

# Community-Embedded Management of Islamic Education in a Maritime Society: Integrating Local Wisdom in the *Sapeken* Islands

Moh. Subhan<sup>1\*</sup>, Supandi<sup>2</sup>, Imam Muhayat<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup>Universitas Islam Madura, Indonesia

<sup>3</sup>Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Denpasar, Indonesia

\*Email Corresponding Author: [glfatna5@gmail.com](mailto:glfatna5@gmail.com)

## ABSTRACT

Islamic education in Indonesia's marginal maritime communities faces a double pressure: the erosion of local wisdom under globalisation and the thinness of formal educational infrastructure. While existing studies treat local wisdom as curriculum content, the management of Islamic education in such settings remains under-examined. This study aims to analyse how Islamic education is sustained and managed in the maritime community of the Sapeken Islands, Sumenep, and how it forms a harmonious relationship with local wisdom. It employs a qualitative approach combining ethnography with a phenomenological lens, drawing on in-depth interviews with six purposively selected informants, participant observation, and documentation, analysed through the Miles and Huberman model and validated by triangulation and member checking. The findings reveal that religious meaning is generated where doctrine meets maritime life, that conservation is experienced as worship rather than external obligation, and that educational continuity rests on communal infrastructure the community owns rather than receives. These findings imply that Islamic educational policy for maritime and remote communities should recognise and strengthen each community's own cultural and religious infrastructure rather than impose external institutional structures, and that pedagogy in such settings is most effective when it grounds religious values in maritime life.

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## INTRODUCTION

Islamic education in Indonesia has never been a purely doctrinal enterprise. It transmits values, organises social life, and helps communities negotiate their place in a changing world. One feature defines this tradition above others: its disposition toward local culture. Islam in the archipelago has absorbed indigenous practice rather than displacing it, producing forms of religious life that remain orthodox in belief yet deeply local in expression (Sevea, 2023). This accommodation now faces a serious test. Globalisation and digital technology press a homogenising force on locally rooted knowledge and erode traditions that took generations to settle (Bouymaj & Pereira, 2022; Wong, 2024). The question is no longer whether Islamic education can coexist with local wisdom but whether it can actively sustain it, and that question grows sharpest in communities at the geographic and cultural margins, where both the wisdom and the means to preserve it stand most exposed.

Recent scholarship on the meeting of Islamic education and local culture falls along



three identifiable lines. The first concentrates on curriculum. Researchers in this vein have shown how indigenous values can be built into madrasah and higher-education curricula as deliberate content, whether through integrative frameworks for madrasah education (Asfiati, 2023; Ramli et al., 2025); or curriculum innovation that draws on local knowledge in Aceh (Lilik Muarrafah, 2025). The second line turns from curriculum to character formation. Studies here demonstrate that the synergy of religious and cultural practice cultivates dispositions doctrinal instruction alone cannot reach, evident in the ethnopedagogy of local wisdom (Sakti et al., 2024) and in the management of local-wisdom values for character development (Yoseptry, 2022). The third line examines how Islamic education survives in rural and underserved settings. This work documents how community participation and non-formal, experiential learning keep religious education alive where formal structures remain thin (Carmody, 2022; Hosic et al., 2025). These studies establish a shared conclusion: local culture is not incidental to Islamic education but constitutive of its effectiveness.

A consistent limitation nonetheless runs across all three lines, and the field has begun to admit it from within. Reviews of Islamic education research in Indonesia observe that scholarly attention has concentrated overwhelmingly on curriculum creation and has left the management of Islamic education comparatively under-examined (Nurhidayati et al., 2022). The prevailing tendency treats local wisdom as content to be inserted into an educational structure whose financing, legitimation, and continuity are simply assumed. That assumption holds well enough where formal institutions carry the managerial burden. It collapses in the settings that most need explaining. Maritime island communities possess thin institutional infrastructure, receive external support only irregularly and at high cost, and must hold educational life together through their own arrangements (Latief & Wijaya, 2025; Lessy et al., 2025). A second silence compounds the first. Anthropologists have richly documented the maritime local wisdom of Indonesia's coastal peoples (Sokoy, 2022), yet the spiritual dimension of these communities remains underrepresented in empirical studies of Islamic education and sustainability (Sumarni et al., 2025).

