wisdom of the religious leaders of Islam.

2). The Need for Functions and Uses of Islamic Education Values in Ngadas Community in Poncokusumo Malang

Objectivation, as a moment of self-interaction, is also a very important aspect in social construction theory. It is considered important because the moment of self-interaction between society and the socio-cultural conditions of Islamic education values happens naturally. In many activities, custom has been adapted to Islamic principles. Meanwhile, Islam has been translated into local life while maintaining the existing pattern and then transformed into the essence of monotheism (Wekke. E. S, 2013).

People see their own interaction is done because of its function and use which they have experienced, felt, and lived for. The function of interaction for local community has been internalized and inseparable from any situation or circumstances.

The universality or particularity of local wisdom is an entity of local culture that should not be contradicted, especially when it specializes one on top of the others. Those aspects creatively interacted (Wardani. W, 2015: 175), where the strong interaction can be practiced in the society because it has been internalized (habitualization).

The obedience, submission, and willingness of the community to accept Islamic education values developed in the community does not happen overnight, but over a long period of time when it occurs regeneratively through the process of transmitting values to society intensely and naturally (Luthfi, 2016: 8). The values of Islamic education in the community in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang has been blended with touch of local cultural values (Luthfi, 2016: 8). The values of Islamic education have been acculturated since the first religious elite developed Islamic preaching in the community. The compromise between the universal values of Islam and local culture has manifested into accommodative and transformative Islamic education values. The values of Islamic education do not seem rigid and formal (Luthfi, 2016: 8), because they have gone through a long historical and sociological negotiation process.

The Islamic education values that have been experienced and internalized in their lives, with no coercion and pressure, make people feel that these religious values have been institutionalized, accustomed and strengthened into their personality and behavior naturally. It is in this stage that the community will need the function and meaning of religion in their lives. This is the process of objectivation, which is the moment of self-interaction with the intersubjective world of Islamic education values through the process of institutionalization, habitualization, and legitimacy (Society is an objective reality).

3). The Tendency of Community in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang to Follow Islamic Tradition Groups

According to the emic data in the field, there are three typologies of self-identification regarding the community's responses to Islamic education values in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang. The three typologies of community responses are: 1) normative-theological-conservative (legal-structural-formalistic), where the community is characterized by being rigid, intolerant, formal, and assertive in understanding Islam including in its practice in society, 2) sociological -pragmatic-calculative (rational-individual-materialistic), where the society tends to be ignorant, fickle, consider profit and loss on Islamic education values and in social interaction, 3) sociological-empirical-intuitive (emotional- cultural-naturalistic), where the society is open, culturally friendly, gentle, not fanatical, tolerant, mingled, involved, and get along. Each typology of the community in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang will be then explained epistemologically and axiologically.

The word "normative" comes from the word "norm" which means teaching, guideline, or regulation of good and bad, also right and wrong in doing something (Roibin, 2020: 163). The word "norm" is identical in meaning to morality, which is a natural action without any coercion and pretense which is carried out based on one own willingness. Given that morality is the essence of religion, so norms are often assumed to be religion. It is commonly believed that religion comes from the Creator so human beings do not have more doubts. It also happens to norms which is seen as objects that are believed to be true, which cannot be denied and must be obeyed (Roibin, 2020: 165-166).

If the normative term referred above is seen as an approach and way of understanding, then the normative approach means seeing religion as absolute power, which means that it comes originally from God. In other words, the normative approach is an approach that uses religious text analysis that has not been touched by the products of human reasoning or thought. Therefore, this approach is textual and does not provide space for contextual understanding for religious scholars (Roibin, 2020, 163). Meanwhile, the term of 'theology' beforementioned acts as a reinforcement in an approach. Theological normative means ontologically examining authoritative sources of religious texts with a deductive theocentric reasoning approach (Roibin, 2020: 163). It is an approach that truly separates the realm of revelation and human reasoning (Putra, 2017: 75).

The emic definition from the field, the term "normative-theological-conservative" is categorized as the religious perspective of the community which is inspired by religious

texts as authoritative references (Al-Quran and al-Hadith) that are absolute, rigid, and universal that are understood with theological perspective (Roibin, 2020: 163). The theological perspective tends to be monologue, scriptural, textual, partial (Roibin, 2020: 163), especially according to Ibrahim Abu Bakar as quoted by Fahrurrozi that normative-theological-conservative Islam tends to be militant and exclusive (Fahrurrozi, 2015: 22) and is believed to be a teleological-finalistic perspective.

