The Dynamics of Power, Violence, and Conflict of Nahdlatul Wathan

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Abstract: The dynamics of Muslim communities of Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB) in Lombok Island, have a profound emotional impact on the history of Nahdlatul Wathan (NW). It alters how social and religious systems are developed. Since 1953, *NW* has grown quickly to become the majority Islamic organization in Lombok due to the pioneers' educational background, as well as their cultural and social capitals in the development of Islam. After the New Order, internal created two strongholds for conflict entities and reconciliation. Open violence has broken out in a number of Lombok locations due to conflicting forces. The integrated dualism of the organization's leadership has not been seen in the resolution of conflicts through practical politics. This article underlines how NW has evolved into one of the cases where division positively affects the growth of mass organizations.

Keywords: Cultural capital, conflict resolution, regional autonomy, Nahdlatul Wathan.

Introduction

Since its establishment as a nation-state, Indonesia has allowed for the strong upholding of ideals that promote tolerance for Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Historically, the embryo of conflict had already began to sprout before the drafting of the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945. The administration suppressed political segregation by calculated political moves dating back to the Old Order since the majority of Muslims rejected the state constitution because it does not mention Islam. By following the example of religious leaders, they successfully maintain interreligious cooperation. NW has become the spokesperson for a nationalist religious movement among modern religious organizations in NTB.

NW is one of the prevalent religious organizations in Lombok. In 1953, it was established with the spirit of education, social justice, and *da'wa*.[1] The founders organized the struggle using Shafii school-based organizational method and *da'wa* in the Sufi tradition. Similar to Sufi teachings, the worship of symbolic capital as Tuan Guru (leader) has expanded into a discourse cult packaged through recitation. The title of Tuan Guru is given to a person for a variety of reasons. The majority of Tuan Guru's titles are inherited. They play a key role in creating and directing *madrasa* or educational institutions.[2] A person with this title is considered to be knowledgeable about religion. People in Lombok are given the title of Tuan Guru as a result of their involvement in community groups, particularly religious ones. The background of the Tuan Guru is consistent with Geertz's understanding of the *Kiai* in Java as cultural agents or brokers in disseminating beliefs and culture.[3]

Research showed that the political role that NW plays in politics is a compromising dualism between theology and nationalism.[4] The founders of NW participated in Parmusi and Golkar in the New Order, as evidenced by the connection of political parties following the Old Order's freezing of Masyumi. Oktara found that the symbolic value of Tuan Guru as a strategy for winning over supporters in party politics. It has been demonstrated by Tuan Guru Bajang won the election of Regional Head (Pilkada) in NTB.[5] Another research found that Tuan Guru's outlook on daily life had an impact on how strong his position was in the Sasak community[6].

The previous studies above presented three significant terms regarding the position of Tuan Guru: the political aspect of power in

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[1] Muh. Alwi Parhanudin, "Nahdlatul Wathan dan Masyarakat Sipil," *In Right: Jurnal Agama dan Hak Azasi Manusia* 2, 1 (2012), pp. 117–42.

[2] Mohamad Iwan Fitriani, "Kepemimpinan Kharismatis-Transformatif Tuan Guru dalam Perubahan Sosial Masyarakat Sasak-Lombok Melalui Pendidikan," *Al-Tahrir* 16, 1 (2016), pp. 175–95.

[3] Clifford Geertz, *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Kebudayaan Jawa* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2014).

[4] Saipul Hamdi, "Politik, Agama Dan Kontestasi Kekuasaan Nahdlatul Wathan Di Era Otonomi Daerah Lombok, NTB," *Jurnal Review Politik* 1, 2 (2011), pp. 130–47.

[5] Arie Oktara, "Politik Tuan Guru Di Nusa Tenggara Barat," *Government: Jurnal Ilmu Pemerintahan* 8, 2 (2015).

[6] Fitriani, "Kepemimpinan Kharismatis-Transformatif Tuan Guru dalam Perubahan Sosial.

government, Tuan Guru's work and its impact, and the practice of cultural assimilation. This paper complements the previous study by revealing the practice of fighting the teacher's symbol, the educational institution, and the violence of NW organization that are intertwined in national politics. Therefore, this study aims to explore the existence of NW from the Old Order to the present from the perspective of symbolic interpretivism and to consider how internal conflicts are affected by symbolic fights.

This research is a descriptive qualitative study with the primary data from literary works in journals and books. The secondary data was from research articles, books, and other texts related to the research topic. Data collection was carried out for six months from March-August 2021, including observation, recording, and documentation. During data collection, data reduction was carried out. Prior to simplifying random data, the data reduction process involves selecting raw data related to the research topic. Abstraction and transformation of data are carried out in the form of temporary writing. The data is then claasified in the following stage of categorization by making changes to the previously defined sub-writings. The information is given as a descriptive description and interpreted to draw conclusion. Critical discourse analysis developed by Fairclough and symbolic tool created by Bourdieu complement the framework for data analysis.[7] Performing critical discourse analysis also entails evaluating the linguistic proficiency of earlier investigations. Symbolic interpretivism is used to uncover the ideological background behind the discourse.