This study addresses that double gap, and from it derives a distinct contribution. The question here is not how local wisdom can be incorporated into Islamic education but how, within a maritime community, Islamic education and local wisdom together constitute a single managerial practice. Financing, legitimation, curriculum, and continuity are all carried by the community's own cultural and religious infrastructure. The novelty lies in reframing the relationship between the two from curricular integration to educational management, and in deriving from a maritime community an account of how education endures where formal institutions stay weak but communal and religious life runs strong. This reframing brings into view a phenomenon that the prevailing content-oriented perspective is structurally unable to capture.

The Sapeken Islands offer an unusually clear site for developing this account. Sapeken forms an isolated sub-district of Sumenep Regency in East Java, populated largely by people of Bajo, Mandar, and Bugis descent whose everyday language is not Indonesian and whose population is entirely Muslim. Livelihood, settlement, language, and ritual there all organise themselves around the sea. Access to educational facilities meanwhile remains limited relative to other parts of the regency (Chanifudin & Tekwana, 2024), which makes the continued vitality of Islamic education in the islands all the more striking and all the more instructive. Sapeken presents in concentrated form the very conditions under which the management of Islamic education becomes a matter of communal survival rather than institutional routine.

The significance of this study rests on the convergence it confronts. The marginality of maritime communities, the fragility of local wisdom under globalisation, and the thinness of formal educational infrastructure meet in a single setting where existing models offer little guidance. Understanding how Islamic education is sustained and managed under such conditions carries practical consequence, not merely scholarly interest, because the

educational life of many island communities across Indonesia rests on arrangements that current frameworks neither describe nor explain. This study therefore pursues three ends. It first characterises how Islamic education is organised and sustained in the maritime community of Sapeken, with particular attention to the social and managerial arrangements that hold it together. It then identifies the forms of local wisdom through which the community governs its relationship with the sea and shows how these enter educational life. It finally theorises the relationship between the two as a community-embedded model of Islamic educational management, one capable of informing policy and practice in maritime and other remote Muslim communities, where recognising a community's own cultural and religious infrastructure may prove far more consequential than importing formal structures from outside.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a qualitative research type, using ethnography as its primary approach and phenomenology as a complementary interpretive lens. (Nur, 2022) The qualitative type was chosen because the study seeks to understand a social and cultural reality in depth rather than to measure it, namely the way the maritime community of the Sapeken Islands practises Islamic education and integrates it with local wisdom in everyday life. Ethnography was adopted as the primary approach because the central concern is a shared cultural pattern that can only be grasped from within; it required the researcher to reside in the community and observe its practices in their natural setting. Phenomenology was added as an interpretive lens because the study sought not merely to describe what the community does but to recover the meaning informants themselves attach to their experience, how a fisherman understands the prayer that opens the fishing season, or how a teacher experiences the work of carrying religious meaning across languages. In this design the two traditions divide the labour rather than compete: ethnography governs the gathering and contextualisation of cultural practice, while phenomenology governs the interpretation of lived meaning (Lebahn-Hadidi et al., 2023; Opara & Petrucka, 2024).

The research was conducted in the Sapeken Islands, a sub-district of the Kangean archipelago in Sumenep Regency, East Java, Indonesia. The site was selected for its distinctive character as a geographically isolated maritime community, populated largely by people of *Bajo*, *Mandar*, and *Bugis* descent and entirely Muslim, whose daily life remains closely bound to the sea (Effendi, 2025; Nugraha, 2024). These conditions make Sapeken a setting in which the relationship between Islamic education and local maritime wisdom appears in a concentrated form. Throughout the fieldwork the researcher resided in the community and took part in its daily rhythms in order to gather data from within.

