

# Jihad As Mabadi' Khaira Ummah and The Contra-Discourse of Radicalism in Indonesia

Said Romadlan  
{saidromadlan@uhamka.ac.id}

Communication Department Universitas Muhammadiyah Prof. Dr. HAMKA, Indonesia

**Abstract.** This article focuses on the process of interpreting the meaning of jihad in moderate Islamic organizations as a counter-discourse of radicalism in Indonesia. In the discourse on the meaning of jihad in Indonesia, many Muslim groups further accentuate the interpretation of the meaning of jihad as war or other acts of violence. As a result, there have been many acts of violence taking place such as attacks and bombings against non-Muslims in the name of jihad. The misinterpretation of the meaning of jihad must be countered by giving rise to other meanings of jihad as counter-discourses. One of them is proposed by a moderate Islamic organization in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), which interprets the meaning of jihad more contextually and in accordance with the values of Islamic teachings as a religion which upholds the value of rahmatan lil-alamin. The research method used was the analysis of Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics which emphasized the distinction of the interpretation process. The research finds that the interpretation of the meaning of jihad among NU is jihad as "Mabadi' Khaira Ummah" (prioritizing people's welfare). This interpretation is a reflection of the NU as an organization that is based on people's welfare and integrity of the nation. Contextually, this interpretation is manifested in the form of jihad against corruption, against drugs and jihad in social media. The implication of interpretation of the meaning of jihad as "Mabadi' Khaira Ummah" is strengthening NU's position as a moderate Islamic organization, and also as a counter-discourse on the interpretation of the meaning of jihad as war and terrorism that is often interpreted by radical muslim groups in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Jihad; Nahdlatul Ulama; Contra-Discourse Radicalism; Muslim; Indonesia

## 1 Introduction

After the fall of the New Order government in 1998, radical Muslim groups have emerged in Indonesia. These radical Islamic groups can be grouped into at least three groups: first, groups affiliated with al-Qaeda such as the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), Jamaah Islamiah (JI), and Lasykar Jihad (LJ). Second, groups that have links to Hizbut Tahrir International, namely Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). Third, local radical Islamic groups, represented by the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) (Azra, 2005a; Hasan, 2002; van Bruinessen, 2002). The rise of radical Muslim groups after the New Order is referred to as a conservative turn, namely the turning point for the rise of conservative Muslim groups marked by the takeover of mainstream Muslim groups, in which liberal and progressive thoughts in Muhammadiyah and NU are gradually being rejected. This includes the tendency within the Indonesian Theologian Council

(MUI) in recent decades to become more conservative (Burhani, 2013; Ichwan, 2013; Van Bruinessen, 2013). On the other hand, the rise of radical Muslim groups is also marked by their involvement in various inter-religious conflicts in some areas in Indonesia, the emergence of jihadist groups that wage war and violence, and the emergence of acts of terrorism that carry out attacks in various places, hotels, tourist places, and churches (Van Bruinessen, 2013).

One of the issues that radical Muslim groups continue to discuss is about jihad fii-sabilillah, in addition to the idea of establishing an Islamic State (Khilafah Islamiyah) and the enforcement of Islamic law in Indonesia. In the view of radical Muslim groups affiliated with al-Qaeda such as MMI, JI, and LJ, jihad is interpreted as an act of terror and the fight against the United States and its allies (Hasan, 2008; Mubarak & Hamid, 2018). HTI interprets jihad as an attempt to mobilize all capabilities in a war for the sake of Allah to spread the message of Islam. For HTI, the main goal of establishing a caliphate is the total implementation of Islamic law, both of which are prerequisites for carrying out offensive jihad (Aly, 2020; Azman, 2015).

Meanwhile, in FPI's view, jihad is destroying various places of immorality (Mubarak, 2007). FPI is known to be confrontational and tends to prioritize violence in eradicating all disobedience (Azra, 2016). FPI has also conducted several demonstrations such as in demanding for the reinstatement of the Jakarta Charter, occupying the The Indonesian National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM) office to demand a re-investigation of the Tanjung Priok incident, and demonstrations against the United States' occupation in Afghanistan (van Bruinessen, 2002).

The interpretation of the meaning of jihad by radical Muslim groups as war and terrorism is one form of interpretation of the meaning of jihad which has increasingly become dominant (Harb & Fischer, 2013). However, there are other interpretations of the meaning of jihad, both of those were initiated by organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU. Jihad basically comes from the word jahada which means exerting efforts or trying. Jihad literally means to fight hard and describes the maximum effort one makes to fight something wrong (Azra, 2016).

Another meaning of jihad is fighting against lust (Azra, 2016), or in the present context, jihad can also be interpreted as preaching amar ma'ruf nahi munkar in all fields of life, including efforts to increase the level of education of Muslims, and efforts to improve the welfare of Muslims' lives, economically, politically, and culturally (Chirzin, 2017; Saoki, 2013). M. Quraish Shihab defines jihad as devoting all one's abilities and being serious in attaining one's goals. In the Indonesian context, jihad can be directed at the social, educational, and economic fields (Aziz & Abidin, 2017).

In the view of Muhammadiyah, jihad is defined as jihad lil-mumukaah (sincerely creating a superior alternative) in the context of global competition (Romadhan, 2019). Meanwhile, mainstream organizations, especially Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, from the beginning tend to passively promote the interpretation of jihad in the fields of education, welfare and economic development. This moderate approach that emphasizes a passive or defensive interpretation of jihad has become the dominant attitude of the Muslim majority in Indonesia. The militaristic jihad tradition is generally a minority tradition in Indonesia. Thus, the meaning of jihad can be interpreted differently depending on the interests and context (Rahman, 2016).

NU's interpretation of passive jihad can be done through a non-violent struggle for the development of the Muslim community (Rahman, 2017). In its history, NU has indeed issued a Jihad Resolution that was called for by KH. Hasyim As'ary. However, it was in a defensive context to defend the homeland from the Dutch aggression in Surabaya in 1945. This jihad resolution is a form of defensive jihad, specifically protecting and defending the homeland (Amiq, 2014; Saputra, 2019). This interpretation of the meaning of jihad among NU is important to be studied because of the existence of NU as one of Indonesia's moderate Islamic

organizations, which culturally have strong ties between Islamic religious leaders (Kiais) and their followers. What the Kiais do or believe would be followed by their followers, including when it comes to the interpretation of the meaning of jihad.

To this date, NU is known as one of the mainstream Indonesian Islam besides Muhammadiyah with a Sunni tradition (Azra, 2005b), also known as a follower of the Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah (Aswaja) doctrine which has the characteristics of moderate (tawasuth), fair (i'tidal), balanced (tawazzun), tolerant (tasamuh), and helpful (ta'awun) (Burhani, 2012). Together with Muhammadiyah, NU is also known as a moderate (washitiyah) and tolerant Islamic organization (Hilmy, 2013); (Arifianto, 2017). According to Greg Barton, NU is the largest mass-based Islamic organization in Indonesia. NU is an institution that is culturally and socially associated with rural and traditional communities, with a focus on movements in the field of pesantren-based education (Barton, 2014).

Previous studies, both related to NU and about the interpretation of the meaning of jihad that are relevant to this study, are, first, concerning the contextualization of jihad from an Indonesian Perspective. Jihad contained in the Qur'an should not only mean war. There are also interpretations that have nothing to do with war at all. In essence, jihad can be interpreted as all the maximum efforts made by a Muslim to achieve the pleasure of Allah SWT, whether in the form of war or not (Nizar & Aziz, 2015). Secondly, regarding Islam and Jihad. Jihad has several meanings in Islam which are not limited to holy war. The word "jihad" has been misunderstood and distorted in the West and among Muslim radicals as it tends to be associated with Muslim aggression, holy war, violence and terrorism. Historically, however, jihad is more accurately understood in terms of tolerance and peace (Rijal, 2016).

