



## IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF TAREKAT HIZIB NAHDLATUL WATHAN MEMBERS IN NEW ORDER REIGN, LOMBOK, INDONESIA

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### ABSTRACT

This study explains the development of the Tarekat in Lombok from 1966 to 1998, the history of the Tarekat Hizib NW, and the identity construction strategy of Tarekat Hizib NW followers from 1966 to 1998. The historical approach is selected to critically analyze three research questions from primary and secondary sources obtained through literature and oral references. For NW followers, Tarekat Hizib NW constitutes social and cultural identity in Lombok religious life. The role and essential position of the NW congregation through Tarekat Hizib NW in social, cultural, and political life can be from the three main courses. Hamzanwadi (founding father of Tarekat Hizib NW) used them to establish identity and legitimacy in the construction of NW followers' identity, i.e., the educational path (formal and non-formal), politics, and ceremonial rituals (reading of the Tarekat Hizib NW). The long history of the NW organization and the congregation of the Hizib NW congregation within the new order era has provided new awareness as an internal force to redefine, revitalize, and construct the ideal identity of Lombok people's manifestation of cultural and social strategy and adaptation. The Tarekat Hizib NW has powerfully transformed into spirit, a source of information, motivation, and an instrument of integration among the people of Lombok in adapting to the forces of external change to strengthen their internal identity. This study can be a reference in looking at the face of Islam in Lombok in a broader context where culture is an inseparable part. Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan contributes internally and externally to the cultural and social life of the people of Lombok and among NW pilgrims.

**Keywords:** Construction Identity, Nahdlatul Wathan, Tarekat Hizib, Tarekat members





## INTRODUCTION

Discourses and responses to ethnicity and social identity issues received significant attention among scholars. In recent years, the discussion has evolved into an intense concern among academics in Indonesia. The discussion shows that conflicts and violence are based on ethnicity and social identity. Both friction and violence stem from differences in race and religion (Esteban, Mayoral, & Ray, 2012).

The economic crisis hitting Indonesia in 1998 had reduced the dominance of the central government, accompanied by the emergence of calls for total reform in all fields, especially politics at the national level. Political events that occurred in Indonesia and were most dominant in 1998 and subsequent events were the occurrence of ethnic and religious conflicts in Indonesia. The rolling reform period in Indonesia after the 1998 incident occurred due to development policies based on unequal ethnic differences. The marginalization of ethnic groups over other ethnic groups and differences in religious beliefs also reinforces this fact (Rozi, Noor, Gayatri, Pabottingi, & Widjojo, 2021).

The events of the reforms have brought many changes in the lives of the Indonesian people. In political life in Indonesia, the discourse on democratization is the foundation for every society in actualizing itself and its group in interpreting freedom. This was later reinforced by a constitution that guaranteed individual freedom, which further strengthened the popularity of this democratic system. The problem arises from a gap between identities (tribes, religions, groups, and groups) in Indonesia, especially concerning national political issues. The issue of religion and nationalism is often a theme that is always debated in Indonesia. Polemics of identity politics can give rise to truth claims about one group with another, where this problem can trigger divisions among the nation's children. Lombok, as part of the Indonesian nation inhabited by several tribes such as Sasak, Balinese, Bugis, Javanese, and Samawa has a high potential for conflict, especially between ethnic Sasak and Balinese. Several events have demonstrated the potential for such conflicts. It should be noted that the intersection of Sasak and Balinese ethnicity has been going on for a long time. Bali, under Karangasem's rule, has controlled Lombok since the early 18th century.

Lombok Island is one of the islands in the Nusa Tenggara archipelago (Sunda Kecil). The indigenous people of Lombok Island are the Sasak tribe. For centuries, the Sasak people have had worse historical experiences in their many historical records (Kumbara, 2008). Islam entered Lombok around the 15th and 16th centuries AD. Sunan Ampel's son, Sunan Prapen, brought Islam to Lombok to expand Islam, which had already developed in Java. Sunan Prapen is the son of Sunan Ampel, known as one of the Walisanga or nine





saints who spread Islam on the north coast of Java in the 15th to 16th centuries (Budiarto, Indriastjario, & Sardjono, 2016). The process of entering and developing Islam in Lombok, among others, through the missionary route, including the Order with the teachings of Sufism. Contacts between traders and the Sasak people in the 16th to 17th centuries became a medium for preachers or Tuan Guru to spread Islam. In the 17th century, Bali (Karangasem) colonized Lombok until the end of the 19th century, then was replaced by the Dutch at the end of the 19th century (Alfarisi et al., 2016). Islam entered Lombok around the 15th and 16th centuries AD. The process of entering and developing Islam in Lombok, among others, is through the dakwah, including the Tarekat (Fuadi, 2019). The contact between the traders and the Sasak community in the 16th to 17th centuries became a medium for preachers or Tuan Guru to spread Islam. Through Islamic teachings that have a Sufistic nuance, the religious life of the Sasak people in Lombok with the religious life rooted in the Pillars of Islam has developed well.

With the emergence of the Indonesian Revolution, the Soekarno era, and Suharto's New Order government, the people of Lombok, with Islam as the main religion, remained dominant. Religious life in Lombok continues to show a peaceful situation because important and main figures from Lombok support the New Order government. This moment is a very important historical record for members of the Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) Congregation in Lombok to foster group awareness and solidarity in building their social and cultural lives. This step considers the strategy of members of the NW Hizib Congregation in Lombok in building and increasing group awareness to strengthen self-identity and solidarity among NW followers.