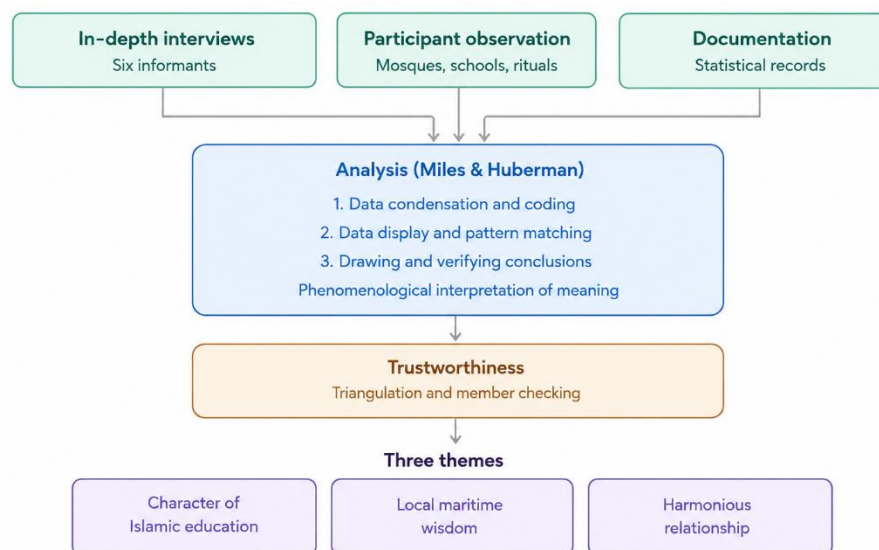
The informants were selected through purposive sampling, on the criterion that each held direct knowledge of, or responsibility for, Islamic education and local wisdom in the community (Ahmad & Wilkins, 2025; Mohammadi et al., 2026). Six informants participated, chosen to represent the range of roles through which Islamic education and maritime culture intersect, so that the same phenomenon could be approached from several vantage points at once. To protect their privacy, informants are identified by role and village rather than by name, as set out in **Table 1**.

**Table 1. Profile of Research Informants**

Informant Code	Role	Village
IF-1	<i>Madrasah</i> Teacher	Sapeken
IF-2	Community Figure	Paliat
IF-3	Fisherman	Sapeken
IF-4	<i>Ulama</i>	Pagerungan Kecil
IF-5	<i>Pesantren Ustadz</i>	Sapeken
IF-6	<i>Koloman</i> Coordinator	Sasii

Data were collected through three techniques, consistent with the ethnographic approach, so that each account could be cross-examined against the others (Hanson & Theis, 2024). The first was in-depth interviews with the six informants, conducted to obtain detailed accounts of their experience of, and reflection on, the role of Islamic education and local wisdom in sustaining communal harmony. An interview guide was used to keep the conversations relevant while leaving room for informants to elaborate their own understanding. The second was participant observation, in which the researcher took part in the daily life of the community and observed practice directly in mosques, schools, and customary gatherings, including religious events and traditional ceremonies. The third was documentation, through which supporting records were gathered, including local statistical and administrative data on the islands' educational and religious facilities, to situate the interview and observation data within their material context.

The credibility of the data gathered through these techniques was established by triangulation and member checking (Enworo, 2023). Source triangulation set the accounts of informants in different roles against one another, while technique triangulation cross-examined interview data against observation and documentary evidence, so that the convergence of sources, rather than any single account, became the basis of each finding. Through member checking, the researcher's interpretations were returned to informants for verification, ensuring that the meanings reported authentically represent the informants' own understanding. The researcher's extended residence in the community further supported credibility through prolonged engagement with the setting.



**Figure 1.** Research Workflow

Data analysis followed the interactive model of Miles and Huberman (Anisa et al., 2024), comprising three concurrent activities: data condensation, data display, and the drawing and verification of conclusions. Interview transcripts, field notes, and documents were first condensed by identifying and coding recurring patterns across informants. These patterns were then displayed and clustered into themes through pattern matching, and the themes were interpreted, through the phenomenological lens, to recover the meaning informants attached to their experience rather than merely the practices they reported. Conclusions were then drawn from the convergence of the three data sources and verified against them. Three themes emerged from this process: the characteristics of Islamic education in the maritime community, the local wisdom that governs the community's relationship with the sea, and the harmonious relationship between the two. The overall sequence of the research method, from data collection through analysis and validation to the resulting themes, is summarised in **Figure 1**.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Result

