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IDEOLOGICAL TRAP IN EDUCATION: RIVALRY DISCOURSE ON ISLAMIC LITERATURES IN NAHDLATUL WATHAN AND SALAFI SCHOOLS

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Abstract

This study aimed to analyze the ideological contestation between the Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) as a local Islamic group and Salafis as a transnational Islamic group in the Islamic literature, which is utilized as teaching materials in NW and Salafi schools. The rivalry between these two religious groups become a novel phenomenon in Lombok together with the increasing influence of the Salafi group. The success of Salafis in promoting the *manhaj salaf*, which in many ways contradicts the *Aswaja* promoted by NW in Islamic practice, has implications for the strengthening of the ideological content in Islamic textbooks in their respective schools. From the data characteristic, this study was a library research sourced from several Islamic works of literature utilized as teaching materials in NW and Salafi schools. Based on the identification of literature books utilized as teaching materials, as analyzed based on the contestation theory by Antje Wiener and apparatuses of ideology theory by Louis Althusser, this study argued that religious literature used as teaching materials in Islamic schools was an instrument of ideological trapping of religious groups to generate apparatuses of ideology to win the contestation. The teaching materials contained negation of one another, mono-interpretation, and misleading one another. Finally, students only accepted particular religious understandings indoctrination without being taught to think critically regarding different religious perspectives. In this context, a state policy is needed to ensure that the higher order thinking skills of students are developing, rather than ideological trapping of certain Islamic group.

Keywords: NW; Salafi; *manhaj salaf*; Islamic education; Islamic literatures

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis persaingan ideologis antara NW sebagai kelompok Islam Lokal, dan Salafi sebagai kelompok Islam transnasional dalam literatur keislaman yang dijadikan bahan ajar di sekolah NW dan Salafi. Persaingan kedua kelompok keagamaan ini menjadi fenomena baru di Lombok bersamaan dengan semakin berkembangnya pengaruh kelompok Salafi. Keberhasilan Salafi mempromosikan *manhaj salaf* yang dalam banyak hal bertentangan dengan *Aswaja* yang diusung NW dalam praktik keislaman, berimplikasi terhadap semakin menguatnya muatan ideologis dalam buku teks keislaman pada sekolah masing-masing. Sesuai karakteristik data, studi ini merupakan penelitian kepustakaan yang bersumber dari berbagai literatur keislaman yang digunakan di sekolah NW dan Salafi. Berdasarkan identifikasi terhadap buku-buku literatur yang digunakan sebagai bahan ajar, yang dianalisis berdasarkan teori kontestasi oleh Antje Wiener, dan teori apparatus ideology oleh Louis Althusser, studi ini berargumen bahwa literatur keagamaan yang digunakan sebagai bahan ajar di sekolah Islam merupakan instrumen perangkap ideologis kelompok keagamaan untuk melahirkan apparatus ideologi demi memenangkan persaingan. Bahan ajar tersebut memuat penegasian satu dengan yang lain, mono-intrepretasi, dan saling menyesatkan satu dengan yang lain. Akhirnya, siswa hanya menerima indoktrinasi paham keagamaan tertentu, tanpa diajarkan berpikir kritis terhadap perbedaan pandangan keagamaan. Maka dibutuhkan intervensi Negara untuk memastikan berpikir kritis siswa harus tumbuh dalam dunia pendidikan Islam, tanpa dikukung oleh ideology kelompok tertentu.

Kata kunci: NW; Salafi; *manhaj salaf*; pendidikan agama Islam; literatur keislaman

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Introduction

The emergence of Salafis since the 2000s has become a new phenomenon influencing the religious trend of Lombok Muslims. Based on the doctrine of *manhaj salaf* (refer to the methodology of the early pious Muslim generation or companion of the Prophet of Muhammad), Salafis claim to be a pure Islamic community and shift to purify Islamic practices that are deemed deviant (Mizan Qudsiyah, 2013; Abdussalam bin Salim as-Suhaimi, 1423 H). According to that, Islam which has been practiced to date has been distorted by the traditions and local culture of the Lombok people by raising the issue of *shirk* (polytheism) and *bid'ah* (doing religious rituals which are not mentioned in the al-Qur'an and al-Hadits specifically). Salafis have succeeded in convincing the public that what they propose is genuine Islam, in line with the Prophet's Muhammad *Sunnah* (prophet tradition). Along with the establishment of formal schools with excellence in Arabic and memorizing (*tahfiz*) al-Qur'an, the influence of Salafis is growing, and becoming increasingly appreciated by the people of Lombok (Saparudin, 2017). The existence of financial and ideological support from several Saudi Arabian charities also contributed to the acceleration of the development of Salafis in this area (Jahroni, 2020; Liow, 2011; Saparudin, 2017; Wiktorowicz, 2000).

