Typology Of Majlis Ta’lim Discourse

TYPOLOGY OF MAJLIS TA’LIM DISCOURSE; An Overview Towards Religious Discourse Constellation in Jember Regency

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ABSTRACT

Majlis ta’lim is a necessity for the development of the reality of religious populism today. This type of religious group is a forum for the socio-political cultural structuring of today’s society. So that these religious groups have a role in constructing the social life of the community. In this context, the majlis ta’lim is deemed to have an interest in producing its discourse. Of course, everyone has understood that the religious discourse of religious assemblies (majlis) has a strong influence on the order of social life. The last fact was found that today’s religious assemblies (majlis) tend to contest, especially in the world of politics. On such problems, this research is important to do. The important issue that must be studied is how the awareness and religious views of the majlis ta’lim in seeing the various religious discourses that have existed so far that have been there? And how is the typology of discourse developed in response to it? Through a qualitative approach in the intentionality or Franz Brentano model of action qualitative approach, the research problem is trying to be studied. The result is an important picture of discourse production developed by this majlis. The conclusion is that the discourse production developed by this majlis has two different and contradictory typologies. The difference is the attitudes and religious values developed in religious discourse.

Keywords: religious, discourse, production, religious populism

INTRODUCTION

On August 3, 2018, all local Jember media reported about hundreds of residents calling themselves the National Hat (Reject the Colonization of the Ideology of the Nation) demonstrating to reject the existence of the Dirosah Islamiyah High School (STDI) Jember. The reason for the refusal was because STDI is an Islamic institution that makes other Islamic groups restless. One of the coordinators of the Action, Gus Baiquni, stated that STDI should be frozen because STDI figures in one of his lectures accused Kyai of being the same as shamans, and STDI is an organization that easily converts and converts other groups. This case is an old case, which has received serious attention from the government and MUI. At least according to the chairman of the Jember MUI, KH. Abdul Halim Soebahar many other serious cases continue to color the religious conflict in Jember, there are five cases of religious conflict that are quite prominent in Jember, namely; the conflict of the Qodriyatul Qosmiya school, the Rabbani Islamic Boarding School, the Indonesian Islamic Da’wah Institute (LDII), the Dirosah Islamiyah High School (STDI) Imam Syafii and the Shia Conflict. This of course happens because of religious populism which tends to contradict each other in producing discourse.

Especially when the momentum for the presidential election, legislative elections, and no less important are the events of the 212 movements, Habib Rieziq Syihab, and the disbandment of HTI. These events influenced various religious assemblies to be louder in conveying their religious and political views, not even a few were found with blasphemy, hate speech against other groups, and the dissolution of the assembly of other groups. The phenomenon in the form of mass movements to demand the dissolution and termination of certain organizations or institutions and da’wah is a phenomenon that is currently a trend. Of course, there are many analyzes to look at the phenomenon of conflict in the name of religion, especially conflicts among internal Muslims after the New Order or during the reformation period, namely; first, the
reform era was marked by the presence of space for freedom of expression and association, which would not be found in the New Order era. This freedom of expression spreads to various aspects, including the freedom to express religious beliefs. This freedom also results in clashes with other religious beliefs, which in the end creates unwanted friction, namely conflict, and violence in the name of religion. This means that the community is not able to manage its religious social life.

Second, the reform era is an era that seems to weaken the state’s position in the context of realizing security. During the New Order era, the power of the State with its military apparatus had succeeded in suppressing freedom of expression, including freedom of religion which gave rise to conflict. During the Reformation period, efforts to re-strengthen military power became an impossibility, because it would clash with the spirit of reform, namely providing space for freedom. Third, is the need to understand history. The issue of the success of the New Order in reducing conflict with the military was not a real success, because once the power of the New Order fell, the spirit of religious freedom was re-opened. Religious freedom that gave birth to conflict is a legacy of the new order with evidence that the jihadist pioneered by figures, such as Abu Bakar Bashir, has historical ties to the new order. Meanwhile, groups of amar-ma'rif munkar fighters who often carry out sweeping activities were allegedly formed by the military, which has historical roots as well as the power of the New Order. In one analysis, it was stated that the emergence of massive social movements was a delayed social response during the new order’s authoritarian political system (Appleby & Marty, 1991).

In the context of this freedom of expression and opinion, several religious groups have emerged using various council media, one of which is the majlis ta’lim (knowledge), to convey religious views and understanding to the wider community. This open forum is more widespread when supported by social media so that all parties can know the content of the lecture delivered. The only thing that is a serious problem is that the content of the study does not infrequently contain expressions of hatred, insults, and infidelity toward other groups. There are at least two models of events in development today, although the form of its activities is packed with a variety of events. For the developers of the council of knowledge, it is seen that Islam only uses the council to convey religious knowledge and not for dhikr, let alone dhikr together, such as sholawat and dhikr ala Thoriqoh. As for the dhikr ceremony, it is seen that the ceremony is used to convey knowledge and dhikr at the same time.