The internalisation of Islamic education in the Sapeken Islands cannot be separated from the geographic isolation and multicultural fabric of the community, composed of the *Bajo*, *Mandar*, and *Bugis*. The findings reported here were derived through a systematic analytic process consistent with the study's ethnographic and phenomenological design. Interview transcripts, field notes, and documentary records were first examined to identify recurring patterns across informants; these patterns were then clustered into themes through pattern matching, and each theme was interpreted to recover the meaning informants themselves attached to their lived experience rather than merely the practices they reported. Three themes emerged from this process and are reported below: the characteristics of Islamic education in the maritime community, the local wisdom that governs the community's relationship with the sea, and the harmonious relationship between the two. Within each theme, the testimony of informants in different roles is set alongside field observation and documentary evidence, so that the convergence of data, rather than any single account, carries the finding. Before the themes are examined individually, **Table 2** maps the full set of findings, pairing each aspect with the informant voice that grounds it and the core meaning recovered through interpretation.

**Table 2.** Strategies and Meanings across the Three Themes

Theme	Aspect of Finding	Informant Voice	Core Meaning
Characteristics of Islamic Education	Cross-linguistic pedagogical adaptation	Madrasah Teacher: translating religious values through maritime terms for <i>Bajo</i> and <i>Mandar</i> speakers	Teaching is experienced as an act of translating meaning, not transmitting a fixed curriculum
	Communal financing	Community Figure: <i>patungan</i> , where those with means give money and fishermen give their catch	Education endures because it is experienced as collectively owned
Local Wisdom of the Maritime Community	Spiritual ritual before the fishing season	Fisherman: collective prayer with the <i>ustadz</i> for safety and a blessed catch	The sea is experienced as a domain whose yield depends on a maintained relationship with God
	Faith-based ecological preservation	<i>Ulama</i> : the ban on fish-bombing and reef destruction as <i>mufsid fil ardh</i>	Conservation is experienced as worship, not mere custom or external rule
Harmonious Relations	Integration of values into the curriculum	<i>Ustadz</i> : <i>Hubbul Wathan Minal Iman</i> enacted as keeping the coast clean	Doctrine is experienced through its enactment in maritime conduct
	Deliberation within religious gatherings	<i>Koloman</i> Coordinator: <i>koloman</i> as a space for both worship and village problem-solving	Worship and livelihood are experienced as one undivided moral space

### Characteristics of Islamic Education in the Maritime Community

Islamic education in Sapeken is shaped by two conditions at once: the linguistic and geographic distance of the islands, and the community's own capacity to compensate for that distance through collective effort. A teacher at a local *madrasah*, asked about the challenge of teaching in this setting, described the pedagogical adaptation the language situation demands: "Teaching here calls for patience. In their daily lives the children speak *Bajo* or *Mandar*, so formal Indonesian confuses them. We often look for examples drawn from the sea or from fishing, the things they see every day, so that the religious material can enter easily." (Madrasah Teacher, Sapeken District)

What this testimony reveals, beyond the practical difficulty it names, is how the teacher experiences the work: not as the transmission of a fixed curriculum but as a continual act of translation in which religious meaning must be re-clothed in maritime terms before it

can be received. The medium of instruction is therefore not neutral; the teacher inhabits the gap between formal religious language and the children's lived linguistic world, and treats the crossing of that gap as the ordinary substance of teaching rather than an obstacle to it. What sustains education materially is the community itself. A community figure, explaining how educational activities are financed, described the practice of *patungan*, or collective contribution: "*Waiting for help from the Madura mainland or the government takes a long time, and boat transport here is limited. So when there is a pengajian or the madrasah needs repair, the people gather at once to pool what they have. Those with money give money, and the fishermen usually contribute fish to feed the committee and the villagers.*" (Community Figure, Paliat Village)

For this informant, *patungan* is experienced not as charity but as shared ownership: education survives because it is understood to belong to everyone, and the same cohesion that prepares a *pengajian* also repairs a *madrasah* and feeds its volunteers. Field observation corroborated this meaning. During the preparation of a community *pengajian*, residents were seen working in close concert from the earliest stages to the close of the event, contributing labour, funds, and food. The documentary record situates both accounts in their material setting, registering a community of 37,765 people served by a dense provision of *madrasah*, *pesantren*, and non-formal *koloman* and recitation circles, sustained despite irregular sea access. The three sources converge on a single characterisation: Islamic education in Sapeken is adaptive in its pedagogy and communal in its financing, an education that the community experiences as its own collective achievement rather than a service delivered to it.

