



# Resistance of NU and AUMA Relations in Pamekasan Regency

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## **Abstrak:**

Melihat fakta adanya praksis intoleransi dengan kekerasan yang terjadi di Pamekasan menunjukkan adanya polarisasi kelompok muslim di Pamekasan dengan tumbuhnya kelompok kanan seperti AUMA. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap resistensi AUMA dan NU Pamekasan dengan pendekatan kualitatif fenomenologis, jejerang data dilakukan dengan wawancara, observasi dan dokumentasi. Penelitian ini memanfaatkan teori relasi Gilin, yaitu apakah relasi NU dan AUMA melakukan jalinan kompromi, mediasi, konsiliasi, menahan diri, dan jalan pengadilan. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa AUMA memiliki pengaruh yang sangat dominan dalam terjadi kasus kekerasan atas nama agama di Pamekasan hal ini terjadi karena resistensi AUMA dan NU dalam beberapa pemikiran keagamaan yang tidak seirama, AUMA tidak setuju dengan NU tentang Islam Nusantara, Pemimpin perempuan dan beberapa isu lain. Kasus seperti pembakaran lahan wisata, pengepungan rumah pejabat adalah bentuk resistensi relasi keduanya. Hasil penelitian ini juga sangat kontras dengan penelitian Hamdi. Dimana Hamdi menemukan relasi NU dan eks FPI di Bangkalan sangat baik sehingga terjadi merger kepemimpinan pada eks FPI dan menjadikan relasi yang baik ini sebagai kekuatan untuk meredam aksi intoleransi. Salah factor menguatanya *AUMA Effect* di Pamekasan adalah adanya gagasan atau perda tentang Gerbangsalam dimana islamimisme di Pamekasan menjadi embrio pemikiran keagamaan AUMA.

**Kata Kunci: Resistensi, AUMA. NU Pamekasan,**

## **Abstract:**

Looking at the fact that there is a practice of intolerance with violence that occurred in Pamekasan shows that there is polarization of Muslim groups in Pamekasan with the growth of right-wing groups such as AUMA. This research aims to reveal the resistance of AUMA and NU Pamekasan using a qualitative phenomenological approach, data collection was carried out using interviews, observation and documentation. This research utilizes Gilin's relationship theory, namely whether the relationship between NU and AUMA carries out compromise,



mediation, conciliation, restraint and court proceedings. The results of this research shows that AUMA has a very dominant influence in cases of violence in in Pamekasan. This occurs because of AUMA and NU's resistance to several religious thoughts that are not in line, AUMA does not agree with NU regarding Islam Nusantara, women leaders and several issues. Other cases happen in Pamekasan such as the burning of tourist land and the siege of officials' houses are forms of resistance. The results of this research are also in sharp contrast to Hamdi's research. Where Hamdi found that the relationship between NU and the former FPI in Bangkalan that was very good and harmony, so that there was a leadership merger between the former FPI and used this good relationship as a force to reduce acts of intolerance. One of the factors that strengthened the AUMA Effect in Pamekasan was the existence of an idea or regional regulation regarding *Gerbang salam* that became the embryo of AUMA thought.

**Keywords : Resistance, AUMA. NU Pamekasan,**



## Introduction

The case of intolerance in Pamekasan is a form of failure in NU's relations with other mass organizations as dominant religious organizations. This statement is based on the results of Rahman's research which states that the strengthening of conservative Muslims is due to many knowledge, economic and also political factors (Rahman, 2023:5) However, in the author's view, this is specifically due to the failure of relations between NU and hard-line mass organizations such as AUMA (the Madurese Ulema Alliance) (Hasan, 2015:125). AUMA is said to be the mastermind behind violence and intolerance under the pretext of upholding Islamic law (Topan, 2022:93).