Third, regarding the construction of the meaning of jihad and radicalism among pesantren leaders. The results of these studies show that there are still elements of radicalism and fundamentalism in the minds of Islamic boarding school leaders when interpreting jihad. Ambivalence or inconsistency also occurs among them. On the one hand, they have supported the compatibility of democracy with Islamic teachings. On the other hand, they have also supported the establishment of a theocratic caliphate (Syarif et al., 2017). Fourth, regarding the meaning of jihad in the view of fundamentalists and modernists. Jihad is an Islamic law which has a comprehensive meaning. Every effort that a believer endures in the face of various difficulties in subduing his passions, upholding the truth, and fighting falsehood is jihad. This includes jihad as fighting against the enemies of Islam (Ridlo, 2018).

The fifth group of literature is regarding the meaning of jihad in the millennial era. Jihad in Islam is not just the conquest of cities, seizing property and islamizing the people. However, jihad in the Islamic state system is more about preaching to elevate the words of God and the liberation of humans from the life of "jahiliyyah" (Hartini, 2019). Sixth, regarding the textual and contextual meanings of jihad. The concept of jihad in Islam is very broad, and has many meanings and interpretations. There are two extreme views of jihad; the belief that jihad is a war against the physical enemy of Islam and the belief that jihad is a war against lust or sin. The understanding of jihad does not only refer to war (Mulyati, 2019).

The novelty of this study compared to previous studies lies in the process of interpreting the meaning of jihad using a hermeneutic approach, namely Ricoeur's phenomenological hermeneutic method to produce a more contextual meaning of jihad as a counter-discourse to radicalism. In addition, the results of the interpretation of the meaning of jihad can be considered as NU's positioning in addressing the issue of jihad as the subject being analyzed is NU as an Islamic organization. Thus, the results of this study can be a reference for the true meaning of jihad not only for NU (Nahdliyin) members, but also for Muslims, radical Muslim groups, and other religious communities in Indonesia.

Therefore, the problem to be studied in this study is how NU as a moderate Islamic organization in Indonesia interprets the meaning of jihad as *mabadi 'khaira ummah* (prioritizing the benefit of the people) as a counter-discourse to radicalism in Indonesia. To examine the meaning of jihad as a counter-discourse to radicalism, the study uses Ricoeur's Interpretation Theory and Hermeneutic Theory as the basis framework. Ricoeur's Interpretation Theory is closely related to the concept of text, especially the interpretation of the text by placing the text autonomously, free from the intent of the author or text maker (text autonomy). Ricoeur's theory of interpretation can also be extended not only to texts but also to actions, namely actions that have meanings, just like texts. In the theory of interpretation, Ricoeur also links interpretation with ideology as a form of action, including interpretation as a critique of ideology (Thompson, 1987). In its application, Ricoeur's Theory of Interpretation is used in various studies such as education and language, as well as in learning practices (Ballantyne, 2014), and the interpretation of the actions of multisclerosed people (Hardwick, 2017).

There are several key concepts of Interpretation Theory which will be described briefly, namely discourse and language, text, explanation and understanding. Discourse can be presented as an event, i.e. something happens when someone speaks. Discourse refers to the world that is described, expressed, and interpreted. The event in this understanding is the emergence of the world of language through discourse. Hence, if language is a precondition and a provider of signs for communication, then discourse is a vehicle for exchanging messages. Therefore, discourse has not only a world, but also has a person, an interlocutor to which it is intended. All of these characters shape the discourse into an event (Ricoeur, 1976; Ricoeur & Thompson, 2016).

Discourse is related to writing. The main function of writing is the standardization of speech to save discourse from destruction. More than just as standardization, writing makes the text autonomous and out of the reach of the author's intentions. What is meant by the text no longer corresponds to what was meant by the author. In the autonomy of the text, there is a possibility that the substance of the text can be separated from the limitations of the horizon of the author's intent. In other words, because of the writing itself, the world of the text may deny the author's world. It transcends socio-psychological conditions of production (Ricoeur & Thompson, 2016). In this case, a text must be able to 'detach' itself from context so that it can be 'contextualized' into new situations. Text in Ricoeur's view is a work that liberates the reader, thereby creating *vis--vis* subjectivity (Tan et al., 2009).

Then, what is the text called? The text is any standardized discourse through writing. Thus, what is standardized through writing is a discourse that can indeed be spoken, but it is written because it is not spoken. In this case, standardization through writing occupies the position of speech. What is the relationship between text and speech? If the utterance (*parole*) is understood as the embodiment of language (language) into a discourse event, or the creation of an utterance by a speaker, then each text is in the same position as speech in its relationship with language (McFadden & Ricoeur, 1978; Ricoeur, 1976)

In the world of texts, what must be interpreted in a text is the world that it lays out. That is a world I can live in and I can project one of the greatest possibilities I have onto that world. In the world of text, the substance of the text or the world of works, there is a medium that mediates us to understand ourselves. The world presented is not located behind the text, as a hidden meaning, but is in front of the text, as something that is spread, discovered, and floated by a work. Therefore, understanding is understanding oneself in front of the text. In this case it can be said that the self is formed by the substance of the text (Petrovici, 2013).

In the Theory of Interpretation, Paul Ricoeur pays most serious attention to the dichotomy of explanation (*erklaren*) and understanding (*verstehen*) when the text is tried to be interpreted.

This duality first appears in Dilthey's work on Romanticism hermeneutics, where explanation and understanding are two very opposite things. Both represent ways to reach knowledge that are different from each other. According to Dilthey, 'explanation' refers to a model of explanation borrowed from the natural sciences and applied to historical disciplines by the positivist school. On the other hand, 'interpretation' is a form of derivation of the understanding that is seen by Dilthey as a fundamental attitude in the disciplines of the human sciences. The implications of this duality will be seen when faced in the act of reading. These differences create choices that mutually contradict one another. The choice is to 'explain' in the way of a natural scientist or 'interpret' in the way of a historian (Ricoeur & Thompson, 2016; Tan et al., 2009).

Hermeneutics is a term that includes various levels of reflection, which refers to a practice, an art, which requires expertise. Hermeneutics is a practical art, that is to say, a technician, in such matters as preaching, interpreting other languages, explaining and issuing texts, and as of all this, the art of understanding, an indispensable art whenever the meaning of something is unclear and unambiguous (Gadamer, 2006). The term hermeneutics consists of both explanation and understanding, including methods of interpretation that do not emphasize the role of tradition and historical consciousness, and reject intersubjectivity as the basis of all communication between texts and readers (Palmer, 1982).

Josef Bleicher defines hermeneutics as a theory or philosophy regarding the interpretation of meaning (Bleicher, 2017). According to Jenet Wolff, hermeneutics simply means interpretation, or the interpretation of understanding. As a tradition, hermeneutics is concerned with the interpretation of texts, cultural objects, historical periods, and worldviews (Wolff, 1975). Meanwhile, Paul Ricoeur defines hermeneutics based on how it works. According to Ricoeur, hermeneutics is a theory about how understanding works in interpreting texts. Here the key idea is the realization of discourse as text. Therefore, the place of hermeneutics is language, especially written language (Ricoeur & Thompson, 2016).

As a theory which focuses on the art of interpretation (Kinsella, 2006), hermeneutics is used in various studies such as education studies (Kim, 2013; Retz, 2015). Hermeneutics can also be used as indoctrination and ideological criticism (Lammi, 1997; Thompson, 1987; Wolff, 1975). In the field of communication, hermeneutics is also adopted theoretically and methodologically (Deetz, 1977, 1978).

This study uses Ricoeur's hermeneutic method. Ricoeur's hermeneutics places great emphasis on the autonomy of the text or distanciation with explanation and understanding in the interpretation of the text (Tan et al., 2009). As a method, hermeneutics is the art of interpreting, with several characteristics, namely: seeking understanding rather than explanation, knowledge is determined at the location of interpretation, introducing the roles of language and historicity in interpretation, viewing measurement as talk, and comfortable with ambiguity (Kinsella, 2006). The determination of Ricoeur's hermeneutic phenomenological analysis as a method in this study is because this method can open and find the meaning of jihad more freely and contextually. Through the process of distinction and autonomy of the text, the meaning of jihad can be found in a wider horizon for certain purposes such as ideological criticism and counter-discourse efforts of radicalism.