Scholars throughout the Islamic world have carried out studies of changes in society in the life of Sufism. The idea of the role of Sufism in communities' lives has been prominent throughout the Islamic world, whether it is related to social, cultural, or political life, starting in Africa (Reese, 1999), America (LeBlanc, 2013), and Asia (Hamid, 2018). Likewise, many studies on Tarekat in Indonesia have been carried out, including studies on the origin and development of the Sufi (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia (van Bruinessen, 1994). The role of Sufism, and the rise of Indonesian Islam (Howell, 2001), the typology of Muhammadiyah Sufism and the thought of their figures (Biyanto, 2017), Tuan Guru study and social change in Lombok (Fahrurrozi, 2018), study of Tuan Guru and the Sasak Community Social Revolution Movement (Alfarisi, Tohri, Habibuddin, & Hanapi, 2018), a typical form of moderate Islam in Indonesia and dialectical phenomena between culture and religion in the Muslim community in Lombok (Mutawali, 2016), including those related to the role of the religious elite in Indonesia (Burhanudin, 2012), particularly the





elite strength of Tuan Guru in Lombok (Jamaluddin, 2011). The study of the Sasak elite's strategy in establishing Sasak identity reflects Tuan Guru's role as an elite in constructing Sasak identity (Kumbara, 2008). The study mentioned above does not explicitly discuss the Tarekat and the identity construction of its members in viewing social and cultural changes in the people of Lombok. Therefore, this study intends to explain the social dialectics and culture of Tarekat members in Lombok in positioning themselves as agents of change.

This study seeks to explain the construction of the identity of Tarekat members as part of religious life in Lombok and socio-cultural changes from 1966 to 1998. Such change is a reaction to the political and social changes after the Soekarno's reign government (1945-1965). In general, this research seeks a broader understanding of the identity construction of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) members in Lombok 1966-1998. In particular, this study aims to identify: 1) the Development of Tarekat in Lombok, 1966-1998; 2) the History of Hizib NW, and 3) the identity construction strategy for Hizib NW members in Lombok in 1966-1998.

The discussion of the study adopted Pierre Bourdieu constructive-structuralism theory, which states that the involvement of the "subject" in the process of cultural construction is highly dominant (Bourdieu, 1977). In the context of this Tarekat study, culture does not only shape its participants, but people in a group actively shape their own culture. Culture is invisible empirically but historically pays attention to its genealogy or the process of its formation. According to Bourdieu, in the social space, individuals with their habitus (product of history) relate to other individuals and various social realities producing actions by their realm and capital (Bourdieu, 1991). In addition, this study used socio-cultural theory, where cultural identity is intentionally formed or constructed (Giddens, 2010b). The construction of cultural identity is related to specific processes and different historical experiences (Kumbara, 2008). The discussion in this study is on Giddens' structuration theory, which meant to see time, agents, and structure as critical components used to analyze the socio-cultural history of Tarekat members in Lombok (Giddens, 2010a). In the study of history, time should not be ignored, especially in periodization, which contains the soul of the times and cultural ties. The spirit of the times equated with an ideology directing agents in a culture undeniably bound by culture, where culture then gives rise to structures (Pageh, 2018). In postmodernism, individuals' socio-cultural environment is considered a heterogeneous socio-cultural space with unlimited inter-text. Recognition of heterogeneous socio-cultural spaces and the importance of the same and relevant social reality are essential for social interaction. Morality such as fantasy,





imagination, and mental characteristics are variations of natural behaviour characteristics. In this case, every individual considers to include humanity as an "object-centaur," combining the words "visible," "body," and "invisible" (soul-spiritual) (Kuznetsova, Shafazhinskaya, Kamenets, Meleshkina, & Orlova, 2020). In the context of the social reality of Tarekat members in Lombok, morality is a fundamental behaviour that emerges and grows in the spiritual soul, enabling the construction of identity to grow as a desired social reality.

This article first describes the development of tarekat in Lombok as a place for the socio-religious life of the people of Lombok. Then the next section explains the history of the formation of the Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan order as a tarekat practice among Nahdlatul Wathan members. The practice of the Hizib order is the main characteristic of the Nahdlatul Wathan society, where every member of the Nahdlatul Wathan organization is also a follower of the Hizib order. Furthermore, the final section explains the identity construction strategy of members of the Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan from a socio-political-religious perspective in Lombok, especially among members of the Nahdlatul Wathan organization.

## METHOD

To explain the identity construction of Hizib NW members in Lombok from 1966 to 1998, we apply the historical method. The historical approach critically examines and analyses records and relics of the past (Gottschalk, 1985) to know the history and specific instructions regarding material, criticism, interpretation, and history presentation (Kuntowijoyo, 2015). This study uses primary and secondary sources obtained through literature and oral references. We received written sources such as the Book of Bayanul Haq (Sirojunnasihn Collection) and the Book of Bayan Tajalli (Aceh Center for Information and Documentation), which are documents of materials used for research on Shaykh Abdurrauf Singkel by Dr. P. Voorhoeve, as well as books that tell a lot about the tarekat movement and tarekat figures in Lombok. The oral source used results from interviews with the community and tarekat leaders in Lombok who represent the studies discussed in this article.

Next, we critique the sources obtained from writings and interviews. Written sources were critiqued to ensure accuracy, while sources from interviews were cross-checked to ensure facts. These facts are then analyzed through time and the spirit of the times. Furthermore, historical presentations were carried out academically to add to the body of thought about tarekat and social change in Lombok.







## THE DEVELOPMENT OF TAREKAT IN LOMBOK

As an opening to present an understanding of the identity construction of the Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan tarekat in socio-religious dynamics, it is important to explain the history of the existence and development of the tarekat in Lombok. Sufism in Islam is always interesting and provokes discussion where tarekat organizations have played an important role in the flow of socio-religious change in the people of Lombok in the long history of Islam on this island.

At the time of the arrival of Islam in Indonesia in the 15th century brought by traders from Gujarat, India, Sufism experienced its heyday in the Islamic world. The emergence and development of Islam in Indonesia cannot be separated from the influence of Sufism. This fact does not negate the role of puritan Islam in developing Islam in Indonesia, where the influence of puritan Islam was quite dominant after entering the early 20th century. Sufism then influenced the development of Islamic thoughts in Indonesia, which was firmly attached to the power of Sufism. In the Indonesian context, this Sufistic Islam has its value. Accustomed to Hindu-Buddhist mystical traditions, it is relatively easy for Indonesians to adopt Sufi Islam compared to puritanical Islam. There are several similarities between Hindu-Buddhist and Sufi mystical traditions. This closeness, in the end, made it easier for the palace to adopt Islam and cultivate it with old rules (van Bruinessen, 1994).