The failure of NU's relationship with AUMA resulted in the low influence of NU as the dominant mass organization in influencing movements and intolerant practices. Such as cases of burning tourist land, sieges of officials' houses and finally cases of extremism and radicalism (Hannan, 2022:311). This is an example of Madurese subjectivity and Islam which cannot be equated. The results of Hamdi's research are very contrasting, in Bangkalan the relationship between NU and the former FPI was so good that there was a leadership merger between the former FPI and this good relationship became a force to reduce acts of intolerance (Hamdi, 2013:71), Hamdi also stated that Madurese Islam is Islam with a moderate culture so that NU as the dominant mass organization can control cases of intolerance that occur in lower society (Hamdi, 2013)

However, in the context of Pamekasan, cases of intolerance are still continuing, like the praxis of taking the law into your own hands, religious aggressiveness is becoming a social reality. In fact, Rahman said, this practice of intolerance is often put in the name of protecting the Ulama'/habaib (Rahman, 2023). And it is not uncommon for this group to also have participants who are also from the nahdhiyyin circle. Hefni said that within NU itself there is a typology, which is said to be the most important in the findings in this research, which will provide a space for discussion and exchange on the results of Zainul Hamdi's research findings, which found harmony between Islamic groups in Bangkalan, namely between FPI and NU. Hamdi said that in Bangkalan there was harmony because NU was able to merge the leadership of the FPI group so that FPI was controlled by the power of NU figures (Hamdi, 2013:71).

So this research is very important to examine the issue of NU's relationship with hardline mass organizations such as AUMA. Where NU represents traditionalist Islam and AUMA as pure Islam and its influence on the intolerance that occurs in Pamekasan. From the background study of the problem, this research will look at the relationship between NU and AUMA in maintaining religious moderation in Pamekasan.

## Research Methode

This research uses a qualitative phenomenological approach (Creswel, 2014:105), To obtain deeper data from data sources in the context of the study. With emergent design, this design can develop and open according to the context (Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. 1985) The subjects of this research were NU religious



figures, Pamekasan Branch, and AUMA administrators. Data collection techniques in this research used observation strategies, in-depth interviews, FGD and documentation studies. The data analysis technique for this research uses Miles and Huberman data analysis techniques, namely data reduction, data presentation and drawing conclusions or verification with triangulation which includes data sources, data collection techniques, other relevant research and related theories (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Then the researcher also reviewed the informants, to find out whether the resulting data presentation is approved by the key informant or not (Patton, 2002). So that it is firm and accountable (Mathison, 1988), Determining informants and subjects was carried out using purposive sampling and snow ball sampling strategies. Meanwhile, the research locus used in this research is focused on NU and AUMA in Pamekasan. Data networking is carried out using observation interviews (Hadi. 2010) Researchers mostly use documentation to look for data regarding things or relationships between research data, research journals related to AUMA. including the results of discussions or meetings called the Focus Discussion Group Technique. (FGD). The data analysis technique for this research uses Miles and Huberman's data analysis techniques. In the analysis process according to Miles and Huberman's (1992) theory, there are three main components that must be understood and paid attention to by every researcher, namely data reduction, data presentation and drawing conclusions or verification.

## **Finding and discussion**

This study departs from a view of the results of research conducted by Mufiqur Rahman regarding Madurese Islam with the strengthening of religious conservatism in Pamekasan. Unfortunately, Rahman's research does not specifically state this factor. Namely, the strengthening factor of conservatism is caused by NU's lack of relations with hardline mass organizations in Pamekasan (Rahman, 2023:5). Rahman only explained in general about the main factors, namely knowledge, economics and politics and did not talk more deeply and explicitly about the relationship between NU as a dominant mass organization and other organizations which were considered hardline mass organizations. Therefore, this study will examine in more depth why NU and other mass organizations tend not to have cooperative relations in protecting the ummah so that it can stem the undercurrent of intolerance. The study of NU and its relations with hard-line mass organizations, if done well, will result in lower resistance and build harmony (Hamdi, 2013) The study conducted by Hamdi on the relations between NU and the former FPI in Bangkalan is also an important perspective for looking at the reality in Pamekasan. So the communication patterns of NU and other mass organizations in Pamekasan are interesting in the context of strengthening religious moderation. Another study that points to the existence of NU as a moderate Islamic mass organization in Pamekasan with the fact that violence occurs in the name of religion is an important concern for the implementation of massive religious moderation involving NU mass organizations, Hefni and Muna's study states the importance of mainstreaming religious



