

PESANTREN AND MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY: A Study on Muslim Scholar Behavior at Islamic Boarding School Bangkalan Madura

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ABSTRACT

This article describes the roles of three Madurese kyais in developing and disseminating the awareness of multiculturalism in their respective community. This role is functional as they have often been involved in solving social and cultural problems in their respective areas. The research this article presents was focused on their active roles in the District of Bangkalan, an area in the East Java province where a handful number of religious and ethnic minorities live together with the Muslim Madurese majority. Leading three different Islamic boarding schools, Kyai Haji (KH) Abdullah Schal, KH Abd Muhaimin Makky, and KH A Jazuli Nur often used their respective pesantren as a proxy to disseminate the understanding of cultural pluralism in society. In this phenomenological research, the author used observations and in-depth interviews with the key figures to understand how the kyais functioned in society, and together with the local government, to spread an understanding of the importance of cultural diversity and contribute to providing solutions to cultural problems.

INTRODUCTION

Madura is an island off the eastern tip of Java and therefore is situated in the province of East Java. It comprises four regencies with a total population of around 5 million people. The notable characteristics of Madurese are Muslims of economically middle class to grass root with sense of strong ethnic and sect fanaticism but is not necessarily related to fundamentalism or radicalism. Madurese Muslims tend to be ahl as-sunnah wa al-jama'ah (Sunni) in their theological foundation and Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) affiliation in term of their Islamic organization. Therefore, in term of education they are tied to traditional religious school of pesantren. It can be seen from the phenomena that almost all subdistricts in the island has at least two pesantrens. To quote, for example, in Brunei sub district there are ten pesantrens ranging from big pesantren with no less than 400 students to small pesantren with number of pupil (santri) as many as 150 santries (Depag Bangkalan, 2005).

Although, Madura is known generally as the basis of nahdhiyin (NU supporters), there are other people of ethnically and religiously different from them. Therefore, the population of Madura is not homogenous. There are Chinese living mostly in Pecinan (China town) and Javanese Christian of Surabaya, Probolinggo and others. As far as these non-Muslim folks are concerned, they are living in harmonious with their Muslims counterparts in towns of Madura. Only small cases of non-Muslim living in rural area to experience an uneasy feeling by their Muslim neighbor, but these are not of any significant incidents. Within this social configuration of Madura, the personality of *kyais* (religious leaders) as the model for Muslim community play a significant role in keeping the harmonious situation within the community. Because, *kyais* as the founders and the leaders of *pesantrens* are seen by the Muslim community to have a high status and therefore considered as an elite group. It is understood within the community like Madurese Muslim that a *kyai* owe status as the *khalifah Allah* (the representative of God) on earth, so that many problems faced by individuals such as, when a person should start to do business, why someone has not gotten a child and so on, the solutions to these problems are usually asked to the *kyais*. It is also common that *kyais* play as money lender for the people who want to start their business. It is assumed that in existence of the attitude of persons whose responses to plurality only as reality that they have to cope with without having enough knowledge about beliefs and systems of others, may lead to the exposure of discriminative attitude that can bear conflicts.

Therefore, in respect to plurality, a research to examine the attitude of *kyais* in Madura with the perspective of multiculturalism is crucial in nature to understand deeply the sense of their religiosity as leaders in the community. Within that perspective this research outlines the knowledge and understanding of three *kyais* about other cultures and the acceptance of plurality based on the spirit of non-discriminative similarities and interaction models applied by the *kyais* as the important figures in relation to non-Muslim members. In so doing, it will be examined whether or not the attitude the three *kyais* toward other group appeared to domination of cooperation. As mentioned earlier that one of the most important elements of multiculturalism is the existence of expression of right within public space for all different culture and beliefs.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Social Setting of Bangkalan

Community According to statistical data by Ministry of Religious Affairs of Bangkalan District in year 2005, as many as 923.603 people (99.68%) out of the total of 926.562 population are Muslims. While Protestant comprises 1.528 (0.16%), Catholic has 1.117 (0.013%), Hindu has 86 (0.0093%) and the rest is Buddhist affiliation which are 225 people (0.024%). These numbers are best followed by the description of number of mosques and other ritual places i.e. there are 902 mosques, 23.334 *mushalla* (small and semi local mosque), 9 churches, 1 temple, and 1 *vihara* (Buddhist Temple). Although number of Muslims and non-Islamic ritual buildings are relatively small, these figures show the existence of other living religion within the Islamic community. Moreover, there are also other ethnic groups living together among the Madurese, including the Chinese and the Javanese.

