

## International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning

Vol. 18, No. 6, June, 2023, pp. 1963-1972

Journal homepage: http://iieta.org/journals/ijsdp

# Tariqa of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan: Construction of Social Change During the New Order Period in Lombok, Indonesia

Abdul Rasyad<sup>1,2\*</sup>, Reiza D. Dienaputra lo, Mumuh Muhsin Zakaria lo, Raden Muhammad Mulyadi lo



<sup>1</sup> Department of History, Universitas Padjajaran, Bandung 45363, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup> Department of History Education, Universitas Hamzanwadi, Selong 83612, Indonesia

Corresponding Author Email: rasyad.iis@hamzanwadi.ac.id

https://doi.org/10.18280/ijsdp.180633

Received: 8 March 2023 Accepted: 13 April 2023

Keywords:

social change, Nahdlatul Wathan, Hizib NW tariqa, new order

#### **ABSTRACT**

The tariqa of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) has played a role in social and cultural change in a community. This study explains the role of the Hizib NW tariqa in the construction of social and cultural change during the New Order era in Lombok, Indonesia. This study uses the historical method with four stages: heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The Hizib NW tariqa in Lombok has been a social and cultural identity for its followers throughout New Order history. Hamzanwadi, the founder of the Hizib NW tariqa, uses three paths to build the identity of his followers in social change in Lombok: education, politics, and the ceremonial rituals of the Hizib NW tariqa. The long history of the NW organization and the NW Hizib tariqa during the New Order era gave the people of Lombok a new awareness to build an ideal identity adapted to social and cultural changes. The tariqa of Hizib NW has become a spirit, a source of information, motivation, and an instrument of integration among the people of Lombok. This study can be a reference in understanding the congregation in Lombok and its role in the socio-cultural life of the Lombok people, which helps create a harmonious society.

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Discourse on ethnicity and social identity issues in Indonesia is an important and complex issue that requires careful consideration and attention. The conflicts and violence that arise have significant social and political consequences. Therefore, scholars need to understand the causes and dynamics of these conflicts to develop effective strategies to promote peace and social harmony. One of the challenges in addressing issues of ethnicity and social identity in Indonesia is the complex and multifaceted nature of these issues. Ethnic and social identity issues are shaped by various social, economic, and political factors, and scholars and policymakers need to take a holistic approach to understand and addressing these problems.

As a part of Indonesia, the island of Lombok in the province of West Nusa Tenggara is also not immune to ethnicity and social identity issues. The indigenous people of Lombok are the Sasak ethnic group. For centuries, the Sasak people have experienced a complex history with many recorded events due to being ruled by the Karangasem kingdom of Bali [1]. Bali's domination over Lombok ended with resistance by the Sasak people in the Lombok War at the end of the 19th century. The Sasak people won the war and ended Bali's rule over Lombok, which the Dutch later replaced [2].

Describing the position of the tariqa in the socio-cultural life of Lombok from the perspective of diversity, it is essential to note that in historical records, there were no conflicts involving religious communities in Lombok during the New Order era. This indicates that the tariqa movement has become a cultural movement that shapes the community's mentality to

accept differences. The tariqa has developed into a solid social capital, framed by togetherness in a high level of obedience to the spiritual teacher (murshid). In this case, the tariqa institution has the potential to transform into a social and cultural movement with high social cohesion. The tariqa institutions developed in Lombok can be transformed to lead their followers to form a culture that embodies a harmonious society. Therefore, the tariqa is considered to be able to encourage the formation of a harmonious attitude as an ongoing historical process that seeks to find its answers.

During the New Order era of Soeharto's government, the people of Lombok, with Islam as their primary religion, remained dominant. Their religious life was peaceful without conflict due to influential figures supporting the New Order government. This moment is a vital historical record for the tariqa Hizib NW members in developing group consciousness and solidarity in building their social and cultural life. This step considers the strategy of the tariqa Hizib NW members in Lombok to build their identity and increase their awareness as an instrument of solidarity towards a harmonious society.

Research conducted by scholars on the role of tariqa in society has shown that tariqa plays an essential role in social, cultural, and political life in the Islamic world, including in Indonesia [3-5]. Studies on tariqa in Indonesia have been conducted extensively, including studies on the origins and development of Sufism in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia [6-12]. However, research related to the role of the tariqa in viewing social and cultural change in Indonesia, including Lombok, has yet to be explicitly explored. Therefore, this research explores the role of tariqa Hizib NW in the construction of social change in Lombok during the New

Order. This research aims to explain the position of the tariqa Hizib NW congregation as agents of change in Lombok's social and cultural dialectic. The results of this research can contribute to a better understanding of the role of tariqa in the harmonious social and cultural life in Lombok and Indonesia as a whole

This research focuses on understanding the role of the tariga Hizib NW in the construction of social and cultural change in Lombok during the New Order government period. Therefore, in its discussion, this research adopts the constructiviststructuralist theory that emphasizes the importance of habitus in forming individual identity and behavior in a culture [13, 14]. The concept of habitus is considered a historical product of individuals that influences their actions and behavior in a social space [15]. This research also recognizes the importance of an individual's socio-cultural environment as a heterogeneous socio-cultural space with unlimited inter-texts in the context of postmodernism. In this regard, morality is considered a fundamental behavior that emerges and grows within an individual's spiritual soul, enabling the growth of community identity in a social reality that recognizes diversity [16]. By using the constructivist-structuralist theory, this research is expected to provide a broader understanding of the role of the tariga Hizib NW members in the construction of social and cultural change in Lombok, particularly as agents of social and cultural change towards a harmonious community in Lombok.

#### 2. METHOD

This research was conducted at the birthplace of the NW organization in East Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. The historical method applied in this study can help to unearth and gain a deeper understanding of the role of tariqa Hizib NW members in social change construction in Lombok during the New Order era. This research employs a historical method and data collection techniques through participant observation, indepth interviews, and document studies [17]. Primary written sources include Kitab Hizib NW, the book Syair "Wasiat Renungan Masa" by Hamzanwadi, and photos of Hamzanwadi and the tariqa Hizib NW ritual (photo collection by Muhammad Ihsan). Oral sources come from selected informants who have witnessed history during the lifetime of Hamzanwadi like his students, including active members of the tariqa Hizib NW during the studied period known as "Jamaah Wirid Khusus." Interviews are conducted using an essential question guide in-depth with a list of open questions. Oral sources obtained from interviews with the community and tariqa figures in Lombok can provide different perspectives and complement the information obtained from written sources.

By critically examining the sources used, researchers can ensure the accuracy and validity of the information obtained, resulting in a more precise and accurate analysis. A critical approach to the sources used helps ensure the information's accuracy and validity. An academic exposition of history can also enrich understanding of the Hizib NW tariqa and social change in Lombok, providing valuable insights for researchers and readers interested in this topic.

