

CONTESTATION IN PUBLIC SPACES: LEGITIMACY IN EDUCATION IN MATARAM CITY

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Abstract

The transformation of the movement in the new order period resulted the diverse variants and contestations in various lines of national and state life. These entities take on different roles in the several scopes such as political, social, cultural organizations and many other focuses in the field of education. This research uses a qualitative research approach carried out in Mataram City, Indonesia. The results of the study illustrate that Mataram City as a cultural locomotive with cultural, ethnic and tribal variations that is able to practice religious rituals and ideologies assisted by various elements of fertility dimension including the existence of various mass organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and Salafi which exist in Mataram City. The growing form of religious ideology is encompassed in the family of *ahlussunnah waljamaah*, between *non-sunni* subordinates and the same religious *Minhaj*. The formulation of contestation competes for the space of identity and the pluralization of *sunni*. In practice, the form of contestation is carried out by strengthening the community of Educational Institutions, prominence of symbols, mass media, as well as spreading the *halaqoh* and recitation.

Keywords: *Contestation, religion, Movement, plurality, Education, legitimacy*

INTRODUCTION

The PUSHAM UII team in their notes explained that the end of the New-Order period was a crucial momentum for the revival of Islam in Indonesia, which became a pre-condition for the emergence of various "new" Islamic movement groups, including radical Islamic movements. It was in this atmosphere of freedom that new Islamic movement actors are emerge, which are outside the dominant mainstream framework of Indonesian Islam, such as Nahdlatul 'Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Persis, al-Irshad, al-Wasliyah, Jamiat Khair and so on. Organizations such as Gerakan Tarbiyah (which later became the party of Keadilan Sejahtera), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Front Pembela Islam (FPI), Laskar Jihad

and etcetera which is a representative for the new generation of Islamic movements in Indonesia (PUSHAM UII, 2009)

Explicitly explained by Meuleman that the collapse of the new orde since 1998 contributed to intensifying the competition for religious authority between religious groups, where cross-border interests to instill ideological influence played a role (Meuleman, J. 2011; Saparudin, 2017). This tendency has now penetrated into the academic culture of Islamic education in Indonesia, where this reform era brought freedom and openness in social, political, and religious life to the Indonesian nation. This condition triggers the emergence of contestation of religious identity in social life at the national and regional levels (Mustain, 2018).

The strengthening of the internal struggles of Muslims represented by religious movements and groups has an impact on the increasingly diverse patterns and ideological orientations of Islamic educational institutions.¹ Educational institutions operated by Islamic groups, offer curricula according to their respective ideologies, both intra and extracurricular and in hidden curricula. In the intracurriculum, for example, there are subjects on al-Islam and Ke-Muhammadiyah at Muhammadiyah educational institutions, ke-Aswajaan and ke-NW-an at Nahdlatul Wathan educational institutions, Aqidah and Manhaj at Salafi educational institutions.

According to this issue, the researchers consider that contestation in the world of education is still relevant to be explored. In addition, as far as tracking the authors, there has not been much research that reviews this issue. The author needs to emphasize that this paper aims to analyze the factors and forms of religious ideological contestation in education, then explore the impact of religious ideological contestation on educational institutions that occur.

RESEARCH METHOD

In accordance with the focus of the study, this research is a field research, which is carried out in a natural setting with a focus on the study of the Legitimacy of Religious Ideology in Education. Therefore, the type of research implemented in this study is Ethnography and History with qualitative methods that produce descriptive data in the form of written or spoken words from people and observed behaviors. The approach is directed at the setting and the individual holistically (intact).

DISCUSSION

The Religious diversity in Mataram.



Picture 1. The Map of Mataram city area (Mataram Central Bureau of Statistics, Documentation, 2022)

Mataram City is the capital of West Nusa Tenggara Province which has an area of topography located at an altitude of less than 50 meters above sea level (asl) with an altitude range of 9 km, located at 08° 33' - 08° 38' South Latitude and 116° 04' - 116° 10' East Longitude. The geological structure of Mataram City is mostly clay and tuff sediment soil which is alluvial deposits derived from the activities of Mount Rinjani, visually it looks like a crushed stone slab, while underneath it is a layer of sand. Like other cities in Indonesia, the city of Mataram has a tropical climate with a tropical monsoon (Am) climate type which has two seasons, namely the rainy season and the dry season. The air temperature in Mataram City ranges from 20.1 °C to 31.6

°C. Maximum humidity of 83% occurs in January–March and December, while minimum humidity of 77% occurs in August and September. Maximum average solar radiation in September. Meanwhile, the highest number of rainy days occurs in January with a total of 20 days, with average rainfall reaching 1200–2000 mm per year, and the number of rainy days is relatively ≥ 120 days per year. The boundaries of the Mataram City area are as follows: **North**, Gunung Sari District, West Lombok Regency, **East**, Narmada District, West Lombok Regency, **South**, Labu Api District, West Lombok Regency, **West**, Lombok Strait.