Geertz explains that symbolic interpretivism covers the meaning of symbolic reality. Symbolic interpretivism is identical to the mission of humanism, so it is challenging to connect mathematically and empirically.[8] In cultural research, meaning must be traced not only relying on the subjectivism of the researcher but also on understanding the research subject's statements about symbols. History is inherent in almost every Muslim community in NTB, notably in Lombok. It

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[7] The combination of approaches in this study has advantages; Critical discourse analysis is useful for exploring the elements inherent in the symbolic and doxa. See Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (Routledge, 2013); Michael Grenfell and Frederic Lebaron, *Bourdieu and Data Analysis: Methodological Principles and Practice* (Berlin: Peter Lang AG, 2014).

[8] Geertz, *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Kebudayaan Jawa.*

brings changes to the growth of social and religious systems. The triangulation of main and secondary data was used to validate the data.

Da'wa Habitus with Internalization of Locality Values and the Idea of Sufism

At the beginning of its pioneering, NW adopted local stories such as Dewi Anjani as *da'wa*'s content. This syncretism affirms that the symbols of locality blend with the mission of spreading Islam, resulting in increased empathy and interest in the Sasak community, marked by the large number of people who take part in this organization. The idea is identical to the Sufistic tradition. Sufism understanding develops the duality of esotericism with exotericism as a tool for operationalization in the social environment. The founder's NW actualization of Sufistic thought is carried out with a communication or *da'wa* style that integrates the symbiosis of the *Sharia* and the knowledge of the Sasak community. The use of the Sasak language and the adoption of Dewi Anjani's tale as *da'wa* content create habit. Bourdieu contends that habitus has aspects of objective structure, such as social institutions and agent biographies, that predisposition its image. Furthermore, according to Russell, the appropriation of some historical traditions that have been retained to obtain theological power over a relatively long period of time, as cultural progress gradually adapts power to some traditional characteristics, particularly those related to morality.[9] Often in his speeches and works, he frequently employs the entire Sasak language to make it simpler for everyone to grasp.[10] With a moderate development approach, *da'wa* has gained the support of all levels of society, including those in Lombok that hold other views, like the *Wetu Telu* community.

Symbolic capital of Tuan Guru has a significant influence on society. In Bourdieu's concept, this symbolic capital is Doxa and delivers discourse that is immune to criticism. The construction of power is composed of deadlocks of critical reasoning transmitted to the political, economic, and social spheres. The foundation of the research process puts forward the way power and authority operate. So that, Tuan Guru's class of symbolic power emphasizes the identity

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[9] Bertrand Russell, *Kekuasaan: Sebuah Analisis Sosial Dan Politik* trans. Hasan Basri, (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2019).

[10] Saipul Hamdi, "Politik Islah: Re-Negosiasi Islah, Konflik, Dan Kekuasaan Dalam Nahdlatul Wathan Di Lombok TImur," *Kawistara* 1, 1 (2011), pp. 1–14.

attached to a master in social relations, including his authority in the nuances of processes and roles in social life. The element of coercion is always present in positions of authority to build a hierarchy of super-ordination and subordination. The institutionalized objective mode in a community group provides symbolic guarantees to preserve the capital transmission structure, and it is a prerequisite to structure power and dependencies.[11]

The symbolic capital of the teacher within the institution is established through recurrent relationships to promote the reification of power. Structurally, power with authority is divided into two layers. Guru has the right to influence the conversation because of his power. The congregation must listen to the entire sermon, which is the subordination of authority in NW. Role differentiation by Dahrendorf diverges from Marx's ideas of class distinction, which is the root of conflict theory.[12] Dahrendorf's opinion about power is in line with Max Weber's distinction between power and authority. Power is synonymous with legitimacy, while authority moves because of the mechanism of orders from specific sources to be obeyed by a particular group of people. Weber provides a definition that power is attached to a person or several people and has the opportunity to carry out his will in social actions. Particular opportunity, according to Weber, is a correlation of economic factors, honour, and other sources that point to the source of power. In line with this, NW elites have wider opportunities than NW congregations because they have more assets than ordinary people.

Foucault creates a discourse that may repeat power by starting with the formation of power.[13] Given that power permeates every aspect of human social interaction, it is impossible to divorce Foucault's particular conception of it from the subject. The substance starts by identifying knowledge on the multiplication elements of discursive formation, with the power analysis unit highlighting the discourse mechanism that develops in the social relations of society. In turn, the

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[11] Selly Riawanti, *Teori Tentang Praktik: Saduran Outline of a Theory of Practice Karya Pierre Bourdieu.* (Bandung: Ultimus, 2017).