### Local Wisdom in the Sapeken Maritime Community

The local wisdom of Sapeken expresses itself most clearly in the community's relationship with the sea, a relationship that is at once spiritual and ecological. A local fisherman, describing the customs that precede the fishing season, situated maritime work within a frame of collective prayer: "*Before the big fishing season starts, we fishermen always gather first, on the shore or at the mosque, together with the village ustadz. We hold a collective prayer for safety at sea and for a blessed catch. That has been a tradition here for generations.*" (Fisherman, Sapeken Village)

The meaning the fisherman attaches to this ritual is what gives the practice its weight: the sea is encountered not as a neutral resource to be exploited but as a domain whose yield is felt to depend on a maintained relationship with God, and the prayer is experienced as the proper way of entering that domain. That the tradition is described as passed down for generations signals that this is inherited meaning, a way of being in the world received rather than chosen. This spiritual framing carries directly into ecological restraint. A local *ulama*, explaining the message conveyed in *koloman* gatherings, described how religious teaching reinforces the prohibition on destructive fishing: "*In our sermons and koloman gatherings we always include the message that caring for the sea is part of worship. Catching fish with bombs or destroying the coral is forbidden by religion because it ruins the earth, mufsid fil ardh. Thank God, the fishermen here comply, because they fear the sin of it.*" (Ulama, Pagerungan Kecil Village)

The convergence between these two accounts is the finding itself: what the fisherman frames as inherited ritual the *ulama* grounds in religious obligation, so that custom and faith reinforce one another rather than competing. Observation of devotional gatherings during fieldwork confirmed the collective character of this religious life, and the documentary record of an economy dependent on marine resources makes legible the stakes of the conservation ethic the *ulama* described. Across the three sources, local wisdom in Sapeken emerges as an active framework in which the community experiences sustainable resource use and spiritual devotion as the same act.

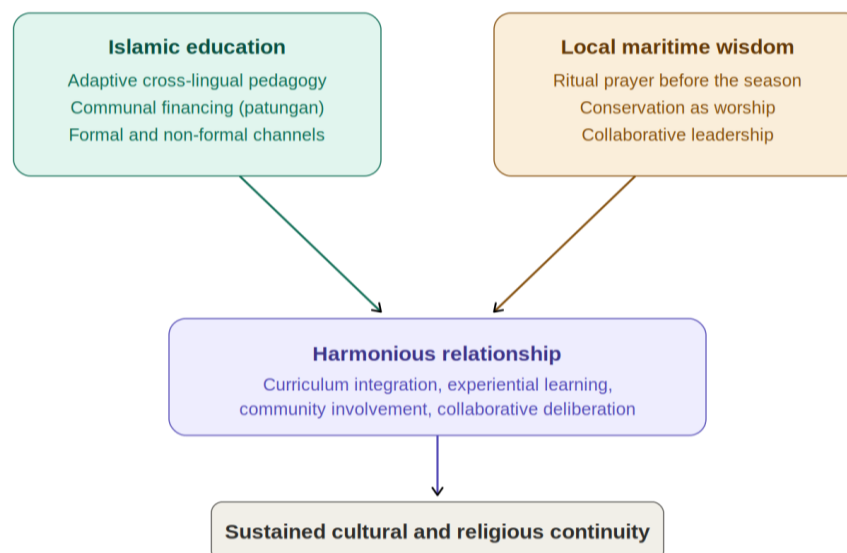
### Harmonious Relations between Islamic Education and Local Wisdom

The relationship between Islamic education and local wisdom in Sapeken is one of mutual reinforcement, in which religious values are taught through maritime experience and maritime life is given ethical weight by religious teaching. An *ustadz* responsible for a *pesantren*,

describing how the curriculum is delivered, explained the explicit insertion of maritime awareness into religious instruction: “*The lesson of Hubbul Wathan Minal Iman, love of homeland as part of faith, we put into practice directly at the sea. We teach the santri that keeping the beach clean and not throwing plastic into the ocean is the real proof of a maritime person’s faith.*” (Ustadz, Sapeken Village)