The subject of this research is NU, an Islamic organization founded by KH. Hasyim As'ary in 1926 in Surabaya, as a response to the modernist movement in Indonesia. The establishment of NU was also related to the context of international developments in the mid-1920s, the abolition of the caliphate, the Wahhabi invasion of Mecca, and the search for a new Islamic internationalism (Feillard, 2017; Van Bruinessen, 2008). In its development, NU became known as a moderate Islamic organization with the Ahlul-sunnah wal Jamaah (Aswaja) doctrine (Azra,

2005b; Hilmy, 2013). NU is also a follower of Sunni Islam by holding a moderate attitude (tawasuth), fair (i'tidal), balanced (tawazzun), and tolerant (tasamuh) (Burhani, 2012).

The data collection in this study used the method of documentation and in-depth interviews. The documentation method was used to track down documents related to NU's official interpretation of jihad. The analyzed documents (units of analysis) were official organizational documents which include decisions on the results of congress, national deliberations, decisions of the PBNU Bahtsul Masail Institute, tanfidz (books), and articles in the organization's official media. Meanwhile, in-depth interviews were conducted with NU figures or activists to understand their reflections on jihad. Data analysis was carried out by text analysis using Ricoeur's hermeneutic phenomenological analysis which included three stages, (1) analysis of distanciation in the interpretation process, (2) reflection analysis to understand experiences in interpreting the meaning of jihad, and (3) context analysis to understand the context of interpretation and factors that determine interpretation.

## 2 Results

### *Distanciation in the Process of Interpreting the Meaning of Jihad*

NU understands jihad in a very broad sense, in accordance with the vision of Islam as a religion of peace. Thus, NU does not only view jihad as a war of arms, but places more emphasis on jihad in the understanding of defending the homeland and the nation, and jihad for the benefit of the people (mabadi 'khaira ummah).

NU's interpretation of jihad above can be explained through text analysis (semantics) as follows:

- 1) Explanation/erklaren: analyzing the text with depth-semantics, which includes the following elements:
  - a. Background: part of the text that explains the background of the text to understand the direction or purpose of making the text. NU understands jihad contextually and in a broader context, not only by fighting and taking up arms. In 1945, for example, Rais Akbar (Leader) of NU KH. Hasyim Asy'ari once translated the meaning of jihad contextually in Indonesia when allied soldiers came to Surabaya in November 1945. He issued a "Jihad Resolution" to fight against the allies. Regarding the Jihad Resolution, PBNU Chairman KH Said Aqil Siroj, explained:  
"The war he meant was not meant to defend religion alone, but also to defend the homeland and their nation. This is because, in NU's view, defending the homeland and the nation means protecting all communities, including Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, Confucians, religious sects, and other indigenous communities" (Siroj, 2012).  
In a broader context, the background of NU's interpretation in understanding jihad is not only war in the sense of taking up arms, but jihad can be carried out in various ways, as explained by Mohammad Sibromulisi who explains the meaning of jihad as follows:  
"Jihad has a broad meaning, which means being serious and working hard to do good. According to scholars, jihad can be manifested by heart, spreading Islamic law, dialogue and discussion in the context of seeking the truth, presenting works for the benefit of Muslims and by fighting infidelity" (Sibromulisi, 2019).
  - b. Details: sections of text that explain the importance of text by displaying text that benefits the text creator more.

NU views the obligation of jihad as not a goal but only at the level of intermediary (wasilah). Its purpose is to carry Allah's guidance and to lead to Allah's religion. In more detail, jihad in the context of fighting infidelity must be placed in a clear corridor, as explained by Mohammad Sibromulisi below:

"Jihad in this model (of war) has very strict procedures and requirements. Similar to the strict requirements for doing amar ma'ruf, especially when it has entered the context of society and state. How can a struggle that ignores the ethics and procedures of jihad be called jihad? Moreover, the violence carried out has violated the sharia and humanitarian norms" (Sibromulisi, 2019).

- c. Intent: a section of text that explains the intent of the author of the text by describing the text more explicitly.

NU understands that jihad is an effort to devote physical energy that is projected to implement God's messages on earth in order to emphasize the task of humans as His caliph. The purpose of NU's interpretation of jihad as an effort to devote energy is as stated by PBNU Chairman KH Said Aqil Siroj:

"Fighting with arms is only one of thousands of models of jihad. It is also accompanied by requirements that must be met strictly and syar'i in war. In the case of conflicts in Maluku and Poso, for example, jihad is directed at maximizing the ability of local residents to build common strength in overcoming conflicts. Jihad is not to marginalize non-Muslim elements and cleanse them from Indonesian soil so that an Islamic state can be established" (Siroj, 2012).

- d. Presupposition: part of the text that explains the meaning of the text by presenting a statement that is considered to be true.

NU considers that jihad as a whole can be carried out in various ways, such as the struggle in education, the economy, and other fields for the benefit of Muslims. PBNU chairman KH Said Aqil Siroj explained NU's presuppositions about jihad:

"Islam defines jihad in a very broad sense. Jihad actually cannot be separated from the frame of the vision of Islam itself as a religion of peace. In other words, jihad encourages Muslims to work hard and build a work ethic, and also requires them to have high social awareness and sensitivity" (Siroj, 2012).

- 2) Understanding (verstehen): interpreting the text with in-depth interpretation, which includes the following elements:

- a. Distantiation/imprisonment: detachment of the substance of the text from the author's intent.

Jihad in the linguistic sense means "to be serious with all of one's abilities". In other understandings and many are understood today, jihad is defined as a physical movement that connotes violence, cruelty, and even bloodshed. NU as a moderate Islamic organization understands jihad in a broad but more substantive sense. NU understands jihad not in terms of taking up arms, but jihad as a value of peace and compassion.

NU's understanding of jihad refers to the Qur'an surah al-Hajj verse 78, which means "Fight in the way of Allah with the real struggle..." and Surah al-'Ankabut verse 6, which means "And whoever carries out jihad it is for himself. Verily, Allah is Rich (does not need anything) from the worlds."

In connection with this distantiation, two processes of distantiation in NU's interpretation of jihad can be explained here, namely:

Distantiation 1: language becomes discourse, where the language of "jihad (jahd)" (trying earnestly) as stated in the letter al-Hajj verse 78 and surah al-Ankabut verse 6, is understood as defending the homeland and nation, or it can also be interpreted as jihad as the protector of mankind. In the context of jihad as defending the homeland and nation, jihad must protect all communities, be it Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, and other faiths.

Distantiation 2: discourse becomes text (textuality), where discourse on jihad as defending the homeland and the nation is textually understood by NU as jihad for the benefit of the people (mabadi 'khaira ummah). Jihad is actualized in the following forms: seeking food security (al-ith'am), fighting for clothing security (al-iksa), seeking for housing (al-iskan), seeking guarantees for medicines (tsaman ad-dawa'), and seeking health insurance (ujrah at-tamaridl) (Siroj, 2012).

The process of disentangling the interpretation of jihad by NU can be seen in Figure 1 below:

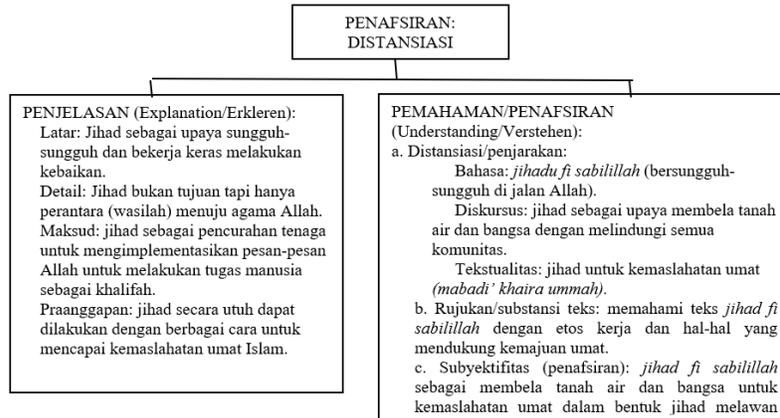


**Fig 1.** The Process of Disentangling NU's Interpretation of Jihad.

(Source: processed by the author)