Islamic Sufism is seen as having a connection with Hindu-Buddhist teachings, which can be seen in the view of Martin van Bruinessen. Some of the teachings in Islamic Sufism are not rooted in Meccan Islamic traditions. Bruinessen's claim that Islamic Sufism is also reflected in the Hindu-Buddhist tradition is not entirely acceptable. In the Al-Qur'an, there are many scattered verses about asceticism, dhikr, resignation, and prioritizing happiness which is the core of the teachings of Islamic Sufism. Therefore, Bruinessen's view that Islamic Sufism is similar to the Hindu-Buddhist tradition is incorrect. In the Qur'an, many verses teach about zuhud, dhikr, tawakkal, prioritizing the happiness of the hereafter, meeting Allah, and so forth. All of which are part of the concept of Sufism. The statement explaining the Sufists' teachings was not born from the womb of Islam is the opinion of the orientalist. One of the prominent orientalist is Margareth Smith. She stated that Sufism is the byproduct of the intersection between Islam and old religious traditions such as Judaism and Christianity. Alfred von Kremer, an orientalist, believes that Sufism was born from the Hindu Upanishads and Vedanta teachings. Ignaz Goldziher, with his theory, claims that Buddhism influences Sufism because it teaches world-renouncing behavior or asceticism and a simple lifestyle. For orientalist, Sufism is the result of the





acculturation of Hellenistic cultures, such as a form of Aryan reaction to Smit domination. Sufism is understood to be an amalgamation (mixture) of India (Buddhism and Hinduism), Persia (Zoroastrianism), Christianity, Neo-Platonism, Pseudo-Aristotelism, and Gnosticism the result of which is Syncretism (Arif, 2008). According to al-Hasani, Islamic Sufism is often viewed negatively by some Muslims as teachings that are considered non-Islamic teachings. Ethical, psychological, and spiritual characteristics are the primary assets of a nation caught in the Qur'an. These significant assets shape the ummah and lead humanity toward lofty ideals. People, who study the life history of the salaf generation and Sufi figures in society, will see how these ideal examples and principles can be a direct factor for real, recorded, and popular revolutions in Islamic history (Alwi, 2010).

The practices of Sufism are a phenomenon among Muslims practised through the Tarekat community. Sufism is no longer merely a religious ritual. The existence of the Tarekat allows social, cultural, and political issues in the dynamics of social life to become part of a religious-spiritual movement (Efendi, Dienaputra, Sofianto, & Asnan, 2022). Tarekat (van Bruinessen, 1994) primarily facilitated many resistance and rebellion movements during the Dutch colonial period. Tarekat, in the context of the resistance movement, contains teachings of religious rituals and becomes a means for social, cultural, and political activities in society. The social problems faced by the Sufis are also increasingly related to issues arising from the incredible process of modernization. Sufis, in their Tarekat institutions, provide a set of various religious teachings and engage in social, cultural, and political issues, which intersect with other existences, such as tolerance and respect for differences (van Bruinessen, 1994).

Sufism is a branch of Islamic science and practice that was born from the side of Al-Ihsan. Its presence in Islam believes to have emerged after the Prophet Muhammad died as an effort to get closer to Allah *Subhanahu wa Ta'ala* (SWT). Scientifically, it comes from Islamic culture around the 3rd century Hijriyah. If Sufism is understood as a teaching, the Tarekat is the institution. Sufism can be seen in established and well-known Tarekat institutions such as the Naqshabadiyah wa Qadiriyyah and other mu'tabarah Tarekat. Tarekat means a pious (Tarekat follower) journey to God by purifying oneself or a journey that a person must take to be close to God. The practice of Sufism in the spiritual life of Muslims is a practice of worship that prioritizes the spirit of the answer to the place and source of all potential intelligence that exists in humans self (Ushuluddin, Madjid, Masruri, & Syahputra, 2021). Tarekat (Sufism) originated from Islam. Islam grows and develops in the Arabian Peninsula, to be precise in Makkah, brought by Muhammad SAW, the messenger of Allah SWT. The well-known companions continued Islam as caliphs in





Islamic history, especially the four caliphs. Islam is a religion that arrives to bring blessings to all humankind. Islamic teachings are universal and complement the previous instructions of the Prophets.

The development of the Tariqa in Indonesia cannot be separated from the process of the arrival of Islam in Indonesia. Islam in Indonesia has developed since the 15th century AD and along with the development of Islam. Tarekat has also grown widely in Indonesia. The exact number of Tarekat developing in Indonesia is unknown. According to Jam'iyah, an expert on Tarekat al-Mu'tabarah al-Nahdhiyah, there are 45 kinds of Tarekat in Indonesia. It does not include those not recognized as mu'tabarah Tarekat, such as the Sidiqiyah and Wahidiyah Tarekat, because one Tarekat may join another Tarekat, or it probably disappears and comes as a new form. The existence and development of Tarekat in Indonesia, as explained by Bruinessen in general, include the Sammaniyah Tarekat that Abdussamad al-Palembani brought; Khalwatiyah, brought by Yusuf al-Makassari. Naqshabandiyah, brought by Abdurrauf Sinkel; Qadiriyyah, brought by Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin as-Sumatrani; Syattari-yah and Ria'iyah, brought by Nuruddin al-Raniri, and Qadiriyyah wa-Naqshabandiyah, brought by Abdul Karim al-Bantani.

The development of the Tarekat in Lombok is inseparable from the development of Islam itself in Lombok because the teachings of Islamic Sufism are seen as accommodating to local culture so that Islam is easily accepted, where this religion has entered Lombok since the 15th century. Although Bali controlled Lombok in the 17th to 18th centuries, the development of Islam in Lombok in quantity has never changed. Likewise, the product of the Tarekat in Lombok was marked by the many resistance movements of the Sasak people against Balinese rulers in the 19th century inspired by teachers and Tarekat adherents in Lombok. In the 16th to 17th centuries, the contact between traders and the Sasak community turned into a medium for preachers or Tuan Guru in spreading Islam to the Sasak people. Through Islamic teachings with mystical nuance, they cultivate the religious, spiritual spirit of Sasak people in the Sasak philosophy of Lombok with the spiritual religion rooted in the Pillars of Islam, especially the Hajj.