The success of the Salafi's transnational movement in spreading the doctrine of *manhaj salaf* is a novel challenge for Nahdlatul Wathan (NW), the largest local Islamic organization in Lombok. By claiming to be the protector of the philosophy of *ahl-sunnah wa al-jama'ah* (*Aswaja*), NW is ideologically a representation of Islam traditionalists, which is an accommodative diversity of local culture and traditions in expressing Islamic understanding and practice (Saparudin, 2018). Even though generally, this is a religious understanding of the Islamic community in Lombok, and has been practiced for a long time, it is seen by Salafis as a distorted religious practice. It shows the increasing influence of Salafis in criticizing the religious practices of the traditionalists, perturbing the social position of NW as the major mainstream Muslim community in Lombok.

The ideological rivalry between the NW and the Salafis creates a new internal social tension in the Islamic community of Lombok. The disagreement between the *manhaj salaf* proposed by Salafis, and the *Aswaja* proposed by NW in Islamic practice has implications not only for the occurrence of physical conflict and social fragmentation but also for the strengthening of the ideological content in Islamic literature in their respective schools. Under the patronages of NW and Salafi, the schools expand access to and production of Islamic literature that supported the demand of spreading their ideologies. Religious teaching materials auspices by *Aswaja* subject, and *Manhaj Salaf* subjects, written by their respective teachers, as well as books from the Middle East are increasingly common and more accessible to teachers and students in the two schools. This state reinforces the assumption that Islamic schools are—what Leonardo called a place of *marketing ideology* (Leonardo, 2003), where ideological competition is sown.

The translation and spreading of ideological Middle Eastern books are increasingly carried out by Salafis and NW. With the support of Saudi Arabia, the Salafi community succeeded in translating thousands of books with a budget of almost IDR. 100,000,000 each year in Indonesia (Rabasa, 2005). It is conceivable since Salafis are the major group utilizing and distributing financial aid from Saudi Arabia (Jahroni, 2020). Therefore, currently, Salafi-affiliated books also

influence Islamic literature in Lombok (Kailani, 2018). Meanwhile, NW, which previously relied more on direct oral *da'wah*, has currently become creative in writing, translating, and distributing books more intensively regarding the spread of Salafi Islamic literature. The intensity of this literature development reinforces the predictions of Minako Sakai (2012), and C.W. Watson (2005), about the emergence of new media in seeking religious knowledge. Both stated that the development of printed media in the publication and dissemination of Islamic books tended to reduce the personal authority of religious leaders as a source of religious knowledge.

The above matters indicate that there has been a shift in conflict, from communal to contestation at the level of text and discourse. This aspect has not given much particular attention by previous researchers. Some studies conducted by Zora Hesová (2021), Jahroni (2020), Norhaidi Hasan (2007), Wiktorowicz (2000), Chaplin (2014), and Liow (2011) pointed out that differences in religious understanding were the dominant factor in tensions between Salafis and other Islamic groups. The researchs focused more on communal conflicts between Salafis and other mainstream Islam, by setting down differences in religious understanding as to the key factor. Specific study regarding Islamic literature was conducted by Najib Kailani which showed three typologies of Islamic literature, including *Tahriri* (refer to the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia movement), *Tarbawi* (refer to the Ikhwan al-Muslim movement), and *Salafi* (Kailani, 2018), but had not revealed how the book was read and used, particularly in Islamic education circles. The same issue was also shown by the results of a study by PPIM UIN Jakarta showing that Islamic textbooks contained intolerant and radical views on internal Islam and external non-Muslims, (PPIM-Convey Indonesia, 2018) without presenting the sociological implications of the contents of the book for contestation between religious groups.

In contrast to the previous study, this article looked at ideological contestation between NW and Salafi groups on the Islamic literatures level. Based on the literature books utilized in the NW and Salafi schools, which were analyzed according to the Antje Wiener's contestation theory (2014), and Louis Althusser's apparatuses ideology theory (2001), this study argued that religious literature used as teaching material in Islamic schools was used as an instrument of ideological trapping of religious groups to generate ideological apparatus to win the ideological competition among them. These books' contents negated one another. The perspectives presented were only one without the opposite perspectives, even misleading one another. Subsequently, students are trapped in the indoctrination of particular religious ideas, without being taught to critically think differences in perspectives based on the diversity of Islamic literature.

This study aimed to analyze the ideological contestation between the NW as a local Islamic group and Salafis as a transnational Islam in Islamic literature which was utilized as teaching material in NW and Salafi schools. The ideological rivalry between these two religious communities is becoming a novel phenomenon in Lombok along with the increasing influence of the Salafi group. The success of Salafis in disseminating the *manhaj salaf* which in many aspects contradicts the *Aswaja* promoted by NW in Islamic practice has implications not only for the strengthening of the ideological content in the Islamic literature at the two schools.