Majlis science is developing intensely recently. An interesting problem in this context is that so far, those who have been very open in voicing, criticizing the development of religious thought and discourse, and even committing disbelief towards other groups are those who are involved in the scientific council. The contradiction between the majlis ta’lim if photographed from the historical-sociological aspect is a process of contestation or struggle to fill the public. Pierre Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1990) for example sees every social institution involved in the conflict as a contestation. The contest in question is a competition for something or to control something. For him, each individual or group will face three important things, namely; habitat, capital, and arena. Habitat is the values, and norms that are lived by each individual because of the formation of a particular society or community. While capital is social capital where every individual can survive. Social capital can include intellectual capital, economic capital, cultural capital, etc. This capital can be achieved if it has the right habitat in its life. And the last is the arena. The arena is a limited space that exists in society. If you want to get that space, each individual must have sufficient habitus and capital. In the territory of this arena, contestations took place (Bourdieu, 1990).

Seeing the phenomenon of contradictions and conflicts between the scientific councils, what Bourdieu analyzed is also reminiscent of Geertz’s analysis (Geertz, 1983) in looking at the conflicts between santri groups in Indonesia in the 1950s. Geertz divides the religious variants of
the Indonesian people by stating that the Indonesian population is nominally Muslim, but is divided into three variants; santri, abangan and priyayi. Santri (Islamic boarding school students) are rural Muslims who are relatively strict in carrying out Shari’a, while abangan (middle-class society) embrace syncretic beliefs and carry out certain rituals. However, Geertz observes that one can play the role of a santri on one occasion and an abangan on another. While the priyayi (upper-class society) are the same community as the abangan but are limited to the urban elite.

In subsequent developments, these three variants were institutionalized in large political parties that were quite influential, namely Masjumi, NU, PKI, and PNI. The santri are divided into two groups, the urban santri group is a group that is influenced by modern thinking which tends to be inconsistent with the rural santri, especially regarding the syncretic practice and traditional santri worship. The struggle between rural santri and urban santri on the one hand and the struggle between santri and abangan occurred after Indonesia’s independence so the abangan group took an anti-Islamic attitude and was more affiliated with the left and nationality. This group later became the PKI and PNI (Geertz, 1983). It’s just that in Martin van Bruinessen’s view (Van Bruinessen, 1995) the purge of the PKI at the beginning of the new order, made the intensity of religious debates and conflicts have decreased quite dramatically. The abangan, to avoid being sentenced to Communists, were forced to follow one of the official religions (Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism). The New Order was not only able to stop the abangan movement but was also able to silence the political and religious movements of the santri.

After the fall of the New Order in 1998, the political potential of the santri could no longer be contained, several rural and urban santri groups competed to establish a political party, and religious shouts that had been suppressed for so long began to emerge again. Conflicts between urban and rural students by questioning old issues, such as the rejection of urban students against the worship of village students, such as tablīl, sholawat, etc. began to echo again. Conflicts between urban santri and abangan are increasingly absent. Several city santri political parties, such as PKS, and PAN, have been very hard on PDIP and other Nationalist parties. Based on some of the explanations above, it is then important to conduct this research study. Significant things that need to be studied about how this group makes discourse and such as typology. These two sub-studies then provide the basis for the author taking the typological theme of religious discourse at the majlis ta’lim.

METHOD

The method used to examine the issue of the views of the scientific council group is using a qualitative approach. Research with qualitative methods is very suitable for this study, especially those related to efforts to explore religious experiences. Meaningful personal experiences and trying to describe individual human experiences are only possible if examined through a qualitative approach. This approach emphasizes efforts to manage philosophical and theoretical meaning and efforts to achieve objectivity of meaning and value contained in the object of research.

In contemporary social psychology, the desire to investigate experience in detail will use a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach to experience will use the intentionality or action approach of Franz Brentano’s model, which was later used by Edmund Husserl with phenomenology as the epistemological basis, and used by William James in explaining consciousness. Before Brentano, the approach to experience always used the method used by physical science (positivism), which tried to reveal precisely the relationship between the external world and the inner world. This method gave birth to experimental psychology, which intends to reveal the laws that relate the physical nature of an external stimulus to the internal experience of the sensation produced (Smith, 2009). But for Brentano, that experience is not enough just to be
seen from a static segment of experience, but an experience is an act that is realized as a process. Experience is not the result of introspection, but an action.