[12] A study on the differences in the roots of conflict theory can be read in Thomas Santoso, "Kekuasaan dan Kekerasan," Thomas Santoso (ed.), *Teori-Teori Kekerasan* (Jakarta: Penerbit Ghalia Indonesia, 2002), p. 163; Ralf Dahrendorf, "Toward a theory of social conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2, 2 (1958), pp. 170-183.

[13] Iswandi Syahputra, "Post Media Literacy: Menyaksikan Kuasa Media Bersama Michel Foucault," *Jurnal Aspikom* 1, 1 (2017), pp. 1-14.

Sufistic hegemony that a Guru has incorporated should not be challenged, let alone criticized. Stuart Hall argues that culture is produced as a result of inescapable symbolic and legitimises politics at specific historical junctures. Hegemony, in Hall's view, does not eliminate and destroy differences but instead builds collective will through differences.[14]

The striking difference between NW and the religious organizations that first existed in Lombok lies in the assimilation of theological culture with the local cultural context. Tuan Guru Haji (TGH) Zainuddin uses a strategy of spreading religion that is not allergic to the existence of local culture. Over time, feudalistic symbolic capital, such as the social status of nobility in Lombok, was in an equal position with Tuan Guru's symbolic capital. Bourdieu explains that in certain domains, symbolic, social, economic, and cultural capital are hostile and competitive.[15]This is in line with the field that accepts the structure of objects and actors.

Nahdlatul Wathan in Modern Indonesia

The founders' educational background and their effective strategies brought NW to quickly become the largest Islamic organization in NTB. NW is formed from the Arabic words, which means the revival of the homeland. It was the administrative framework for developing Islamic *da'wa* in Lombok and supported the madrasas that the founders pioneered ten years before Indonesian independence in 1935.[16] NW and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) have functional similarities.[17] The similarity is in the use of the Shafi'i school. This narrative was confirmed by the involvement of TGH Zainuddin as the NU consulate in 1952.[18] The focus of NW aimed at development of three areas: education, social justice, and *da'wa*. These three areas are the main components in constructing a balance in the social entities of society and state politics. In 1953, 66 madrasas were established in Lombok for educational purposes. Through educational institutions,

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[14] Thung Ju Lan et.al., *Klaim, Kontestasi, dan Konflik Identitas: Lokalitas Vis-a-Vis Nasionalitas* (Jakarta: Institut Antropologi Indonesia, 2010)

[15] Riawanti, *Teori Tentang Praktik*.

[16] Parhanudin, "Nahdlatul Wathan dan Masyarakat Sipil, pp. 117-42

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

cadres establish a diaspora and contribute to the implementation of these three organizational objectives.

In the social sector, NW builds an orphanage and helps disadvantaged children. They are given scholarship and money for their study until they graduate. Those who have the title of Tuan Guru and have completed a Madrasah inherit *da'wa* practises, continuing the founders' heritage.[19] The three objectives of NW cannot be separated from political manoeuvres as the organisation grows. The founder had engaged in practical politics a year before NW organisation was established, including acting as the chairman of the NTB Masyumi Advisory Board. Furthermore, the core of the founders of NW's beliefs can be seen in the 'Wasiat Renungan Masa', so that politics should not be considered as being limitted.[20] Another study revealed that the content of the 'Wasiat Renungan Masa', which NW congregation adhered to as a barometer for reconciliation of internal conflicts, encountered obstacles.[21] As the definition attached to this organization, the movement of the homeland refers to more than only the traditional *da'wa* system. The homeland movement of the NW organisation requires a political constellation that is manifested through backing governmental initiatives in order to survive.

In 1966, the change of Sukarno's leadership to General Suharto as the President of Indonesia marked the beginning of the New Order.[22] The political upheaval in the country in 1968, and the content of the education curriculum from elementary to tertiary levels under the aegis of NW made Pancasila an integral part of the learning process. In 1970 after Masyumi was frozen, NW officially affiliated with Golkar Party.[23] In 1971 the founder participated in the early elections for the New Order as a contestant for the People's Consultative Assembly, sent by

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] "Wasiat Renungan Masa" is a composition of Arabic, Indonesian, and Sasak, integrated into several poems. It is includes the universal thoughts of the founders and guidelines for all groups, especially NW congregations. See Saipul Hamdi, *Nahdlatul Wathan Di Era Reformasi: Agama, Konflik Komunal Dan Peta Rekonsiliasi* (Yogyakarta: KKM Yogyakarta, 2019); Abdul Nasip, Mahyuni, Nuryadi, "Nilai Pendidikan, Sosial, Kultural, dan Spiritual dalam Wasiat Renungan Masa Karya TGKH. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid: Tinjauan Hermeneutika," *LINGUA* 16, 2 (2019), pp. 271-284.

[22] Jamiluddin, "Fenomena Sosial Mikro-Makro Nahdlatul Wathan Era Orde Baru," *Sangkep: Jurnal Kajian Sosial Keagamaan* 1, 2 (2018), pp. 198-223.