Method

This present study utilized qualitative approach with library research sourced from several Islamic works of literature utilized as teaching materials in NW and Salafi schools. The teaching materials were identified and determined based on the recommendations of Islamic teachers and their distribution in the NW and Salafi education environment. Although the library reseach was the main research method but the data werestrengthened by limited interviews with religious leaders, teachers, and students who took part in educational activities in the two educational institutions.

The data was analyzedbased on Matthew B. Milles and A. Michael Huberman's analytical method which cover data reduction, data display, data verification, and conclusion drawing (1986, 16). The content analytical framework utilized the contestation theory formulated by Antje Wiener and the theory of apparatuses of ideology proposed by Louis Althusser was used in the analysis. At the text level, in Weiner's perspective, contestation is a struggle for legality and legitimacy based on norms. Norms consist of principles, teachings, and regulations, which subsequently become standards of behavior and provide direction for all members involved within them, and therefore can become the glue in a social institution or organization (Wiener, 2007). A contest based on norms, according to Wiener, is a component required to extend acceptance of norms (Wiener and Puetter, 2009). Meanwhile, the apparatuses of ideology are the ideological subject that drives the organizational ideology to exist. Therefore, according to Althusser, the apparatus requires the transformation of the individual into subject ideology or the interpellation process as he called in his theory (Althusser, 2004).

The Dynamics of NW and Salafi Education in Lombok

NW as a local Islamic group dominates the number of Islamic education institutions in Lombok. The NW was founded by Zainudin Abdul Majid in 1934 in East of Lombok. The establishment of the Madrasa of Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah (NWDI) in 1937 and the Nahdlatul Banat Diniyah Islamiyah (NBDI) in 1943 became the starting point for the running of formal education in the NW environment (Ulyan Nasri, 2017; Muhammad Noor, 2004; Nu'man, 1988). The NW has become a dominant group regarding the number of followers and the educational institution in Lombok. Since its establishment in 1934, it is estimated to have two million people as followers of this organization (Hamdi, 2011) with 1,088 educational institutions or 42% of the total 2,584 madrasas in West Nusa Tenggara at various levels (Regional Board of NW NTB, 2015).

Today, the dominant position of the NW is facing serious challenges from the Salafi, a transnational Islamic group. Although it only came in later in 1994 and developed in the 2000s, the Salafi group is predicted to have around 30 educational institutions spread across a number of districts in Lombok. Considering the dynamics of Salafis in this area, this number will keep growing, along with the development of this movement in the provision of formal education and external support from the Middle East. Since 2000s, Salafi schools have become a contemporary trend of Islamic education in Lombok. The Salafi Abu Hurairah School in Mataram, and the Salafi Assunnah School in East Lombok examined in this study contributed to the development of Salafis in this area. Since its establishment in 2002, the number of its students has grown

significantly, reaching 2,309 in Abu Hurairah School, and 640 students in Assunnah School (Saparudin, 2017a).

In the context of Salafi history in Lombok, the establishment of formal education above indicates a shift in orientation in this group. Initially, the Salafi movement paid special attention to the *da'wah* movement by providing training (*daurah*) for *da'wah*, in addition to various recitations held routinely and periodically. It is because, from the beginning, this movement was intended for *da'wah* and to prepare young *dai* (proselytizer) who possess Islamic militancy based on the *manhaj salaf* (Wiktorowicz, 2000). In this respect, no formal education is required. Because of the increasingly intense dialectic with the community, focusing only on the *da'wah* movement and non-formal institutions is deemed insufficient. To accommodate these expectations, therefore, formal educational institutions are required. The expansion of this orientation indirectly changes the community's perceptions that Salafis are not what they have understood so far, and they are now taking accommodative steps towards government programs through their formal education. Moreover, Madrasa Aliyah Abu Hurairah inspired the manifestation of much other Salafi education and developed into a new phenomenon of Islamic education in Lombok.

The Doctrine of Aswaja versus Manhaj Salaf

NW clearly announces itself as a follower, spreader, and buffer of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah 'ala mazhabil Shafi'i* (Shafi'i school of law). This affirmation is revealed in the Articles of Association (PB NW) as an organizational principle and becomes the basis for movement in many fields of life, including in the education aspect (Ulyan Nasri, 2017; Muhammad Noor, 2004; Nu'man, 1988). The Shafi'i *mazhab* was chosen as an ideological basis because Tuan Guru Zainuddin, the founder of the NW believes that only this *mazhab* has direct ties to the Prophet's Muhammad family (*ahlal-bait*), besides considering the condition of Indonesian Muslims who have a long history with this *mazhab* (Burhanuddin, 2006). Furthermore, the characteristics of Shafi'i *mazhab* is seen as more flexible and moderate, which is extremely suitable for Lombok people who are very rich in local traditions and culture (Pahrurozi, 2018). Therefore, as Nahdlatul Ulama in Jawa, NW is also called Islam traditionalists, which is *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah* which is considered accommodating to local traditions and flexible to change as long as it is not related to *ushuliyah* (main) matters of the Islamic doctrine.