These can be argued that even though Madurese and Muslims are the dominant population, the above number shows heterogenous level of population in Madura especially Bangkalan district. Within this type of community, in fact the sense and understanding of multiculturalism

among the religiously and ethnically dominant culture subject to be attested. Meanwhile, this heterogeneity of the community in Bangkalan affected to their social interaction model, in which the culture of Madurese shows the position of kyais poses the high level status together with other elites such as Bupati (regence), high range of civil and military post and successful businessman. Therefore, in the view of plurality kyais poses an important role in the process of interaction among various groups within the community. Pondok Pesantren and Figures of Three Important Kyais Historically, pesantren was seen as the continuation of Hindus era of educational system called mandala (Moestopo, 2001); (Sutjiatining & Kutoyo, 1986). Mandala is a form of dormitory for pertapa or students of Siwa religion. It was located in the middle of a jungle and was led and managed by dewa guru (a master). Another version argue that kawikuan is known to have been the prototype of today's pesantren (Sutjiatining & Kutoyo, 1986). Ampel Denta in Surabaya is known as the form of pesantren that had existed since the third quarter of the 15th century. Sofwan, Wasit (Mundiri, 2000). Many also argue that pesantren is identical to a perdikan land (Fokkens).

However, common arguments understand pesantren from the etymological point of view which is derived from Arabic word funduq, which means dormitory and shastri which refers to people who have the ability to understand holy books of Hinduism. Therefore, pondok pesantren means dormitory for those who discern the holy books (Sayono, 2000). Within this context, pondok pesantren, like mandala, is an institution of religious learning and education. The main activity of santri is mengaji (learning and practicing religious instructions), but they also do some social activities in the community nearby. Some pesantrens even train its santri to be self-standing by fulfilling their own needs. Later, pesantren by many is described as educational institution which becomes reference for the dissemination of virtuous values based on Islamic teachings. The graduates of pesantren are expected to be a self-righteous and socially religious person. Later, they are also expected to be the exemplary models upon their return toward their own community and to be the cadres of dakwah (See, Purwadi and Mahmudi, 2004).

Pesantren Syaichona Chalil, which is located in the down town of Bangkalan, may be categorized as one of the oldest pesantrens around Java. This can be seen by the fact that Syaichona Cholil, the founder of the pesantren, was the teacher of many prominent religious leaders and founders of other pesantrens that were built during the Dutch colonial era such as Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari (the founder of Tebuireng, Jombang), Kyai As'ad Syamsul 'Arifin of Situbondo, Kyai Wahab Abdullah of Bahrul Ulum Tambak Beras, Jombang, and Kiyai Bishri Syamsuri of Denanyar.

The pesantren is now managed by kyai Abdullah Schal, whose later known as ké Dulla. He is the son of Sahrawi, a son in law of Ali Imran, the son of Syaichona Chalil. Therefore, ké Dulla is the third generation (the son of grandson) of Syaichona Cholil. Under him, although as much as possible defending its such salafi characteristic as reading kitab kuning sources, the pesantren now is adopting "secular" formal educational system such as the use of classical system rather than individual learning system of sorogan and bandungan, the class range system also begin from ibtidaiyah (elementary school) up to sekolah tinggi (college). It is noted that during his leadership, the pesantren experience fast development in the term of infra structures and number of santri. Even today, the pesantren has its own radio station namely al-Nur Frequency Modulation.

Ké Dulla is a fast leaner, who spent much of his time in pesantren. He continued his study to Haramain while he performed his initial hajj. He was known as a smart student and was always above average in the field of al-ilm al 'alat such as nahwu. Therefore, he owes title "sibawaih fi zamanih" especially after he completed his summary of Nazm al-Fiyah Ibn al-Malik from 1000 bait to 500 bait. This book is one of Cholil's expertise as a kyai in Java, where he brought with him into.

The personality of ké Dulla begin to be known publicly in Bangkalan especially and in Madura generally was because of the help of his brother kyai Khalil AG. He is better known to public than ké Dulla because he is a member of local House of Representative and mainly as the local branch leader of Nahdlatul Ulama Bangkalan.