- b. Reference/substance of the text: no longer looking for the hidden meaning behind the text but understanding the world that is unfolded in the text. As an Islamic organization, NU understands the verses of jihad as in Surah al-Hajj verse 78 and al-Ankabut verse 6 in a very broad sense. In NU's view, jihad cannot be separated from the frame of the vision of Islam itself as a religion of peace. "Jihad can be interpreted as work ethic and things that are in support of the culture of progress of the people". Substantially, the meaning of jihad is always associated with humanitarian issues with all of its problems and needs that are concrete (Siroj, 2012).
- c. Subjectivity (interpretation): To understand means to open oneself through the process of claiming the world that is offered and that has been unfolded by interpretation. At this level, NU has made its understanding of jihad as contained in the jihad verses in surah al-Hajj verse 78 and al-Ankabut verse 6 in the form of jihad to defend the homeland and the nation and jihad for the benefit of the people. NU's subjectivity in understanding jihad is manifested and reflected in the form of a "jihad resolution" called for by Rais Akbar NU KH Hasyim Asy'ari to fight the allied troops. According to the Chairman of PBNU KH Said Aqil Siroj stated: "The war he meant was not meant to defend religion alone, but also to defend the homeland and the nation. The reason is, in NU's view, as emphasized in the Congress in Banjarmasin in 1936, defending the homeland and the nation means protecting all communities, including Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, Confucians, religious sects, and other indigenous communities" (Siroj, 2012) . NU's recognition in understanding jihad is regarded as an effort to protect those who are entitled to protection, both Muslims and non-Muslims. One form of NU's claim to jihad is the jihad against corruption as an extraordinary crime. In summary, the analysis of the text (semantics) and the process of interpretation with an explanation and

understanding of jihad according to NU can be seen in Figure 2 based Ricoeur's hermeneutic model below:



**Fig 2.** Ricoeur's Hermeneutic Analysis Model (Explanation and Understanding) regarding jihad according to NU

#### *NU's Reflections on the Meaning of Jihad*

Jihad in NU's view is prioritizing the benefit of the people (*mabadi' khaira ummah*) (Siroj, 2012). In the repertoire of classical books, it is stated that the meaning of jihad includes those who work, those who seek knowledge, and those who do good deeds. According to Helmy Faishal Zaini, Secretary General of PBNU, the meaning of jihad cannot be monopolized by one understanding that jihad is war. In fact, the greatest jihad is jihad against lust, and against one's own ego. After the battle of Uhud, the Prophet Muhammad SAW said that the greatest war is against one's own lust.

In the historical context, NU once called for a jihad resolution through KH. Hasyim Asy'ari, founder of NU. Regarding the context of the jihad resolution, Helmy Faishal Zaini, Secretary General of PBNU, explained as follows:

"NICA soldiers, after the proclamation, in October 1945 to be exact, will again take over Indonesia starting from Surabaya. At that time, Bung Karno was overwhelmed and asked Hadratus Sheikh Hasyim As'ary for advice on how to raise the spirit of people's resistance. Bung Karno saw that the ulama had two duties in Indonesia, first the role of *tafaqquh fiddin*, religious development, and secondly the role of the community as leaders of the people. At that time, Hadratus Shaykh conveyed a jihad resolution that within a radius of 90 kilometers, the radius of the traveler, it is obligatory for these Muslims to defend every inch of land, so it is called the jihad resolution." (Interview, 29 January 2019).

According to Sarmidi, Secretary of the Bahtsul Masail Institute (LBM) of PBNU, the context of the Jihad resolution which is seen as a call for war was initiated because the Indonesian people were oppressed by the invaders. That's why NU issued a jihad resolution (Interview, December 17, 2018). According to Khamami Zada, Deputy Chairperson of Lakpesdam PBNU, jihad has a double meaning, namely physical jihad and non-physical jihad. Physical jihad is exerting all one's ability to stem and resist the enemies who appear to be unbelievers. Non-physical jihad is to use all of one's ability to stem and fight the enemy's attacks that do not appear like lust. Physical jihad is called war, while non-physical jihad is against lust. "Unfortunately, many Muslims understand that jihad is only war. As a result, jihad has narrowed

its meaning to war. No wonder so many people mistakenly state that Islam is synonymous with violence. In fact, Islam is a religion that teaches peace. The meaning of jihad can also mean studying Islam, preaching, and much more," explained Khamami (Interview, March 17, 2020). The meaning of jihad can also be placed in the context for the benefit of the people.

Regarding this, Alissa Wahid, Secretary of the PBNU Family Welfare Institution, explained:

"If I follow what is in the Qur'an, the verses about physical jihad is only a third of all jihad verses, and the verses are also mutasyabihat which always have to have preconditions, and limits. Jihad, especially to achieve the benefit of the ummah becomes maqashidus Sharia (an idea in Islamic law that Sharia was revealed by Allah to achieve certain goals-pen). The benefit of the people is like the maqashidus of Sharia that is used. Actually, the concepts for the benefit of the people are quite comprehensively formulated in NU". (Interview, March 17, 2020).

NU's view of jihad which emphasizes jihad that prioritizes the benefit of the people is also widely displayed on NU Online. According to Syafiq Ali, Editor of NU Online, jihad takes place in a defensive context. The wars that the Prophet fought were not all in the context of the political struggles at that time. Not like people's today who want to establish Islamic States like ISIS, let alone using suicide bombings as jihad. Syafiq Ali explains:

"NU, which is influenced by the Sufistic tradition, has an understanding that jihad is ijthad or hard endeavor. Hard work is jihad. Study hard too. And it must be adapted according to the times. Similar to the idea that jihad before independence with jihad after independence is also different. When Muslims no longer have enemies, there is no need to look for enemies. Instead, what must be done is to improve civilization through what are believed to be Islamic values." (Interview, 29 January 2019).

According to Alissa Wahid, mabadi 'khaira ummah is a form of jihad. NU's jihad is not fighting but building the khaira ummah. So mabadi 'khaira ummah is a form of jihad. Not the same as jihad, but part of jihad. Meanwhile, in Khamami Zada's view, jihad as mabadi 'khaira ummah (prioritizing for the benefit of the people) is included in the non-physical jihad category, namely mobilizing all abilities for the benefit of society, such as teaching knowledge, preaching, and serving parents. NU's interpretation of jihad as above is a progressive interpretation to prevent Muslims from being trapped in the understanding of jihad as mere war.

In formulating an understanding of jihad, NU does not directly refer to the verse (nash) but uses words (qaul). The reference for jihad among NU refers to the qaul of Sheikh Zainudin al-Malibari. According to Sarmidi, NU understands that jihad is fardhu kifayah and that jihad is not just war. In the book Fathul Muin, the work of Sheikh Zainudin al-Malibari, it is clear that jihad is a genuine effort to achieve one's goal. Regarding Sheikh Zainudin al-Malibari's qaul on the meaning of jihad, Sarmidi said:

"There are four meanings of jihad. First, jihad is to establish the existence of Allah SWT, such as kiai or clerics who teach the call to prayer, and teach the attributes of Allah SWT. According to Sheikh Zainudin al-Malibari, the person who taught him was in the first jihad category. The second jihad is to enforce the Sharia of Allah SWT. For example, kiai or ustadz teach prayer or zakat procedures. Third, jihad in the way of Allah SWT (jihad fi sabilillah). War in the way of Allah swt. This is in the context when it is fought. When fought by the enemy, you have to fight back. The fourth jihad is to reject the danger that will befall both Muslims and non-Muslims who are protected by the state. It also includes forms of jihad." (Interview, 17 December 2018).

In Khamami Zada's view, the benefit of the people has a very broad meaning. As long as it fulfills the needs of the community, then that is mabadi 'khaira ummah. Thus, jihad which is manifested in the form of suicide bombings or bombing police headquarters or other community

groups, should not be considered as jihad but a deviation from jihad. According to Alissa Wahid, NU's interpretation of jihad as mabadi 'khaira ummah cannot be separated from the factor of the interpretation of jihad as an act of violence and terrorism. According to Alissa Wahid, there are two concepts related to why people use jihad to fight with violence and war. First, those who believe that Muslims are in the age of battle, therefore they must fight. Second, tough but not using violence. Being hard in the sense of building a high wall between Islam and non-Muslims.