[23] Ibid.

the Golkar Party. However, practical political affiliation is not entirely harmonious. In 1982, NW experienced tension with Golkar. After taking the 'right to silence', which was followed by *Gerakan Tutup Mulut* or the Shut Up Movement, the founders and congregations of NW showed the bargaining power in the practical political arena in the 1982 elections.[24] By holding the mission of education, social justice, and *da'wa*, the cadres move in the community by opening political channels with parties at the local level such as Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) and Golkar Party.[25]

In the early 1980s, the "cultural Islam" movement emerged as an expression of refusal to engage in practical politics and consistently develop education and social empowerment. Since the beginning of the New Order, the government's political steps implement Pancasila as the single principle. The recommendations of Pancasila as the ideology of political parties, socio-religious organizations, and government administration were revealed at a seminar on national identity conducted in 1966.[26] However, a number of organisations, especially religious organizations, rejected Pancasila as the single principle. The five major religions-Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, and Buddhism- agreed to issue a statement rejecting the Pancasila principle as the organization's guiding philosophy but committing to invite their people to become Pancasilaists. The obligation of Pancasila as the sole principle of all political parties and socio-religious organizations is stated in Law no. 3 of 1985 concerning Parties and Social Organizations. NW quickly responded to this policy by implementing Pancasila as the sole principle. NU preaches with the same vision as NW, and there are frequently challenging social issues. The books of ancient scholars are not the only primary references but also put forward the search for arguments by society's context. During the New Order era, the practical political steps of the NW organization were in line with NU. These processes are typically separated into three strategic components. The first step is to reinvigorate the quest

[24] Mohammad Noor et.al., *Visi Kebangsaan Religius: Refleksi Pemikiran dan Perjuangan Tuan Guru Kyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid* (Jakarta: Bania Publishing Wacana, 2014), pp. 248-257 and p. 258; Hamdi, *Nahdlatul Wathan Di Era Reformasi.*

[25] Abdul Hayyi Nu'man, *Riwayat Hidup dan Perjuangan TGKH. M. Zainuddin Abdul Majid* (Lombok: PBNW, 1999).

[26] Zuhri Humaidi, "Islam dan Pancasila: Pergulatan Islam dan Negara Periode Kebijakan Asas Tunggal," *Kontekstualita: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 25, 2 (2010), pp. 291-312.

for theological formulations that are compatible with and adaptable to the sociocultural context of Indonesian culture. The second is the transfer of ideas into political participation and government bureaucracy. The final strategy is social transformation by placing a premium on the social community empowerment. The context of NW was formed into a mass organization focusing on education, social justice, and *da'wa.* The founder was involved in the socialization of the Family Planning program to show the existence of NW in supporting the government.

Following the fall of the New Order regime, two phenomena that had affected on religious institutions in Indonesian, including NW, grew stronger. According to Norshahril and Burhani, globalization and democratization are more robust during the Reformation.[27] Globalization breaks from the abstraction of geography and time due to technological advances.[28] Meanwhile, democratization refers to the state's political system from being previously centralized to decentralized.[29] Mass organizations and religious groups that had the power to participate in election for regional head played different roles in the political landscape of the reformation era. During reformation era, mass organizations and religious institutions processed political power that was comparable to that of the state, particularly when it came to influencing public policy.[30]

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[27] The view that globalization through information technology and the bloom of democracy have marked various changes in the contemporary religious arena. This can be read more on Norshahril Saat and Ahmad Najib Burhani (eds), *The New Santri: Challenges to Traditional Religious Authority in Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, 2020) p. 2; Anggi Afriansyah, "Konstruksi, Kontestasi, Fragmentasi, dan Pluralisasi Otoritas Keagamaan Indonesia Kontemporer," *Studia Islamika* 28, 1 (2021), pp. 227-44.

[28] Zen Istiarsono, "Tantangan Pendidikan Dalam Era Globalisasi: Kajian Teoretik," *Jurnal Intelegensia* 1, 2 (2017), pp. 19-24; Agus Sudibyo, *Jagat Digital: Pembebasan dan Penguasaan* (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2019).

[29] Dwi Agustina Devita Sari, "Reformasi Birokrasi Aparatur Pemerintah untuk Mewujudkan Good Governance: Studi Pelayanan Publik dalam Pengurusan Akta Kelahiran di Dinas Kependudukan dan Catatan Sipil Kabupaten Sumenep," *Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi Negara* 3, 3 (2015); Ajat Sudrajat, "Demokrasi Pancasila dalam Perspektif Sejarah," *Mozaik: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora* 8, 1 (2016).