Pesantren and the Three Kyais

Pesantren is viewed as the continuation of the so-called Mandala in Hinduism era (Moestopo, 2001; Sutjiatining & Kutoyo, 1986). Mandala was a dormitory for ascetical people and students located in the middle of forest and headed by a guru. Some argue that Kawikuan is a prototype of pesantren today (Sutjiatining & Kutoyo, 1986). Ampeldenta in Surabaya is regarded as a pesantren existing since the third quarter of 15th century (Sofwan, Wasit & Mundiri, 2000). Some others comment that pesantren is identical with freed land from tax payment (Fokkens, 1908). Recently, it is known as pondok pesantren-Islamic boarding school. The term “pondok” is literally derived from the word “funduk” which means dormitory and the term ‘pesantren’ comes from the term ‘shastri’ which means people who have much knowing of the Holy Hindu Books.

So, pondok pesantren means a dormitory for people who have much knowing of Holy Books (Sayono, 2001). From this definition, pondok pesantren does not differ from pesantren-a religious educational institution. Pesantren is described as an educational place which refers to the development of Islamic good values. Its alumnus are required to have good individual and social goodness and they, when return back to their community, become models and missionary cadres. The main task of the students is to learn the religion. They also have other activities with people around them (community). In addition, they should prepare their daily need individually (Compare it to Purwadi & Mahmudi’s, 2004).

Pondok Pesantren Syaichona Kholil, the so-called pesantren, is one of the oldest pesantren in Bangkalan in particular and Java in general. It can be assumed because it was established by Syaichona Kholil- a charismatic ulama who has made great ulamas in big pesantrens in Java particularly such as Hasyim Asy’ari, the founder of pesantren Tebuireng Jombang, As’ad Syamsul Arifin-the founder of pesantren Sukorejo Situbondo, Wahab Hasbullah, the head of pesantren bahrul Ulum Tambakberas Jombang, Bishi Syamsul-,the founder of pesantren Manbaul Maarif Denanyar Jombang, and many others.

Today, pesantren Syaichona Kholil, located in the middle of the City of Bangkalan, is headed by Abdullah Sachal- the third generation of Syaichona Kholil. With its sufic nuances with the tradition of kitab kuning studies, it also adopts formal education system (secular) for instance: classical system and educational levels from Ibtidaiyah (primary level) to university. Under the leadership of Abdullah Sachal- many people call him “keDulla”- it has developed drastically, either in terms of physical buildings or number of permanent students, and even now it has a radio station-Annur FM.

Abdullah Schal is a son of Sahrawi. Almost all of his education was in pesantren and then lived in the Holy land for years and learned at the same time. He is known as having cleverness above averages particularly in Nahwu. Due to this, he was called ‘Sibawaih fi zamanihi’ since he could summarized Nazhm Alfiyah Ibn Malik from 1,000 verses to 500 ones. This reminds us to his grandfather, Syaichona Kholil, who purportedly brought ‘Alfiyah Ibn Malik’ to Java Island.

The familiarity of ke Dulla within the society in Bangkalan cannot be separated from his brother's role, KH. Khalil AG. Previously, ke Dulla did not participate much out of his pesantren. He only learned and gave religious speeches in limited places. His brother, on the other hand, is known by public because of his activeness in some organizations, for example as the chair of PBNU Bangkalan and a member of Regional Indonesian Legislative Assembly (DPRD) Bangkalan for 3 periods. The role of KH Khalil AG changing ke Dulla drastically from pure pesantren kiai which is known only by limited people to the leader of among kiais in Madura was when KH. Khalil AG established BASSRA (Madura Ulamas Friendship Board) and ke Dulla was elected to be the chair. Before BASSRA establishment, there was no effective communication among ulamas in four districts in Madura. Each ulama played his role and run his missionary action in his region. Bangkalan kiais, for example, were only known by Bangkalan people. The same thing also happened to kiais in Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. Even, no parents sent their children to pesantrens out of their own region. Today, many people from outside Madura are schooling in Madura.

Bassra was established in respond to the issue of central government to build a bridge which joins Madura Island and Java Island, the so-called Suramadu Bridge. The resistance appearing from kiais is not from the physical building, but the program accompanying it, namely industrialization.

Reflecting from several regions, for example Batam, the negative effects of industrialization becomes nightmare for pesantren scholars. After Madura kiais' visit (BASSRA) to Batam and some other industrial regions sponsored by central government in order that the kiais become interested in changing Madura like Batam and its industrializations is contradictive because the kiais did not see the physical progress, but its massive immoral behaviors and permissive society. Furthermore, they concluded that in some industrial regions, indigenous people tend to be viewers and servants for foreign people who exploit their natural resources. Basing on those two reasons, immoral behaviors and isolation of indigenous people, the kiais in BASSRA as the representatives of Madura people reject the building of bridge if it is supplemented with industrialization package.