For this educator, the motto *Hubbul Wathan Minal Iman* is not experienced as abstract doctrine to be memorised but as something enacted at the shoreline, where care for the coast becomes the visible proof of an inward faith. The meaning of the lesson, in his account, lies precisely in its translation from word into maritime conduct. This integration extends beyond the classroom into the community’s collective gatherings. A youth figure coordinating *koloman* activity, describing what happens at these gatherings, showed how religious assembly becomes a space for communal problem-solving: “*A koloman or public recitation is not only for listening to the religious lecture. After the ustadz finishes teaching, the fishermen, the teachers, and the village officials usually sit together to discuss village matters, the falling price of fish, say, or working together to repair the school boat.*” (Koloman Coordinator, Sasii Village)

What this informant conveys is that the *koloman* is experienced as a single continuous space in which worship and the practical concerns of maritime livelihood are not separated: the religious lecture and the discussion of fish prices belong to the same gathering and the same moral world. Read alongside the *ustadz’s* account, the two voices reveal how the harmony is sustained in lived practice, the *pesantren* threading religious value into maritime conduct while the *koloman* holds education, faith, and livelihood together in one assembly. Observation of such gatherings confirmed their multi-party character, and the documentary record of the islands’ *madrasah*, *pesantren*, *majlis taklim*, and recitation circles establishes the institutional channels through which this integration is delivered. The relationship between Islamic education and local wisdom in Sapeken is therefore not incidental but structurally maintained and experienced as a seamless whole, faith and culture each lending the other its authority. **Figure 2** models the relationship among the three themes. The character of Islamic education and local maritime wisdom function as the two foundations of community life; they converge on the harmonious relationship between them, which in turn sustains the cultural and religious continuity of the islands.



**Figure 2. Conceptual Model of the Convergence of the Three Findings**

Finally, Table 2 consolidates the convergence of evidence across the three themes, setting the interview testimony alongside the observation and documentary sources that corroborate it.

Table 3. Summary of Source Triangulation across the Three Themes

Research Focus	Interview Evidence	Field Observation	Documentary Evidence
Characteristics of Islamic education	The <i>madrasah</i> teacher described adapting religious instruction to <i>Bajo</i> and <i>Mandar</i> speakers through maritime examples; the community figure described financing education through <i>patungan</i>	Residents observed working in concert to prepare a community <i>pengajian</i> , contributing labour, funds, and food	Records of dense <i>madrasah</i> , <i>pesantren</i> , and non-formal provision sustained despite irregular sea access
Local wisdom	The fisherman described collective prayer before the fishing season; the <i>ulama</i> grounded the ban on destructive fishing in religious obligation	Collective character of devotional gatherings confirmed in the field	Records of an economy dependent on marine resources
Harmonious relations	The <i>ustadz</i> described enacting <i>Hubbul Wathan Minal Iman</i> as coastal care; the youth coordinator described <i>koloman</i> as a space for communal deliberation	Multi-party character of <i>koloman</i> gatherings observed	Records of <i>madrasah</i> , <i>pesantren</i> , <i>majlis taklim</i> , and recitation circles as delivery channels

## Discussion

Read together, the three findings point to a single conclusion that reframes how Islamic education might be understood in a community like Sapeken: faith and local culture here are not two things held in balance but two aspects of one practice. It is tempting to describe such communities as places where religion has been successfully "adapted" to local conditions, as though doctrine arrived intact and was later softened to fit. What the Sapeken material shows is almost the reverse. Religious meaning does not precede the maritime world and then accommodate it; it becomes meaning only as it passes through that world. This is the thread that runs through everything below.

Consider first what happens to religious knowledge at the moment of teaching. The *madrasah* teacher does not simplify doctrine for children who struggle with formal Indonesian; he re-grounds it, reaching for the sea and the work of fishing because those are the only terms in which the lesson can land. The same movement appears, more strikingly, when the *ustadz* teaches *Hubbul Wathan Minal Iman* not as a sentence to be memorised but as the act of keeping a beach free of plastic. In both cases the meaning of the teaching is not settled in advance and then delivered; it is produced at the point where the religious idea meets a life lived at sea. This observation sits comfortably within constructivist and contextual accounts of learning, which hold that understanding is built from a learner's existing world rather than poured into it (Wu et al., 2022). But Sapeken pushes past the usual version of that argument. In much of the literature, local culture figures as an enrichment a teacher may choose to draw on (Harun et al., 2021). Here there is no such choice. Isolation and language make cultural translation the precondition of religious education, not its decoration, and that necessity is what gives the Sapeken case its theoretical interest.