In contrast, Salafis promote the doctrine of *the manhaj salaf*. The *salaf manhaj* refers to the generation of *salaf alsaleh* (companions of the Prophet, *tab'in*, and *tabi'in al-tabi'in*), which is considered to obtain normative legality. This group believes that it is a pure Islamic movement, aiming to purify Islam in the community. They even call themselves a blessed movement group, maintain Islam from all *shirk*, and *bid'ah* (heresy), which must be followed (Qudsiah, 2013; Al-'Aql, 2007). The Salafi movement identifies itself as pure and true Muslim with a *da'wah* movement that receives direct guidance from the Prophet Muhammad (as-Suhaimi, 1423 H; Wizarah Al-Tarbiyah Wa Al-Ta'lim, 1999).

As the Salafi movement in other places, the issue of *bid'ah* is not only a theological term in the Salafi schools but also a sociological form of negation with NW followers. Moreover, the issue of *bid'ah* is associated with truth claims and salvation claims, often clashing with the NW

ideology which is more accommodating to local culture and tradition in practicing Islamic rituals. The term *bid'ah* is a distinction and divider between Salafi and NW groups. One of the Salafi figures, and a teacher of *Manhaj Salaf* Subject, Mizan Qudsiyah, stated that the term *bid'ah* as understood by the Salafi group is creating a new religious ritual with local traditions, deliberately made up in practicing religion. Therefore, it competes with Islamic *sharia* (that has already been determined), with the intention of exaggeration in worshiping of Allah (Qudsiyah, 2013).

By focusing on the hadith of the Prophet of “*man ‘amila’ amalan laisa ‘alai hi amruna fahua raddun*” (Al-Sihimy, 1423 H; Al-‘Aql, 2007), the Salafi affirms their perspectives and stand as carriers of the real Islam. This is one of the implementations of the three major characters of the Salafi movement, including first, rejecting all forms of thought with nuances of philosophy (*ilmu kalam*) and *Sufism*. Second, firmly and strongly opposes everything that is considered *bid'ah*, *shirk*, and *khurafat*. Third, as a continuation of the first character, Salafis reject the interpretation of *bi al-ra'yi* which highlights rationality in interpretation of Islamic doctrine (Imārah, 1995; Al-Sihimy, 1423 H).

Rivalry Discourse in the Teaching Material Texts

Religious textbooks have a strategic position in planting the ideology of a religious group. Textbooks within the Salafi and NW schools structure are used by religious groups to disseminate religious ideology in the context of the sustainability of the movement. These textbooks are utilized as an instrument to instill ideological interests and to produce militant people for each group. The textbooks analyzed were Islamic books that were practically used in NW and Salafi schools, both written by teachers in the two schools and other authors with ideological affiliations.

Responding to the expansion and accelerated growth of the congregation and Salafi educational institutions that have become more significant, many books related to the negation of this group were distributed by the NW elite. The translation of the book of *Adduraru al-Saniyah fi al-Raddi ‘ala al Waha biyyah*, by Al-Alimul’ Allamah As-Sayyid Ahmad Zaini Dahlan into *Menolak Paham Wahabi* (Rejecting Salafi-Wahhabi’s Concept) by Abdul Hayyi Nu’mān, examined the various weaknesses of Salafi ideology, showing the serious response of NW. It is included in the teaching materials of NW in its educational institutions. Likewise, the book of *Al-Mutashaddidun Manhajuhum wa Munaqashatu Ahammi Qadhayahum* by Ali Jum’ah (2012) has been translated into *Bukan Bid’ah Menimbang Jalan Pikiran Orang-Orang yang Bersikap Keras dalam Beragama* (Not a Bid’ah Considering the Way of Thinking of People Who are Strong in Religion) by Baba Salem; and *Menjawab Dakwah Salafi: Jawaban Ilmiah terhadap Pemahaman dan Cara Dakwah Kaum Salafi Wahabi* (Answering Salafi Da’wah: Scientific Answers to the Understanding and Method of Da’wah of the Salafi Wahabi) (Jum’ah, 2013) by Abdul Ghafur. Locally, the book of *Di Bawah Lindungan Rasulullah: Menyibak Tirai Keagungan Sang Manusia Cahaya* (Under the Protection of the Prophet: Unveils the Glory of the Man of Light) by Sukarnawadi (2015) and *Perisai Ke-Aswaja-an Nahdlatul Wathan. Membedah 17 Literatur Anti Wahabi Rekomendasi Pendiri NW* (The Shield of Aswaja of Nahdlatul Wathan Dissecting 17 Anti-Wahhabi Literature of Recommendations of the Founders of NW) by Sukarnawadi (2016), an NW cadre, in part of its content, in addition to its explicit rejection of the Salafi Wahabi perspectives, also presents arguments for the validation of some NW religious