#### 3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TARIQA IN LOMBOK

#### 3.1 Tariqa in Indonesia

Islam that entered Indonesia is a Sufi-influenced Islam. With such characteristics, Islam was readily accepted and absorbed into the local culture [18-20]. Hal ini telah dijelaskan oleh banyak peneliti tentang Islam di Indonesia [21]. The success achieved in spreading Islam does not mean that the acceptance of Islam has wholly eradicated and replaced the existing local practices and teachings in society. There are always local customs and traditions still practiced by the people. Pre-existing beliefs among specific individuals in a community prior to the arrival of Islam may be more prevalent and visible than others [19, 22].

The same condition also applies to Muslim Indonesians. The specific way of thinking considered unique by Indonesian society before the arrival of Islam is fundamental. The interaction between society and Islam as the adopted ideology remains the same way of thinking. This situation is also prevalent in various regions of Indonesia where, in general, the main characteristic is that indigenous culture still exists widely.

In addition, the presence of Sufi figures who visited Indonesia also influenced the development of Sufism in Indonesia. Sufi figures who are well known for the influence of their tariga teachings in Indonesia are Sheikh Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani, founder of the Oadiriyah tariga, Sheikh Baha'uddin Nagsyabandi, founder of the Nagsabandiyah tariga, and Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas who merged these two orders to become the Qadiriyah wa Naqsabandiyah tariqa. This tariqa spread widely in Indonesia and became one of most widely followed tariqa by Indonesian society's [23]. In its development, Sufism in Indonesia also experienced variations and adaptations to local culture and traditions. This can be seen such as in the Syattariyah tariqa, Sammaniyah tariqa, Nagshbandiyah tariqa, and Khalidiyah tariqa. However, essential teachings of Sufism, such as the realization of the oneness of God and emphasis on the spiritual life, are still maintained.

In the Indonesian context, Sufism functions as a religious practice and has become one of the national identities [12, 24]. The existence of Islamic boarding schools and Sufi figures helped shape the religious identity of the Indonesian people. In addition, the practices of Sufism are also part of the culture and traditions of the Indonesian people, such as grave pilgrimages and regular recitations at mosques or prayer rooms. This shows that Sufism has holistically shaped the religious and cultural identity of Indonesian society.

Although there is a Hindu-Buddhist mystical influence on Islamic Sufism tradition in Indonesia, it is not accurate to say that Islamic Sufism is the same as or similar to Hindu-Buddhist teachings [22, 25-27]. Islamic Sufism is based on the teachings of the Quran and the Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad. Many Quranic verses discuss Sufi concepts such as renunciation (*zuhud*), remembrance of God (*dzikr*), and reliance on God (*tawakkal*). Therefore, it can be said that Islamic Sufism has strong roots in the Meccan Islamic tradition and is not just influenced by Hindu-Buddhist teachings alone.

The opinion that Sufism originated from religions or traditions other than Islam is a controversial view. Some Western orientalists and academics have put forward this theory, but many disagree [19, 28]. Some acknowledge that Sufism has strong roots in the Islamic tradition and emerges from the interpretation and practice of the Quran. They also acknowledge that other religions and traditions influence Sufism as a process of acculturation and integration rather than the primary source of Sufi teachings.

In addition, another factor that influences the development of Sufism (tariqa) in Indonesia is the existence of pesantren. Pesantren is a traditional Islamic educational institution that serves as a center for spreading Islam and Sufi teachings in Indonesia [29]. In pesantren, students not only learn to memorize the Quran and study fiqh, but they are also taught Sufi teachings such as remembrance of God (dzikr), seeking intercession (tawassul), reliance on God (tawakkal). Pesantren has become an important institution in shaping the religious identity of Indonesian society.

The presence and development of the Tariqa in Indonesia influence not only the religious aspect but also the cultural and social aspects of Indonesian society. Many traditions and customs in Indonesia come from the influence of the Tariqa, such as the pilgrimage to graves and the celebration of the Prophet's birthday [30]. Tariqa is a religious group in Islam that focuses on spiritual development and understanding of religion, which later brings a moderate message that respects diversity [31, 32]. Thus, the face of Islam in the view of the Tariqa is not rigidly bound to local traditions and culture.

#### 3.2 Tariqa in Lombok

The tariqa has been developing since the spread of Islam in Lombok during the 15th and 16th centuries [33]. These tariqas have become an essential part of the religious and social life of the people in Lombok, contributing to the formation of local religious and cultural values. The development of the tariga in Lombok was also influenced by Sufi figures who came to Lombok and introduced the teachings of tasawuf to the people. Qadiriyah, Naqsabandiyah, and Qadiriyah Nadsabandiyah tariqas had a broad influence in Lombok [34]. These orders successfully attracted many followers in Lombok and became a part of the spiritual life of the Sasak community. As previously explained, the accommodating influence of Islamic tasawuf towards the local culture and the acculturation with the spiritual beliefs of the local community were essential factors in the emergence and development of Islam in Lombok, primarily through the teachings of tasawuf.

Historically, the effort to spread the Naqshbandiyyah tariqa in Lombok Island occurred around the 19th century, after several Tuan Guru returned from Makkah (Masjid al-Haram) and were appointed as caliphs by Syekh Ahmad Khatib Sambas. The Naqshbandiyyah, Qadiriyyah, and Qadiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah tariqas had a significant influence in Lombok, with the Qadiriyyah wa Nagshbandiyyah tariqa being most appreciated by the people of Lombok due to its extensive practice of teachings throughout Lombok, as well as its reverence and respect towards the murshid. Some of the Lombok-originated caliphs of the tariqa appointed by Syekh Abdul Karim Banten (the caliph of Syekh Ahmad Khatib Sambas) included Tuan Guru Haji Muhammad Amin Pejeruk Ampenan, Tuan Guru Haji Muhammad Siddiq Karang Kelok Mataram, and Tuan Guru Haji Muhammad Ali Batu Sakra Lombok [35].

In the southern part of Lombok, the most influential figure of the Qadiriyah wa Naqsabandiyah Tariqa is Tuan Guru Mutawalli Jerowaru. He is the murshid of the Qadiriyah wa Naqsabandiyah Tariqa, particularly in Montong Gading, Terara, Keruak, and Jerowaru. Around the 1970s, he often preached through the approach of the tariqa in the Terara district. According to various sources, Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra also practiced and taught the Naqsabandiyah-Mazhariyah Tariqa. However, it is generally known among his disciples that he is a murshid of the Naqsabandiyah Tariqa. His disciples come from the southern part of Lombok, such as Lepak, Tanjung Luar, Sakra, and Terara, and from the eastern part of Lombok, such as Pringgabaya, Apitaik, and Pohgading.