The emergence and development of Islam in the Sasak community are related to two factors. First is the influence of Islam's arrival with the teachings of Sufism. The second is the acculturation of the spiritual spirit (awareness of ancestral religion) of local religions in the people of Lombok island with spiritual beliefs about pilgrimages carried out by the people of Lombok. Further, Sasak people know the figure of an Islamic figure through the Tarekat route in Lombok. In general, the Tarekat that have had a big influence in Lombok to date are the Naqshabandiyah, Qadiriyyah, and Qadiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyah. Historically,







the effort to spread the Naqṣabandīyah on the island of Lombok was around the 19th century, named after the return of several Tuan Guru who studied in Makkah (Masjid al-Haram) from the caliphs appointed by Shaykh Khatib Sambas. The following are some of the caliphs of the Tarekat from Lombok who were appointed by Shaykh Abdul Karim Banten (khalifat Syekh Ahmad Khatib Sambas), Tuan Guru Haji Muhammad Amin Pejeruk Ampenan, Tuan Guru Haji Muhammad Siddiq Karang Kelok Mataram, and Tuan Guru Haji Muhammad Ali Batu Sakra Lombok. Based on the context of the socio-religious life of the people of Lombok, the Tarekat that received great appreciation is the Qadiriyyah wa Naqṣabandīyah Tarekat. Qadiriyyah wa Naqṣabandīyah Tarekat comes from different sides, i.e. (1) the practice of the teachings that characterize this Tarekat extends to almost all corners of Lombok, (2) the attitudes and actions of ta'zim toward murshid Tarekat, and (3) respect for the predecessors of murshids.

In general, the study shows that the Naqṣabandīyah dominated the development of Tarekat in Lombok. The story is a continuation of the Tarekat that has developed in Lombok since the 19th century. Tarekat in Lombok grew and developed primarily in rural areas. The Tarekat has been evenly distributed in the districts in Lombok. This area is a legacy of teachings brought by Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra's students.

Furthermore, a relatively sizeable developing Tarekat in Lombok is the Naqsyabandīyah Mazhariyyah Tarekat. The Naqsyabandīyah Muzhariyyah Tarekat is growing, in all sub-districts in the Lombok region. In addition, there is the Tarekat of Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan (NW), where the congregation of the NW organization in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, is a follower of this Tarekat. The development of the Naqṣabandīyah Mazhariyyah order passed down by Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra, who passed it down to his students, did not exist as is commonly found in the congregations of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and NW. However, individually, adherents of this Tarekat are widespread in various regions in Lombok.

In the southern part of Lombok, the most influential figure of the Tarekat Naqṣabandīyah is Tuan Guru Mutawalli Jerowaru. He is a murshid of the Naqṣabandīyah Order, especially in Montong Gading, Terara, Keruak, and Jerowaru. Around the 1970s, he often preached through the tarekat approach in the Terara sub-district. According to various sources, Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra also practices and teaches the Naqṣabandīyah-Mazhariyyah Order. However, it is generally known among his students that he is a teacher (murshid) of the Tarekat Haq Naqṣabandīyah. His students come from southern Lombok, such as Lepak, Tanjung Luar, Sakra, and Terara. Some came from





North Lombok, such as Pringgabaya, Apitaik, and Pohgading. Apart from preaching and reciting the Koran, he also helped build mosques.

A popular Tarekat since the 1970s is the Tarekat Hizib NW. This Tarekat was established by Tuan Guru Kyai Haji (TGKH) Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah Pancor Lombok, in the future abbreviated as Hamzanwadi. The Hizib NW Tarekat is a manuscript composed of various fragments of the holy verses of the Qur'an, the prayers of the salaf scholars, and prayers from the author himself and is one of Hamzanwadi's works which characterizes religious writings of thinkers in the field of Sufism (Tarekat). This Tarekat, as well as manuscripts written by Indonesian scholars, such as the work of Shaykh Ahmad Syamsuddin al-Banjari (1618-1680), describes the way of thinking and the development of Islamic studies in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, scientifically, especially in the field of Sufism (Jamalie, 2020). This congregation was formed in 1964 and has continued to develop after being widely spread among NW followers. Hamzanwadi said that the shari'ah is a description, the Tarekat is the implementation, the essence is the state, and the ma'rifat is the main objective, i.e., the proper knowledge of God.

Starting from this thought, he wanted to form a Tarekat for congregations of the NW organization as a medium to synergize aspects of Sharia and Tarekat and get closer to Allah SWT. This desire often arises because of the spiritual experiences he has often experienced. Since 1964, he has repeatedly received spiritual (unseen) promptings directly or indirectly (through his students), calling for a Tarekat association. Previously, the NW organization had complete readings of zikir (hizib), i.e. Hizib NW and Hizib Nahdlatul Banat (NB), but they were not organized into a Tarekat. Therefore, the Tarekat Hizib NW formation will perfect the Sufism practices of NW followers in getting closer to Allah SWT. After being institutionalized, the Hizib NW congregation was very popular among congregants in the NW and outside of NW. Every Monday night, every NW congregation reads the Tarekat Hizib NW. Since the 1970s, Hizib NW's popularity has spread widely in Lombok and throughout the West Nusa Tenggara region. NW congregations still practice the habit of reading the Tarekat Hizib NW till now.

The congregations of tarekat in Lombok, be it the Naqshabandiyah, Qadiriyyah, and Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan congregations have become an affirmation in the development of Islam in Lombok. The teachings of each of these congregations have become the basis for the development and growth of Islam in Lombok.