[30] Parhanudin, "Nahdlatul Wathan dan Masyarakat Sipil, pp. 117-42; Mochamad Parmudi, "Kebangkitan Civil Society di Indonesia," *At-Taqaddum* 7, 2 (2015), pp. 295–310

After the New Order, the government's centralistic pressure for three decades seems to have found its destructive side. Critics believe that the post-1998 regional autonomy policy has not only presented potential candidates at the local level but has led to the emergence of dynastic politics. The emergence of a deep local elite in the contestation of the Regional Head Election presents the face of democracy in two sides. Contestants who are close to their environment are understood as an instrument for optimizing regional resource management. It is this abstract political atmosphere that creates tension within the management elite of NW. After the founder's death on October 21, 1997, the relationship between the two daughters of the late cracked and ended in open conflict and split NW into two leadership camps.[31]

Conflicts began to emerge after the congress, and the majority of Islamic organizations started to grow in Lombok. This congress has different characteristic from the previous congress because it was not attended directly by the founder of NW. The NW elite had numerous conflicts of interest during this conference as they sought to control the organizational management structure. In addition, this congress took place during the Reformation period, namely when Suharto turned over the authority. It has a significant impact on political mechanization in the country, particularly at the municipal level. In 1998 the state's ability to regulate society weakened so that political instability was vulnerable in almost all regions. After the death of the sole founder, the conflict became inevitable in NW.

A new face of power that was absorbed from the local political elite emerged as a result of the regional autonomy program.[32] The national political environment is not yet conducive, and the internal NW actors' efforts to join political parties have polarised society. Following the election of the mainboard at the 10th NW congress in Praya in 1998, the tension grew and was unavoidable, giving rise to two management camps known as NW Pancor and NW Anjani. Each camp also built alliances with political parties in the 1999 to 2014

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[31] Fandy Abdurrahman, "Dinamika Nahdlatul Wathan Lombok Timur dalam Pemilu Pasca Era Orde Baru Sampai Pemilu 2014," *In RIght: Jurnal Agama Dan Hak Azasi Manusia* 3, 2 (2014), pp. 363-410; Hamdi, *Nahdlatul Wathan Di Era Reformasi.*

[32] Winda Roselina Effendi, "Dinasti Politik dalam Pemerintahan Lokal: Studi Kasus Dinasti Kota Banten," *Jurnal Trias Politika* 2, 2 (2018), pp. 233-47.

elections.[33] NW organizations affiliated with political parties as a means of achieving structural goals.[34] However, particularly, each camp inherits TGH Zainuddin to a different image form. One camp presents a reformist, open and multicultural image, while the opposing promotes a Salafi cultural image. The two images are inextricably linked to the spirit of NW's struggle for the homeland with its educational, social, and *da'wa* insights. There were changes in the attitude of NW congregation while the NW founders were still alive. TGH Zainuddin continue to live in a different way than the factually turbulent years. The impact of the Sufistic tradition and the crucial strength of NW were the main causes of this transformation. Prior to founder's passing, certain NW congregations had troubled remaining faithful to the group disregarding others. After TGH Zainuddin's passing, however, some NW congregations were more accepting of the existence of views from outside the group.

Nahdlatul Wathan Dynamics across Periods

Behaviourism theory is a further development of the idea of behavioralism and was born out of the confluence of psychology and politics.[35] In connection with this paper, behaviouralism focuses on the agency or corporate elites and the conflict of interest between the two NW camps. Conflict is not only seen as a general phenomenon and relies on an epistemological framework. The building of the map of organizational necessity goes hand in hand with the construction of latent and open conflict. Conflict on the island of Lombok might become more complicated to resolve in some circumstances and grow intensity due to the lack of conflict prevention policies.[36] The pattern of shifting organizational conflict in the NW proves that internal instability involve TGH Zainuddin's family.

However, despite the fact that a family argument has started the conflict, it was difficult to end as the conflict affirmations that revolved

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[33] Abdurrahman, *Dinamika Nahdlatul Wathan Lombok Timur*, pp. 363-410.

[34] Hamdi, *Politik Islah*, pp. 1-14.

[35] James Farr, John S. Dryzek, and Stephen T. Lonard (eds), "Remembering the Revolution: Behavioralism in American Political Science," *Political Science in History: Research Programs and Political Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 198-202.

[36] Mustain, "Segregasi Etno-Religius: Upaya Resolusi Konflik dan Pembangunan Perdamaian," *Walisongo* 21, 1 (2013), pp. 71–88.

around the clichéd discourse of power.[37] This conflict was brought on by the lack of proactive policy initiatives following the fall of the New Order. Discourse battles between opposing parties are inevitable leading to open conflict and outright violence. The view of objectivity establishes social space as a mechanism that is free from consciousness and personal desires.[38] Conflict does not deeper significance with serious consequences. Organizational development is positively impacted by conflict when handled properly. This reality is shown by NW, which is proliferating despite conflicting 1998-2010.