Mataram city consist of 6 district and and 50 sub-district. The following is a list of districts and sub-districts/villages in Mataram City, West Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia.

Table 1. List of the districts and sub-districts/villages in Mataram City, West Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia

No	District	Sub-district
1	Ampenan	Ampenan Selatan, Ampenan Tengah, Ampenan Utara, Banjar, Bintaro, Dayan Peken, Kebun Sari, Pajarakan Karya, Pejeruk, Taman Sari.
2	Cakranegara	Cakranegara Barat, Cakranegara Selatan, Cakranegara Selatan Baru, Cakranegara Timur, Cakranegara Utara, Cilinaya, Karang Taliwang, Mayura, Sapta Marga, Sayang-sayang.
3	Mataram	Mataram Timur, Pagesangan, Pagesangan Barat, Pagesangan Timur, Pagutan, Pagutan Barat, Pagutan Timur, Pejanggik, Punia.
4	Sandubaya	Abian Tubuh Baru, Babakan, Bertais, Dasan Cermen, Mandalika, Selagalas, Turida.
5	Sekarbela	Jempong Baru, Karang Pule, Kekalik Jaya, Tanjung Karang, Tanjung Karang Permai,
6	Selaparang	Dasan Agung, Dasan Agung Baru, Gomong, Karang Baru, Mataram Barat, Monjok, Monjok Barat, Monjok Timur, Rembiga.

Sumber: Department of Population and Civil Registration of Mataram, Documentation, Mataram, 25 October 2022. see also the Central Bureau

of Statistics, Documentation, Mataram, 25 October 2022, also see on [https://mataramkota.bps.go.id/indicator/12/96/1/jumlah-
penduduk.html](https://mataramkota.bps.go.id/indicator/12/96/1/jumlah-penduduk.html)., accessed on 25 October 2022

The calculated population of Mataram City from 2018-2020 is as follows;

Table 2. The population of Mataram City from 2018-2020

District	Number of Population								
	Male			Female			Male+Female		
	2018	2019	2020	2018	2019	2020	2018	2019	2020
Ampenan	46362	47489	48275	46052	46374	47366	92714	94363	95941
Sekarbela	35825	37147	38473	36746	38107	39481	72571	75254	77954
Mataram	43852	44851	45820	45670	46717	47742	89522	91568	93562
Selaparang	36812	36878	36900	38558	38631	38669	75370	75509	75569
Cakranegara	33611	33774	3389	34508	34681	34821	68119	68455	68719,
Sandubaya	39464	40350	41824	39716	40916	42112	79180	81566	83936
Mataram City	236226	240789	245190	241250	245926	250491	477476	486715	495681

Sumber: Department of Population and Civil Registration of the City of Mataram, Documentation, Mataram, 25 October 2022. Also see on see also at the Central Bureau of Statistics, Documentation, Mataram, 25 Oktober 2022, also see on [https://mataramkota.bps.go.id/indicator/12/96/1/jumlah-
penduduk.html](https://mataramkota.bps.go.id/indicator/12/96/1/jumlah-penduduk.html)., accessed on 25 Oktober 2022.,

The calculated population of Mataram City according to their religions in 2020 as follows;

Table 3. The population of Mataram city according to their religions

NO	DISTRICT	RELIGION			
		ISLAM	CRISTIAN	HINDU	BUDHA/ETC
1	Ampenan	105 148,00	872,00	2 526,00	2 421,00
2	Sekarbela	43 740,00	240,00	2 051,00	4,00
3	Mataram	60 599,00	1 936,00	16 607,00	244,00

4	Selaparang	62 633,00	851,00	6 767,00	183,00
5	Cakranegara	65 350,00	13 687,00	30 489,00	16 388,00
6	Sandubaya	47 784,00	567,00	485,00	335,00
TOTAL		385 254,00	18 153,00	58 925,00	19 575,00

Sumber:The Ministry of Religion, Mataram City, Documentation, Mataram, October 25 2022. See also at the Mataram City Population and Civil Registration Service, Documentation, Mataram, October 25 2022. See also <https://mataramkota.bps.go.id/indicator/12/96/1/jumlah-penduduk.html>, accessed on October 25, 2022.

Based on the number of residents above, it shows that the religious variants in the city of Mataram are very high, where each ummat can exist to perform various religious rituals or beliefs of each religion, in addition to the variants of religious ideology in the internal Islamic ummat as the presence and development of Muhammadiyah, NU, NW and Salafi in Mataram City.