This Brentano thought, inspired James’ thoughts on consciousness. For James, the question of consciousness can be explained by the term self “self”. Self is divided into two, namely self as an object of thought (self-concept) or Me and self-aware as self-concept or I. James’s division in such a way about self intends to explain that experience is not solely caused by the external world or external reality but from the very beginning. self has always questioned and experienced, as James said “is someone who asks about God always in touch with external reality?” (Smith, 2009).

Based on the thought of the phenomenological epistemic methods above, specifically in this study using the AFI approach (Phenomenological Analysis of Interpretation). The AFI approach will be used starting from determining participants or informants, and data collection techniques to data analysis. AFI as proposed by Jonathan A. Smith and Mike Osborn (Smith, 2009) is used as an approach to reveal in detail how participants interpret their personal and social world. The main goal of AFI is the meaning of various experiences, events, and statuses held by participants. This approach is phenomenological, which involves a detailed examination of the living world. This approach seeks to explore personal experiences and emphasizes the perception or personal opinion of an individual about objects or events. Because AFI is an activity to interpret the personal world, it requires an activity to interpret.

Of course, the informants in this study were the figures or scholars who became role models or clerics in the dhikr or science conferences in the horseshoe area. The research subjects were determined using the purposive, ie the research subjects were determined based on the research objectives. Therefore, the research subject is limited to figures, clerics, or scholars of remembrance councils who have been involved in the spiritual, and mystical world and have congregations, as well as scientific councils that have congregations and provide regular recitations to their congregations and so forth who of course openly want to tell stories and open religious views in depth.

While the process of collecting data in this study through various ways, namely; first, personal documents. This method is used to study a person’s inner experience by collecting personal notes, or in the form of a list of questions posed to informants. The free answers given by the respondents made it possible to convey the deepest impressions. Second, in-depth interviews by inviting informants to reflect on their interpretation of religious experiences. This method is needed to get more and more in-depth information, and possibly be able to read a person’s facial expressions to avoid possible lies. Third, Observation to explore related portraits of figures, ulama, ustaz of the dhikr assembly, and the Jember science council with all their intellectual activities and religious practice to obtain a description of the epistemic-sociological context, in the religious views they convey.

And most importantly this study also uses methods to analyze data. The data analysis method is needed for theoretical construction and to systematize the results of research in the field regarding the religious views of the scholars of the dhikr and science councils of Jember, so the following analytical methods are used: first, discourse analysis, which is to analyze and reflect on all religious views and thoughts conveyed by the scholars of the scientific council. and the majlis dhikr of the horseshoe area to look for relationships between concepts to develop a theoretical construction. Second, the results of theoretical construction, then developed with verstehen analysis, namely the analysis process at the symbolic analysis stage to capture the content of thoughts, and interpretation, namely capturing the meaning of concepts and describing them systematically. Third, Hermeneutics is interpreting, revealing, and analyzing all the essential-substantial meanings that are revealed in every thought. The hermeneutic method is quite
important to be used in this research because it wants to reveal and analyze all the essential meanings in its context. Efforts to express and analyze the meaning of each religious thought.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Theoretical Construction of Religious Assembly Discourse

The study categorizes two majlis (assemblies) which are quite different and contradictory. The term majlis of science refers to the development of groups that thrived after the fall of the new order. This group seems different from mainstream Muslim groups in Indonesia, which are known as moderate and tolerant Muslims. The congregation of the scientific assembly is characterized by wearing white koko shirts, turbans, maintaining beards, black foreheads, cingkrang pants (pants above the ankles) and often shouting Allahu Akbar. The activities of the scientific council can be found in various recitation forums and can be seen on various social media (Youtube). If it is observed in his lectures, this majlis is organizationally affiliated to organizational groups which are said to have transnational networks with Salafi, Wahhabi, and Muslim Brotherhood groups.

Many researchers who are serious enough to study the development of Islam in Indonesia are always associated with the development of religious groups. The most phenomenal work is the result of Geertz’s research (Geertz, 1983) which photographed the development of Islam in Indonesia, one of his serious studies was photographing the struggle of santri and abangan, urban santri and rural santri. Another interesting study is Bruinessen’s writing (Van Bruinessen, 1995) on the development of thoriqoh in Indonesia. He explained that thoriqoh had a big enough contribution to make the santri of the abangan community in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the term related to discourse refers to Pierre Bourdieu’s view that every individual or community will always experience a struggle between fellow individuals in the community, or a struggle between the community and other communities in the wider community space. The fight will always happen because social space is very limited. The contest is to fight over many things, such as existence, intellectual, economic, and cultural (Bourdieu, 1990).