On the next progress, BASSRA softened by proposing a requirement: the native Madura people's properties particularly for the people whose lands and houses are subjected to the project can be conversed into investment or a guarantee to be employed in the company. If it is hardly implemented, the second alternative proposed is that during the execution of that prestigious project, the government and the company should be pro-active in providing skills for local people by training, developing, and maximizing the role of Labor Training Center (BLK) for them. On the basis of such essential BASSRA role, ke Dulla then appears to be a figure referred and symbolized by Madura kiais in maintaining and struggling for Islamic and Madura values in the era of globalization and modernization.

Even though the government of BJ. Habibie has ended ke Dulla become more nationally familiar in the era of Abdurrahman Wahid or Gus Dur's government. Gus Dur considers him as one of kiai khos headed by Kiai Abdullah Faqih Langitan in which Gus Dur is obedient and respect to what they advised. From Gus Dur to the current government, ke Dulla has got special political profit. He becomes more respected and honor figure. Many active and inactive politicians made social visits to his pesantren (silaturrahmi). The request for approval by election candidates from local to national level has increased his escalation particularly in the past 2004 general election. He, however, is still low profile and respect to his familiar and unfamiliar guests. It is said by people who have ever visited him. Ke Dulla never discriminates his guests.

Government officials, entrepreneurs, kiais, farmers, students, haba'ib, Muslim or non-Muslim people, males or females all get the same treatment. From morning to 10 o'clock, he

provides his time to serve his guests waiting from early morning. After 10 o'clock, he permits to his guests to attend people's invitation in the villages until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. After Maghrib to 8 o'clock, he gives religious speeches in various villages. He convincingly does those routines, so guests know when to visit him. Contrary to kiai Abdul Muhaimin Makky, he, the so-called "ke Himmin", is also respected by other kiais and belater (hoodlums). His attitude which is considered deceptive makes his colleagues respect and honor. It is for example when the BASSRA committee discusses about finance, he permits to go out and smoke until the meeting is finished even though he is one of the committee.

This avoidance behavior when talking about tauzi al-arzaq (sharing bread) was proven when Adi Sasono, minister of UKM, distributed hundreds billion rupiahs to public figures in East Java, loan without interest and undemanding requirements, many kiais took it, except him. The fund which is purportedly taken from national asset (BLBI) is provided to lower income family. But, the budget is given to public figures that have group of model farmers in order that it can be distributed to the right people. By only submitting the copies of their identity card and model farmer membership, hundreds of millions to hundreds of billion could be issued without any interest and data verification and validation. Unfortunately when the government changed, the creditors were asked to refund because the government needs it. Consequently, the executors (creditors) were extremely panic.

They started speculating that the religious figures were intentionally trapped and underestimated by Adi Sasono. Initially, they thought that it was such kind of hibah to their institution in order that they elected BJ. Habibie as a president. BJ. Habibie, however, was rejected in Consultative Council's meeting. As for his disappointment, all funds distributed appeared to be law-questioned. Today many public figures and pesantren principals get in touch with law enforcement and even many of them are in jail.

By the tragedy, Kiai Abdul Muhaimin Makky (the so-called ke Himmi) became the best moral custodian among others. He was more respected when the general election was conducted. At the time many kiais participated in practical politics that supported and campaigned certain candidate and political party. When the candidates and political parties supported by the kiais failed, they got critique and scorn from the contestants. During the crisis, ke Himmi appeared to be a balancer figure, so that societies did not totally distrust on pesantren.

Ke Himmi has been already known as a clean and honest people since he studied in pesantren Tebuireng Jombang until when he was in Mecca. During his 10 years in Mecca, he was the only people who did not want to earn money by coordinating dam and becoming badal hajj during Hajj season. The income could actually be for living for 2 years. According to ke Himmi, the property is dirty and can make our heart foul and it should not be done and competed. Because he was committed to the principle about propertied thing, he is respected among mukmini. A lot of mukminin in Mecca recognize his name and behavior even though they have not met him yet.