In conflict analysis, there are four stages: pre-conflict, confrontation, crisis, and post-conflict. Pre-conflict is generally latent or disguised because of a mismatch of goals between two or more groups. The confrontation phase opens up in one group. Each group initiates conflict, which occasionally result in physical altercation, lower-level violence, and strained interpersonal relationships. Crisis is the next conflict's stage. During this stage, there is a lot of widespread, intense violence, and communication between the two groups is difficult. According to Fisher, the crisis phase is when casualties and the conflict start to show. The final stage is post-conflict, where on-going disputes between the two parties exacerbate existing issues.[39]

These stages are characterized by a beginning decrease in the force of the collision between two groups. Slowly, everything returns to normal. At this stage, the other party can quickly reproduce the first stage of the conflict in different forms. Three periods make up the transitional era in NW body. First, TGH Zainuddin Abdul Majid as the sole pioneer, is still alive. At this time, the seeds of conflict began to grow latently, precisely towards the end of the New Order regime in power. The conflict within NW is marked by the divorce of the founder of NW's grandson and the firing of members of the nuclear family. The founder of NW's passing away became the start of conflict or pre-conflict.[40] Second, following the passing of the NW's founder, the conflict's cover is then lifted on a wider post-reformation stage. After the eleventh congress held in Praya in 1998, the conflict intensified, splitting the NW into two parties with equal influence but

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[37] Hamdi, *Nahdlatul Wathan Di Era Reformasi*.

[38] Riawanti, *Teori Tentang Praktik*.

[39] Simon Fisher et.al., *Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action* (Birmingham: Zed Books, 2000).

[40] Ibid.

shared foundation. Violence during the crisis phase results from the inevitable clash between camps. Third, one of the camps was chosen to serve as NTB Governor.

Reunification at this time was driven by pragmatism in politics, which prompted candidates from competing groupings to be chosen as regents. Sadly, the Regent election defeat led to deterioration relations between the two NW camps. Fisher's theory is supported by this stage. After disagreement, things mostly get back to normal but it is not entirely. In certain situations, this stage serves as a transition to the conflict-initiating stage. Sincere politics during the election of the regent (Pilbup) of Central Lombok in 2010 pushed the two parties to reconcile in the post-conflict period. Whatever their political affiliations, NW elites are currently doing a great job of bringing the two sides together through discourse. In particular, the extensive socialization of reconciliation contributed to the total settlement of the mass conflict. This perspective reveals that a thread reproduction gap in the NW elite circle inspired by the defeat of. This viewpoint demonstrates that the *Pilbup's* loss caused a reproductive gap in the NW elite circle. This item shows that the precondition for conflict replication are still in their infancy during the post-conflict period. Contrary to crisis phase, the replication of conflict to the pre-conflict stage does not affect the community level. Even in places where the fighting took place, the masses or congregations of both camps shown a willingness to make peace with one another.

Discourse is not empty but it has a role in the perpetuation of power. On the other hand, power cannot be separated from the discourse that is present in it. The symbolic power engaged in conflict with one another to control other symbols that are parts of the power. *Madrasa* is a place of fighting that evolved into a NW battleground. Conflict at the start of the Reformation revealed that recitation was common occupation in madrasah circles. According to historical analysis, recitation serves as both a vehicle for Islamic instruction and a space for the study and practice of the master's *da'wa*.[41] The recitation is held in a single *madrasa*; and because the *madrasa* stands for education, one of the camps naturally controls the conversation there.

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[41] Mohamad Iwan Fitriani, "Kepemimpinan Kharismatis-Transformatif Tuan Guru dalam Perubahan Sosial Masyarakat Sasak-Lombok Melalui Pendidikan," *Al-Tahrir* 16, 1 (2016), pp. 175–95.

Behind that, this educational institution is the centre for developing the teachers' socio-cultural influence.

The object of the struggle for discourse can be seen from the meaning of the Shafi'i school. Both camps have different understandings of women's leadership in organizations. The founder of NW camp in Pancor utilized the purification of Shafi'i's teachings while he was still alive by appointing the NW Executive Board from among males. It was therefore challenging to accept the results of the congress that appointed Siti Raihanun as the leader. In the meantime, the NW camp based in Anjani believes that female leaders in the Shafi'i school are permitted and provides specific examples of women's leadership to support this assertion. The cult is also depicted in TGH Zainuddin's work, '*Wasiat Renungan Masa*'. This cult is demonstrated by its prophecy that Siti Rauhun will separate in the fifth century. One of the reasons for approximately 20 years divergence of the two groups has been the interpretation of the collective desire of the pondering masses. The Will of Meditations of the Period's message cannot be disputed, much like the sufistic tradition, of which it is the sole founder. The two daughters of TGH Zainuddin are not the clear target audience for this literary work. The will's text is extremely personal, it predicts that "A fifth of a century from now, when my children are separated, there will be slander". When analysing literary works, there are several interpretation gaps. The text's interpretation is dynamic or subject to change depending on the interpreter's working environment. Investigating and dissecting the book's history and traditions are necessary for translating the meaning of the text. The significance of the '*Wasiat Renungan Masa*' text is a reflection of the NW congregation's commitment to the organization and the founders' work.