Because conflicts always occur between one community and another, which is illustrated through the majlis or educational institutions they have in Jember, Pierre Bourdieu’s analysis is very appropriate to use. Bourdieu sees every social institution involved in the conflict as a contestation. The contest in question is a competition for something or to control something (Bourdieu, 1990). For him, every individual or group will face three important things, namely; habitus, capital, and arena. Habit is value, and norms that are lived by each individual because of the formation of a particular society or community. While capital is social capital where every individual can survive. Social capital can include intellectual capital, economic capital, cultural capital, etc. This capital can be achieved if you have the right habit in your life. And the last is the arena. The arena is a limited space that exists in society. If you want to get that space, each individual must have sufficient habit and capital and in this arena, contestation occurs (Bourdieu, 1990).

Another keyword is discourse analysis. To analyze the discourse produced by the scientific council in the context of religious issues is Michael Foucault’s analysis because it was Foucault who introduced discourse analysis. This French philosopher criticized universalism by emphasizing that humans know something and even “becoming” (in the sense of existentialism) is not because he thinks rationally (as Descartes said) but because of “language”. So why can a thought expressed through language be accepted by many people, even though the language does not convey a universal meaning? Foucault asserts that a thought can be accepted or rejected depending on the power relations in the society concerned. In fact, for Foucault, knowledge is synonymous with power. Power for him is not centralized but spreads everywhere. Furthermore,
power lies not even in the human subject, but in the language itself. An idea that has been published is independent of its author. Therefore, it is not surprising that a thought has a continuous (power) influence even though the thinker is gone (Lechte, 2001).

Foucault’s understanding of discourse is different from the use of the word “discourse” which we often hear. For example, an official said, “That’s just talking.” What the official meant was an opinion that is still being debated. Meanwhile, Foucault’s discourse contains at least two things. First, discourse is a group of statements, not just one or two statements. For example, fear of the “threat of Christianity” is a Muslim discourse that contains statements regarding the prohibition of broadcasting to people who are already religious, the prohibition of interfaith marriages, religious education by teachers of the same religion, and so on. Second, the collection of statements is formed through a certain formation system. The statement that the person is “crazy”, for example, is a discourse that develops in the formation of psychiatry. Likewise, statements about the “deviance” or “not heresy” of a sect in Islam are statements born from certain Islamic theological formation systems (Lechte, 2001).

Furthermore, the battle of relations between discourse and counter-discourse is also very important to observe because discourse does not stand alone but grows and develops in the context of power relations. A discourse can disappear and then reappear, or be suppressed and repressed at one time and rise again at a later time. Discourse can also be changed and provided because of the demands of power relations at the time the discourse is raised. Therefore, sometimes what is not said or what is implied is more important than what is said or stated.

Because Foucault’s discourse does not stand alone but grows in power relations, discourse is not just empty statements without real effects, but manifests in practices in society. The extent to which discourse becomes a reality in practice certainly depends on the existing power relations. The discourse of fear of the threat of Christianization, for example, has not only given rise to various government regulations, but also physical actions in the field. Several cases of church closures by the community that has occurred so far are a tangible manifestation of this discourse in practice.

Majlis Ta’lim Variety in Jember
Throughout the author’s search, there were several remembrance majlis whose activities until this writing was still detected. As such matters are as follows:

1. Al Kaff Majlis Ta’lim of Jember
   The ceremony was held at Masjid Al Kaff Jl. Kenanga, Gebang Jember. The council was built by Al Habib Nizar bin Husni Al Aydrus. The name Al Kaff is attributed to the ancestor of the bahaih of the early founder of this Council. Its first founder was Habib Ahmad bin Hamid Al-Kaff. Hamid Al Kaff himself is one of the scholars of Hadramaut. After returning from there, Habib Ahmad Al-Kaff married Syarifah Aminah Binti Salim Al-Kaff. Although he is not even 20 years old, he is already known as a scholar who lives a life of asceticism and a missionary who opened the majlis ta’lim.
   Two of his students, Habib Alwi bin Ahmad Bahnin and Habib Sheikhan Al-Gathmir later also became known as scholars and preachers. Majlis Ta’lim Al Kaff itself is in the field of developing religious teachings sourced from the books of Ahlusunnah wal Jama’ab. Especially those that come from the teachings of the prophet. Some of the books that are used as references are Riyadus Sholihin and Qutuful Falibin. These two books are regularly reviewed in several meetings.

2. Mutaqo Aswaja Majlis Ta’lim of Jember
   Majlis ta’lim is affiliated with a network of defenders of ulama’ throughout Indonesia. One of the leaders of this majlis was named Abu Amri. This majlis consists of several Islamic boarding school kyai and religious leaders from the ta’lim council in Jember. All members of
this majlis have strong ties in the struggle to enforce kaffah. Some majlis studies on average examine the discrimination of ulama and international Islamic issues. His study connects the spirit of upholding the teachings of Islam. So that this majlis always raises the latest issues to be studied from a purely Islamic perspective. His teachings, for example, the caliphate and defending the ulama.