Ke Himmi is now a principal of PP As-Shomadiyah. This pesantren was previously headed by his brothers KH. Muqaffi Makky and KH. Abdul Bar Makky. This pesantren was built by his father, KH. Makky Syarbini assisted by his son in law, KH. Muzammil Imron. Previously, his grandfather, KH. Syarbini Abd Shomad had pioneered the establishment of the pesantren by allowing people around to learn with him. The name "as-Shomadiyah" itself was derived from his grand-grand child's name, KH. Abdul Shomad. So, ke Himmi is the third generation of KH. Abd. Shomad. Since the leadership of Ke Himmi, the pesantren has progressed particularly in educational management, administration, and infrastructures. By having support from family members who have got already bachelor degree and even Ph. D, the pesantren has become a reference in Bangkalan. It now has Al-Qur'an Kindergarten (TK Al-Qur'an), Islamic Primary School (MI), Islamic Junior and Senior High School (MTs and MA), and primary school and junior

High School (SD/SMP) as well. The informal educations it has are Tahfidz Qur'an, Sewing center, silat, and Hadrah. Ke Himmi is also closed to blater and Chinese. His habit in which he does not sleep at night, but in the morning after shubuh prayer makes his house crowded at night and free of visitors in morning. He is also a collector of antique things such as ring and kris. He is also talkative and is always a good listener to others. But, when a talk is about metaphysics and tasawuf, he becomes serious.

If Ke Dulla is known as an old and charismatic person who is respected and has great influence and Ke Himmi on the other hand is known as a clean and good person who is respected by other kiais, blater, and Chinese, ke Dulla (KH. A. Jazuli Nur, Lc), the founder of PP. Nurul Amanah Basanah Tanah Merah, is known as an intellectual person and politician.

PP. Nurul Amanah which was established 11 years ago on June 1996 with M. Chotib Nusron, SH notary act No. 4, 19 July 1994, is a modern pesantren which has complete infrastructures located in a land of 4,5 hectares. It has Junior High School, Senior High School, and Vocational School majoring on IT and automotive, Islamic Junior and Senior High School with 748 students. Ke Sulli was initially a senior student at PP. As-Shomadiyah. Because of his intelligence and tawadhu, he was then married to KH. Makky Syarbini's daughter. After the reception, he then continued his study to Al-Azhar Cairo. Upon his return, he was active helping his father in law by teaching and becoming a treasure of the foundation. At the same time, he was studying at the Faculty of Syaria, IAIN Snan Ampel Surabaya.

By having formal education background in Egypt, Surabaya, and Pesantren, he begins to play his role by participating in social organizations. His intelligence and wide knowledge make him easier to get some positions and build network with various elements. A board member of PWNU East Java, a committee of PP. RMI, chair of Board members of Education in Bangkalan regency, and general chair of KPUD Bangkalan Regency (2004-2009) are among his current positions.

Plurality: *Sunnatullah*

In the world life, human beings have various diversities such as in religion, nation, culture, ethnics, lifestyle, profession, and others. This diversity is usually called multiculturalism. It is a response to the reality where society is always plural and non-mono-politic. It also brings difference which can lead to conflict. It however does not mean that every conflict is caused by diversity. The perspectives of religion, belief, culture, and way of life are important to be redefined since Indonesian religion followers are still common.

The plurality is an invaluable wealth that our nation has. But, it is always argued to be a barrier and threat to social cooperation and harmony. In this condition, it is possible that threat leads to minor group. Political and mass brutality often happen when the campaign of Islamic political party. It is caused of our inability to value and respect the importance of other existence in social life.

The world reality today is more pluralistic that the ancient time. Social world is grouped into the diversity of politics, gender, religion, ethnics, nationality, education, economics, and so on. People cannot have an agreement about it, but they can only agree some of it. So, a national leader who is care for this condition is highly required to mobilize mass components by articulating the different needs for the purpose of national harmony.

A response to the plurality which is still expressive should be faced. This behavior is called "psudo pluralism", an attitude which admits the existence of plurality. Usually, it is accompanied with insufficient knowledge about other groups and not escorted with a spirit which considers that all groups are equal and in one unity. This spirit in cultural studies is called multiculturalism, an

attitude that acknowledges the diversity and is willing to learn and understand other cultures and at the same time focus on equality and non-discriminative bases.

In Bangkalan, the pluralism of religions still brings conflicts. So, reflection of religion, culture, and society in pluralistic context is needed. This new reflection at least covers three aspects. *First*, it is related to personal attitude. The problems which always appear are the relationship among people, religion, and other cultures. Here, it is a consideration to find solution of how to reconcile the individual claims which can lead to exclusivism and fanaticism. It is also important to build awareness of religious plurality. Thus, people task is to find a schema that can reunite the different historical and actual perspectives. *Second*, it is a care for co-existence of different religions and attention to inter-religious life. Here, the discussion is always about purpose, prerequisite, and modalities used to communicate among religions, hopes and consequences of that communication. *Third*, it is the emergence of conflict map for religious plurality. In this level, the focus is on the answer of typical and limitation of the two concepts of plurality.