## HISTORY OF TAREKAT HIZIB NAHDLATUL WATHAN

This section explains the history of the Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan Order. The contribution of the Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan congregation to the socio-religious life of the Sasak people has become an important part of the long journey of the Sasak people's Islamic identity in Lombok. The Tarekat Hizib NW is a Tarekat movement founded around 1967, existed, and developed in the Lombok archipelago in the following years, especially entering the 1970s, in East Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. The founder is Hamzanwadi. Sociologically, there are at least two factors behind establishing the Tarekat Hizib NW. First, some factors indicate diversity in the Sasak community, namely the many phenomena of Tarekat that do not heed the Shari'a. Most of the Tarekat have strict regulations that are difficult to practice at the end of this era. Apart from these factors, another thing that also encouraged the birth of this Tarekat Hizib NW was the inner experience of its founder (Ziadi, 2018a). In the context of the teachings of the Tarekat Hizib NW, the concept of the Tarekat teachings (Sufism) departs from the teachings of its founder, Hamzanwadi. The Sufism teachings developed by Hamzanwadi are the Sufism teachings of al-Ghazali and Junaid al-Baghdadi. Hamzanwadi never said that the core teachings of the Hizib NW order came from the teachings of Sufism al-Ghazali and Junaid al-Baghdadi, but in terms of the Sufism books he taught every day, Hamzanwadi often taught books by al-Ghazali, such as *Ihya 'Ulumuddin*. Tarekat akhir zaman In particular, Hamzanwadi obtained a lot of Sufism from Shaykh Amin al-Kutbi. As for the Tarekat, in this case, the Tarekat Hizib NW, he received it from one of his favorite teachers, i.e. Al-Allamah Fadlilat Al-Magfurlah Maulana Al-Shaykh Hasan Muhammad Al-Masysyath in Makkah (Muslim, 2014).

Suppose it is based on the views of al-Ghazali and Junaid al-Baghdadi's Sufism. In that case, it can be understood that the Tarekat Hizib NW taught by Hamzanwadi's teacher has an idea of Sufism that is inseparable from the Shari'a. Sufism developed by Hamzanwadi is Sufism which is in line with Sharia. It is closely related to the four spiritual stages, i.e., Sharia, Tarekat, essence, and ma'rifat. Hamzanwadi said that the Shari'a is a description, the Tarekat is the implementation, the soul is the condition, and the ma'rifat is the main objective, i.e., the proper knowledge of God. Hamzanwadi explained that the Shari'a is a boat, the Tarekat is the sea, and the essence is pearl. A person will not get the pearls except through the ocean by boat (Noor, Habib, & Zuhdi, 2014).

In addition to emphasizing the importance of consistency in upholding Sharia, the other teachings of the Tarekat Hizib NW are flexible (ease) in carrying out Tarekat





practices. As an end of time Tarekat, the existence of the Tarekat Hizib NW is a response to the course of the Tarekat's experiences that have existed so far in Lombok, such as the Tarekat Qadariah and Naqsyabandiyah, which seem too heavy and have rigorous requirements. Especially if added with the obligation to isolate oneself from the hustle and bustle of world life at a particular time, even though this isolation is also not prohibited in the Tarekat Hizib NW, the community generally feels reluctant to follow it. Based on these conditions, Hamzanwadi arranged the Tarekat Hizib NW concisely and practically without neglecting its esoteric meaning. This Tarekat can be practised by everyone in any need, either at particular times or during daily activities (Irawan and Nurjannah 2016). It is advisable to read in a holy state and sit facing the Qibla in the process. However, it is only a suggestion and not obligatory, so that Tarekat members may practice it anytime and anywhere. This condition means that the teachings of the Tarekat Hizib NW, apart from emphasizing the importance of shari'ah, are also flexible (easy) (Ziadi, 2018b). In this context, the Tarekat Hizib NW has similarities in the perspective of Haji Abdul Karim Malik Amrullah in modern Sufis.

Apart from the above teaching principles another most important element of the Tarekat Hizib NW is his murshid (teacher). In harfiyah, murshid means that there is a spiritual teacher who gives guidance or someone who leads directly. In the Tarekat tradition, the term murshid is known as Shaykh in Arabic and Pir in Persian (Buckhardt, 1984). Like Tarekat in general, some murshids in the Hizib NW Tarekat practice and guide the members (students) of the Tarekat. In the Tarekat Hizib NW tradition, this murshid is also called the coordinator. The first murshid in the Tarekat Hizib NW was its direct founder, Hamzanwadi himself. Hamzanwadi is the founder and the first murshid within the Tarekat Hizib NW. Hamzanwadi has authority over the Tarekat Hizib NW, starting from initiation, guidance, Tarekat teachings, forms, and recitation of dhikr. Therefore, it concluded that Hamzanwadi is the founder of this Tarekat Hizib NW.

The process of appointing Hamzanwadi as a murshid of the Tarekat Hizib NW was magical. This process is typical in the Sufistic world, where the rapture of the murshid is always associated with mystical events. As explained earlier, since 1964, Tuan Guru often gets direct or indirect spiritual (occult) whispers calling for the formation of a Tarekat association. When Hamzanwadi meditated at the Prophet's Mosque, to be precise, near the Prophet's grave, a mysterious voice from a servant of Allah told him to make the "end time tariqa." However, he still thought it was just a whisper of satan. The second time the voice came, he was still in doubt. Then, for the third time, a figure believed to be the Prophet Khidr who held his hand in Raudhah, saying: "establish the end time tariqa" Based





on this incident, Hamzanwadi was sure to start writing and compiling Tarekat readings and looking for books of previous scholars to be used as references for his prayers. Based on the spiritual experiences he had experienced since 1964, he officially began to compile the Tarekat Hizib NW dhikr practice and completed well in 1967 (Irawan & Nurjannah, 2016). As soon as the method of dhikr of the Hizib NW Congregation was finished, he immediately became a murshid of the Hizib NW Congregation and began to cultivate people who wanted to join as Tarekat members, especially from the congregation of the NW organization.

In connection with the appointment of Hamzanwadi as a murshid who tends to be magical and mystical, as explained by Annemarie Schimmel, this thing is possible in the Tarekat or Sufistic world. In the world of Tarekat, the initiation of a murshid who is not human (supernatural), such as the Prophet Khidir (AS), is valid. Sometimes the Sufis met him on their way; he inspires them, answers their questions, rescues them from harm, and uniquely, he bestows a khirqah (Sufi robe) accepted as valid in the tradition of conception (Schimmel, 1986). Therefore, in this context, the appointment of Hamzanwadi as murshid and the founder of the Tarekat Hizib NW is legal and can be justified.