There are several pesantren that are included in the majlis in the city. Most of them have religious struggle ties. Some of these pesantren include the Bahrun Ulum Tanggul Islamic Boarding School, Al Fatah Mumbulsari, and many others. In addition to involving several Islamic boarding schools, several scientific meetings are held, often in collaboration with several other institutions. Some of the institutions include MT Hubbun Al Quran Jember, which is nurtured by Kyai Ahmadi, MT Afiwajas Jember, nurtured by Kyai Abrurrahim, and LBH Pelita Ummah led by Ahmad Khozinudin. Not only collaborating with several institutions but often in several educational activities that are held, inviting professionals as well. For example, in teaching about issues of religious radicalism, this assembly brings in communication experts to analyze developing issues. The invited experts such as Dr. Kun Wazis, S.Sos, Si. Kom is an expert lecturer on issues and communication at one of the Islamic state universities in Jember.

3. MATABACA Majlis Ta’lim of Jember

MATABACA is a special majlis ta’lim for rickshaw brothers. This majlis stands under the auspices of the Nurul Hidayat Foundation (NH). NH Foundation itself on its website is described as an institution belonging to the ummah. That is an institution that is trusted by the community because it prioritizes transparency and accountability in the management of public trust funds. While an independent institution means that the rights of its management as amil (employee salaries) do not take zakat funds and alms from the community. We try to meet the salaries of employees independently from the results of the foundation’s efforts. The NH Foundation has a vision of serving God by building the ummah. Its mission is to spread benefits and empowerment in the fields of Da’wah, Social, Health, Education, and Economics. The motto developed is cool for all, meaning, a determination that wherever Nurul Hayat is located, he must always bring coolness to his surroundings. Cool for All is also an affirmation that NH is organizationally not affiliated with a certain understanding or group so it is hoped that Nurul Hayat can be accepted and provide benefits to any group and anywhere.

4. RDS Majlis Ta’lim of Jember

This majlis ta’lim came from a pesantren that was fostered by KH Misbahus Salam. The Islamic boarding school is called Rudlah Darus Salam. Located in Sukorejo Bangsalsari Jember. The Majlis Ta’lim which he fostered held recitations that focused on the development of religious education and community development. So that the activities held are not limited to book recitation, but also community development programs. Misbahus Salam himself is the chairman of the Darus Salam Center (DSC) Education and Peace Institute. DSC itself is engaged in the field of Al-amna wa shulhu or peace and tranquility. Until it is so in the construction and expansion of society. No wonder then the council is often invited to cooperate by the government in community building.

The recitation he held was the same as the other pesantren-style majlis ta’lim. For example, it also learned about the books of Islamic boarding schools, especially fiqh experts sunnah. The most frequently studied majlis is zakat. This knowledge is then developed as the main tool for the welfare of society. Because of its commitment, the RDS assembly was invited to work together by Bazna to optimize zakat distribution. The climax was when this assembly developed the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) Village program.

Typology of Majlis Ta’lim Discourse in Jember
There are many teaching councils found in some areas, but there are only a few that may be studied in this study. From the religious council that ta’lim seems to be able to be classified into several important groups in this study. The calibration is based on a variety of congregational and council leaders’ responses to evolving issues. Some ceremonies respond to the discourse with concern as the dhikr ceremonies discussed above. Apart from that, there is also a council of concern over the lack of solidarity of the ummah in practicing the religion.

The first type can be referred to as the “moderate religious national” type of majlis ta’lim. Because although their responses tend to disagree on the polemics of the religious community, they agree on the discourse of Islam as the spirit of integration of religion and the state in social life. They tend to love the consensus of the state and put aside fundamentalism in the nominal dimension of their religious teachings. They better understand religion in its substantial aspects. This means that it emphasizes the aspect of the universality of religion as the main in managing a harmonious life without conflicting religious discourses and the inevitability of the heterogeneity of the archipelago.

The second type can be referred to as the type of National Religious Fundamental majlis ta’lim. This type of assembly is only concerned with the discourse of religious polemics, which is an indication of the disintegration of Muslim solidarity in practicing religious teachings in Indonesia. They argue that they love Indonesia and also love their religion. They want Indonesia to use Islamic teachings as a national consensus, to improve the country for the better. In general, this type of assembly is close to the direction of Radical Islam discourse. To describe simply before the discussion is broad, think that the researcher will only describe the conclusion first. In all of the studies in this discussion, it seems that these two types of majlis ta’lim are equally concerned about responding to current religious polemic discourses. However, their kind of concern was very different. For more details, see the figure below.