moderation in Islamic mass organizations in one area ( Hefni and Muna, 2022). So this research on the relationship between NU and AUMA will be an important study, especially in protecting religious communities so that it can reduce the level of violence in the name of religion. Other research states that the Sunni groups that exist and maintain good relations are NU and SI in Pamekasan (Hannan, 2022:312). So the research that the author is proposing will also question the relationship between NU and AUMA which has recently become a public concern (Mukarrom and Zamzami. 2018).

To examine the relationship between NU and AUMA in relation to intolerance in Pamekasan, the author uses Christopher Duncan's theory of communal violence which states that religion becomes the center of conflict when it is driven by political interests, giving birth to populism (Juliandi, 2018:914). This view will be examined by the author to see whether there is a political motive in every act of intolerance and violence in Pamekasan so that relations between NU and other mass organizations (Auma) cannot run well. Then, to analyze the relationship between NU and AUMA, the author will use Gilin's accommodation theory. That a conflict will not occur if both parties compromise, second, mediation, third conciliation, fourth restraint, and go to court (Ardiyant, 2012:229). This view is very important to understand the stages of violence and intolerance. Does the relationship between NU and AUMA carry out a relationship of compromise, mediation, conciliation, restraint, and court action? Apart from theories about relationships, the author also uses the concept of moderation which has been stated by the Ministry of Religion, namely, national commitment, tolerance, anti-radicalism and violence, accommodating to local culture (Hasan, 2015:125). The author will look at this indicator as a guide in this research, what is the relationship between NU and AUMA in the context of this indicator of religious moderation.

### **The relationship between NU and AUMA in maintaining religious moderation**

The emergence of the idea to re-discuss the relationship between the two mass organizations in Pamekasan Madura is none other than the practical phenomenon of violence and intolerance such as the burning of tourist attractions which were suspected of being used as places of immorality, then the case of the siege of the houses of State officials, which was carried out by the Pamekasan Muslim community which led to a conclusion Rahman's research states that this practice of intolerance is an indication of the strengthening of religious conservatism in Pamekasan (Rahman, 2023:5). Religious conservatism is said to be the main cause of violence carried out by a group of mass organizations, in this case directed towards the Madurese Ulama Alliance (AUMA) group. This group is a hardline mass organization in Pamekasan (hasan, 2015:125).

The case of intolerance in Pamekasan is a form of failure in NU's relations with other mass organizations as dominant religious organizations. This statement is based on the results of Rahman's research which states that the strengthening of conservative Muslims is due to many knowledge, economic and also political factors. However, in the author's view, this is specifically due to the failure of



relations between NU and hard-line mass organizations such as AUMA (the Madurese Ulema Alliance). It was even stated in Syarif's findings that AUMA was said to be the mastermind behind violence and intolerance under the pretext of upholding Islamic law (Topan, 2022: 93) also see (Syarif & Hannan, 2020:47).

However, even though AUMA is a mass organization that can be called a newcomer to Pamekasan, this mass organization is an influential mass organization in Pamekasan society, according to A'la, this is because AUMA appears to have a strong commitment in fighting for the preaching of Islam which is *kāffah*; and also seems to want to build Pamekasan as an Islamic city that is free from all kinds of immorality (A'la, 2018:229). Although it is not uncommon for some people to say that this mass organization is also not free from political interests (Wasid, 2023).