Since religion is a fithrah and central choice of a complete and private individual right, the existence of religious plurality should also be admitted totally. The different religion is not a threat for national disintegration because there are no religions desiring disintegration. At least, it is what Islam wants (*Asy-Syūrā*: 13). But, religion can be a conflict trigger of when used to be a means for political will to formulate individual and group need in national life.

Religious plurality is a reality that should be accepted as a God's blessing. On the basis of 2005 Statistical data of the department of Religious Affairs, Bangkalan from the total of 926, 562 populations, there are 923, 603 Muslims (99, 68%), 1, 528 (0, 16%) Protestants, 1,117 (0, 013%) Catholics, 86 (0, 0093%) Hindu, and 225 (0,024%) Buddhists. Meanwhile, there are 902 Masjids and 23, 334 Mushollas, 9 churches, 1 temple, and 1 Buddhist monasteries.

Multiculturalism: *Hegemony or Co-operation*

From the research finding about the roles of the three kiais, it is known that: first, there is still similar understanding between pluralism and multiculturalism. Most of the respondents including the three kiais argue that the two concepts are similar. The three kiais describe that God creates His creatures in pairs.

The reality that creatures are different develops into various groups. Muslims are, for example, sub-grouped into NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, Wahabi, and FPI Muslims. NU itself, according to Ke Himmi, is subgrouped into structural and cultural NU. Ke Dulla, on the other hand, mentions that the two concepts are unfamiliar. He asks "Is it what MUI prohibited last time (pluralisme)?" When asked about the reality of heterogeneity, he says that it is Sunnatullah that cannot be denied. So, it is human task to believe in, keep and maintain what God has already given. When asked about non-Muslims, he says that there is no tolerance in belief. But, we are asked to cooperate in *Muamalah yamiyah basyariyah*. Contrary to the two kiais, Ke Sulli does not directly answer the question, but he states that the position of Muslims since the collapse of Usmani dynasty is always defensive, not offensive. It happens almost in all life dimensions. The media which are fully controlled by West strengthens West domination on Islam. The concepts and issues about radical and fundamentalist Islam, terrorism, and Islam Jama'ah are intentionally issued to discredit Muslim People. It becomes clearer since the collapse of WTC. The West continuous movement (Christians and Jews) to break Islam has been systematically done by having only support and great commitment. Consequently, Muslim nations are separated even though they have united organization, OKI. In Muslim nations, distrust is issued so that conflicts happen such as Iraq-Iran, Turkey (Kurdish)-Iran, Indonesia-Malaysia, Arab Saudi-Iraq, Egypt-Palestine, and others. The suffering of Afghanistan does not unite Muslim nations as well as Palestine that is

being oppressed.

Furthermore, he maintains that Samuel Huntington's thesis "Class of Civilization" is a misleading concept. It is essentially a consumption for internal non-Muslims which makes them angry. In contrast, Muslims should thank to God. It is one of God's help to His believers. Our task is to keep our belief. We also admit and are willing to learn to the people who are considered successful in this life. That is the message taught by Rasulullah, SAW. As long as it is not contrary to the religion principles, we should do it well.

The same understanding also happens to public societies, respondents. When asked about the two concepts, they consider them similar even though some of them can explain clearly. This understanding is correlated with their answer and response of whether the role of the three kiais has reflected the understanding of multiculturalism. A Muslim Chinese People, H. Musthofa (known as Jimustofa) values that the three kiais have reflected the concept of multiculturalism. It is indicated, they never differentiate their guests. This person, the owner of gold, meubelair, and electronics shop, also maintains that he is subscribed to Islam due to his interest to attitudes and moral of old kiais, particularly Kiai Makky Syarbini. Up to now, he is still a permanent donator of PP As-Shomadiyah as his dedication to Kiai Makky for his guidance and religious teaching.

Meanwhile, a senior Chinese doctor, dr. Soebandi, maintains that even though he is worried of many kiais throw themselves into politics, he is respectful to the three kiais due to their simple life, tolerance, and inclusiveness. He, a catholic, feels safety living in Bangkalan since 20 years ago. The same thing is also stated by Taci, Darmawan and his sister, a pastor, dr. Lukas, and Tan- a Buddhist. Their existence in Bangkalan Madura cannot be apart from the guarantee given by the three kiais, more than the police do.

CONCLUSION

That's all about research findings concerning the attitudes and behaviors of the three kiais and societies in Bangkalan Madura. Hopefully, it is beneficial for readers.

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