Juergensmeyer's research showed that the world's major religions have such strong theological root justifications (Juergensmeyer, 2002). In line with the study, Ilyas in his research concluded that Islamic radicalism movements are generally based on conservative-normative-theological directions. Bassam Tibi also confirmed that normative-theological-conservative Islam is identical with fundamentalist Islam. In their view, Islam is a total and comprehensive religious teaching that does not need to include other knowledge from outside Islam or other elements to solve the problems of Muslims (Fahrurrozi, 2015: 23).

The characteristic of this "normative-theological-conservative" religious understanding is a model of religious understanding that is textually bound to the authoritative norms of religious texts. Religious understanding that is lack of interaction with the empirical-sociological area that accompanies the historical spaces of the descent of religious texts. This understanding tends to only capture the artificial aspects of religion literally and far from the universal values of religious messages as the heart of a religion. The understanding of the verses is placed in their context, and it is absolute.

The normative-theological perspective is convinced firstly that there is a set of absolute supernatural truths revealed by God to humans. Therefore, the first typology of this community group tends to be very careful and maintaining a distance from both social and traditions as well as rituals that develop in the midst of society (Rahmadhani, 2020: 3).

Quantitatively, this first religious typology is less able to develop in the community, considering its characteristics are not suitable with the sociological background of society in general (Azra, 2017: 3-5). The number of Muslim communities with this first typology is very limited, and they are not openly displayed their behavior in society. Its symbolism aspects are slightly different from other Muslim typologies (Rahmat, 2012: 14-16), but they are trying to mingle with the society so that they are still welcomed and accepted. Their preaching can be categorized as a failure for it is unable to touch the heart of the majority by its normative-theological-conservativism.

Their religious behavior is indicated by maintaining a distance from the society so that the people also can feel the resonance of similar behavior. The society also hardly and reluctantly having interaction with this community. This community is considered as a group which is exclusive, elitist, rigid, feel that they are the right one, and hard to socialize (Rahmat, 2012: 14-16).

The second typology is sociological-pragmatic-calculative (Makhasin, 2016). In contrast to the first typology, this second social typology according to the informants who were interviewed tends to be indifferent, pays attention to the values of Islamic education partially, and is very calculative. This society has a fairly high profit and loss consideration for the developing values of Islamic education; does Islam give benefit to them or vice versa.

The second typology is sociological-pragmatic-calculative (Makhasin, 2016). According to the interview, it is in contrast to the first typology. This typology tends to be ignorant, half-heartedly pay attention to the Islamic education values, and very calculative. This society has a fairly high profit-and-loss consideration for the developing Islamic education values, whether Islam will give benefit to them or not.

Etymologically, the term pragmatism comes from the Greek word *pragmata* which means acts, affair, and business. In John Dewey's view, pragmatism is the logic of reflective thinking whose main goal and essence is the result. In this view, human knowledge is considered true if that knowledge can give beneficial values to people in general. The value of the knowledge is bound to the extent that the values can be actually implemented in the community. It is from this argument that Dewey concludes that knowledge cannot categorized as right or wrong, but in its capacity to solve life problems. The truth of knowledge is measured from the value of its usefulness and use (Faiz, 2004: 37).

In general, a community with such a typology is a community whose mindset tends to the direction of *gesellschaft* society. It is a sociological term introduced by Ferdinand Tonnies, a German sociologist who describe the typological differences between urban and rural communities. *Gesellschaft* is a trend of urban and modern society that tends to be individualistic (Susanti and Susmudito, 2015: 76-79). People who separate themselves from the neighborhood and avoid some behavior as the characteristics of village communities such as gathering, discussion, mutual help, and social relationship (*gemeinschaft*) (Erlina Gustarini & Hidayat: 4).

For the people with the characteristics of the second typology, the sociologist-pragmatic-calculative, the togetherness in the neighborhood is seen as a waste of time and sign of dependency. For them, such behavior will not develop the society because the

people are bond to pattern and habit that depend on other people in the neighborhood and society.