The forms of religious ideology contestation in Education in the City of Mataram.

Contestation is an inseparable unity and has a natural character. Contestation appears from diversities which are the essence of humanity, therefore humans are called conflicting beings (*homo conflictus*), namely beings who are always involved either voluntarily or forcedly in differences, conflicts, and competitions (Azwardi, 2018)

Religious contestation by looking at the number of religious groups that contend with each other as explained by Saprillah (2020) mentioned that religious contestation can be categorized into three major groups. *First*, religious contestation between religious groups in the large Sunni groups. The contestation in this mode developed in Indonesia resulted from the development of Sunni groups from various directions of thought. This

discussion of contestation also gets a larger portion of the explanation due to the many cases that occurred.

There are at least two forms of contestation in Sunni intergroup relations, namely the contestation of religious discourse and the contestation of religious movements. The contestation between NU and Muhammadiyah for example over a long period of time was the prototype of religious contestation in the ideology of Sunni. In the Reformation era, contestation proceeded more randomly. The formation of sunni religious intergroup contestation is no longer singular. Changes in formation depend on the form and religious theme being contested.

Second, contestation within a group with the same religious minhaj. For example the contestation between fellow Salafi groups and fellow Tablighi Jamaat groups. Contestation between groups with Salafi leanings by fighting over the identity of salafism. Contestation between two groups of Tablighi Jamaat. The two of them competed in fighting over the space of identity, who was the truthful one after the emergence of Amir Maulana Saad and Shura Alamiah.

Third, contestation between mainstream Sunni groups and non-Sunni subordinate groups. For example, between the Sunni FPI and Ahmadiyah. Between Annas (Anti-Shia National Alliance) who claims to be Sunni, and IJABI, who has a Syi'ah leaning. MUI as a consortium institution of Sunni scholars in Indonesia occupies a strategic position through the fatwas it creates in this pattern of contestation.

The contestation between Sunni and subordinate groups is based on the struggle for Islamic identity. Who is the most Islamic? This is the basic question on which this ideological intergroup contestation is based. Religious contestation in the Sunni group does not contest Islamic identity, but civility. Who is the most Sunni? Or who is most correct in representing, running, and applying ahlusunnah wal jamaah? This question is the basis for contestation within these different Sunni groups. Meanwhile, contestation within one

scope of Sunni minhaj is fighting for a more micro-identity space. Who is the most Salafi? Who is most correct to preach as a tablig jamaah? This question became the basis of the contestation that followed.

On the other hand, Ahmad Iqbal explained that the increasing number of contestations of religious ideologies, will certainly provide positive things in various fields. However, when we see the phenomenon that occurs, especially in Mataram City, that contestation cannot be managed properly, so that the contestation that occurs causes disharmony, then the disharmony relationship will certainly give birth to unhealthy competitions. As we see today how religious groups are contending with each other to strengthen self-identity. The forms of contestation referred to include;

1. Create and Strengthen Communities Through Educational Institutions

Ideology can process and move in all domains of life, including in the field of Education. As a forum for socialization that gathers and shapes the structure and culture of society, Education is considered a strategic institution for the dissemination and production of ideological apparatus, both theologically (religious), ethnic, economic, cultural and political based (Michael W. Apple, 2002). Thus, through the educational institutions that were established, these mass organizations can channel the desire to survive and develop their existence in accordance with their respective ideologies. It was affirmed by Leonardo that Islamic Educational Institutions are used as *marketing ideology* (Zeus Leonardo, 1993) Charlene Tan also places the Educational Institution as a text and context of indoctrination. As a text, the Educational Institution presents a variety of sources and learning materials that are sensitively relevant to the ideological mission. Meanwhile, as a context, educational institutions can be a social setting or a forum for *cultural framing*. In this context it allows what Apple calls *knowledge as legitimate*

(Apple, Michael W., 1993) (knowledge as legitimacy) of particular interest. It is in this condition that the curriculum that actually reflects the needs of society must be subject to a certain ideology (Zeus Leonardo, 1993). As explained by Muhammad Ali, educational institutions are now used as a forum to instill and strengthen the ideology of certain Islamic mass organizations (Muhammad Ali, 2021)

As explained by Sawaludin that:

“As we see today that educational institutions affiliated with Islamic mass organizations strengthen each other's identity through lessons in an educational institution, for example, NW educational institutions with their NW basis, Muhammadiyah with their Muhammadiyah's tendency, NU with their basis or ASWAJA, and Salafi with their Aqidah and Manhaj (Sawaludin, 2021).