In 1964 on the island of Lombok, a completely new tariqa teaching was introduced, namely the Hizib NW congregation. This congregation was founded by a charismatic cleric from Lombok, namely Tuan Guru Kiai Haji (TGKH) Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid. He is a productive scholar who is respected, and he founded the first community organization in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. This tariqa is a local tariqa that has developed in Lombok and is especially widespread among congregations of NW organizations and is popularly known as the "Special Wirid Congregation" (*Jamaah Wirid Khusus*).

### 4. NAHDLATUL WATHAN AND TARIQA OF HIZIB NAHDLATUL WATHAN

#### 4.1 Nahdlatul Wathan Organization

Organizations that lead education development among the general public are generally led by religious figures in Indonesia, where most of the population is Muslim. The first education system developed by religious figures in Indonesia was through da'wah (Islamic preaching). After gaining enough followers, the religious figures taught their knowledge through the *halaqah* education system. This traditional education system teaches religious texts in Arabic and Malay by sitting in a circle and listening to the teacher's explanation in a Surau or Langgar. This *halaqah* education system then developed into a semi-classical education system in *Pondok Pesantren*.

This education system above played a significant role in the development of education throughout almost all of Indonesia in the early 20th century [36]. Some areas in Indonesia that experienced traditional education development include Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and the Nusa Tenggara region (formerly Sunda Kecil). For the Sunda Kecil region (now Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara), the development of this education system was more focused on Lombok Island.

The development of education on Lombok Island (now in the province of West Nusa Tenggara) was carried out by religious figures in the early 20th century in the form of da'wah aimed to purify Islamic teachings from the influence of Wetu Telu teachings. The religious figures include Tuan Guru Haji (TGH) Mustafa from Sekarbela West Lombok, TGH. Amin from Sesela West Lombok, TGH. Mas'ud from Kopang Central Lombok, and TGH. Umar from Kelayu East Lombok. Then, the next generation of religious figures emerged, including TGH. Muhammad Saleh Lopan (TGH. Lopan) from Lopan Central Lombok, TGH. Muhammad Rais from Sekarbela West Lombok, TGH. Muhammad Saleh Hambali from Bengkel West Lombok, TGH. Abdul Hamid from Pejeruk West Lombok, TGH. Abdul Karim from Praya

Central Lombok, and TGH. Badarul Islam from Pancor East Lombok [37].

The da'wah carried out by the ulama above continued to regenerate. In 1934, a new generation of ulama emerged who sought to renew the predecessors' legacy. These ulama were led by TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid. TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madiid, also known as Hamzanwadi, was an alumnus of Madrasah As-Shaulativvah Makkah. Hamzanwadi's ideas were heavily influenced by his educational background at Madrasah As-Shaulatiyyah Makkah. Hamzanwadi's educational ideas were then put into practice by establishing an educational institution that combined the traditional educational system (halagah) with the modern educational system (semi-classical), namely Pondok Pesantren Al-Mujahidin, in 1934. This pesantren then became an educational institution with a classical system on August 17, 1936, under Madrasah Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah (NWDI), especially for men [38]. On April 21, 1943, Hamzanwadi established another educational institution called Madrasah Nahdlatul Banat Diniyah Islamiyah (NBDI), especially for women [36, 38, 39]. The names of these two institutions were then combined and became well-known as "Hamzanwadi," an abbreviation of Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah. The figure of TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid can be seen in Figure 1 below.



Figure 1. Hamzanwadi (left), founder of NWDI madrasas, NBDI madrasas, and NW organizations
Source: Archives were taken by Muhammad Ihsan, Mu'allimat NWDI Pancor, East Lombok

These two educational institutions became the basis for establishing a community organization in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, namely the NW organization [40, 41]. NW is the oldest community organization in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, founded on March 1, 1953. The organization emerged as a continuation of Sarekat Islam (originally called Sarekat Dagang Islam) which sought to increase religious awareness among the people of Lombok. The organization's main goal was to open schools [42]. NW is a community organization based on Islam that focuses on education, social issues, and preaching. As an organization primarily focused on education, NW has established many formal educational institutions that follow government and non-formal curricula, such as pondok pesantren. The dominant form of education developed by NW is based on Islamic teachings.

#### 4.2 Tariqa of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan

Hamzanwadi founded the Hizib NW tariqa in Pancor, East

Lombok, and West Nusa Tenggara. The Hizib NW tariqa is a manuscript consisting of various fragments of verses from the Holy Qur'an, Hadith, prayers of the salaf ulama, and prayers from the author himself. One of Hamzanwadi's works characterizes his religious thoughts in tasawuf (Sufism). This order was compiled in 1964 and continued to expand widely among NW followers. The primary teaching of the Hizib NW order, according to Hamzanwadi, is that sharia is an elaboration, tariqa is implementation, hakikat is a condition, and ma'rifat is the main goal, which is the recognition of the true God.

Starting from this idea, Hamzanwadi wanted to form a tariqa for the members of the NW organization as a medium to synergize the aspects of Sharia and tariqa and to be closer to Allah SWT. This desire often arose because of his spiritual experiences. Since 1964, Hamzanwadi has repeatedly received direct or indirect spiritual inspiration to establish a new tariga. Previously, the NW organization had a complete recitation of dhikr, namely Hizib NW, but it was not organized into a tariga. Therefore, the formation of Hizib NW tariga would perfect the tasawuf practices of NW followers in approaching Allah SWT. After being established, the congregation of Hizib NW tariqa became very popular among the NW organization and beyond. Every Monday night, every NW member recites the Hizib NW tariqa. Since the 1970s, the popularity of Hizib NW tariqa has spread widely in Lombok and throughout the West Nusa Tenggara region. NW followers still practice the habit of reciting the Hizib NW tariqa until now.

Sociologically, at least two factors are behind establishing the tariqa Hizib NW. Firstly, the factor indicating diversity in Sasak society is the prevalence of tariqa phenomena that do not adhere to Sharia. Secondly, most tariqas have strict rules that are difficult for ordinary people to practice. Apart from these factors, another thing that also drove the birth of the tariqa Hizib NW was the spiritual experience of its founder [43]. The Sufi teachings developed by Hamzanwadi are the teachings of al-Ghazali and Junaid al-Baghdadi. The Sufi teaching can be seen in the books that Hamzanwadi teaches daily, namely books by al-Ghazali, such as Ihya 'Ulumuddin [44].

In this regard, it can be understood that the Hizib NW tariqa taught by Hamzanwadi embodies the idea of tasawuf that is inseparable from Sharia, similar to the tasawuf of al-Ghazali and Junaid al-Baghdadi [45-48]. The tasawuf developed by Hamzanwadi is a tasawuf that is in line with Sharia. Condition is closely related to the four spiritual stages: Sharia, Tariqa, Hakikat, and Ma'rifat [49, 50]. Hamzanwadi explained that Sharia is the ocean, Tariqa is the boat, and Hakikat is the pearl. One can only obtain the pearl through the ocean with a boat [51].