*The main concept used is kaffah Islam.*

NU rejects jihad in the form of violence such as bombings or suicide bombings, attacks and destruction of places of worship, and others. For NU, there are those who make the trouble not jihad, but a group that disrupts security. Regarding NU's understanding of jihad as the benefit of the people, Sarmidi explained as follows:

"Jihad for the benefit of the people is dafud dharar, which has a very broad meaning. For example, denying the occurrence of famine is part of dafud dharar. Rejecting harm, preventing damage is more important than attracting a profit or good, rejecting damage first then good. You cannot attract new good before resisting damage. We have to resist the damage first then make a profit. It is safe to do the Sharia first. You cannot do the Sharia if it is not safe. We must continue to maintain the security of the country and then we will fill that security with the Sharia". (Interview, 17 December 2018).

*Context of Interpreting the Meaning of Jihad among NU*

Contextually there are three forms of NU interpretation of the meaning of jihad, namely jihad as defending the homeland and the nation, jihad for the benefit of the people (mabadi' khaira ummah), and actual or contemporary jihad in the form of jihad against drugs, jihad against corruption, and jihad on social media. (proxy wars). First, NU understands jihad as defending the homeland and the nation in the context of fighting (warring) defending the homeland and nation. Jihad to defend the homeland and this nation has historically been manifested in the form of the "Jihad Resolution" called for by Rais Akbar NU KH. Hasyim Asyari to fight the allied troops in Surabaya on October 22, 1945. In this context, NU understands jihad as defending the homeland and the nation even though its form is war. Not only to defend Islam but also other religions and beliefs in Indonesia. In the context of jihad to defend the homeland and the nation, it gave birth to the jargon "hubbul wathan minal iman" (love of the homeland is part of faith).

The spirit of jihad echoed by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari is not just a spirit of fighting against the enemy. However, the resolution of jihad is based on the spirit of resistance against all forms of colonialism and oppression. On the other hand, the jihad resolution is considered a strategic decision and very valuable in providing moral support to the nation's leaders and triggering the patriotism of the santri, the people, and the ulama in fighting against the invaders. The ulama left the pesantren, led the resistance and gave orders in front of the santri. The Jihad Resolution is a manifesto of the nationalism of Indonesian ulama and shows the importance of the roles of ulama in upholding the development of Indonesian independence (Saputra, 2019)

The Jihad Resolution as a form of understanding jihad to defend the homeland and the nation was an effort from the Kiais to burn enthusiasm and morale by interpreting the struggle to defend the homeland as a jihad fi sabilillah. The contents of the Jihad Resolution were (a) strong request to the government of the Republic of Indonesia to determine a real and commensurate attitude and action against efforts that will endanger the independence, religion and, the State of Indonesia, especially against the Dutch and their accomplices; (b) in order to continue the 'sabilillah' struggle for the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia and Islam. The Jihad

Resolution as a political stance to show NU's strength against the Dutch was somewhat surprising, because previously NU was known to be accommodating to the Dutch East Indies government. Even NU once recognized the Dutch East Indies government legally because it gave Muslims freedom to practice their religion. There were even figures who say that NU was indeed close to the Dutch East Indies government, and forbade jihad against the Dutch (Amiq, 2014).

Apart from that, the consideration of the NU Kiai's in maintaining and upholding the Republic of Indonesia in the view of Islamic law was part of the religious obligations that must be carried out by Muslims. In the view of the Kiai's and the Muslims, the actions taken by Japan and the NICA-Dutch after independence had disturbed the order with the crimes and atrocities that had been committed against the Indonesian people. This Jihad Resolution represented the majority of the Indonesian people who believed that the actions of the NICA-Dutch and the British were actions that violate the sovereignty of the state and religion. In these circumstances, Muslims had an obligation to defend themselves (Bizawie, 2014).

In the discourse on jihad, the Jihad Resolution called for by KH. Hasyim Asy'ari who later gave birth to the War on November 10, 1945 in Surabaya, can be categorized as a defensive jihad, as opposed to an offensive jihad. The Jihad Resolution as a form of defensive jihad was also in accordance with the jihad of the Prophet Muhammad SAW who never did and advised his companions not to carry out offensive jihad. Of the 22 wars that the Prophet Muhammad SAW engaged, almost no form of war was found in the context of power expansion. Most of which occurred – even though it was in the form of physical jihad – in the context of defending sovereignty over the right to life (Zada, 2018).

Second, NU's interpretation of jihad is as part of an action to prioritize the benefits of the people (*mabadi 'khaira ummah*). This understanding of jihad to prioritize the benefits of the people is based on the understanding that jihad cannot be separated from the vision of Islam itself as a religion of peace and protection for mankind (*rahmatan lil-alamin*). Jihad is interpreted as an effort to protect those who are entitled to protection, whether Muslims and non-Muslims. This understanding of jihad was based on the formulation of the fourth meaning of jihad, namely *daf'uddlarar ma'shumin musliman kana au ghaira Muslim* (fulfilling the needs and interests of people who must be borne by the government, both Muslims and non-Muslims).

Jihad, as written in the book *Fathul Mu'in* by Sheikh Zainuddin al-Malibari (d. 1522 AD), a scholar of the Shafi'i school, can be categorized into 4 categories, namely: (1) *iqamatu hujajin diniyah naqliyatan au aqliyah li itsbati manifestish shani'*, that is, affirming the existence of Allah SWT, on earth, such as chanting the call to prayer for congregational prayers, takbir, and various kinds of dhikr and wirid; (2) *iqamatus shari'atillah*, namely upholding shari'a and religious values, such as prayers, fasting, zakat, hajj, the values of honesty, justice, and truth; (3) *al-qital fi sabilillah*, namely fighting in the way of Allah. This means that if there is a community that is hostile to Muslims, then with all the arguments justified by religion, we can fight according to the signs set by Allah SWT; (4) *daf'uddlarar ma'shumin Muslim kana au ghaira Muslim* (fulfilling the needs and interests of people who must be borne by the government, both Muslims and non-Muslims). The way to fulfill the fourth jihad is to meet the needs of clothing, food, and housing for the people (Siroj, 2012).

Thus, contextually, jihad as the benefit of the *ummah* can be actualized into the following fulfillment principles: (1) seeking food security (*al-ith'am*); (2) fighting for clothing (*al-iksa*); (3) seeking for housing security (*al-iskan*); and (4) seeking for medical security (*tsaman ad-dawa'*), and seeking for health security (*ujrah at-tamaridl*). These five basic needs are then known as *mabadi 'khaira ummah* (basic principles for the benefit of the people) (Siroj, 2012).

Jihad for the benefit of this people is also in accordance with the struggle of the Prophet Muhammad when conquering the city of Mecca which gave birth to a harmonious and just life. The liberation of the city of Mecca (fathul Makkah) was a proof of how Muslims carry the meaning of jihad as a value of peace and love. When the Messenger of Allah entered the city of Mecca the Prophet proclaimed al-yaum yaumul marhamah (today is the day of love). This is in accordance with the teachings of Islam which is peaceful and tolerant, which was also exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad in spreading Islam (Rijal, 2016). Jihad as the mabadi' khaira ummah by NU can have implications for moderate attitudes, especially among NU member through the implementation of the Aswaja doctrine, namely: as-Shidqu (honesty), al-Amanah wal Wafa' bil-Ahdi (trustworthy, loyal, and maintaining promises), al -A'dalah (fair), at-Ta'awun (help), and al-Istiqamah (consistency) (Fauzi, 2019).

Third, NU's interpretation of the meaning of jihad can also be understood in the contemporary context which is related to the current times and the problems faced by Muslims today. The forms of understanding about jihad initiated by NU include jihad against drugs, jihad against corruption, and jihad against hoaxes on social media. Jihad against drugs, for example, is a genuine effort to protect lives. This is because drugs are clearly dangerous because they threaten lives and the survival of the nation's future. Therefore, fighting it is tantamount to jihad. Likewise, jihad against hoaxes (false news) that are growing on social media must also be done. According to Helmy Faishal Zaini, General Secretary of PBNU, fighting hoaxes is jihad because they trigger disintegration, moral destruction, and loss of national wisdom. Therefore, fighting hoaxes can be considered as jihad (Interview, 29/01/2019).