If teaching is where religion enters the maritime world, the fishing season is where the traffic runs the other way. The prayer the fishermen hold before the season, and the *ulama's* insistence that bombing the reef is not merely unwise but sinful, *mufsid fil ardh*, together dissolve a boundary that most policy discourse works hard to maintain. Conservation is not presented to the community as an environmental obligation with a religious gloss; it is lived as worship, and its neglect is felt as sin. The wider literature on religion and ecology has long argued that faith traditions carry latent conservationist ethics (Capper, 2024). The value of the Sapeken evidence is that it shows this ethic already operating, not as theology recovered by scholars but as the ordinary reason a fisherman gives for how he fishes. The point is not that Islam contains an environmental ethic, but that in this community the ethic has never been separated out from practice in the first place.

What allows these two movements to hold together is the social architecture that the third theme brings into view. The *koloman* is the clearest instance: an assembly that begins as religious instruction and, without changing its character, becomes the place where the price of fish and the repair of a school boat are settled. It would be a mistake to read this as religion being put to practical use, as if the gathering were merely a convenient venue. The more accurate reading is that worship and livelihood are not experienced as separate domains that occasionally share a room. This is where the study speaks most directly to the management of Islamic education. The coherence of education in Sapeken does not rest on formal administration, of which the islands have little, but on a communal infrastructure, the *patungan* that repairs a *madrasah*, the leaders who move between mosque and meeting, in which the community owns its educational life rather than receiving it. Such community-based coordination has been recognised in the literature on educational management in remote regions (Lin & Hu, 2025), but it is usually framed as a compensation for weak institutions. Sapeken suggests something less apologetic: that this communal ownership is itself a form of educational management, one whose strength lies precisely in its embeddedness rather than its formality.

It is on this last point that the study makes its strongest contribution, and the contribution is most usefully stated in the language of educational management. The prevailing models in the field tend to assume a clear separation between the institution that delivers education and the culture that surrounds it, with management understood as the work of running the former within the constraints of the latter (Tan, 2024). The maritime community of Sapeken does not fit that template, and its misfit is instructive. Here, management is not the administration of an institution set apart from communal life but the orchestration of communal life itself toward educational ends: financing through collective contribution, curriculum through cultural translation, quality assurance through the moral authority of *ulama* and customary leaders, and continuity through the same gatherings that sustain worship and livelihood. Naming this an integrative, community-embedded model of Islamic educational management is the study's central claim, and its practical implication follows directly. For other maritime and remote Muslim communities, and for those who design policy for them, the lesson is not that local culture should be incorporated into educational programmes, but that in such settings the community's own cultural and religious infrastructure may already be the most viable engine of educational management, and the task is to recognise and strengthen it rather than to replace it with formal structures imported from elsewhere.

## CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that in the Sapeken Islands, Islamic education and local wisdom are not parallel tracks running side by side but two expressions of the same practice. Culture is how religious meaning reaches people; religion is what gives cultural practice its moral weight. Across the three themes explored, a pattern held: religious meaning takes shape at the point where doctrine meets life on the sea, conservation is understood as an act of worship, and education persists not through bureaucratic administration but through communal infrastructure the community has built and owns. The study's contribution is to name this an integrative, community-embedded model of Islamic educational management, and its strength lies precisely in that embeddedness. Recognizing it offers educational policymakers a more productive starting point than transplanting formal institutions from elsewhere into settings that have never needed them. That said, the study is qualitative, rooted in one community, and limited to six informants. Generalization is not the right word for what these findings can do. What they can do is open directions: comparative studies across other maritime and remote Muslim communities, longitudinal work on how this kind of management holds up under globalization and digital pressure, and quantitative inquiry into effects on educational quality and access.

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