In addition to emphasizing the importance of consistency in enforcing Shariah, another teaching of Tariqa Hizib NW is the flexibility (ease) in practicing the Tariqa's rituals. The existence of Tariqa Hizib NW is a response to the experiences of other Tariqas that have existed in Lombok. Tariqa Qadariyah and Naqsyabandiyah are considered too heavy and have strict requirements, especially when combined with the obligation to isolate oneself from the hustle and bustle of worldly life at certain times. Although isolation is not prohibited in Tariqa Hizib NW, people generally feel reluctant to follow it. Based on this condition, Hamzanwadi designed Tariqa Hizib NW to be concise and practical without neglecting its esoteric meaning. This Tariqa can be practiced by anyone in need, whether at certain times or during daily

activities [52]. Reading the Tariqa in a state of purity and sitting facing the Qibla is recommended. However, this is only a suggestion and not mandatory so that members of the Tariqa can practice it anytime and anywhere. This condition means that Tariqa Hizib NW's teachings and emphasizing Shariah's importance is also flexible (easy) [53]. In this context, Tariqa of Hizib NW shares similarities in the perspective of Sufism taught by Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah with modern Sufism [7].

Another essential element of the Hizib NW tariqa is the murshid (spiritual guide). Murshid means a spiritual teacher who provides guidance or someone who leads directly. In the tariga tradition, the term murshid is known as Syekh [54-56]. Hamzanwadi's appointment as the murshid of Tariqa Hizib NW was through a miraculous process. This process is typical in the Sufi world, where the appointment of a murshid is always associated with mystical events. When Hamzanwadi performed Hajj and Umrah in 1964 while praying at Masjid Nabawi, near the Prophet's tomb, a mysterious voice from a servant of Allah instructed him to create the "tariqa of the end times." However, Hamzanwadi thought it was just a whisper from the devil. The second time the voice came, Hamzanwadi still had doubts. Then, for the third time, a figure believed to be Prophet Khidir held his hand in Raudhah, saying, "establish the tariga of the end times."

Based on this incident, Hamzanwadi became convinced and began writing and compiling Tariqa readings and searching for books by previous scholars to reference. Based on his spiritual experiences since 1964, he officially began composing the dhikr of Tariqa Hizib NW and completed it successfully in 1967 [52]. When the dhikr method of Tariqa Hizib NW was completed, Hamzanwadi immediately became the murshid of Tariqa Hizib NW and began mentoring people who wanted to join as members of the tariqa, especially from the NW organization congregation.

From the social-political-religious perspective in Lombok, the Hizib NW tariqa has become an essential part of constructing the local community's Islamic identity. Members of the NW organization who are also followers of the Hizib NW order are seen as individuals with a solid and well-preserved Islamic identity. Additionally, the Hizib NW tariqa is a means of strengthening solidarity and unity among Nahdlatul Wathan members. The Hizib NW tariqa is essential in Lombok's social and religious life, particularly among NW members. The practice of this order not only serves as a means of developing spirituality and understanding of religion but also plays an integral part in constructing the local community's Islamic identity. The ritual practice of the Tariqa Hizib NW can be seen in Figures 2 and 3 below.



**Figure 2.** Ritual reading of the Hizib NW tariqa by a male congregation

Source: Archives were taken by Muhammad Ihsan, Mu'allimat NWDI Pancor, East Lombok



**Figure 3.** Ritual reading of the Hizib NW tariqa by a male congregation

Source: Archives were taken by Muhammad Ihsan, Mu'allimat NWDI Pancor. East Lombok

The development of the Hizib NW tariga in Lombok is also reflected in the increasing number of Islamic boarding schools (pondok pesantren) established by scholars and Sufi figures from the NW organization. These boarding schools have become centers for education and developing Sufi teachings in Lombok [57]. In these Islamic boarding schools (pondok pesantren), students learn about religion and delve into the teachings of the Hizib NW tariqa. Thus, the development of the order in Lombok must be connected to the growth of Islam and Sufi teachings. Sufi teachings and the Hizib NW tariqa serve as a means for the Sasak community to deepen their knowledge of Islam, establish a relationship with God, and develop spiritual values in their daily lives. The followers of the various tariqas, including Naqsabandiyah, Qadiriyah, and Hizib NW, have played a significant role in the development of Islam in Lombok. The teachings of each order have become the foundation for the growth and development of Islam in Lombok.

# 5. TARIQA OF HIZIB NAHDLATUL WATHAN AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN LOMBOK

The tariqa has significantly contributed to the development of Islamic religious education in Lombok since ancient times. The center of social activities and the murshid of the tariqa played an essential role in education and spiritual development, consisting of various buildings such as the residence of the Sheikh, the room for dhikr practice, student rooms, mosque, kitchen, dormitory, and madrasah. The Sufis have various ways of performing dhikr, but the essence is to multiply remembrance of God, perform virtuous deeds, and avoid shameful physical and mental actions [58].

As a method or practice of the Sufis, the tariqa can become a branch of Tasawwuf, which then develops its doctrine [59]. The presence of Tuan Guru as an educator brought the Sasak community into a more enlightened atmosphere. They taught Sharia and the tariqa to the people of Lombok [8]. Unity and obedience towards the spiritual leader bind solid social capital, and the tariqa institution has potential and grows as a social movement that creates high social cohesion. The tariqa institution in Lombok has developed a vision, mission, and orientation of truth related to theological-spiritual purity and can also create social sensitivity [60]. The tariqa is oriented towards the issues of the afterlife but can participate in real social issues.

Hamzanwadi used at least three main avenues as the

founder of the Hizib NW tariqa in Lombok. He built identity and legitimacy for the NW congregation as a member of the Hizib NW tariqa, namely the education (formal and nonformal), political, and ritual ceremonial paths of the tariqa Hizib NW. These three paths become social capital in constructing social change in Lombok.

#### 5.1 Construction of social change in the field of education

Through the educational path, the NW organization has established religious schools (madrasah), public education institutions, and non-formal education such as pondok pesantren [61], majelis taklim, and mosques. These educational institutions are the primary foundation for developing the organization's missionary and legitimization missions and the tariga Hizib NW. Hamzanwadi has played a central role in continuing the Islamic missionary mission to the Sasak people through these educational institutions as the dominant figure as the heir of the prophets. He has successfully shouldered the responsibility as a community leader and murshid for tariqa Hizib NW, laying the foundation for the weekly dhikr (hiziban) gathering every Monday night and syafaah (dhikr) on Wednesday night. Educating students in his pondok pesantren, giving lectures in mosques, and visiting pondok pesantren scattered throughout Lombok to spread the message, are Hamzanwadi's routine tasks. This form of missionary activity is a form of camaraderie between Tuan Guru and his students and other scholars in Lombok. This activity is usually carried out depending on the activities of the tariqa Hizib NW congregation as an invitation to religious activities.