The conflict between the two groups' ideologies is not only reflected in the text, the Tuan Guru of each camp who received TGH Zainuddin's verbal will prior to his passing also delivered a distinct speech. The teachers' readiness to support one of the daughters of the founder of NW turned into the key factor in the cause conflict. Hamdi sent a letter to TGH Ruslan Zain, TGH L. Anas Harsyuni, TGH Mahmud Yasin, TGH Zaini Abdul Hannan, and HM Thahir Azhari with the instructions, "Whatever you do, discuss it with Raihanun first".[42] Meanwhile, TGH Yusuf Ma'mun and TGH Muhsin Maqbul

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[42] Hamdi, *Nahdlatul Wathan Di Era Reformasi*.

received the will "Do not let you separate from Rauhun". The two wills are regarded as the daughter of NW's founder and a type of loyalty will. As the founder of NW openly voiced his will, cults in this form become an undeniable Doxa. The secondary features, in contrast, derives from the discourse's acts, political aspects such as the power of attorney and the tenth congress, and sympathetic factors because of the emotional relationship between Tuan Guru and the daughter of NW's founder. Based on this view, the meaning of discourse born internal organization, which continued in the discourse battle to the level of NW congregation in each camp.

According to Lederach, there are a number of conditions that must be met for reconciliation to take place. The first is truth; it examines whether speech and reality are appropriate in order to assess the validity of conflict related information. This viewpoint is in line with Freire's proposal for transformative discourse.[43] To uncover the truth, dialogue functions are used to identify the causes and effects of a conflict and the source of the issue. In the conversation between camps, it is important to promote context of NW and the guiding principles of NW organisation. Within the NU organization, it is customary to 'clarify' (*tabayyun*) any issue to further developments. For compensation, it is also necessary to pursue justice based on the law and the facts. The third option is mercy, in which the perpetrator and victim express regret. It was, however, difficult for the two sides to acknowledge their roles as the conflict's offenders. The fourth quality is inner peace, which has to do with not caring about the circumstances or the opinions of other people or groups. By restraining your rage and fighting the impulse to do wrong, you can stop worrying. One technique to acquire peace is to adopt an attitude of 'inner calm', which is what inner peace is.

The taxonomy of integration of the two camps and the offer of reconciliation uphold the dualism of organizational leadership with the commitment to refrain from open violence. Furthermore, an extraordinary congress is held when a new board is formed following the dissolution of the organization's administration. The last offer is to delegate leadership affairs democratically in Islamic organizations like NU and Muhammadiyah. On March 23, 2021, the leaders of the two parties attended a dialogue and signed numerous peace agreements in

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[43] Paulo Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 1973).

line with Lederach's philosophy of dialogue-based peace. The dialogue and signings were supported by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights.[44] One of the peace treaties agreed that all parties will acknowledge the legal status of NW, and committed to maintain harmonious relations and stopped any form of persecution. Government involvement in bridging the peace process indirectly encourages both sides to accept offers of reconciliation. The NW elite's position within the superstructure has a big impact on influencing people's compliance. So if the elites of each camp have the will to dialogue and seek peace, the community will automatically participate in preserving peace.[45]

In 1916, Muslim combatants in Surabaya were the first to use the phrase NW.[46] However, due to the significant time difference between the two enterprises, there is no organisational connection between them.[47] According to Hamdi, ideologically, NW and NU were linked, especially in the 1950s, when TGH Zainuddin served as the NU's consular representative for 'Sunda Kecil'.[48] NW participated in political process throughout the history of independence. Khirjan recorded that prior to independence in 1934-1946, TGH Zainuddin highlights that awareness generates love for the homeland, country, or nation.[49] This awareness is instilled and declared through madrasas to shape and expand the spirit of an independent Indonesia. Education is connected to the spirit of nationalism values and weaves Indonesian

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[44] Iwan Sutiawan, "Ditjen AHU Apresiasi Perdamaian Nahdlatul Wathan," https://www.gatra.com/detail/news/507282/hukum/ditjen-ahu-apresiasi-perdamai-an-nahdlatul-wathan accessed on 23 April 2021.

[45] Hamdi, "Politik, Agama dan Kontestasi Kekuasaan Nahdlatul Wathan.

[46] Mohammad Noor, Muslihan Habib, and Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, *Visi Kebangsaan Religius: Refleksi Pemikiran Dan Perjuangan Tuan Guru Kyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid* (Jakarta: Bania Publishing Wacana, 2014).

[47] Hamdi, *Politik, Agama dan Kontestasi Kekuasaan Nahdlatul Wathan*, pp. 130-47

[48] The term Sunda Kecil was first used by RW Van Bemmelen, a Dutch geologist, in the 19th century. Bemmelen divided the Sunda region into two groups: the Greater Sunda, covering large islands such as Java, Sumatra, and Kalimantan. While the Lesser Sunda includes small islands in the eastern region such as Bali, Lombok, Sumba, Flores, and Timor. A further review can be seen in Edi S. Ekadjati, *Sunda Nusantara dan Indonesia: Suatu Tinjauan Sejarah* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1995), p. 3; Weishaguna, "Reposisi Istilah Review Sejarah Ruang Kepulauan," *Jurnal Perencanaan Wilayah dan Kota* 6, 2 (2010).