In the study of Madurese Islam, AUMA is positioned as a mass organization that greatly contributes to the existence of Islamism in Pamekasan. FKM (young kyai forum) was also born from AUMA. In Zamzami's study, FKM was born from the initiation of AUMA figures which was founded on August 9 2015. So AUMA and FKM have the same thoughts regarding *da'wah*, Zamzami even states that AUMA is an old group while FKM is a young group (Zamzami, 2017:651). So the ideology of these two mass organizations is the same, namely based on the ideology of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamaah* and based on Islamic sources, the *Qur'ân*, *Sunnah*, *Ijma'*, and *Qiyâs*.

So in the practice of *da'wah* and activities of AUMA and FKM, it is routine to consolidate the *ummah* to return to the *Shari'a* as stated in the declaration of the Gate of Salam (Islamic Community Development Movement) in Pamekasan Regency in 2002. The birth of the Islamic *Shari'a* regional regulations in Pamekasan gave birth to several groups such as AUMA and FPM which expressed ideas or the idea of Islamism as a thought and practice of Muslim citizens in Pamekasan (Zamzami, 2017:651).

In Zamzami's view, the ideas and concepts of Islamism can be seen in how this mass organization always displays a *da'wah* style that prioritizes fortifying the *aqidah* with *alussunnah waljamaah*. In this context, the speaker is KH. Lutfi Bashori, KH. Idrus Romli and KH M. Najih Maimun (Zamzami, 2017:651). According to Zamzami, this is the relationship between this mass organization and NU figures. However, on the other hand, this group does not agree with other NU figures, especially NU figures who are in the central leadership such as KH. Aqil Siraj, KH. A. Mustofa Bisri, Habib Lutfi bin Yahya, who according to them are too moderate and very tolerant of matters of faith. These central NU figures are not liked by this mass organization even though they are also NU figures in Pamekasan.

Borrowing Zamzami's term, AUMA is "conservative NU" which is preferred in the Pamekasan context to the moderate and tolerant NU issue. So NU in Pamekasan has differences with other regions, namely Nu which is stricter regarding religious matters, especially regarding the term *Islam Nusantara* and the issue of organizational tolerance. The view of NU people who are members of the Pamekasan young *kiai* forum considers Central NU's attitude to be too tolerant and





moderate ((Zamzami,2017:651).

So AUMA and FKM, which Zamzami calls the Conservative NU group, are very rational if they are very close organizationally to the Pamekasan Islamic Community Movement (GIUP) and also the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) which have coordinated well and have carried out joint da'wah activities. So from here it will be clear that AUMA's tendencies in the direction of its preaching are even though culturally it is still a member of NU but is closer to large mass organizations such as the former FPI. Auma and FKM also invited the Muhamadiyah mass organizations, Sarekat Islam (SI), Hidayatullah, Islamic Association (Persis) and al-Irsyad, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), in one of the da'wah activities that brought Habib Rizik to Pamekasan (Zamzami,2017:651).

Pamekasan is a very religious district with high respect for Kyai. For Pamekasan residents, Kyai, especially Kyai who own Islamic boarding schools, are certainly role models for the community.

"It's difficult to differentiate, so whether the Kyai are moderate or not, the important thing is that if there is an order from the Kyai, the residents will definitely obey and follow it. Because for us, the current Kyai is the only one we still believe to be a trustworthy figure. We don't know what groups or groups, the important thing is that we carry out orders from the Kyai (Hakim, 2023).

So in the author's view, in the context of Pamekasan, the strength of mass organizations classified as "conservative NU" when looking at Geertz's (1960) view shows Kiai and Islamic boarding schools as cultural brokers (Syarif and Hannan,2020). This means that it will be very difficult for the relatively large number of Kyai in Pamekasan to provide education regarding religious moderation as advocated by the Ministry of Religion unless these Kyai who are classified as conservative experience a transformation in agreement and understanding to accept the preaching patterns ordered by the central NU administrators (A'la,2018:229).