In addition to non-formal education, Hamzanwadi's da'wah movement, which was the most important and forefront of strengthening the faith and Islamic identity among the followers of the Hizib NW tariqa, was carried out through formal education. Hamzanwadi established religious and secular schools as the primary means of reforming the Lombok society. The existence of NW education institutions in Lombok emphasizes that the Hizib NW tariqa also developed there. This is the basic framework for the development and sustainability of the Hizib NW tariqa among the people of Lombok. From 1965 to 1975, educational institutions in NW developed into 360 madrasahs. Then, from 1982 to 1986, the NW organization had 407 madrasahs. Later, from 1986-1994, there were 675 madrasahs recorded [62]. The number of madrasahs owned by the NW organization did not significantly change until the death of Hamzanwadi in 1997 [39].

The development of formal education institutions based on religion and general knowledge has positioned Hamzanwadi as a respected murshid of the tariga Hizib NW and has had a broad influence on the society of Lombok. Thus, the field of education has become the primary basis of Hamzanwadi's struggle in Lombok to strengthen the identity and legitimacy of the tariqa Hizib NW in the construction of social and cultural change in the society of Lombok. In other words, the goal of forming an ideal identity for the congregation tariqa Hizib NW can also be interpreted as a strategic step for Hamzanwadi to maintain legitimacy and the status quo as the dominant elite in the tariqa Hizib NW movement. This type of strategy is in line with Bourdieu's view, where the dominant group's culture controls the economic, social, and political resources that are "manifested" in schools, and this "manifestation functions as a reproductive strategy for the dominant group" [15, 63].

#### 5.2 Construction of social change in the political field

Social changes that developed and colored the social life of Lombok can be seen from a political perspective. When the condition of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia no longer existed in the era of the independence revolution, Hamzanawdi began to get involved in politics in Lombok. Politics in the sense of being involved in government institutions and political parties. His political career during this period began when he was appointed as the NU Consul for Sunda Kecil in 1950. Furthermore, when NU and other Islamic social organizations merged with the Indonesian Consultative Assembly of Muslim Organizations (Masyumi) in West Nusa Tenggara, Hamzanawdi was appointed the chairman and advisor of the Masyumi Party for the Lombok region in 1952 [51].

From 1953 to 1955, Hamzanwadi decided that he and his NW organization would follow the "free politics" policy. This means that Hamzanwadi and the NW organization were not affiliated with any political party. This was demonstrated by agreeing to the formation of the Nahdlatul Ulama Party, the Islamic Education Association (PERTI), and the Indonesian Islamic Union Party (PSII) in Lombok in 1953-1954. However, in 1955, Hamzanwadi and the NW organization chose to affiliate with the Masyumi Party. Hamzanwadi was then appointed a member of the Constituent Assembly for the 1955-1959 period due to the first general election in 1955 [64].

After the Masyumi party was dissolved, especially on the island of Lombok, NW, under the leadership of Hamzanwadi, was the first Islamic community organization to support the formation of Parmusi. This was based on the argument that Parmusi was a duplicate of the Masyumi party. However, in the subsequent development, Hamzanwadi and NW followers could not play an active role because NW's aspirations were not accommodated as the Islamic community organization with the broadest constituency base in Lombok [51]. Subsequently, after being inactive in Parmusi, Hamzanwadi, and NW congregation shifted their political direction by affiliating with the Joint Secretariat Working Group (Sekber-Golkar), an organization formed on the idea of General Abdul Haris Nasution [65]. This support was based on political considerations that the Golkar Secretariat continued the success of the New Order in extinguishing the G30/S PKI incident [66]. This success ideologically and culturally negated Hamzanwadi's political stance. However, this stance could benefit Muslims, especially for the aspirations of NW followers and members of the Hizib NW tariqa. These aspirations were more accommodated than other political parties [64].

In the 1980s, during the 1982 general election, the political affiliation of NW, in this case, the congregation of the Hizib NW tariqa, chose to remain silent. Hamzanwadi took a political stance of silence or the Silent Movement (GTM), which meant no one told the NW community to vote for Golkar in the 1982 general election. At that time, many members of the Hizib NW tariqa were faced with a dilemma, especially civil servants (PNS). The New Order government threatened that civil servants [67, 68], who followed the political stance of the murshid of the Hizib NW tariqa would be transferred to other regions. The Hizib NW tariqa congregation, especially PNS, faced a dilemma between obeying the murshid of the Hizib NW tariqa or considering the

threat from the New Order government. Many members of the Hizib NW tariqa chose a different political choice than the Tuan Guru. In other words, many members of the Hizib NW tariqa chose to break their loyalty oath to obey the murshid to avoid threats from the New Order government. However, members of the Hizib NW tariqa kept their loyalty promises and followed Hamzanwadi's political stance [53].

The political map of Hizib NW tariqa followers in Lombok has significantly changed since the death of Hamzanwadi in 1997. Some Hizib NW tariqa followers remained consistent with the Golkar party and affiliated with new parties formed during the reform era. This is because the internal condition of NW was divided into two factions between Hamzanwadi's two daughters, Hajjah Rauhun (the eldest daughter) and Hajjah Raehanun (the youngest daughter) [43]. Since the internal split within the NW organization, the political attitudes of the NW and Hizib NW tariqa followers have yet to be well consolidated.

If related to the position of an ulama or a murshid as a religious leader and their role in practical politics [69], Hamzanwadi was an integrated murshid, namely an ulama who positioned religion and politics so closely or an ulama who integrated spiritual power with political power [70]. Suprayogo [71] referred to the wise choice of political ulama or Kyai, who cares about political affairs and power. In this context, ulama or Kyai in this category implicitly included adaptive Kyai willing to adjust to the government and Kyai taking a critical partner position with the authorities. It is not surprising that Hamzanwadi, besides having a supportive attitude towards the policies of the ruling New Order government, also showed his bravery in opposing the New Order government.

## 5.3 Construction of social change in rituals of the Tariqa Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan

The ritual practice of reading the tariqa Hizib NW is a crucial point in understanding social change in Lombok. It is a religious construction that colors almost all spiritual aspects of the religious life of the people of Lombok, specifically the congregation of the tariqa Hizib NW. This ceremonial ritual is widely known as "Hiziban" among the members of the tariqa Hizib NW. In agrarian societies, rituals often play a significant role in expressing and responding to the world around them to maintain community social relationships. In this context, most of the people of Lombok are still considered traditional. Traditional rituals are still very dense in their lives, covering almost all dimensions of their lives. These rituals are not only in religious activities but also in social, economic, and political activities. The presence of Hamzanwadi as a murshid, with his reputation and charisma for the tariqa Hizib NW congregation, is a matter of pride.