They assumed that values in Pancasila and religion that do not promise mathematical function and use will be abandoned. Simply said, they believe “religion is full of rituals but zero work”. Furthermore, in an article journal written by Ni Putu Wiwin Setiyari, et al stated that the traditional ceremony is the cause of poverty. Poverty is cause by big expenses needed for holding a traditional ceremony by Hindu Balinese (Wiwin, 2019: 91).

In addition to the characteristics of *gesellschaft* society that have influenced them for having the second typology character, that is sociologist-pragmatic-calculative, the religious conversion and shifting of religious understanding from Buddhism, Hinduism to Islam also contribute to this second typology. According to the informants who have converted to Islam, they stated that by converting to Islam they can understand the true meaning of life though Islamic teachings that have been internalized in the society.

The meaning of religious teachings in Islam, according to the community, have never been experienced by them because of the changes that occur over the time. Even when the people were still Buddhist, they had practiced Islamic teachings by reading the “*Bismillaahirrahmaanirrahiim*” and *shahada* every time they started their activities, such as farming, moving to a new house, building house, opening a shop and *selamatan* (Ketut, 2015). The practice of syncretizing Buddhism and Islam occurs considering the real role and function of Islam in society (Ashadi, 2013: 1-2).

Religious conversion and the shift of understanding from Buddhism to Islam indirectly open opportunities and special appeals for this second typological community. They pragmatically feel the benefits and contributions of the values of Islamic education. There are no teachings that directly touch human behavior and life, except for myths from early Islamic teachings which are discussed in local languages (Syifa, 2019).

Their interest to Islamic education values is not solely due to religious institutions but to more advanced and modern formulation of teachings. They still do not understand the differences between each religion, for what they need is the real function of the teachings. The values of Islamic education can actually touch pass through the typology of society (Sumpena, 2012: 103). Gradually, Islamic teaching values comes into their conscience, even though they were still Buddhist. Again, they are not interested because of the symbolism and identity of each religion, because they do not yet have the ability and academic knowledge to compare differences in religious identity but to the implementation of the religion in their lives.

This situation causes the community with sociological-pragmatic-calculative typology (Nurdin, 2014: 184) able to negotiate rational choices towards Islamic teachings and values. Islamic teachings, which tend to maintain and command cleanliness, prohibit wasteful habit, act rationally, avoid laziness, be responsible and independent, are in line with the characteristics of this typology. Even though, they still can see the imbalance between the practice and characteristics. For these people, the values of Islamic teachings accommodate many rational and modern characteristics. Thus, the people of Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang as the second typology society also began to be interested in the values of Islamic education developed by local religious leaders. These are the positive sides of the calculative pragmatic aspects in the second typology society that can be observed together.

In daily life, Islam teaches cleanliness and purification at least five times a day, with the aims for health. The prohibition of being wasteful, including doing excessive religious rituals also allows people to save money on more useful matters. Realistic teachings, which are logical and rational, attract people with this type of typology, including in responding to irrational myths that only waste energy and time. Islam teaches progress and hard work; surely such teachings will eliminate the laziness and poverty in the society, especially about the teachings of Islam that teach independence. This is the teaching that is considered beneficial and contributing, so that the society become interested in the values of Islamic education to this day. The teachings of Islam, contained in its commands and prohibitions, always emphasize on the goals and objectives for the benefit of mankind. Every benefit intended in Islam is the goal of *syara'* itself (Amri, 2018: 52).

Quantitatively, the Muslim community of the second typology is more than the Muslim of the first typology. This second typology of Muslims began to openly grow and develop in the society. This second Muslim typology is not too controlled by theological aspects, but rather by pragmatic-calculative sociological impulses that are not related to theology. The interest of this second typological community group towards Islamic values is not because of the normative-theological factor, but rather to the rational-logical and realistic messages and teachings. Teachings that pay attention to the interests of humanity and tend to be realistic (Rusdi, 2017: 152).

Hence, this second typology has avoided friction and theological conflict with other religious typological groups in society. This is why this second Muslim group is less resistant to theological conflicts due to religious fanaticism, but rather leads to differences in human needs that are sociological, pragmatic, and calculative. The friction between

them is invisible, so there is no risk and dangerous threat from different groups. This second typological Muslim group grows and develops freely, considering the principle needs of this group are not due to religious issues, but the practical interests of humanity which are oriented towards empirical-positive problems (Prabowo, 2017: 34).