Likewise with jihad against corruption, in the current context the war against corruption can be equated with jihad fi sabilillah. This is because corruption is an act of crime, even referred to as an extraordinary crime (extraordinary crime) that cannot be fought in ordinary ways. Therefore, seriousness is needed to eradicate corruption and that is jihad fi sabilillah. In the context of jihad for the benefit of the people, the jihad against corruption carried out by NU is an effort to prevent damage and seek benefit (dar'ul mafasid wa jalbul mashalih) (Wahid & Alim, 2017). In the Qur'an, it is also ordered to fight against corruption with appropriate punishments (Mansur, 2019).

### **3 Discussion**

#### *Jihad as mabadi' khaira ummah and Counter-Discourse on Radicalism*

Previous studies have generally shown that the interpretation of the meaning of jihad can be divided into two, namely war jihad, physical jihad, and offensive jihad on the one hand and peaceful jihad, non-physical jihad, and defensive jihad on the other (Hartini, 2019; Mulyati, 2019; Ridlo, 2018). The interpretation of the meaning of peaceful jihad, non-physical jihad, and defensive jihad, as well as other forms of jihad such as benefiting the ummah, is emphasized by moderate Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU (Rahman, 2016; Romadlan, 2019).

They also reject the interpretation of the meaning of war jihad, physical jihad, and offensive jihad which are mostly promoted by transnational Islamic organizations (Hasan, 2002). The results of this study show that NU's interpretation of the meaning of jihad as mabadi' khaira ummah has implications for strengthening NU's position as a moderate Islamic organization in Indonesia, which opposes war jihad and offensive jihad. Another implication is proving the existence of distantiation in the process of interpreting the meaning of jihad, and at the same time showing the interests that surround the interpretation of the meaning of jihad as mabadi' khaira ummah.

NU interprets the meaning of jihad as mabadi' khaira ummah which aims for the benefits of the people. This interpretation became a discourse among NU leaders and activists and was contested with the interpretation of the meaning of jihad voiced by other Muslim groups. Not only being contested, the interpretation of jihad as mabadi' khaira ummah of NU must also be used as a counter-discourse against the radical movements. This counter-discourse is a kind of resistance by producing counter discourses or discourses related to interpretations related to jihad. If discourse refers to the world that is described, expressed, and interpreted (Ricoeur & Thompson, 2016), then so is counter-discourse. However, in counter-discourse what is described and interpreted is different from what is described and interpreted in the wider discourse.

For example, the term occidentalism as a counter-discourse to the term orientalism, or in a binary position such as West-East, Self-Other, Oppressed-Oppressor (Sorensen & Chen, 1996). Counter-discourse can also take the form of, for example, the term post-colonial studies as counter-discourse on colonialism and imperialism (Tiffin, 1987). In Foucault's view, counter-discourse is related to previously silent groups starting to articulate their desire to resist the prevailing domination of authoritative discourse (Moussa & Scapp, 1996).

With regards to the interpretation of jihad as mabadi' khaira ummah NU as a counter-discourse to the radical movements, the NU interpretation of jihad is in a position opposite (binary) to the interpretation of jihad by radical Muslim groups. In addition, the interpretation of jihad as mabadi' khaira ummah is intended to fight the dominance of the discourse on the meaning of jihad which is considered deviant. The interpretation actually appears as an effort to protect all human beings, both Muslims and non-Muslims. In this case, NU strongly rejects the understanding of jihad in the form of violence and terrorism as believed by radical Muslim groups. In NU's view, jihad with violence and terrorism is not in accordance with the principles of jihad of the Prophet Muhammad SAW which prioritizes peace and love.

In an effort to make the interpretation of jihad as mabadi' khaira ummah as a counter-discourse to the radical movements, it is necessary to formulate the targets, strategies and platforms used. The targets of the counter-discourse are mainly radical Muslim groups who have an interpretation of jihad as violence and terrorism. The discourse constructed by these Muslim jihadist groups is jihad with violence or war, so it is this discourse that must be fought through counter-discourse. One way is to provide contextualization of the meaning of jihad as in the form of empowering the Muslim community in the fields of education and the economy through Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU (Rahman, 2017).

There are platforms that can be used as a medium for counter-discourse to radicalism. One of which is mass media such as *Republika* which can be used as a medium for non-violent jihad interpretation discourse (Rahman, 2017). In the context of making the interpretation of jihad as mabadi' khaira ummah as a counter-discourse to the radical movements, one of the platforms that can be used is NU Online as a medium that carries NU aspirations. Regarding the role and functions of NU Online in relation to the discourse of the radical movements, Syafiq Ali, Editor of NU Online, explained:

"NU online's main concern is not to fight radicalism. The role of NU online is more on how to make NU's teachings are embraced by the majority of Indonesian Muslims. If the teachings or interpretations of Islam or NU's are embraced by the majority of Indonesian Muslims, they will not become radical. This is because NU is basically tawasuth, moderate, tolerant, accepts Pancasila in the context of the state's political ideology, will not support ISIS, or any form of caliphate, even Islamic law. (Interview, 29 January 2019).

The strategy used to make the interpretation of jihad as mabadi' khaira ummah as a counter-discourse to the radical movements through NU online is to multiply writings that explain

Islamic concepts related to radicalism. For example, regarding jihad, the Islamic caliphate, non-Muslim leaders, Islamic majorities, and about not being like non-Muslims, and so on. NU online raises issues that have become the discourse of many circles, especially the discourse of groups outside NU. This is because basically most NU members are not so influenced by these discourses.

#### *NU's Interests in the Interpretation of the Meaning of Jihad*

In the process of interpretation, it is almost certain that there will always be interests. In the study of hermeneutics, this issue of interest is mentioned several times in relation to its influence on the interpretation process. For example, Gadamer sees that there are traditions that surround the interpretation process which then gives birth to horizon fusion (Gadamer, 2006). Habermas observes the importance of emancipation in hermeneutics (Ricoeur & Thompson, 2016), while Ricoeur associates this interest with the practice of ideology (Thompson, 1987). With regards to the interpretation of jihad, the interests of identity become the main interests that determine the meaning of jihad (Murshed, 2003; Rahman, 2017).

So, what interests determine the interpretation of the meaning of jihad as *mabadi' khaira ummah* by NU? There are two interrelated interests that determine the interpretation of the meaning of NU's jihad, namely, the interests of the benefit of the people, and the interests of strengthening the identity of the organization. This understanding of jihad for the benefit of the *ummah* is based on the understanding that jihad really cannot be separated from the vision of Islam itself as a religion of peace and protection for mankind (*rahmatan lil-aalamin*). Jihad is realized by nurturing and protecting those who are entitled to protection, whether Muslim or non-Muslim. This understanding of jihad is based on the formulation of the fourth meaning of jihad in the book of Fathul Muin by Sheikh Zainudin al-Malibari, namely *daf'uddlarar ma'shumin Muslim kana au ghaira Muslim* (fulfilling the needs and interests of people who must be borne by the government, both Muslim and non-Muslim). -Muslim).

NU's interpretation of jihad as *mabadi' khaira ummah* is influenced by the doctrine or vision of universal Islamic teachings, namely Islam as a religion of mercy for all kinds. Therefore, jihad in NU's view is more nurturing or protecting, not fighting (*harb*) or killing (*qital*) non-Muslims. Jihad for the benefit of the people can be realized by meeting the needs of the people in the form of clothing, food, shelter, and health. NU's understanding of jihad is also at the same time a negation or rejection of the understanding of jihad from radical Muslim groups who understand jihad in the form of violence, war, and terrorism. For NU, the benefit of the *ummah* is far more important than hostility which does not necessarily have any benefits.