Figure 4.1. The Framework of Current Religious Discourse on Majlis Ilmu Perspective

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The conclusion of the simple description above is the result of the explanation of observations in this study of several majlis ta'lim that were used as sites in this study. Two groups of remembrance majlis fundamentally have similarities and also differences in responding to religious discourse that is developing at this time. As described above, the similarity lies in the stimulus-response that appears to exist in the two existing types of majlis ta'lim. The two majlis groups are equally concerned about the current polemic of discourse.

The first type of majlis ta'lim is generally driven by ulama and Islamic boarding school teachers who believe that Islam is the most tolerant religion in understanding differences. Those who drive on average are kyai and santri of Islamic boarding schools who strengthen Islamic teachings as teachings full of grace as understood by NU organizations. Some of these groups include the majlis ta'lim of the Great Mosque of Baitul Amin, MATABACA (Abang Becak Taklim Assembly), Al Kaff, and Majlis Ta'lim RDS (Raudlah Darus Salam).

The ta'lim council of Baitul Amin Jember is the ta'lim council that manages the majority of the Nahdlatul Ulama’. Of course, the perspective built in response to this religious discourse is a perspective that is almost in line with the Nusantara Islam discourse developed by the largest Islamic organization. As is well understood, this mass organization seeks to implement Islamic teachings so that they can be well absorbed for the benefit of the heterogeneity of the Indonesian people (Sahal & Aziz, 2015).

Muh. Syamsul Arifin, one of the organizers, explained that the direction of the assembly’s understanding was Nusantara Islam. However, certain things make the majlis so worried about the Nusantara Islam discourse that it has developed. It says:

> We agree on Islam Nusantara as a good way of practicing Islam. However, it does not mean that the slogan of Islam Nusantara is good to be a polemic of political discourse on religion. We still disagree. Because Islam Nusantara is not a fundamental Islamic understanding that can be used as a religious dispute. We also confirm that the teachings of Islam are good and must be practiced in life. But yes, we also understand that Islam is not a siah legal authority on the plurality of this nation. We are certainly worried if people understand Islam Nusantara as a means of conflict among Muslims.

Based on the above, it is clear that this majlis is certainly very concerned about the current religious discourse. Everyone fights in defending their respective religious discourses. Although he agreed with the discourse of Islam Nusantara, he did not agree with a group of people who were fighting based on the Islamic slogan of the Archipelago. Because according to this assembly, Islam is not understood as a tool for social conflict.

Islam Nusantara wants to include social relations, not to cause social rift or disintegration (Sahal & Aziz, 2015). This is also as explained by Habib Nizar bin Husni Alaydrus, resource person for the regular Al Kaff Jember recitation. He said that Islam is not a tool of conflict among its people. Even though Islam Nusantara is right, according to him, it will be wrong if it then causes excessive emotions in groups or at another majlis. According to the view of Islamic discourse, whatever its form, it would be wrong to form behavior that hates fellow human beings, especially fellow Muslims.

For him, Islam should not make other people angry and hate each other. Islam should be a discourse on the morality of the nation, not a tool for conflict between groups. Islam should be a peacemaker for emotions that exploded due to political disputes. According to him, if Islamic discourse is present as an emotional tool, whatever discourse is developed, it will still be wrong. That is what he said because it contradicts the sunnah of the prophet. According to him, the Prophet SAW did not teach emotions and fight with fellow humans.

The type of majlis ta’lim in this first group seems to strengthen the value of the universality of Islam. So his view on the discourse disputes that are developing at this time is almost in line with
the understanding of the dhikr assembly that has been discussed previously. His concerns are the same as the Al Ghofilin majlis and the Qodiriyah Order of Kyai Muzakki’s leadership. Either this similarity is due to the ideological factor of the organization or it is present because of the natural understanding of their religion. Whatever the reason, the perspectives constructed are not substantially different.

Such an understanding then gave birth to awareness to avoid the polemics of religious conflicts that occurred. Some of the majlis of the first type seems to not want their congregations to participate in the religious discourse disputes that are developing at this time as a tool for political disputes. Several times it was explained by several teachers in the majli ta’lim to live in harmony in religion. The majority warned them not to get involved in group disputes in the name of Islam as a means of conflict. One of the things that vigorously fortifies its congregation from incitement to religious conflict in politics is the Baitul Amin assembly. As a majlis whose existence was born from the Jami’ mosque in Jember district, this majlis seems to have a high sense of responsibility for religious life in this area.

Some of the recitations conducted were directed at tackling the congregation so that it would not be dissolved in horizontal religious-political disputes. Several studies often have the theme of religious harmony. This was stated by several congregations who were oriented to stem radicalism and religious fundamentalism which were seen as the seeds of a socio-political religious conflict tool. Such an understanding certainly indicates that the assembly has religious knowledge with a mutualistic paradigm. Or in other languages called the symbolic paradigm (Sjadzali, 1990). This paradigm implements the universality of Islam as a moral order in state life. This means seeking the teachings of Islam to be a blessing in the life of the state. In avoiding the growing polemic of religious discourse, several majlis carry out various activities to prevent the public from focusing on the religious disputes that occur. The activities that are held encourage the congregation to eliminate the power of discourse that has the potential to divide them. These activities are usually not at all related to the growing polemic of discourse.