practices that are considered bid'ah. More recently, a work by Ulyan Nasri (2017), *Mengenal Ahl Sunnah wa Al-Jama'ah dalam Konteks Nahdlatul Wathan* (Knowing Ahl Sunnah wa Al-Jama'ah in the context of Nahdlatul Wathan), enriches the references of NW followers in understanding and affirming *Ahl Sunnah wa Al-Jama'ah*. According to Sukarnawadi, these books were broadly disseminated in NW Shools, as well as being one of the handbooks for NW teachers and students (Sukarnawadi, interviewed, 2019).

A more open response, in the introduction to the book of *Perisai Ke-Aswaja-an Nahdlatul Wathan* (The Shield of Aswaja's Nahdlatul Wathan), was provided by Tuan Guru M. Sahrullah Ma'shum, one of the board of the NW administrators member, and Tuan Guru Sholah Sukarnawadi, a young NW leader, state that the Salafi sect, which became the mortal enemy of the *ahl Sunnah wa al-jama'ah* (Sholah, interviewed, 2019).

"I had an opportunity to compile a pocketbook entitled NW: No Salafi-Wahabi. This book is nothing but a perfunctory shield to anticipate and avoid Salafi-Wahabi viruses so that they do not enter the body of the NW. The antipathy attitude towards Wahabi is not only inspired by the founder of the NW who strongly rejects Salafi-Wahabi understanding but is also based on the consensus of ulama *ahl Sunnah wa al-jama'ah* throughout the world that the ideology of the Salafis must be watched out from all servants of Allah Swt and followers of the Prophet of Muhammad".

The book *Perisai Ke-Aswaja-an Nahdlatul Wathan* (The Shield of Aswaja's Nahdlatul Wathan), indeed, according to the author H. Abdul Azis, was particularly written to strengthen *ahl Sunnah wa al-jama'ah* relevant with NW understanding amid the increasingly widespread understanding of Salafis in Lombok (Sukarnawadi, interviewed, 2019). This book complements the two previous books: *Kertas-Kertas Berdawat Emas* (Gold-leaved Papers) (Sukarnawadi, 2016) and *Di Bawah Lindungan Rasulullah* (Under the Protection of the Prophet) (Sukarnawadi, 2015), which discussed theological issues of *ahl Sunnah wa al-jama'ah* and its supporting books, and NW's Islamic rituals which is deemed *shirk* and *bid'ah* by Salafis. In these three books and some other Aswaja books, it seemed that the NW is seriously putting Salafis as an "opponent". The rivalry at the textual level keeps continuing, which is indicated by the growing number of books written by young NW cadres that create theological-ideological issues. In this context, it can be considered that the young generation of NW is changing challenges as opportunities to foster enthusiasm and creativity in preaching through printed media.

Besides the use of the books above, other books related to the rejection of Salafi are currently being traded in bookstores in Lombok Island, especially East Lombok. As with the books above, these books contain various rejections of the doctrines that the Salafi groups have so far preached and fought for. This was performed not only substantially against Salafism but also methodologically responding to Salafi preaching patterns that used increasingly intense and broad printed media (Saparudin, 2017; Chaplin, 2014; Rabasa, 2005; Hasan, 2007). Influenced by the context, this trend at the same time indicates that the NW has begun to establish a *dakwah* pattern, from a direct recitation of the congregation's *face to face Tuan Guru* to an indirect pattern of utilizing printed media. The massive distribution of Salafi books urged the NW elite to no longer put masters as the only authoritative source in their search for religious knowledge.

There is concern among young NW cadres regarding the massive number of Salafi-affiliated religious books and electronic media. One of NW's teachers stated:

Salafi is a real challenge that needs to be responded to in the real-time. Its influence is not only within the congregation but also in NW educational environment. Some religious books containing Salafi ideas were spread more broadly and massively, which were uncontrollably accessible by the congregation and NW students. The presence of Rinjani TV and the Satu Radio station which become the main channels for Salafi Islamic lectures and studies have also been broadly accessed by the public. In fact, recently, there have been a number of residents and cadres of the NW who have been influenced and moved to become residents and cadres of the Salafi movement (Sihabudin, interviewed, 2020).