AUMA is very responsive to local and national issues. As A'la mentioned, the issue that occurred in Tolikara was responded to by AUMA, responding to the Sunni Shiite issue, as well as the issue of establishing Madura as a province. Also regarding the issue of non-Muslim leaders, religious blasphemy, rejecting heretical beliefs as its main mission, prohibiting LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender), rejecting standardization and certification of preachers, and so on.

AUMA even responded to the term Islam Nusantara, which in fact is the terminology brought by NU (Syarif and Hannan, 2020). It is in the author's view that AUMA does not necessarily agree with what NU brings as an idea and ideas. So in the terminology of Islam Nusantara we can see the contradiction between NU and AUMA.

Although the fact is that it cannot be denied, there are pros and cons to responding to this term. However, those who reject Islam Nusantara are of the view that there is only one Islam, namely that which was brought by the Prophet Muhammad SAW. They are of the view that Islam cannot be mixed with anything, including the term Nusantara (Qomar,2015:203). AUMA is an Islamic group in Madura which is different from NU regarding Indonesian Islam.



## **NU and AUMA and the problem of strengthening religious moderation**

Pamekasan is very unique, one of the districts in Madura that has high diversity. Especially diversity in Islamic thought. In 2017, Pamekasan was named a district with dominant NU residents (Zamzami,2017:659). However, Pamekasan NU residents are different from NU residents in other regions. NU Pamekasan residents tend in some cases to be inconsistent with central NU. So Zamzami's report states that the moderate NU in Pamekasan is very small and strangely the conservative NU is more easily accepted by the kiai, lora and santri. Zamzami even concluded that the conservative NU group in Pamekasan mixed with the Muslim group from SI (Sarekat Islam) and easily accepted the ideology of Islamism (Zamzami,2017:651). In 2022, Rahman conducted a survey via Google Form targeting students who are on the PTKIS campus under the auspices of the Islamic boarding school in Pamekasan (Rahman,2023). The results of this survey showed that there is numerical data that still showed the strengthening of conservative Muslims in Pamekasan. In the author's view, although the results of the survey conducted by Rahman show that there is strengthening conservatism in Pamekasan, the strengthening of moderate Muslims in Pamekasan is also high. Because of the ten people who answered the question whether non-Muslim leaders could be allowed in Indonesia, only 4 people answered no. So This is showed that the dominance of the season of religious moderation in Pamekasan is also getting stronger.

The strengthening of religious conservatism is an obstacle to the ongoing strengthening of religious moderation due to the spirit of Islamism which is already well-known in Pamekasan. For example, there is the concept of law and sharia which was deliberately put in place by the spirit of Islamism with the fact that the Pintasalam Regional Regulation was issued in Pamekasan which has many followers and supporting groups. And in the political context in Pamekasan, the concept of *dîn wa dawlah* was born which considers Islam as a political religion where Islam is the religion that governs the state. Then, in a cultural context, there is a public understanding that culture must be Islamized. So this Muslim group believes that the cultural life in Pamekasan must be Islamicized and others must be exterminated. In the view of writing the concept of sharia with the publication of the *gerbang salam*, if seen today in Pamekasan, it is true that certain groups (including AUMA) are still strong in upholding the principles of the model and practice of Islamism, especially according to Rahman Islamism, populism and conservatism were getting stronger since the Ahok case (Governor Jakarta) which created such a commotion that Pamekasan became the largest participant from Madura in the 212 momentum at Monas. Rahman said that the spirit of *gerbang salam* is embryo gained momentum in awakening this national issue and continued to take root down to the grassroots in Pamekasan (Rahman,2023).

So in an interview the author with one of the Kyai and Islamic boarding school administrators in Pamekasan said that specifically in Pamekasan the issue of religious moderation should be built by NU members from below, namely from the branches.