Thus, the symbolic actualization of Hamzanwadi's role persists as the bearer of Islamic da'wah and becomes a charismatic spiritual teacher in the socio-cultural and political life of the Lombok community. According to Bourdieu [63], symbolic power can dominate disadvantaged groups and shape accepted facts by stating them. The exercise of this power is always symbolic. Therefore, the ceremonial activities carried out by Hamzanwadi serve as a source of legitimacy. As a result, the social and cultural role displayed by the members of the tariqa Hizib NW can strengthen the group's identity in the social dynamics surrounding it.

One ceremonial activity that involves the entire NW

organization, including the congregation of the tariqa Hizib NW, is the annual celebration of the birthdays (Hultah) of NWDI, NBDI, and NW on a large scale in Pancor, East Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. Hamzanwadi has been implementing this strategic model in Lombok since the beginning until now. The Hultah is attended by all "abituren" (a term for students who study at NW schools/madrasahs), "pencinta" (students who have not directly studied at NW schools/madrasahs), and sympathizers from NW branch representatives throughout Indonesia. One of the allegorical parades celebrating the birthday (Hultah) of NWDI, NBDI, and NW can be seen in Figure 4 below.



**Figure 4.** The atmosphere of the NWDI, NBDI, and NW birthday (Hultah) parades in Pancor, East Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara

Source: Archives were taken by Muhammad Ihsan, Mu'allimat NWDI Pancor, East Lombok

To analyze the contribution of the Hizib NW tariqa to social change in Lombok, we can observe the social and political conditions post-Orde Baru. The period of the relationship between the tariqa and the people of NW became a social capital in viewing the diverse society during Orde Baru, which stemmed from the policies of the Orde Baru government under the leadership of Soeharto towards the Islamic community in Indonesia. Hamzanwadi, the founder of the Hizib NW tariqa, frequently invites the people of NW always to remember God and read the Hizib NW tariqa to avoid danger and misfortune on various occasions (TGH. Zainuddin, interview, December 15, 2021). This was done in the early years of the 1965 event, when the PKI became a victim of the political incident, according to TGH. Zainuddin, in general, the Hizib NW tariqa has become an inseparable part of the religious life of the people of NW. The consistency of the people of NW in reading the Hizib NW together every Monday night confirms the spiritual commitment of the people of NW (TGH. Zainuddin, interview, December 15, 2021). This can be traced from the verses of the letter "Wasiat Renungan Masa" [72] as follows.

Siarkan Hizib sampai merata Agar banyaklah pendoa kita Mendoa Negara, Nusa, dan Bangsa Mendoakan ISLAM SE NUSANTARA

Broadcast Hizib until evenly distributed So that we pray a lot Pray for the Country, Nusa, and the Nation Pray for ISLAM throughout the archipelago The Wasiat Renungan Masa is a literary work by HAMZANWADI. Based on its content, the Wasiat Renungan Masa can be categorized as "suluk" literature that contains social, cultural, political, and moral-religious messages. Therefore, the Hizib NW tariqa is a teaching that contains moral, religious, and cultural messages that can serve as a foundation for the growth and development of a harmonious society.

During the New Order period, the role of the Hizib NW tariqa in religious life in Lombok was deeply ingrained. There were always processes for receiving "*ijazah*" and "*baiat*" into this tariqa yearly. Over time, after Hamzanwadi died in 1997, the dynamic of the Hizib NW tariqa never diminished. This stems from the educational thought domain that underlies the mindset of the Hizib NW tariqa followers, like theological, socio-cultural, spiritual values, dialectical, transformative thinking agents, thought dynamics, and capital accumulation. The Hizib NW tariqa has formed cultural roots in the NW community and Lombok society.

Respect and obedience to the teacher (Hamzanwadi, as the murshid of the Hizib NW tariqa) have formed an awareness of human responsibility as a leader on earth, as taught in Islam. This idea is the relationship between Islamic theology and the empirical phenomena developed in Sasak society. This aligns with Hamzanwadi's thinking as a thought agent with adequate knowledge of Islamic teachings and values. This process is understood as an idealization process, namely the ability of a person to produce ideas in stages in the idealistic game regarding God, nature, and fellow human beings [62].

As leaders on earth, humans are both theologically and socially responsible. For these two responsibilities, every human being must lead himself and others for whom he is responsible. Hamzanwadi realized that not all Lombok people appreciated his ideas due to unfavorable socio-cultural and economic conditions. This means that not everyone who is oppressed is aware of their situation. Sometimes they perceive it as something that is taken for granted. Within Hamzanwadi is a flowing social responsibility, meaning establishing the Hizib NW tariqa is part of his humanism value. This feeling is Hamzanwadi's love and affection for the Sasak people, who are still lagging in education, socio-culture, and economy.

#### 6. CONCLUSIONS

This study shows that members of the Hizib NW tariqa have a significant role in constructing social change in Lombok during the New Order era. For NW members, the Hizib NW tariqa is a socio-cultural identity in Lombok's religious life dynamics. The Hizib NW tariqa has group study activities, baiat, and ijazah. These processes become a bridge for NW members to build their spiritual life. Through the Hizib NW tariqa, the critical role and position of NW members in social, cultural, and political life are evident in three main areas: education (formal and non-formal), politics, and ceremonial rituals. The Hizib NW tariqa has become a social, cultural, and political capital in the spiritual and religious life of the NW organization. This impacts the growth and development of new awareness among Hizib NW tariqa members about the need for a "self-identity" to symbolize group pride.

The long history of the Hizib NW tariqa in coloring the social, cultural, and political life of NW organization members has given new awareness as an internal strength. This internal strength is to redefine, revitalize, and build an ideal identity of

the Lombok community as a form of strategy and adaptation to social, cultural, and political life changes. This extraordinary social change construction can fulfill practical and ideological functions and become a bridge for the growth and development of Lombok society's behavioral patterns in community life. It can also be a source of information, motivation, and an instrument of integration for Lombok society to adapt to external change forces to form a harmonious society.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

The researcher would like to thank all research informants throughout the Lombok region for their participation and cooperation. The researcher also thanks to the promoter team leader and promoter team members for their support and direction during this research. We would like to thank the Education Fund Management Institute (LPDP) and the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia for funding this research.