[49] Khirjan Nahdi, "Karakter Kebangsaan dalam Sejarah Nahdatul Wathan: Tinjauan Wacana Kritis," *Sasando* 3, 1 (2020).

multiculturalism.[50] In addition, the multiculturalism that exists in NW is reflected in some of the educators there who have a Hindu religious background.[51] The breath of NW's struggle to integrate religious and state discourse complements each other.

Between 1945 and 1946, Indonesia was a freshly independent country that was still looking for its ideal form. The Dutch East Indies, which created the puppet states, nonetheless practised colonialism in its politics. Madrasas became the primary stronghold for Northwest personalities to repel colonial army assaults. Representatives from the Northwest agreed to destroy this puppet state on behalf of the island of Lombok in 1949. Due to its contributions to the history of the independence fight, the state officially recognised NW as a mass organisation in 1953. The Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly (MPR RI) and the Old Order then used the NW figure as one of the constituent parts in determining the shape and organisation of the state.

NW figures were actively involved in state politics from 1966 to 1998; the founder was a member of the Advisory Council of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), Constituent Assembly of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia from 1971 to 1982. In addition, through putting government initiatives into place, NW leaders have contributed to the advancement of health, population, and agriculture. In the area of health, NW figures take part in a variety of transmigration activities, help Family Planning and national immunization programs. The agriculture sector helps put plans for agricultural expansion and intensification into action. During the period of the New Order, there was a transition to a more modern education model in terms of infrastructure, alignment of school and *madrasa* curricula with the state and community development objectives, and the introduction of madrasas.[52] During the era of the

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[50] Faidin, Agus Mulyana, and Helius Sjamsuddin, "Pelaksanaan Pembelajaran Muatan Lokal Nahdlatul Wathan untuk Menggali Nilai-nilai Nasionalisme di Madrasah Aliyah Nahdlatul Wathan Kota Mataram," *Diakronika* 19, 2 (2019), pp. 93-108.

[51] Khirjan Nahdi, "TGH M Zainuddin Abdul Madjid Dan Gerakan Kebangsaan," avaliable online at http://eprints.hamzanwadi.ac.id/3007/1/Seminar%20Nasional%-20Nurul%20Haramain%20Bogor%202017_Khirjan%20Nahdi.pdf accessed on 23 April 2021

[52] Husnul Laili, "Dinamika Pesantren Nahdlatul Wathan: Refleksi Modal Spiritual dan Sosiokultural," *Edisi Jurnal Edukasi dan Sains* 2, 2 (2020), pp. 269–84

New Order, NW played the role of state politics, acting as a conduit for central government programs in the regions.[53]

Thus, the spirit of NW, as it is understood in its literal sense, is a principle that has always had a solid hold Indonesia's history from the time before independence to the present. Along the way, the expression of this love intersects with government policy and takes on external association with political parties. In terms of macro politics, NW shows mass political bargaining in the political system. Easton explains that within the framework of political input, mass organizations, the press, and interest groups have the power to influence the political system and decision making. The rapid development of NW organization nowadays shows that the principles held by the founder is still being practiced. First, waging political battle through channels like membership in political parties or cooperation with outside parties. Second, struggling through education, from the level of early childhood education to higher education. Third, alumni participation in rural community development initiatives and community empowerment through *da'wa*. The New Order experienced numerous internal turbulences, yet despite this, NW grew out of a love for the homeland.

Conclusion

The findings showed that the coherence of Tuan Guru's symbolic interpretivism in Lombok emerged in Sasak community. The influence of Tuan Guru spread quickly and was inversely correlated with aristocratic groupings at critical junctures in people's lives. NW focused on three aspects: education, social, and *da'wa*. These three aspects are exemplified by madrasas, orphanages, facilities for low-income children, students' participation in *da'wa* habitus, and social activities that foster the growth of NW congregations in Lombok. The participation of NW leaders in actual politics shows their organizational and individual contributions to the life of the nation. Politics is viewed as a way to encourage organizational growth for the restoration of the homeland. After the New Order, the organization encountered conflict as it progressed to a greater stage. However, this conflict serves as NW's foundation for future competition, allowing it to exists today.

This study confirms the presence of mass organizations with local

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[53] Nahdi, "Karakter Kebangsaan dalam Sejarah Nahdatul Wathan.

basis that were influential in the political system from the Old Order to the Reformation. The movement has grown more obvious with the execution of the regional autonomy policy that appointed Tuan Guru as NTB leader for two periods. This study, however, is limited to discourse analysis on literary studies and has numerous taxonomic shortcomings when compared to field research. To explore the political ecology of religious groups in a wider context, future research should be based on a critical foundation.[]

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