One that is creatively held is for example the entrepreneurship event at the ta’lim council. One of these activities was held by MATABACA. The Majlis, which has its head office in Surabaya, is also very worried about the current religious discourse. That’s why the congregation is encouraged not to bother and dissolve in it. One way, of course, is to seek a new focus of implementation in religion, namely to develop an awareness of community economic development. Muh. Syukron, one of the ustaz of this majlis who comes from the Darus Sholah Islamic Boarding School Jember, explained that entrepreneurship is one way to develop a forum for the struggle to practice Islamic values rahmatan lil ‘alamin. He said in full as follows:

Of course, we agree with Islam Nusantara. Moreover, I personally, but mas. Islam Nusantara inherited the ideas of my kyai, KH Ahmad Siddiq mas. However, what happens is that Islam Nusantara is understood as a group that contradicts the discourse that has the potential to create conflict. This then made me excited to develop MATABACA with an entrepreneur recitation model. Because that way we can encourage the congregation not to focus on the polemics that are happening. They are busy practicing their religious teachings in community economic service. So they don’t have to be too involved in the polemics that are going on, right?

Moh Sukron’s cursory answer to the researcher can be concluded that this type of majlis ta’lim does not involve much in discourse competition. They seem to comprehensively develop activities that serve as a form of implementation of the universality of Islamic teachings. Most of the majlis with this model do not move in taking counter-discourse actions to defend several polemical parties. Although in general the understanding that was built was pragmatically the same as the Nusantara Islam discourse, they openly did not follow the political strengthening movement of the Nusantara Islam discourse group itself.
Apart from MATABACA, there is also the Raudlah Darus Salam (RDS) Ta‘lim assembly. This council is busy building the community’s economy as well. In one event – KH Misbahus Salam, the head of this majlis-said that today’s Islamic movement does not have to participate in group insults. It is better to participate in developing the community, as a majlis. The council participates in efforts to build people by helping the realists of the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) program. This program collaborates with BAZNAZ for the economic development of the village community.

The character of the understanding of religious discourse that they build is still emphasizing the strength of old traditions. If in Yon Machmudi they are known by the names “new students” and “old students”, the first type of majlis ta‘lim refers to the “old students”. As explained by him, the old santri are students with traditional Islamic traditions. Its existence became the beginning of the revival of Islam, as well as a buffer for Islam in Indonesia (Machmudi, 2006). These old students tend not to be radical and do not want to be involved in the discourse of the new Islamic movement. Moreover, what has to do with the label of fundamental and radical Islam, they are very concerned about it.

So what happened, they were only trying to develop their understanding as a moral discourse not to get involved in political conflicts. However, this does not mean that it does not develop its understanding. They have developed their understanding in an applicative manner without causing conflict or religious polemics on the public surface. This is an indication that the magnitude lies in their attitude which shows apathy when asked about competition in adult discourse. Most of them say that religious discourse is not always true even though its contents are true. It depends on the interests that drive the discourse.

This phenomenon is then significantly the background for the construction of a new discourse at the internal level of the majlis ta‘lim. That is, even though their understanding agrees with one of the parties in the growing polemic of religious discourse, they existentially disagree with being part of the polemic party. On this side, this is the basis for further discussion related to how they produce the internal discourse of their majlis. This becomes necessary to understand because, of course, there will be differences in the current Islamic discourse. So of course it is very important, a detailed discussion is read in the next sub-section.

After discussing the majlis ta‘lim with this first type, moderately religious, of course it is understood that this Majlis is different from the second type. The second type as described in Figure 4.1 is the type of majlis ta‘lim which is nationally religious and fundamental. The embedding of fundamental religious beliefs by the researchers was due to the findings of the understanding response of several majlis which became the research site showing a rather fundamental response to the religious discourse that is currently developing. Some of the majlis with this second type include the Majlis Multaqo Ulama Aswaja Jember, and the Majlis Ta‘lim Muslimat Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia Jember.

The second majlis ta‘lim has common sense in responding to the current religious discourse. Like the assembly of the first type, this second type of assembly also feels worried. However, the difference is that the causality of concern is fundamentally very different from the previous type of majlis ta‘lim. Called nationalists because this group also examines the sovereignty of the Indonesian nation. They also echoed the defense of the Indonesian state. However, the nationalist attitude they show is more about strengthening the Indonesian state through the Islamic caliphate system. So that this group’s concern in the developing discourse is on the understanding that with the religious polemic the community will split apart.