## THE STRATEGY OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF TAREKAT HIZIB NAHDLATUL WATHAN MEMBERS

By depicting changes, developments, or shifts in the ideological spirit of Lombok, in the mid-19th century, the Tariqa in Lombok was an ideological spirit to fight against the power of the Karangasem Bali Kingdom, which was centered in Mataram. As time went on to enter independent Indonesia and enter the New Order era, the Tarekat movement in rural areas in Lombok had transformed into a cultural movement. The Tarekat movement carries out Islamization through a peaceful artistic approach. It is in line with the characteristic of the Tarekat movement. This process took place during the New Order government and after. In historical records, there are no communal conflicts involving religious communities in Lombok during the New Order government period. It indicates that the Tarekat movement has become a cultural action that forms society's mentality to accept diversity.

Historically, the Tarekat's contribution to the development of religious education in Lombok refers to the existence of social activity centers and the example of the Tarekat's murshid. The center for education and spiritual development consists of several buildings, including the residence of the Shaykh and his family, a *dhikr* practice room, a student room,







a mosque, a kitchen, a guest house, and a madrasah. The Shaykh acts as the prayer priest, teaching, educating, and supervising the development of their students. Departing from the critical role of the pesantren and the educational and social conditions of the people of Lombok, several post-independence Tarekat leaders pioneered educational institutions or Islamic boarding schools that implemented the halaqah system located in the centre of Islam (Makkah and Medina). Tuan Guru established new religious institutions with a classical education system in response to the environment, the community's economy, and government policies.

Sufis have carried out various kinds of methods or different ways of dhikr. In essence, however, they are meant to multiply dhikr (remember) to God, do praiseworthy deeds, and avoid physical and mental disgraceful actions. Likewise, the ways of dhikr between one Sufi and another are essentially the same, although they have different manifestations. Therefore, Tarekat as a method or practice of the Sufis can also be a Sufism branch. Thus, each component then develops its doctrine. It naturally gave birth to a diverse attitude that emerged naturally due to a long commitment process. The biggest Tarekat is not limited in number. There are as many Tarekat to God as the souls of the servants of Allah. The principles of the teachings are not spelt out. Some will go through the dhikr, muraqabah, peace of mind, and perform all worship such as prayer, fasting, hajj, and jihad. Others do the path through wealth, such as paying zakat and paying for good deeds. The way to cleanse the soul from the world's doubts about lustful greed (such as seclusion, sleep deprivation, eating less and drinking), all of which did not achieve by leaving the Sharia and sunnah of the Prophet.

Nahdlatul Ulama is more about preserving existing and developing Islamic traditions in the archipelago. In learning, archipelago ulama goes to the cities of Mecca and Medina. Their thoughts will directly influence the ulemas of Nahdlatul Ulama in Indonesia. The presence of Tuan Guru as an educator led the Sasak people into a more enlightened setting. Part of Tuan Guru has made their journey to seek knowledge in the holy land of Makkah. Upon returning, they established places of recitation and some of those Tuan Guru who had not established Islamic boarding schools occupied mosques, musalla, and kyai's houses. In addition to teaching Sharia, these Tuan Guru also teaches the Tarekat to the people of Lombok. Religious systems and social variants in rural communities tend to run normally and are very tolerant. Significant conflicts rarely happen between followers of specific organizations and other communities, especially among Tarekat followers. An opinion says that a good pattern exists due to the implications of the socio-political similarity of the Sasak people. Furthermore, the absence of ideological





agency and socio-cultural pretensions resulted in the Sasak people's tendency to reduce as much as possible the differences between them.

In line with the conducive condition of religious life during the New Order and Reform Order (from the 1960s until now), the number of Tarekat adherents has shown significant development. Murshids state that there is an increase in Tarekat adherents each year (TGH. Zulkarnaen, personal communication, February 12, 2021). It is just that they are reluctant and even do not want to display the quantity in terms of the number. In response to unregistered membership, there are several reasons. Firstly, Tarekat is following their own volition. Secondly, they do not want to be *sum'ah*, making them feel happy and arrogant. Sufism *akhlaqi* or *tasawuf amali* is a practice of Sufism that emphasizes the strict rule of Tarekat practitioners with high adherence to murshid teachings. Tuan Guru Muhammad Shaleh Lopan is prevalent in this regard. Several of his students confirmed his stance on this matter. Tuan Guru Lopan, as soon as he became known to the public, taught a lot in the Terara area. In all the recitations he attended, he always came on foot. He is famous for inviting the congregation to be diligent in *dhikr* and worship.

Togetherness and unidirectional obedience to spiritual leaders (*murshid*) bind solid social capital. Tarekat institutions become potential and develop as a social movement transforming into a high social cohesion culture. The Tarekat institution created in Lombok has been interpreted as bringing its congregation to form a culture and mentality of diversity. In its history, Tarekat members in Lombok have developed a vision, mission, and orientation of righteousness concerned with theological-spiritual purity and can also create social sensitivity. Therefore, the Tarekat is oriented toward issues of the hereafter but can participate in real social problems. This capital became an essential aspect in constructing the practitioners' identity of the Tarekat Hizib NW in Lombok from 1966 to 1998.

Hamzanwadi used at least three main routes as the founder of the Hizib NW Tarekat in Lombok. He builds identity and legitimacy by constructing NW congregants as members of the Tarekat Hizib NW, i.e., the educational path (formal and non-formal), politics, and ceremonial rituals (reading the Tarekat Hizib NW). First, in the education pathway, such as *madrasas* or religious education institutions and public education institutions in the NW non-formal education organizations, such as Islamic boarding schools, *majelis taklim*, and mosques, are used as the primary basis for the development of the mission of *da'wah* and the legitimacy of the congregation of the Tarekat Hizib NW. As a dominant figure and, at the same time, the heir to the prophets, through the Hamzanwadi Islamic boarding school in Lombok, he has played a central role in continuing





the mission of preaching Islam to the Sasak people. Hamzanwadi has succeeded in assuming responsibility as a community leader and a murshid for the Tarekat Hizib NW, laying the groundwork for dhikr activities as a hallmark of the Hizib NW congregation every Monday night and *syafaah* (dhikr) on Wednesday nights.