#### REFERENCES

- [1] Kumbara, A.A.N.A., Anom, N. (2008). Konstruksi identitas orang sasak di lombok timur, nusa tenggara barat. Humaniora, 20(3): 315-326. https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.v20i3.947
- [2] Van der Kraan, A. (1980). Lombok: Conquest, Colonization, and Underdevelopment, 1870-1940. ANU Press.
- [3] Reese, S.S. (1999). Urban woes and pious remedies: Sufism in nineteenth-century Benaadir (Somalia). Africa Today, 46(3/4): 169-192. https://doi.org/10.2979/AFT.1999.46.3-4.168.
- [4] LeBlanc, M.N. (2013). Sufi Muslims in Montreal: Tensions between cosmopolitanism and the cultural economy of difference. Anthropologica, 55(2): 425-440.
- [5] Hamid, A.F.A. (2018). Shifting trends of Islamism and Islamist practices in Malaysia, 1957-2017. Southeast Asian Studies, 7(3): 363-390. https://doi.org/10.20495/seas.7.3\_363
- [6] Howell, J.D. (2001). Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic revival. The Journal of Asian Studies, 60(3): 701-729. https://doi.org/10.2307/2700107
- [7] Biyanto, B. (2017). The typology of Muhammadiyah Sufism: Tracing its figures' thoughts and exemplary lives. Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies, 7(2): 221-249. https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v7i2.221-249
- [8] Fahrurrozi. (2018). *Tuan guru* and social change in Lombok, Indonesia. Indonesia and the Malay World, 46(135): 117-134. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2018.1452487
- [9] van Bruinessen, M.M. (1994). The origins and development of Sufi orders (tarekat) in Southeast Asia. Stud. Islam. https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v1i1.864
- [10] Mutawali, M. (2016). Moderate Islam in Lombok: The dialectic between Islam and local culture. Journal of Indonesian Islam, 10(2): 309-334. http://dx.doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2016.10.2.309-334
- [11] Abdurahman, D. (2018). Diversity of tarekat communities and social changes in Indonesian history. Sunan Kalijaga: International Journal of Islamic

- Civilization, 1(1): 61-92.
- [12] Nurhayati, S.N.A.A. (2019). Tasawuf Kebhinnekaan (The Sufism of Diversity) according to the Perspective of Indonesian Sufis: A Response toward the Problem of Diversity, Religiousity and Nationality in Indonesia. International Journal, 7(2): 1-19. https://doi.org/10.15640/ijpt.v7n2a1
- [13] Ritzer, G. (Ed.). (2004). Encyclopedia of Social Theory. Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315135069-22
- [14] Bourdieu, P. (1992). The Logic of Practice (Translated by Richard Nice). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- [15] Bourdieu, P. (1991). Language and Symbolic Power. Massachusett: Harvard University Press.
- [16] Suprapto, S. (2011). Taqālīd 'Ḥarb'Topat: Ramz al-'Alāqah al-Silmīyah Bayn al-Jamā 'āt al-Mukhtalifah 'Ariqīyā Wa-Dīnīyā Fī Jazīrat Lombok. Studia Islamika, 18(3): 531-67. https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v18i3.428
- [17] Garraghan, G.J. (1948). A Guid to Historical Method. New York: Fordham University Press.
- [18] Smith, B.J. (2021). Sufism and the Sacred Feminine in Lombok, Indonesia: Situating Spirit Queen Dewi Anjani and Female Saints in Nahdlatul Wathan. Religions, 12(8): 563. https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12080563
- [19] Woodward, M.R. (2010). Java, Indonesia and Islam. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer Science & Business Media.
- [20] van Bruinessen, M. (1992). Tarekat Naqsabandiyah di Indonesia: Survei Historis, Geografis dan Sosiologis. Bandung: Mizan.
- [21] Mufid, A.S. (2006). Tangklukan, Abangan, dan Tarekat Kebangkitan Agama di Jawa. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- [22] Salim, A. (2013). Javanese religion, Islam or syncretism: comparing Woodward's Islam in Java and Beatty's Varieties of Javanese Religion. Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies, 3(2): 223-266. https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v3i2.223-266
- [23] Hakim, B.R. (2020). Actualization of neo-sufism: A case study of the tariqa qadiriyya naqshabandiyya pondok pesantren suryalaya. Doctoral Thesis, Tilburg University.
- [24] Rohma, Z.F. (2020). Sufistic Spirituality: Joint motive study in the tarekat Zawiyah Naqsabandiyah Haqqani Yogyakarta. El Harakah, 22(1): 59-75. https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v22i1.8602
- [25] van Bruinessen, M. (2020). Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat. Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing.
- [26] Hill, J. (2019). Sufism Between Past and Modernity. In: Woodward, M., Lukens-Bull, R. (eds) Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73653-2\_9-1
- [27] Nasir, M.A. (2019). Revisiting the Javanese Muslim Slametan: Islam, local tradition, honor and symbolic communication. Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies, 57(2): 329-358. https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2019.572.329-358
- [28] Irawan, B. (2022). Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), Sufism and environmental conservation practices in Indonesia. HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies, 78(4): 7073. https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i4.7073
- [29] Howell, J.D., Nelson, P.L., Subandi, M.A. (2001). New faces of Indonesian Sufism: A demographic profile of Tarekat Qodiriyyah-Naqsyabandiyyah, Pesantren Suryalaya, in the 1990s. Rima: Review of Indonesian and

- Malaysian Affairs, 35(2): 33-59. https://doi.org/10.3316/ielapa.200204982
- [30] Jamaluddin. (2011). Sejarah sosial Islam di Lombok tahun 1740-1935: studi kasus terhadap tuan guru. Kementerian Agama RI, Badan Litbang dan Diklat, Puslitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan.
- [31] Thohri, M., Hadisaputra, P. (2022). Typology and strengthening strategy of urban sufism among the Kopiah community in Jayapura. Ulumuna, 26(1): 1-22. https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v26i1.475
- [32] Howell, J.D. (2012). Sufism and neo-sufism in Indonesia today. RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs, 46(2): 1-24.
- [33] Jamaluddin, J. (2019). Al-Shabakāt al-ijtimā 'īyah wa alfikrīyah bayn muslimī Lombok wa Sumatera: Dirāsah fī tuḥfah wa makhṭūṭ Sasak. Studia Islamika, 26(3): 543-583. https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v26i3.11415
- [34] Tohri, A., Rasyad, A., Habibuddin, H., Zulkarnain, Z. (2022). Tauhid View Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu: Intellectual History Study of Lombok Theologian Central Figure. Paramita: Historical Studies Journal, 32(1): 1-10. https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v32i1.26636
- [35] Van Bruinessen, M.M. (2000). ShaykhAbd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia. J. Hist. Sufism, 1-2: 361-395.
- [36] Muhtar, F. (2001). Pembaharuan Pendidikan Islam di Lombok (Telaah Terhadap Gerakan dan Pemikiran Tuan Guru Kiai Hamzanwadi 1937-1997). Universitas Islam Indonesia.
- [37] Fadli, A. (2018). Al-Tikrār and Al-Tadrīj: Pesantren Learning Method TGH Bagu Lombok NTB. Jurnal Pendidikan Islam, 7(1): 209-223. https://doi.org/10.14421/jpi.2018.71.209-223
- [38] Zuhairini, A.G., Fadjar, M., Tadjab, M.U., Kasiram, M. (2006). Sejarah Pendidikan Islam. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara.
- [39] Fattah, A., Quddus, A., Jamaluddin, Muslim, M. (2017). Dari Nahdlatul Wathan untuk Indonesia: Perjuangan TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid (1908-1997). Mataram: Dinas Sosial NTB.
- [40] Hamdi, S., Smith, B.J. (2012). Sisters, militias and Islam in conflict: Questioning 'reconciliation'in Nahdlatul Wathan, Lombok, Indonesia. Contemporary Islam, 6(1): 29-43. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-011-0168-5
- [41] Muttaqin, M.Z. (2021). The dynamics of power, violence, and conflict of Nahdlatul Wathan. Journal of Indonesian Islam, 15(2): 465-486. https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.2.465-486
- [42] Suhartono. (1994). Sejarah Pergerakan Nasional dari Budi Utomo sampai Proklamasi (1908-1945). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- [43] Ziadi, M.R. (2018). TAREKAT DAN POLITIK: Studi Living Sufism Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan. Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses, 1(2): 231-271. https://doi.org/10.14421/lijid.v1i2.1613
- [44] Muslim, M., Wathan, K.N. (2014). Dinamika dan Pemikiran NW dari Generasi Pertama hingga Generasi Ketiga. Jakarta: Benia Publising.
- [45] Arikewuyo, A.N. (2020). A comparative study of al-Ghazali's and Ibn Taymiyyah's views on Sufism. International Journal of Islamic Thought, 17: 15-24. https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.17.2020.166
- [46] Salleh, K.H. (1996). An examination on the nature of al-Ghazali sufism. Islamiyyat, 17: 47-63.