“Religious moderation is indeed very important in Pamekasan, but the strategy must be right on target, not conveyed to groups that from the start rejected this religious moderation which promotes religious tolerance and also global issues. This was definitely rejected because the Kyai in Pamekasan were not in line with Central NU in several matters such as *Islam Nusantara* etc.” (Aziz,2023)

Mainstreaming religious moderation is indeed important amidst the power of Islamism which has reached the grass roots. However, in Ahmad Sayyi's view as an expert and NU figure in Pamekasan who is concerned with studying religious moderation, Sayyi stated that there are social aspects that underlie the strength of religious conservatism in Pamekasan, one of which is the role of Kyai who are central figures. However, Sayyi said the scale had started to decrease since the Ministry of Religion promoted religious moderation.

Since the Ministry of Religion introduced the idea of mainstreaming religious moderation, at least religious moderation has become a study that is often carried out by academics and educated people. Because all institutions build arguments for religious moderation. In my opinion, this has succeeded in understanding the educated groups in Pamekasan. And at least it can reduce the scale of existing ideologies in Pamekasan, including Islamism or religious conservatism (Aziz,2023).

So, in the author's opinion, NU in Pamekasan should structurally take advantage of this potential by becoming an agency for strengthening religious moderation more seriously and intensely in order to balance the ideas that have become ingrained in the community. However, what the author is concerned with is how this spirit of religious moderation can touch more targeted components, namely educated people and also Islamic boarding schools, Kyai and Islamic boarding school students, especially Islamic boarding schools that are affiliated with NU or indirectly. Because in Pamekasan there are Islamic boarding schools that declare themselves as NU Islamic boarding schools and there are also those that don't. Even though it is still with the *Manhaj Ahlussunnah an-Nahdiyyah*. So mapping, according to the author, is important for the Ministry of Religion in Pamekasan to carry out. So in the Pamekasan context, NU is a religious moderation agency with a single role. Meanwhile, it is certain that AUMA is not in line with NU's religious moderation agenda.

### **The violence as resistance to NU and AUMA**

Seeing the fact that there is polarization of Muslim groups in Pamekasan with the growth of right-wing groups such as AUMA, the traditional Islamic group, which has militant or even 'radical' tendencies in making decisions. They show this attitude of religious militancy through the assertion that anything related to religion is a fixed price (Zamzami,2017:651), assessed that NU in Pamekasan was no longer in accordance with what was determined by *as-Salafus Soleh* (Zamzami,2017:653). The author sees that NU and AUMA are groups that are not in harmony, like the relationship pattern between the ego and the other in Zamzami's terms (Zamzami,2017:651), where AUMA is transformed into a super power and NU members, santri become inferior who always accept Kyai AUMA's orders. Zamzami



even said it was like "oppression" by the kiai against the students. and what's more, the increasingly strong power of the masses who are AUMA participants with various AUMA trips in Pamekasan has become stronger so that NU Pamekasan cannot control AUMA in the sense that NU chooses to be passive with what AUMA does in relation to several acts of violence in Pamekasan. So the author can state that this is a form of failure in NU's relations with other mass organizations as dominant religious organizations. This statement is based on the results of Rahman's research which states that the strengthening of conservative Muslims is due to many knowledge, economic and also political factors (Rahman,2023). But what is clear is that NU Pamekasan as the dominant mass organization cannot influence the movement and intolerant practices occur. Such as cases of burning tourist land, sieges of officials' houses and finally cases of extremism and radicalism (Rahman,2023). The results of Hamdi's research are very contrasting, in Bangkalan the relationship between NU and the former FPI was so good that there was a leadership merger between the former FPI and this good relationship became a force to reduce acts of intolerance. Hamdi also stated that Madurese Islam is Islam with a moderate culture so that NU as the dominant mass organization can control cases of intolerance that occur in lower society (Hamdi,2013).