They don’t want to be divided in enforcing Islamic law. According to them, with the unification of Muslims, the teachings of Islam will be established in this country. Of course, with the establishment of Islam according to them, Indonesia will be sovereign. Because its mission is to
strengthen Indonesia’s sovereignty through the enforcement of Islamic teachings, this group hates foreign culture and intervention. A western culture like democratic freedom, and liberalism so they hate it. So it is not surprising that this group has a common understanding of the discourse of the caliphate, the Islamic Republic of Indonesia, and so on.

This means that the discourse that is developing at this time is indeed feared by this group because it will cause the division of the Muslim Ummah. But that doesn’t mean they don’t agree on some of the developing discourses. They seem to agree very much with several groups that have developed discourse on the establishment of positive teachings of Islamic law in Indonesia. This can be seen from the explanation of Abu Amri who explained that his party was worried about Islamic groups who did not understand the teachings of Islam. He said:

> What I’m really worried about is not the content of the discourse, sir. But there is no understanding that Indonesia will be sovereign with the teachings of Islam itself. Those who debate the discourse on the establishment of Islamic teachings. Of course, they do not understand that Islamic teachings are perfect for building a country. If they continue to fight when will Indonesia will be sovereign and far from foreign intervention. This must be understood. We must unite to protect this country.

Based on this statement, it is clear that this second type of majlis model tends to dislike foreign cultural intervention. In their understanding, some parties who have polemics and oppose the enforcement of Islamic law are seen as not understanding the perfection of their religious teachings to be a solution to the problems of Indonesian people’s lives. So substantially, this second group is a fighter for the upholding of Islamic teachings as the legal consensus of the state. In his view, Indonesia is experiencing a political and moral crisis. This understanding then encourages them to participate in proclaiming the conception of the upholding of Islamic teachings as the only teachings that can elevate the dignity of the Indonesian nation. In addition, it seems that this group also agrees on the issue or discourse of Islamic teachings in facing the negative challenges of the entry of western culture into Indonesia. For example, regarding the issue of morality in Indonesia’s young generation. The many problems facing this nation can only be solved by strengthening the teachings of syara’. In his view, the teachings of Islam are the perfect teachings to deal with the effects of foreign cultures in this global era.

One example is LGBT, which according to them is the effect of western liberalism, which has haunted the noble morality of the Indonesian nation. So according to them, one way to overcome this is by enforcing the teachings of Islamic Shari’ah. In this context, it is very clear that they are very fundamental in upholding Islamic teachings. Disagreements with western cultural currents are also seen in this group’s comments on religious discourse as a counter to foreign economic-political discourse. One example was when this group responded to the policy issue of China’s One Belt One Road (OBOR) program (Callahan, 2016). According to them, this policy is a policy of economic liberalism. This policy will be considered to encourage the birth of economic moral decadence. That’s why they reject government policies that are included in the succession of this program.

According to Abu Amri, this project is a project for the construction of new silk routes by strengthening the supporting infrastructure for trade at the points and countries traversed. As an expansive economic development policy, China has implemented this program by cooperating with several countries, especially in the Asian region, including Indonesia. Indonesia will receive investment from the Bamboo Curtain country to support several infrastructure projects. Countries that are unable to pay off their debts will give their infrastructure to China, for example, Sri Lanka. In addition, the debt that occurs is usury debt which is forbidden by Allah. Therefore, we must be aware of this project so as not to fall into systematic disobedience. His opinion is like this, of course, it is very obvious that he hates the western system because it is contrary to the morality of the religious beliefs of the Muslims.
The understanding of the group assembly seems to be very agreeable if religious discourse is included in political discourse. Because they do have the goal of upholding the teachings of Islam as the foundation of the government. Thus, talking about government issues is of course also talking about political issues. So the discourse on strengthening Islamic teachings in the government, of course, must go through the path of mastering political discourse. On this side, they choose to always participate in the polemics of today’s discourse. For them, the reason for participating in the discourse of groups that enforce Islamic teachings is the value of worship. Because in addition to fighting for the country from foreign intervention, actually his actions are also considered worship because they fight for God’s teachings. In this context, like it or not, this majlis always participates in the discourse on the establishment of Islam as a state teaching.

CONCLUSION

Based on some of the explanations above, it can be concluded that the understanding of the 

majlis ta’lim related to adult discourse has two different classification variants. Some groups are worried that it will cause social disintegration of the Indonesian people and some groups are worried that it will indicate that Muslims are not united. The first group wants its congregation not to be entangled in the polemic of political discourse on religion and the second group hopes that the congregation will participate in fighting for the teachings of Islam as the basis of state life.

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