2. Protrusion of Symbols

The contestation of intra- and interfaith religious ideologies during the reformation period, again, was due to a variety of very complex factors relating to the euphoria of freedom, in which any person or group feels that they can express their freedom and will without caring about the other parties. So that the protrusion of symbols becomes a strategy carried out to strengthen their existence. As explained by **Muhammad Muh Dimiyati** that the protrusion of symbols or attributes becomes a strategy carried out to strengthen their existence or identity (Muhammad Dimiyati, 2021).

As in Rosyadhullah's view that when we talk about forms of religious contestation, we will find variants of the strategy carried out by each mass organization be it through programs, donations logoed by Islamic mass organizations, protrusion of symbols or attributes (Muh. Rosyadhullah, 2021). The choice of strategy is certainly to strengthen their existence so that they hope to become a majority not a minority (Ahyar Saghir, 2021).

3. Utilization of Mass Media

It is undeniable that islamic da'wah through the media has a considerable influence on the dissemination of messages or information. Such as the use of media for the publication of books, magazines, newspapers, recordings etc is very effective for the delivery of information to the general public (Sawaludin, 2021). In this case Nazar Na'ami asserts that;

“The use of media for the publication of books, magazines, etc, is a means and infrastructure that exerts considerable influence, where the messages of da'wah and religious ideology of each mass organization can be poured into a book that they then print and teach, for example, books which are related to Muhammadiyah, NW, Aswajaa, etc (Nazar Na'ami, 2021).

Online Mass Media or the Internet is the most sophisticated media and source of information today, because this technology offers a variety of conveniences, speeds, accuracy of access and the ability to provide various information needs of everyone anytime, anywhere and at any level. The presence of internet access is an unavoidable medium because it has become a new civilization in the world of information and communication at the global level. With internet access, there is a lot of information that can and deserves to be accessed by the international community, both for personal interests, education, business, and others. Where the emergence of the internet network is considered a revolution in the world of information communication (Achmad Slamet, Aida Farichatul Laila, 2018) So according to **Zubaidi**, the mass media is considered the most effective in spreading information or dakwah (Zubaidi, 2021).

4. Multiplying Halaqoh or Recitation

Ihlas asserts that the implementation of discussions, recitations, halaqoh in villages as we see today is something very noble, but when we use

a political lens, then perhaps we will see that every Islamic mass organization strengthens their existence or appearance through the implementation of recitation, and these halaqah (Ihlas, 2021)

Recitations, halaqah, likoq are certainly a strategy to convey Islamic messages, but of course there are also messages related to the ideology of Islamic mass organizations that are engaged in (Sopian Khawalid, 2021). Departing from the results of interviews related to the Forms of Contestation of religious ideology in education above shows the truth of the data obtained from the respondents. This can be seen after the researcher made observations that each educational institution always highlights various programs as a strengthening of religious ideology such as "“Pengajian Rutin Ahad Pagi” " carried out by the Muhammadiyah Mataram educational institution. Programme of Gerbang (Gerakan Bangun) Subuh by Muhammadiyah conducted in the social of Geguntur village, So is the program of GEMA (Gerakan Masyarakat Mengaji) as a program initiated by the NW-affiliated community in Geguntur, the hadith recitation program after magrib as a salafi routine program implemented in the environment of Kekalik Kebon. As well as making attributes such as clothes that are screen printing with the logos of each mass organization, peci, cingkrang pants which are the identity of salafi clothing, etc. Furthermore, the publication of reading books and teaching materials used in schools or campuses (*Observationi*, 2021)

Based on the results of interviews, documentation, and observations, it shows that there are new findings in this study where the theory about forms of contestation is only mentioned implicitly not explicitly, so that in order to get the easier understanding and to be a renewal finding of this study, so the researcher explicitly presents several forms of contestation which are the findings in this study, including; Creating and Strengthening Communities Through Educational Institutions, Protrusion of Symbols, Utilization of Mass Media, Multiplying Halaqah or recitation, and publishing books.

CONCLUSION

Mataram is one of the cities that has undergone a rapid transformation of ummat and social affairs. The mapping of diverse socio-religious values with a wide distribution makes Mataram a harmonious city in which it participates in ensuring the transformation of the movement of the community and nationality goes well. During the new order, various national dynamics developed and gave birth to various metamorphosis of contestation from several social movements to political movements, education movements and various other movements, including in the field of education. As a plural city, the growing social movements including the development of Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and Salafi received well in Mataram. The important thing about the existence of the organ is that the identities practiced have similarities as well as differences, so that various forms of religious ideology developed within the family of ahlussunnah waljamaah, between non-sunni subordinates and the same religious Minhaj. The formulation of contestation fights for the space of identity and the pluralization of sunni. In practice, the form of contestation is carried out by strengthening the community of Educational Institutions, prominence of symbols, mass media, spreading halaqoh and recitation.

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