At the same time, the translation and distribution of Salafi books containing Salafism have intensified. This is a national phenomenon that has emerged since Salafis gained momentum after the 1998 reform. Chris Chaplin's findings showed that the translation and dissemination of Salafi books is a Saudi Arabian project to strengthen the acceleration of the spread of Salafis in various countries, including Indonesia (Chaplin, 2014). This is highly attainable because Salafis are the main group that uses and distributes financial assistance from the Saudi Arabia Charity (Jahroni, 2020). The books referred to are usually the works of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab, Ibn Taimiyah, Muhammad Nathir al-Din al-Bani, Abdul Aziz bin Baz, Muhammad Uthaimin, Abdullah bin Jibrin, and Salih al-Fauzan. Those people are the Salafi scholars in the world.

The books used as references in the study of *Manhaj Salaf* and other religious subjects are generally sent from Saudi Arabia. They are not only disseminated and used as teaching materials in Salafi educational settings but also distributed to several bookstores in Lombok. Books, magazines, and bulletin written and published by Salafis currently are very easy to find in this area. Some of include: *Begini Seharusnya Berdakwah* (This is How Preaching should be) by Fawaz bin Hulayyil as-Suhaimi (2011); *Kitab Tauhid* (Book of *Tauhid*) by Fauzan bin Abdullah (1424 H); *Aqidah Muslim dalam Tinjauan al-Qur'an dan al-Sunnah* (Muslim Aqidah in Review of al-Qur'an and al-Sunnah) by Muhammad ibn Shaleh Al-Uthaimin (2009); *Tauhid Pemurnian Ibadah Kepada Allah* (*Tauhid* Purification of Worship to God) by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab (1419), and several other translated books. Meanwhile, the book entitled *Kaidah-Kaidah Penting Mengamalkan Sunnah* (Important Rules of Practicing Sunnah), which is the main reference for the *Manhaj* subject at the Salafi schools was written by Mizan Qudsiyah (2013), a local Salafi figure.

Through the translated books, the Salafi group shows their adherence to the *manhaj salaf*. In his book entitled *Kaidah-Kaidah Penting Mengamalkan Sunnah* (Important Rules of Practicing the Sunnah), for example, Qudsiyah stated that:

The characteristics of ahl Sunnah are 1) obedience and always sticking to the al-Qur'an and Sunnah with the understanding of the salaf al-saleh; 2) love those who practice *tauhid* and follow the Sunnah, and hate their rivals, and defend the salaf manhaj and boycott heretics and deviant groups. ... One of the *aqidah* principles of experts in Sunnah is to hate the *ahl bid'ah* (*the creator bid'ah*), not being sympathetic to them, not making friends, not being willing to hear what they say, and not discussing with them (Qudsiyah, 2013).

The textbook indicated Salafi defense against negative stereotypes from mainstream Muslims, including the NW. In the books also stated that “towards people who do *bid'ah*, are hateful, unsympathetic, unfriendly, unwilling to listen to words, and not discussing with them. This is done as an attitude of keeping hearing from the vanity sayings of the *bid'ah* followers which can cause anxiety and damage the *aqidah*. Based on this principle, it is forbidden to gain knowledge from them.” (Qudsiyah, 2013). Likewise, in the student tabloid of Media Madrasah, Abu Hurairah published:

“Therefore, one of the criteria for someone who should be shunned is the perpetrator of *bid'ah*, because in a *bid'ah* followers there is a danger of transmitting *bid'ah* and its badness, even being friends with them is poison. The *bid'ah* followers who block the *sunnah* of the Prophet, make *bid'ah* as *sunnah*, and those the *sunnah* to be *bid'ah*. Hanging out with them would mean dead or at least sick (Jamaludin, 2013).”

Furthermore, Abdul Aziz, one of the authors of the NWs books explicitly explained his negation of the Salafi movement along with its *bid'ah* issues. According to him, the *bid'ah* issues that are echoed by Salafis has succeeded in alienating Muslims from Prophet Muhammad. Various religious rituals such as the Prophet’s birthday ceremony (mauled), *tawassul* to the Prophet, saying *sayyidina* to the Prophet, pilgrimage to the Prophet’s grave, amplify the sound of prayer to the Prophet, and many similar rituals, are not *bid'ah* and *shirk*. On the other hand, they are forms of love of the people for the Prophet (Aziz, 2018). Even quoting the views of Shekh Ahmad Zaini Dahlan and Shekh Ahmad Ridho Khan, Sukarnawadi (2015) stated that “Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab (the main Salafi figure) is *al-khabith* (bad person) and *al-tagiyah* (persecutor). Salafi are actually more ignorant, worse, and more despicable than the *musyrik*, polytheists.”