Educating students at his Islamic boarding school and giving lectures at mosques, and visiting Islamic boarding schools that are widespread on the island of Lombok to preach are the routine tasks of Hamzanwadi. This model of preaching activity is a form of friendship between Tuan Guru and the students and among other scholars in Lombok. This activity is usually carried out depending on the activities carried out by congregations of the Hizib NW congregation as an invitation to religious activities. In addition to non-formal education, the Hamzanwadi da'wah movement, the most important and foremost in strengthening faith and Islamic identity among Hizib NW congregations, is carried out through formal education. Hamzanwadi established religious schools and public schools as the primary means of reforming the people of Lombok. The existence of NW schools in Lombok confirms that the Hizib NW congregation is also developing there. It is the basic framework for the development and sustainability of the Tarekat Hizib NW among the people of Lombok.

The development of formal educational institutions based on religion and general knowledge from elementary school to tertiary education in Pancor, in addition to making the city of Selong East Lombok the centre of Islamic education activity or "the city of Islamic students," has also positioned Hamzanwadi as a respected murshid of the Tarekat Hizib NW and has a vast influence in Lombok society. Thus, the field of education has become the primary basis for Hamzanwadi's struggle in Lombok to strengthen the identity and legitimacy of the Tarekat Hizib NW. It means that the goal of establishing an ideal Hizib NW congregation's identity can also be interpreted as a strategic step for Hamzanawdi to preserve the legitimacy and status quo as the dominant elite in the Hizib NW Tarekat movement. This kind of strategy model is in line with Bourdieu's view, in which it is the culture of the dominant group that controls the economic, social, and political resources that are "manifested" in schools and "this manifestation works as a reproductive strategy for the dominant group" (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991).

The second is the political route. When the condition of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia was no longer in the era of the independence revolution, Hamzanawdi began to engage in politics in Lombok. Politics is in the sense of being involved in government institutions and political parties. His political career during this period began when he was appointed to the Consulate of NU Sunda Kecil in 1950.





Subsequently, when NU and other Islamic community organizations joined the Indonesian Shura Muslimin Council (Masyumi) Party in West Nusa Tenggara, Hamzanawdi was later appointed as chairman of the Agency and Masyumi Party advisor for the Lombok area in 1952 (Noor et al., 2014). From 1953 to 1955, Hamzanwadi determined that he and his NW organization followed a "free politics" policy. It means that Hamzanwadi and the NW organization did not affiliate with any political party power. It was demonstrated by approving the formation of the Nahdlatul Ulama Party, the Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association (PERTI), and the Indonesian Sarekat Islam Party (PSII) in Lombok in 1953-1954. However, Hamzanwadi in 1955 and the NW organization chose to affiliate with the Masyumi party. Furthermore, he was appointed as a member of the Constituent Assembly for the period 1955-1959 due to the first general elections in 1955 (Fahrurrozi, 2015).

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 firmly. It departed from the argument that Parmusi was duplicating of the Masyumi party. However, in subsequent developments, Hamzanwadi and NW followers could not play an active role because NW aspirations were not accommodated as an Islamic community organization with the most extensive constituency base in Lombok (Noor, Habib, and Zuhdi 2014). Furthermore, after being inactive in Parmusi, Hamzanwadi and NW congregation changed their political direction by affiliating with the Joint Secretariat of the Working Group (Sekber-Golkar), i.e., an organization formed on the idea of General Abdul Haris Nasution. This support was based on political considerations that the Golkar Secretariat continued the New Order's success in quelling the G30/S PKI incident. This success has ideologically and culturally negated Hamzanwadi's political stance. However, this stance can benefit Muslims, especially for the aspirations of NW followers and members of the Hizib NW congregation. The aspirations are more accommodated than other political parties (Fahrurrozi, 2015).

In the 1980s period, during the 1982 general elections, the political affiliation of the NW, in this case, the congregation of the Tarekat Hizib NW, was silent. At this time, Hamzanwadi took a political stance of silence or the Movement of Shut Up (GTM), meaning that none told the NW community to vote for Golkar in this election. At that time, many members of the Tarekat Hizib NW experienced a dilemma, especially those who were civil servants (PNS). The New Order government threatened that the civil servants who followed the political stance of the murshid from the Tarekat Hizib NW would transfer them to other regions. Hizib NW congregations, especially civil servants, experience a dilemma between being obedient to the murshid of the Tarekat Hizib NW or considering





the threat of the New Order government. Not a few congregations of the Hizib NW Congregation decided to have different political choices with Tuan Guru. In other words, many of the Hizib NW congregations chose to break their pledge of allegiance to obey murshids to avoid threats from the New Order government. However, few members of the Hizib NW congregation adhere to their promise of loyalty and fully follow TGKH M. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid's political stance (Ziadi, 2018a).

The political strategy of silence that Hamzanwadi had chosen was generally considered successful and influenced the erosion of the Golkar vote in Lombok. In the 1982 elections, Golkar had to take a bitter pill and suffered a crushing defeat in Lombok. Starting from Hamzanwadi's stance, Golkar rethinks to accommodate Hamzanwadi's political affiliation and make a political contract by providing more parliament portions. Tuan Guru's political affiliation returned to Golkar in the next general election. The map of political change for the Hizib NW congregation in Lombok has significantly changed since Hamzanwadi's death in 1997. Some of the Hizib NW congregations are consistent with the Golkar party, and are affiliated with new parties formed during the reform period. It is because the internal conditions of the NW after the death of its founder occurred between the two daughters of Hamzanwadi, Hajjah Rauhun (eldest daughter) and Hajjah Raehanun (youngest daughter) (Ziadi, 2018b). Since the internal division within the NW organization, practically the political attitude of the NW congregation was not well consolidated.