- [47] Brewster, D.P. (1976). The study of Sufism; Towards a methodology. Religion, 6(1): 31-47. https://doi.org/10.1016/0048-721X(76)90047-6
- [48] Ceylan, Y. (1995). Al Ghazali between Philosophy and Sufism. American Journal of Islam and Society, 12(4): 584-589. https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v12i4.2364
- [49] Voll, J.O. (2008). Neo-Sufism: Reconsidered Again. Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines, 42(2-3): 314-330. https://doi.org/10.1080/00083968.2008.10751385
- [50] Janssens, J. (2011). Al-Ghazālī between Philosophy (Falsafa) and Sufism (Taṣawwuf): His Complex Attitude in the Marvels of the Heart ('Ajā'ib al-qalb) of the Ihyā''Ulūm al-Dīn. The Muslim World, 101(4): 614-632. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.2011.01375.x
- [51] Noor, M., Habib, M., Zuhdi, M.H. (2014). Visi Kebangsaan Religius: Refleksi Pemikiran dan Perjuangan Tuan Guru Kyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid 1904-1997. Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu.
- [52] Irawan, S.I., Nurjannah, S. (2016). Tasawuf Nusantara: Studi Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan. JURNAL YAQZHAN: Analisis Filsafat, Agama dan Kemanusiaan, 2(2): 216-236. http://dx.doi.org/10.24235/jy.v2i2.1290
- [53] Ziadi, M.R. (2018). Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan Dan Perannya Dalam Perpolitikan Di Lombok. Refleksi Jurnal Filsafat dan Pemikiran Islam, 18(2): 207-239. https://doi.org/10.14421/ref.v18i2.1866
- [54] Buckhardt, T. (1984). Mengenal Ajaran Kaum Sufi [An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine] (Translated by Azyumardi Azra and Bahtiar Efendi). Jakarta: Dunia Pustaka Jaya.
- [55] Schimmel, A. (1986). Dimensi Mistik dalam Islam (Terjemahan Sapardi Djoko Damono dan Achadiati Ikram). Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus.
- [56] Zamhari, A., Howell, J.D. (2012). Taking Sufism to the streets: Majelis zikir'and'majelis salawat'as new venues for popular Islamic piety in Indonesia. RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs, 46(2): 47-75.
- [57] Abdurahman, D. (2018). Islam, Sufism, and Character Education in Indonesia History. Tawarikh, 9(2): 159-176. https://doi.org/10.2121/tawarikh.v9i2.1013
- [58] Aoyagi, K. (2005). Al-Ghazālī and marriage from the viewpoint of sufism. Orient, 40: 124-139. https://doi.org/10.5356/orient.40.124
- [59] Alwahaib, M. (2017). Al-Ghazali and Descartes from doubt to certainty: A phenomenological approach. Discusiones Filosóficas, 18(31): 15-40. https://doi.org/10.17151/difil.2017.18.31.2
- [60] Fogg, K.W. (2019). Making an Indonesian National Hero

- for Lombok: The shifting category of pahlawan nasional. Indonesia and the Malay World, 47(137): 1-22. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2019.1560710
- [61] Asrohah, H. (2011). The dynamics of pesantren: Responses toward modernity and mechanism in organizing transformation. Journal of Indonesian Islam, 5(1): 66-90. https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2011.5.1.66-90
- [62] Nahdi, K. (2013). Dinamika Pesantren Nahdlatul Wathan dalam Perspektif Pendidikan, Sosial, dan Modul. Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman, 7(2): 381-405. https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2013.7.2.381-405
- [63] Bourdieu, P. (1977). Outline of a Theory of Practice (Translated by Richard Nice). New York: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511812507
- [64] Dahlan, F. (2015). Tuan Guru Eksistensi dan Tantangan Peran dalam Transformasi Masyarakat. Jakarta: Sanabil.
- [65] Hartono, Y., Huda, K. (2020). Transformative learning for controversial history of G 30 S/PKI. Paramita: Historical Studies Journal, 30(2): 135-144. https://doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v30i2.20510
- [66] Djakababa, Y.M. (2011). The construction of history under Indonesia's new order: The making of the lubang buaya official narrative. Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities, 3: 143-149. https://doi.org/10.14203/jissh.v3i1.77
- [67] Kusno, A. (1998). Beyond the postcolonial: Architecture and political cultures in Indonesia. Public Culture, 10(3): 549-575. https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-10-3-549
- [68] Berenschot, W. (2018). Incumbent bureaucrats: Why elections undermine civil service reform in Indonesia. Public Administration and Development, 38(4): 135-143. https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.1838
- [69] Efendi, H., Dienaputra, R., Sofianto, K., Asnan, G. (2022). Power relations urang pandai and candidate on regional head election in West Sumatra, Indonesia. International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning, 17(5): 1659-1665. https://doi.org/10.18280/ijsdp.170532
- [70] Mu'min, M.M. (2014). Pergumulan Tarekat Dan Politik (Peranan Kyai Haji Muhammad Shiddiq Dalam Tarekat Dan Politik Di Kudus). Fikrah, 2(1): 60928.
- [71] Suprayogo, I. (1999). Reformalisasi Visi Pendidikan Islam. Malang: STAIN Malang Press.
- [72] Madjid, M.Z.A. (1981). Wasiar Renungan Masa Pengalaman Baru. Selong: Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Wathan.