In the context of political interests, the interpretation of the meaning of jihad as *mabadi' khaira ummah* is one form of NU's national politics. In the idea of KH. Abdul Muchith Muzadi, national politics is defined as the responsibility to maintain the universal integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) from separatist groups which could lead to division and destruction, in one commitment, namely Pancasila (Rofi'i, 2015).

The importance of affirming organizational identity in determining the interpretation of the meaning of jihad as *mabadi' khaira ummah* is related to NU's identity as an Islam Nusantara organization with a Sunni ideology and following the *Aswaja* doctrine, namely moderate (*tawasuth*), fair (*i'tidal*), balanced (*tawazzun*), and tolerant (*tasamuh*), and helpful (*ta'awun*) (Burhani, 2012; Murtaufiq, 2018). By interpreting the meaning of jihad as *mabadi' khaira ummah*, NU has established itself as a moderate Islamic organization which has the responsibility to maintain national unity with *ukhuwah wathaniyah* and the teachings of Islam as *rahmatan lil-alamin*, one of which is by understanding jihad as an effort of *mabadi' khaira ummah*.

## 4 Conclusion

NU as one of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia that follows the teachings of Sunni and Aswaja, which later identified itself as Islam Nusantara interprets the meaning of jihad not as violence, war, let alone terrorism, but jihad as mabadi 'khaira ummah (prioritizing the benefits of the people). This interpretation of NU jihad was produced through a process of reflection among NU circles with various internal and external dynamics. Internal dynamics are related to the possibility of different views of NU figures regarding the meaning of jihad. Meanwhile, the external dynamics are related to the national and global political constellations, especially the radical movements that have penetrated various regions, including Indonesia. Contextually the interpretation of the meaning of jihad as mabadi 'khaira ummah is determined by NU's interests to benefit the people, and NU's national politics.

The interests of the benefit of the people mean that with jihad, NU strives to truly protect, maintain a sense of security and the continuity of the life of all mankind. The national political interest is NU's efforts through jihad to maintain the unity and integrity of Indonesia from the threat of radicalism that has the potential to divide Indonesian Muslims. It is at this point that the interpretation of the meaning of jihad as mabadi' khaira ummah can be used as a counter-discourse to the discourse on the interpretation of the meaning of jihad as acts of violence, war, and even terrorism as believed by radical Muslim groups. This counter-discourse on the meaning of jihad as mabadi 'khaira ummah is carried out through NU Online as NU's official media, other communication media such as social media, and also Nahdliyin lectures.

This study focuses on the interpretation of the meaning of NU jihad as mabadi 'khaira ummah to fight the discourse of radicalism in Indonesia. The contribution of this study is expected to be the first step in moderating the understanding of jihad for Indonesian Muslims, and also to become part of the disengagement program for radicalism in Indonesia. For this reason, future studies can focus on efforts to moderate and deradicalize, not only on the issue of jihad but also on the basis of the state, and tolerance for non-Muslims, which were initiated by moderate Islamic organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah as the main forces in fostering democratization in Indonesia. It is even possible to expand the study by examining Islamic organizations outside Indonesia, for example in the Southeast Asia region, which have the same identity as NU and Muhammadiyah in their efforts to fight radicalism in their respective countries. The aim of such studies, apart from being an effort to fight radicalism, is to increase democratization in the Southeast Asian region. These efforts can be carried out with cooperation between Islamic civil organizations in Southeast Asia, as well as government institutions and non-government organizations in each country of the region.

## References

- [1] Ali, A. S. (2014). *Al-Qaeda Tinjauan Sosio-Politik, Ideologi dan Sepak Terjangnya* (I). Jakarta: LP3ES.
- [2] Aly, S. (2020). Revitalization of Jihad and Khilafah: A Review for Political thought of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. *Icri* 2018, 1753–1760. <https://doi.org/10.5220/0009934817531760>
- [3] Amiq, A. (2014). Two Fatwas on Jihad Against the Dutch Colonization in Indonesia A Prosopographical Approach to the Study of Fatwa. *Studia Islamika*, 5(3). <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v5i3.740>
- [4] Arifianto, A. R. (2017). Practicing What It Preaches? Understanding the Contradictions between Pluralist Theology and Religious Intolerance within Indonesia's Nahdlatul Ulama. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 55(2), 241–264. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2017.552.241-264>

- [5] Aziz, T., & Abidin, A. Z. (2017). Tafsir Moderat Konsep Jihad dalam Perspektif M. Quraish Shihab. *Kontemplasi: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin*, 5(2), 461–483. <https://doi.org/10.21274/kontem.2017.5.2.461-484>
- [6] Azman. (2015). Jihad Perspektif Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. *Al Daulah : Jurnal Hukum Pidana Dan Ketatanegaraan*. <https://doi.org/10.24252/AD.V4i1.1498>
- [7] Azra, A. (2005a). *Islam in Southeast Asia: Tolerance and Radicalism*. Miegunyah Public Lecture, 1–19.
- [8] Azra, A. (2005b). *Islamic Thought: Theory, Concepts, and Doctrines in the Context of Southeast Asian Islam*. In K. S. Nathan & M. Hashim Kamali (Eds.), *Islam in Southeast Asia* (pp. 3–21). ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute Singapore. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789812306241-003>
- [9] Azra, A. (2016). *Transformasi Politik Islam Radikalisme, Khilafatisme, dan Demokrasi*. Jakarta: Prenada Media.
- [10] Ballantyne, G. (2014). Conversing with subjects: Applying Paul Ricoeur’s hermeneutics to pedagogical and academic language and learning practice. *Journal of Academic Language and Learning*, 8(1), A37–A47–A47.
- [11] Barton, G. (2014). The Gülen Movement, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama: Progressive Islamic Thought, Religious Philanthropy and Civil Society in Turkey and Indonesia. *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 25(3), 287–301. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2014.916124>
- [12] Bizawie, Z. M. (2014). *Laskar Ulama-Santri dan Resolusi Jihad Garda Depan Menegakkan Indonesia (1945-1949)* (3rd ed.). Tangerang Selatan: Pustaka Compass.
- [13] Bleicher, J. (2017). Contemporary Hermeneutics. In *Contemporary Hermeneutics: Hermeneutics as Method, Philosophy and Critique*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315112558>
- [14] Burhani, A. N. (2012). Al-Tawassut wa-l I’tidāl: The NU and moderatism in Indonesian Islam. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 40(5–6), 564–581. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685314-12341262>
- [15] Burhani, A. N. (2013). Liberal and Conservative Discourses in the Muhammadiyah: The Struggle for the Face of Reformist Islam in Indonesia. In M. Van Bruinessen (Ed.), *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam* (pp. 105–144). ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute Singapore. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814414579-008>
- [16] Chirzin, M. (2017). Reaktualisasi Jihad Fī Sabil Al-Lāh Dalam Konteks Kekinian Dan Keindonesiaan. *Ulumuna*, 10(1), 59–80. <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujs.v10i1.432>
- [17] Deetz, S. (1977). Interpretive Research in Communication: A Hermeneutic Foundation. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 3(1), 53–69. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019685997700300106>
- [18] Deetz, S. (1978). Conceptualizing human understanding: Gadamer’s hermeneutics and american communication studies. *Communication Quarterly*, 26(2), 12–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01463377809369288>
- [19] Fauzi, M. U. (2019). Implementasi Konsep “Mabadi Khaira Ummah Nahdlatul Ulama” Sebagai Bentuk Moderasi Islam di Kabupaten Nganjuk. *Tafhim Al-’Ilmi*, 11(1), 119–147. <https://doi.org/10.37459/tafhim.v11i1.3558>
- [20] Feillard, A. (2017). NU vis a vis Negara: Pencarian Isi, Bentuk, dan Makna. Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD dan LKiS.
- [21] Gadamer, H. G. (2006). Classical and Philosophical Hermeneutics. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 23(1), 29–56. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276406063228>
- [22] Harb, C., & Fischer, R. (2013). Terrorism and jihad in Indonesia: Questions and possible ways forward. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 16(2), 117–122. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajsp.12020>
- [23] Hardwick, L. (2017). Paul Ricoeur’s theory of interpretation adapted as a method for narrative analysis to capture the existential realities expressed in stories from people living with Multiple Sclerosis. *Qualitative Social Work*, 16(5), 649–663. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325016638423>
- [24] Hartini, D. (2019). Kontekstualisasi Makna Jihad di Era Milenial. *Dialogia: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Sosial*, 17(1), 81–100.
- [25] Hasan, N. (2002). Faith and Politics: The Rise of the Laskar Jihad in the Era of Transition in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 73(73), 145–169. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3351472>
- [26] Hasan, N. (2008). *Laskar Jihad Islam, Militansi, dan Pencarian Identitas di Indonesia Pasca-Orde Baru* (Hairus Salim) (1st ed.). Jakarta: LP3ES-KITLV.