If associated with the position of an ulama or murshid as a religious leader and his role in practical politics, Hamzanwadi is an integrated murshid, i.e., a scholar who positions religion and politics so closely or a scholar who integrate spiritual power with political power (Mu'min, 2014). Suprayogo (Suprayogo, 1999) termed the intelligent choice political ulama or Kyai who cares about political affairs and power. In this context, scholars or Kyai in this category implicitly include adaptive Kyai who are willing to adjust to the government and Kyai who take a critical partner position with the authorities. Not surprisingly, Hamzanwadi, in addition to having a helpful attitude toward the policies of the New Order government in power, was also shown by his courage to oppose the New Order government.

Third, there is the ritual path for reading the Tarekat Hizib NW. This ceremonial ritual is widely known as the Hiziban among congregations of the Tarekat NW. In agrarian groups of society, rituals are often an essential part of how these groups express and respond to the world around them to maintain social relations in society. In this context, most of the people of Lombok are still relatively traditional. So the implementation of ritual traditions in their lives is still very dense, covering almost all dimensions of their lives, not only in religious activities but also in social, economic, and political activities. The presence







of Hamzanwadi as a murshid of the Tarekat Hizib NW, known for his reputation and charisma among NW congregations and the Hizib NW congregation, is a matter of pride for the community. Thus, the actualization of Hamzanwadi's role as the carrier of Islamic missionary in being a charismatic, influential, and powerful, both political and symbolic spiritual teacher through this da'wah is preserved. According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1977), symbolic power can dominate disadvantaged groups and shape facts accepted as accurate by stating them. The exercise of this power is called symbolic violence. Another ceremonial activity carried out by Hamzanwadi as a source of legitimacy and at the same time strengthening the identity of the Hizib NW congregation and the NW organization is to carry out the anniversary of the NW organization on a large scale every year. This kind of strategy model has been implemented by Hamzanwadi in Lombok since its inception until now. In addition to being attended by abituren (a term for students who go to Pancor directly), participants and sympathizers from representatives of NW branches spread throughout Indonesia. The abituren is also accompanied by high-ranking central and regional officials and famous religious scholars from Egypt and Saudi Arabia, as a friend of the founder of this organization. Primary forms of activity held in each of these celebrations have the dimensions of entertainment and education, such as sports and art competitions, allegorical parades, Musabaqah Tilawatil Qur'an (MTQ) competitions. In addition, the main activity is the implementation of the grand recitation by all the participants, led directly by Hamzanwadi as murshid of the Tarekat Hizib NW, the owner and the leading coach of the NW organization (Kumbara, 2008). The reading of Hizib NW and the famous slogan of the NW organization, i.e., "The most important is NW, the root is NW, Iman, and Taqwa" continues to be reproduced and echoed. The celebration of the NW organization anniversary becomes a bridge and a hope that preserving the loyalty of the Hizib NW congregation toward Islamic teachings, scholars, and NW organizations can be maintained.

The nonstop legitimacy and reproduction of information and public image on the teachings of Islam, the scholars, and the NW to the audience constructed the dominant ideology of the Hizib NW congregation as support for material and cultural interests to support their claims. Dominant ideology through symbolic forms is also used by Hamzanwadi as the owner of power to "build and preserve their domination relations" through symbolic, economic, and cultural capitals. These symbols are exchanged. Agents often use language as a primary strategy to gain prestige or interests, or power, as Hamzanwadi did in every NW celebration and Hizib NW congregation and their routine reading activities of Hizib NW. The main strength of the persistence of the authority and





influence of the traditional aristocrats in the social stratification system in Lombok is very much dependent on the continuation of adat (custom, accepted practice; local customary law of Islamic tradition in Indonesia or the traditional law of Indonesia), which supports the stratified system.

Conversely, if adat as a supporter of the stratification system is no longer recognized or abandoned by the community, then the significance of their influence and authority will fade. Realizing the potential for these changes to maintain their aristocratic existence, the Sasak aristocrats took strategic steps by manipulating the potential for custom, culture, and politics as a source of legitimacy (Kumbara, 2008). Thus, the use and manipulation of symbols of religion, custom, and ethnicity as a means of power and a source of legitimacy, as Hamzanwadi's tendency shows that through religious institutions, language and even education are often used as sufficient assets to gain legitimacy and support from the masses, as well as strengthening hegemonic power in a community.

## CONCLUSIONS

This research proves that the development of congregations of tarekat in Lombok, the formation of the Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan order, and the construction strategy for the identity of adherents of the Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan orders have shaped the socio-religious life of the people of Lombok. For NW congregations, the Tarekat Hizib NW is a social and cultural identity in Lombok's religious life dynamics. The NW congregation in an NW organization will not be perfect if they do not join the Tarekat Hizib NW. In the Tarekat Hizib NW, there are dhikr, murshid and students, bai'at and ijazah, and dhikr activities in groups individually, and there are genealogies. These processes become the bridge for the NW congregation to construct their spiritual life. Through the Tarekat Hizib NW, the critical role and position of the NW congregation in social, cultural, and political life is visible from three main lines. Hamzanwadi used these three main routes as the founder of the Tarekat Hizib NW in Lombok. He builds identity and legitimacy by constructing the identity of NW congregations who are members of the Tarekat Hizib NW, i.e., the education (formal and non-formal), political, and ceremonial rituals (reading of the Hizib NW Tarekat).

The development of social, cultural, and political life since the reform era and regional autonomy increasingly emphasizes the negative impact of globalization as an external force on the values and behaviour of the people of Lombok, especially in spiritual-religious life. Then, this impacts the growth and development of new awareness among the congregation of Hizib NW and NW leaders about the need to have "self-identity" as a





symbol of group pride. The long history of the NW organization and the congregation of the Hizib NW congregation from 1966 to 1998 has provided a new awareness as an internal force to redefine, revitalize, and construct the ideal identity of Lombok people as a manifestation of cultural and social strategies and adaptation. This outstanding identity construction expects to fulfil practical and ideological functions and be a bridge for the growth and development of patterns of Lombok people's behaviour in social life. It can also be a spirit, a source of information, motivation, and an instrument of integration among the people of Lombok in adapting to the forces of external change. In addition to fulfilling collective goals, the strategy developed by Hamzanwadi during his time as a murshid of the Tarekat Hizib NW was inseparable from the interests of power achieved.

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