The proposal of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah* and the elimination of Salafism subsequently shows that contestation is built and works at the text level as in Wiener’s theory. The texts that were simultaneously constructed in the subjects of the NW and the *Manhaj Salaf*, and manifested in the madrasa and school curriculum, clearly indicated that Islamic educational institutions are used as texts and the context of indoctrination of particular religious ideologies (Tan, 2012). As a text, educational institutions show various sources and learning materials that are particularly in accordance with the ideological mission. Meanwhile, as a context, they can become a place for ideologizing religious groups. In this context, it allows what Apple called *knowledge as legitimate* (Apple, 1993), where certain interests can proceed. The construction of the substance of the teaching materials for these subjects reflects ideas to support the succeed of each ideology.

According to the formulation of accepted norms, the inclusion of Salafis in the *mutashabihat* (similarity of God with humans) doctrine indicates that in the view of the NW, the Salafi group is a deviant sect, and therefore, must be opposed. This was raised as a response to the development of the Salafi movement and educational institutions in Lombok. In an NW national seminar at Ponpes NW Jakarta on 20 December 2014, it was revealed that “the militancy of NW alumni and cadres is felt to be decreasing so that many madrasas and mosques that were once affiliated with NW are now claimed by the Salafi group (Asy’ari, 2014). This expression reflects the internal anxiety of the NW over the conversion of some of its proponents to the Salafi group. Realistically, some figures who are currently Salafi role models and mobilizers, are alumni of the

NW Schools, for instance: Mahsun, Said, and Hasbiyallah who are have been the preacher and leader of the same Salafi schools in Lombok. They are three Salafi figures who are active, not only doing Salafi preaching but also trying to criticize religious practices of NW culture. These three figures are united by the understanding that the activities carried out while being part of the NW was far from the real meaning of the Prophet's Sunnah.

The above tendency strengthens the results of Minako Sakai's study, on the tendency of the religious orientation of contemporary Islamic communities in Indonesia. According to Sakai, the emergence of new media seeking religious knowledge, such as printed media, internet, video, online media, and various other media, tends to be more functional in the new generation of Indonesian Muslims. In a state where religious authority previously held by elites or religious leaders is decreasing, emotional affiliation to religious organizations like Muhammadiyah and NU is increasingly unnecessary (Sakai, 2012). The NW seems more aware that putting *tuan guru* (NW's religious leader) as the sole source of authority for the theology of religion is inadequate in responding to the external challenge, which from the beginning used various media in its expansion. The utilization of various printed and electronic media has proven effective in penetrating Salafis amidst the dominance of the NW in Lombok.

Carrying out historical reflection, the contestation at the textual level has been going on for a long time in the internal Islam. Mukhsin Jamil, et al., observed that under the umbrella of Sunni theology, Islamic texts were scattered which were made by ulama to destroy Islamic factions outside the Sunnis. Therefore, there is a strong impression that the texts produced by the history of Abbasiyah are ideological biases since the resulting texts are what he calls "intellectual pledoi" as an impact of competition and feud between Islamic sects (Sunni versus Mu'tazilah, Salafiyah versus Falasifah, Sh'ah versus Sunni) (Jamil, 2007). This state affects the design of education based on a religious sect or mazhab. This tendency, according to Nata, is a phenomenon that inherits the journey of medieval Islamic education, where the text or curriculum of madrasa, *halaqahs*, and mosques is fragmented to the desire to disseminate the understanding of their respective mazhab (Nata, 2005). This phenomenon indicates how text and context influence each other.

In terms of translating and distributing the above books, the NW elite is conducting a counter-discourse by formulating what Wiener called *formal validity*, (Wiener, 2014) which is formulating norms in the form of a series of rules or doctrines that can be utilized as validation on the one hand and negation on the other. This formal validity can be equated with *ahl Sunnah wa al-jama'ah* (and *manhaj salaf*, in the Salafi doctrine) where some doctrines are validated as the group's formal reference. Wiener formulated that in the manifestation of norms, there are three segments which at the practical level are cyclical, which is *formal validity* as reflected and obtained from official documents or books containing a set of rules or particular doctrines; *social recognition*, which is a set of efforts to socialize, disseminate, and learn *formal validity*; and cultural validation, which is the implementation of norms at the individual level that involves experience and expectations, and background knowledge, where particular formal validity becomes the culture of social groups (Wiener, 2014). In terms of social recognition, both NW and Salafis, through educational institutions, are formulating and trying to gain public recognition not only as of the group with the most religious authority but also as the dominant organization in social control.