- [27] Hilmy, M. (2013). Whiter Indonesia's Islamic Moderatism? A Reexamination on the Moderate Vision of Muhammadiyah and NU. *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM*, 7(1), 24. <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2013.7.1.24-48>
- [28] Ichwan, M. N. (2013). Towards a Puritanical Moderate Islam: The Majelis Ulama Indonesia and the Politics of Religious Orthodoxy. In M. Van Bruinessen (Ed.), *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam* (pp. 60–104). ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute Singapore. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814414579-007>
- [29] Kim, J. H. (2013). Teacher action research as Bildung: An application of Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics to teacher professional development. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 45(3), 379–393. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220272.2012.702224>
- [30] Kinsella, E. A. (2006). Hermeneutics and critical hermeneutics: Exploring possibilities within the art of interpretation. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung*, 7(3).
- [31] Lammi, W. (1997). The hermeneutics of ideological indoctrination. *Perspectives on Political Science*, 26(1), 10–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10457099709600658>
- [32] Mansur, S. (2019). Jihad Berantas Korupsi Dalam Perspektif Kitab Suci Agama Di Indonesia. *Aqlania*, 10(2), 111–122. <https://doi.org/10.32678/aqlania.v10i2.2301>
- [33] McFadden, G., & Ricoeur, P. (1978). Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 36(3), 365. <https://doi.org/10.2307/430446>
- [34] Moussa, M., & Scapp, R. (1996). The Practical Theorizing of Michel Foucault: Politics and Counter-Discourse. *Cultural Critique*, 33, 87–112. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1354388>
- [35] Mubarak, M. Z. (2007). *Genealogi Islam Radikal di Indonesia: Gerakan, Pemikiran dan Prospek Demokrasi*. Jakarta: LP3ES.
- [36] Mubarak, M. Z., & Hamid, A. F. A. (2018). The Rise of Radicalism and Terrorism in Indonesia and Malaysia. *Review of Islam in Southeast Asia*, 53(9), 1689–1699.
- [37] Mulyati, S. (2019). The meaning of jihad: Textual and contextual interpretations. *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 27(1), 419–424.
- [38] Murshed, Z. (2003). Power and Identity in the Discourse of Jihad. *Gender, Technology and Development*, 7(3), 399–422. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09718524.2003.11910093>
- [39] Murtaufiq, S. (2018). Promoting Islam Nusantara: A Lesson from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). *Al-Insiyiroh: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 2(2), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.35309/alinsiyiroh.v2i2.3319>
- [40] Nizar, M. C., & Aziz, M. (2015). Kontekstualisasi Jihad Perspektif Ke-Indonesia-an. *Ulul Albab Jurnal Studi Islam*, 16(1), 21–44. <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v16i1.2784>
- [41] Palmer, R. E. (1982). *Hermeneutics*. 2, 453–505.
- [42] Petrovici, I. (2013). Philosophy as Hermeneutics. The World of the Text Concept in Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutics. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 71, 21–27. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2013.01.004>
- [43] Rahman, T. (2016). The Trajectory of The Discourse of Jihad in Indonesia. *Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion*, 1(2), 160–179. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v1i2.296>
- [44] Rahman, T. (2017). Contextualizing jihad and mainstream Muslim identity in Indonesia: the case of Republika Online. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 27(4), 378–395. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2016.1278251>
- [45] Retz, T. (2015). A Moderate Hermeneutical Approach to Empathy in History Education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 47(3), 214–226. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2013.838661>
- [46] Ricoeur, P. (1976). *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and The Surplus Meaning*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press.
- [47] Ricoeur, P., & Thompson, J. B. (2016). Hermeneutics and the human sciences: Essays on language, action and interpretation. In *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316534984>
- [48] Ridlo, M. R. (2018). Mendudukan Makna Jihad: Studi Analitis-Komparatif Pandangan Fundamentalis dan Modernis. *TSAQAFAH*, 14(1), 105–128. <https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v14i1.2299>
- [49] Rijal, S. (2016). Islam And Jihad : The Quest For Peace And Tolerance. *JICSA*, 5(2).

- [50] Rofi'i, A. (2015). Politik Kebangsaan Nahdlatul Ulama Perspektif Pemikiran KH. Abdul Muchith Muzadi. *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam*, 4(02), 388–409. <https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2014.4.02.388-409>
- [51] Romadlan, S. (2019). The Discourse of Meaning of Jihad in Muhammadiyah Circle (A Hermeneutics Perspective). *Komunikator*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.18196/jkm.112028>
- [52] Saoki, S. (2013). Aktualisasi Makna Jihad dalam Kehidupan Modern. *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam*, 3(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2013.3.1.1-18>
- [53] Saputra, I. (2019). Resolusi Jihad: Nasionalisme Kaum Santri Menuju Indonesia Merdeka. *Jurnal Islam Nusantara*, 3(1), 205–237. <https://doi.org/10.33852/jurnalin.v3i1.128>
- [54] Sibromulisi, M. (2019). Jihad dan Ketentuan Pengamalannya. *NU Online*, Kamis 23 Mei 2019 06:45 WIB. <https://islam.nu.or.id/post/read/84152/jihad-dan-ketentuan-pengamalannya>
- [55] Siroj, S. A. (2012). Tasawuf sebagai Kritik Sosial Mengedepankan Islam sebagai Inspirasi, Bukan Aspirasi. Jakarta: SAS Fondation dan LTN PBNU.
- [56] Sorensen, S., & Chen, X. (1996). Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China. *World Literature Today*. <https://doi.org/10.2307/40152267>
- [57] Syarif, N., Arifin, T., & Fridayanti, F. (2017). The Construction of Jihad and the Level of Radicalism among Pesantren Leaders in Indonesia. 2nd International Conference on Sociology Education, 686–691. <https://doi.org/10.5220/0007104206860691>
- [58] Tan, H., Wilson, A., & Olver, I. (2009). Ricoeur's Theory of Interpretation: An Instrument for Data Interpretation in Hermeneutic Phenomenology. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(4), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690900800401>
- [59] Thompson, J. B. (1987). Language and ideology: a framework for analysis. *The Sociological Review*, 35(3), 516–536. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1987.tb00554.x>
- [60] Tiffin, H. (1987). Post-Colonial Literatures and Counter-Discourse. *Kunapipi*, 9(3), 17–34. <https://ro.uow.edu.au/kunapipi/vol9/iss3/4/>
- [61] van Bruinessen, M. (2002). Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 10(2), 117–154. <https://doi.org/10.5367/000000002101297035>
- [62] Van Bruinessen, M. (2008). *NU: Tradisi, Relasi-relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- [63] Van Bruinessen, M. (2013). Introduction: Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam and the “Conservative Turn” of the Early Twenty-First Century. In M. Van Bruinessen (Ed.), *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the “Conservative Turn”* (pp. 1–20). ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute Singapore. <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1355/9789814414579-005/html>
- [64] Wahid, M., & Alim, H. (2017). *Jihad Nahdlatul Ulama*. Jakarta: Lapeksdam-PBNU.
- [65] Wolff, J. (1975). Hermeneutics and the Critique of Ideology. *The Sociological Review*, 23(4), 811–828. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.1975.tb00541.x>
- [66] Zada, K. (2018). *Meluruskan Pandangan Kaum Jihadis*. Jakarta: Direktorat Jendral Pendidikan Islam Kementerian Agama RI.