The Muslim society of this second typology sometimes experiences a very significant shift, from being ignorant towards religious teachings to being common follower until becoming contributors to the pragmatic life once they understand the message and religious content logically, realistically, and rationally. This fact has encouraged them to seek the real identity and core of religion, and not just for the pragmatism.

The typology of this second Muslim community generally comes from businessmen and aristocrats. They are attracted to Islam not because of the theological appeal in embracing Islam, but because of its teaching message which is in line with their calculative pragmatic interests.

The third group is the sociological-empirical-intuitive typology of Islam. This typology is classified as the largest community in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang community. This third group of people is a moderate society, neither right-wing nor left-wing. The sociological-empirical-intuitive community group is a social typology of society that is open, culturally friendly, gentle, not fanatical, tolerant, mingled, involved, and get along. This typology of society brings together two values at once, which are religious values and cultural values. They are community who try to build two emotional strengths, namely religious emotions and cultural emotions naturally (Kholiq, 2015). The encounter of religious values and cultural values have no pressure and manipulation, but look for an esoteric meeting point from the two (Malij, 2017). The wisdom of the community in drawing the esoteric sides of religious and cultural values without any pressure has led to relevant choice of ideologies.

The encounter of religious and cultural values occurs periodically, transmutively, and legitimately. The construction of understanding, internalization, and institutionalization of religious and cultural values is powerful that creates deep mystical beliefs and is placed in the inner religious emotions of the community. This is the most popular religious typology of society until now, which is very adaptive, accommodating and compromising. This religious typology is always looking for new alternatives, while still referring to the two universal values of religion and culture naturally.

Hence, Nasaruddin Umar in the traces and history of Islamic civilization in "*Universalitas Islam dan Kearifan Lokal*" (Islamic Universality and Local Wisdom" by

quoting Nasser's thoughts in "Ideal and Realities of Islam" reveals that there has been a synchronization between universal Islamic values and local cultural values. They do not sacrifice each other, but instead complement each other so that they take sides and benefit for humanity. They do not need to be confronted because both are open to and accommodate the various values that exist in each cultural entity (Umar, 2020).

This third religious typology group generally comes from indigenous Muslims, or Muslims who have been interacted with the local community and culture since a long time ago. They are Muslims who follow the preaching of Islamic pioneer that are very wise and accommodating (Roszi and Mutia, 2018: 175-176). They try to preserve both the values of Islamic education and local cultural values in balance, in a very subtle, natural, and not fanatical way (Umar, 2020). This third typological Muslim group still has a dominant influence withing the community in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang until now.

From the three stages of research analysis explained previously, the theoretical findings can be arranged as follows: 1) the external elements of Islam can draw attention from the community, such as exemplary positive behavior of Islamic leaders, contextual understanding of Islamic figures towards Islam, as well as strategies and the preaching approach of Islamic leaders that is modest and open, then the values of Islamic education will be easily and effectively adapted and adopted by the community, even more so that they are integrated. 2). When Islamic values can be experienced directly and naturally by the community, then the obedience, submission, and willingness of the community to be in touch with the Islamic education values will be getting stronger, internalized and institutionalized because the society needs them. 3). The community can be identified as having various groups of Islamic traditions when it is related to the values of plural Islamic education.

C. Conclusion

From the field research result, there are three theoretical conclusions as follows:

First, there are external elements which attract the community in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang to adapt to Islamic education values, namely a) exemplary behavior of Islamic figures, b) contextual approach to Islamic teachings that have been used by Islamic figures., and c) the preaching strategy and media used by the figures, both the socio-cultural-psychological and the socio-spiritual-magical strategy. Second, objectification moment (moment of self-interaction) of the Tengger tribe in Ngadas Poncokusumo Malang towards the Islamic education values have been experienced and

internalized without any pressure or coercion, so that the religious values are naturally affiliated and strengthen into the life of the people. Third, the internalization moment has been found in three typologies, namely: 1) normative-theological-conservative with the characteristics of rigid, intolerant, avoiding other people, formal, firm, and very textual, b) sociological-pragmatic-calculative typology that tends to be ignorant, half-heartedly, and always considering of profit and loss in assessing the values of Islamic education, and c) sociological-empirical-intuitive, that is open, culturally friendly, gentle, not fanatical, tolerant, mingled, being involved, and get along.

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