Students in the Ideological Trap

Textbooks that are full of the ideological content of a group have an impact on indoctrination in educational practice. According to Hare, indoctrination occurs in education when students lose their capability to examine and find relationships between the various ideas they study, and cannot clearly find their beliefs and views, as a result of closing the space for critical thinking (Hare, 2007). To be independent of indoctrinating learning, according to Buchori Muslim (2020: 210) and Hare (2007: 5), open-minded learning and higher order thinking skills must be built and foster students' critical attitudes to construct a variety of ideas, abilities, interests, and talents. In this context, the teacher has a strategic position and role. Strategic, because this condition will not be realized without teachers with an open-minded perspective. It indicates that students will not get more space in the learning process if the teacher has an indoctrination ideological perspective.

The indoctrinate practices above have implications for the strengthening of the potential for religious radicalism and exclusivism in the educational aspect. The results of a survey conducted by the PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta in 34 provinces in Indonesia found that at the opinion level, students tended to have intolerant religious perspectives. This is reflected in the distribution between radical, external tolerance, and internal tolerance opinions of the students. The most intolerant of religious perspectives of the students were radical opinion (58.5%) followed by internal intolerance opinion (51.1%) and external intolerance opinion (34.3%) (PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2017). The results of the study confirmed the previous year's study by PPIM UIN Jakarta (2016) which found that the Islamic teaching (Pendidikan Agama Islam) texts in schools consisted of understandings that contained the potential for violence and intolerance. Intolerance in textbooks is reflected in the form of blaming different opinions and/or practices of worship, promoting one opinion without presenting another opinion, and containing negative views of other groups (PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2016).

A further impact is that the thinking patterns of the students tend to be exclusive. They are not used to differences, easily blame different religious understandings and practices, and are prone to be provoked by intolerant views (PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2016). They are presented with the puritan perspectives that rituals considered *bid'ah* or shirk, for example, are deviations that must be purified, and the perpetrators must be shunned. It is because indeed, students are not only expected to master the science of religion but also to become what Louis Althusser called apparatuses of ideology (Althusser, 2014), militant cadres of each religious group. Logically, because to strengthen existence, ideology requires apparatus (subject) which carries out, disseminates, and becomes an intellectual genealogy that is produced continuously by and for the apparatus (Althusser, 2004), which is ensuring the sustainability of the group. The competition discourse in textbooks, as explained above, indicates that the negation between Salafis and NW is to strengthen new followers amid their contestation.

The content of religious textbooks as described above indicates that Islamic education does not only grapple between academic and social expectations, as expressed by Azyamurdi Azra (2006) but also the ideological expectation of Islamic groups. Imam Suprayogo (2007) suspected that the big ideological burden made Islamic education institutions bear too heavy burdens so that it was difficult to be asked to get high quality. Finally, Islamic educational institutions such as

madrassa and schools became what Leonardo called as a place for *marketing ideology* (Leonardo, 2003), where ideological messages are disseminated and articulated.

The NW as a mainstream Islamic group in Lombok has a more favorable position. NW has 1,088 educational institutions spread across a number of districts in Lombok. So that it has a broad platform to promote its *Aswaja* ideology. Today, the dominant position of the NW is facing serious challenges from the Salafi. Although it only came in later in 1994 and developed in the 2000s, the Salafi group is predicted to have around 30 educational institutions in Lombok. Considering the dynamics of Salafis in this area, this number will keep growing, along with the development of this movement in the provision of formal education and external support from the Middle East. Since 2000s, Salafi schools have become a contemporary trend of Islamic education in Lombok. Which group will win this contest? it depends on the strategies of the both groups in taking advantage of opportunities and managing its challenges.

Conclusion

The success of Salafis in promoting *manhaj salaf*, which in many ways contradicts the *Aswaja* promoted by NW in Islamic practice, has implications not only for the occurrence of physical conflict and social fragmentation, but also the strengthening of the ideological content in the Islamic literature in the Islamic educational institutions. Literature books utilized as teaching materials indicate how ideological interests are promoted by NW and Salafi groups. This study pointed out that these books are utilized as instruments of ideological trapping of religious groups to generate their respective ideological apparatus to win the ideological contestation. The indicators are clear that these books have contents of negating one another, having exclusive views, and even misleading one another.

The ideological trapping has impact on students in the NW and Salafi Schools. The student fall into the trap of religious ideology which only accepts particular religious understandings indoctrination, without having the ability to think critically about differences in the diversity of Islamic literature. In the broader context, the students are very likely to facing social resistance when living and interacting in a plural society. This perspective reflects a contemporary problem in Indonesian Islamic education to which the state must respond. In this context, further study is needed related to socio-religious life which is influenced by the ideological interests of religious groups in the practice of education in schools.

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