Not a few informants stated that AUMA was not just for the sake of preaching behind the scenes, but there were also political interests that wanted to be presented with the events of 212, for example. However, in the author's view, this was specifically due to the failure of relations between NU and hard-line mass organizations such as AUMA (the Madurese Ulema Alliance) (Hasan, 2015:125). So AUMA is said to be the mastermind behind violence and intolerance under the pretext of upholding Islamic law (Topan, 2022:93).

Resistance of NU and AUMA in Thought, for example NU and AUMA in Pamekasan do not meet in thinking about the concept of law and sharia which is placed in the spirit of Islamism with the publication of the Pintusalam Regional Regulation in Pamekasan which has many followers and supporting groups. And in the political context in Pamekasan, the concept of *dîn wa dawlah* was born which considers Islam as a political religion where Islam is the religion that governs the state. Then, in a cultural context, there is a public understanding that culture must be Islamized. So this Muslim group thinks that the culture in Pamekasan must be Islamicized and that which is not Islamic must be exterminated (Zamzami,2017:651). This thinking is certainly not in line with the structural thinking that exists in Pamekasan, with Islamization in Pamekasan being a district that has a high level of diversity and diversity.

NU and AUMA's resistance is also in the context of the issue of Nusantara Islam. AUMA does not agree with NU on Nusantara Islam. Although for NU, Indonesian archipelago Islam is understood as a teaching that is appropriate to the times. This means that Islam Nusantara is nothing more than trying to make Islam rahmatan lilalamin relevant to all times. Second, Islam Nusantara carries the principle of tolerance. This principle of tolerance is the character of Islam Nusantara, namely the spirit of seeking similarities rather than looking for differences in religious life in Indonesia. Third, Islam Nusantara embraces or



accommodates local traditions by modifying them into Islamic traditions. Just as the saints who brought Islam to the archipelago did not bring it harshly or by destroying local traditions and culture, but allowed the traditions and changed their contents to suit Islamic views. Then fourthly, Islam Nusantara has progressive principles. Islam which is in dialogue with culture and tradition, and Islam which places itself as part of the progress of the times and is not a religion that closes down the developments of the times. In the author's view, Islam is not allergic to science but is not too submissive to the progress of the times. Islam Nusantara continues to make progress over time a necessity. fifth, Islam Nusantara carries the principles of loyalty and justice, namely a religion that does not discriminate, humans are seen as the same (Mubarok and Rustam, 2018:156).

### **Closing**

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that AUMA as a mass organization which can be called a newcomer to Pamekasan, has an influence on the people of Pamekasan, AUMA appears to have a strong commitment in fighting for kaffah Islamic da'wah; and also seems to want to build Pamekasan as an Islamic city that is free from all kinds of immorality. AUMA is very responsive to local and national issues, responding to Sunni Shi'a issues, as well as the issue of establishing Madura as a province. Also about the issue of non-Muslim leaders, religious blasphemy, rejecting heretical beliefs as well as its main mission, prohibiting LGBT. AUMA is an Islamic group in Madura which is different from NU regarding Indonesian Islam. The concept of sharia with the publication of the gate of greetings when seen today in Pamekasan is indeed in certain groups (including AUMA) which are still solid and strong in upholding the principles of the model and practice of Islamism.

The Gatesalam Embryo has gained momentum in awakening this national issue and continues to take root in the grassroots in Pamekasan.. This occurs because of the resistance of AUMA and NU in several religious thoughts that are not in line, AUMA does not agree with NU regarding Indonesian Islam, women leaders and several issues. other. Cases such as the burning of tourist land and the siege of officials' houses are forms of resistance between the two. The results of this research are also in sharp contrast to Hamdi's research. Where Hamdi found that the relationship between NU and the former FPI in Bangkalan was very good, so that there was a leadership merger between the former FPI and used this good relationship as a force to reduce acts of intolerance. One of the factors that strengthened the AUMA Effect in Pamekasan was the existence of an idea or regional regulation regarding Pintusalam where Islamism in Pamekasan became the embryo of AUMA religious thought.



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