

ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND POWER RELATIONS IN NW ANJANI COMMUNITY

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Abstract

At the point of view of political sociology, Nahdlatul Wathan does not only exist in the religious discourse of the Sasak people but has also been able to set social structures with certain characteristics. By laying the foundation of Islam and nationality, the social structure of NWF residents gives more reflection of a communal society, a community that has a high intensity of social interaction and has a religious character. In reality, the dynamic of Nahdlatul Wathan society in the communal dimension reflects complex power relations, not only in the classification of "keshalehan" and teacher-student relations, but also shifting to educational and intellectual levels, ownership of resources, family hegemony to territorial egocentrism. This paper will discuss the patterns of interaction that are built up in the community affiliated with NW Anjani and the power relations that develop. This study uses structural-functional theory to read the current structure and system, and power-relations theory to read the power relations that develop in these social structures. This study explains that NW Anjani has various basic values that are still owned by its citizens as assets as well as the bond of social interactions. The dynamics of the community of NW Anjani also show a strong and functional power relationship and have significant implications for the integrity of the community. However, paradigm shifts and social actions of some NW Anjani people remain visible, from communal to non-communal societies, and from authoritative power relations to symbolic authority resistance.

Keywords: Nahdlatul Wathan, Political Sociology, Social Structure, Power Relations



A. INTRODUCTION

In 1936, TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid founded the Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyyah Islamiyah (NWDI) Madrasah. In the early days, there were few students. However, after accomplishing their studies at NWDI, the alumni returned to their hometowns with not only Islamic knowledge but also ideas of social change in each of their respective regions. Early alumni around 1940-1945 certainly had strong relation to the socio-religious developments in the Pancor, Kelayu, Sakra, Mamben, Masbagik, Wanasaba, Pringgasela and other areas in East Lombok, to the Praya region in Central Lombok¹. They are places where the alumni came from, and the “monument” of the movement in the form of the NWDI branch of the Madrasah, which they founded, are mostly still active and become the center of local education until now.

In 1953, NW developed through the existence of an alumni movement, da'wah activities and the establishment of madrasahs in 36 locations in East Lombok, 18 locations in Central Lombok and 10 locations in West Lombok. Each of the 66 Madrasahs² is a center for Islamic education and social

¹ See Mohammad Noor Dkk, *Visi Kebangsaan Religius : Kiprah dan Perjuangan Tuan Guru Kiyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid sebagai Pendidik, Pejuang, Pendiri Tarekat, Pendiri Organisasi Masyarakat Terbesar di Lombok, dan Politisi Muslim* (Jakarta : PP. Nahdlatul Wathan, 2014) p. 171-174. Look

² *Ibid*, p. 187-188



change that has a wide reach and has graduated hundreds of new graduated students year by year. Teachings of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid not only began to be taught but also began to be practiced. Each local resident gave a bai'at oath to join the NW. More and more students joined, new madrasas are set up. Teachers of the Koran and Inen sikir were no longer difficult to find, parents started to be more practicing in worshipping. NW was slowly becoming a cultural manifesto. As a result, in 1953, NW began to exist at the hub of the social structure of Lombok society.³

Over time, the nickname "Tuan Guru Bajang" changed to "Maulana ash-Shaykh". For the first time Charismatic figures appeared with a wide range of authority. Most of the Tuan Guru in Lombok has a scholarly connection to TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid. The emergence of Wasiat Renngan Masa, Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan, Tariqat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan, the emergence of communal cultures such as Hultah NWDI, Dzikra al-Hauliyah, Ijtima 'Ramadhan, Silaturrahmi Recitation, and dozens of otherworks, institutions and traditions, fully became values and entities the fundamentals of the people of Lombok.

³ The NW organization was founded on 15 DJumadil Akhir 1376 H to coincide with 1 March 1953 AD by TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid in the form of a declaration at Pancor East Lombok and was attended by Government Officials, Masyumi Party Leaders, NWDI Madrasah Branch Managers, alumni and students. *Ibid*, p. 189



Not only culturally develop, NW has also structurally grown rapidly to reach amlets in various regions of Lombok Island. NW began to open Regional Administrators at the provincial level, Regional Administrators at the Regency level, Branch Managers at the District level, Ancab Administrators at the Village level, Subdistrict Managers at the Dusun level, to Representative Administrators in certain areas. With this structural development, which is supported by the strengthening of cultural manifestos in the midst of society, NW has begun to be seen as a new political force in maintaining power at both the regional and national levels.

At the final point, NW is the winner of history. TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid became the "star of the east", and Pancor became one of the pillars of Islamic civilization in Lombok society. The community had better knowledge in religion and science in general. Social life which was in the cultural corridor of the NW continued and fostered piety, solidarity, patriotism, and the spirit to improve a better standard of life. In 1997 TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid passed away, leaving a NW which was both final and established, and which was soon turning profane.

From the explanation above, the writer would like to describe that the NW label as "the largest organization in NTB" doesn't come with easy way, but through a long, intensive, systematic and gradual process of socialization,



transmission, transformation to education (and even acculturation). The description above is also to initiate a discussion about the existence and strengthening of the fundamental elements that make NW able to position itself as the core culture of the people of Lombok. And the power relation emerges in the cultural dynamics and structural dialectics of the NW as the social system of Lombok society.

This study will answer three fundamental questions related to the political sociology study: first, How TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid sociologically approached in spreading his teachings so that they can become the core culture of the NW community system; second, what the fundamental elements which form the capital of communal interactions in NW society are; third, how the scheme of power relation in the relationship between cultural dimensions and structural dimensions in NW society is. This study focuses on one of the two developing versions of the NW, that is the NW Anjani.⁴ The researcher chose NW Anjani based on, at least, two things. First, NW Anjani is known to be traditional and protective in both structural management and in maintaining its cultural manifesto. Second, NW Anjani is strong in terms of quantity and

⁴ See Saiful Hamdi, *Nahdlatul Wathan di Era Reformasi: Agama, Konflik Komunal dan Peta Rekonsiliasi* (Yogyakarta : KKS Yogyakarta & NAWA Institute, 2014); Saiful Hamdi, *Politik Islah: Re-Negosiasi Islah, Konflik, Dan Kekuasaan Dalam Nahdlatul Wathan Di Lombok Timur*, *Jurnal Kawistara*, Vol. 1 No. 1 2011



distribution basis. Third, NW Anjani still protects many authentic communities that are quite preserved from urban influences.

B. FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURAL THEORY

Before discussing the concept of functional structuralism in further, we should discuss the social structure in advance. The social structure has a variety of definitions, which is abstract and complex practice. However, it can simply be interpreted as the arrangement of various elements in society which become the principle of relationships between individuals in forming regular and balanced interactions and interrelationships. This order and balance are the keywords in understanding social structures because they are the final expression of all tied interactions, patterned behavior, down to structured levels.

In social structure, formal sociological studies discuss more about classification and differentiation that describe the authority of values and norms, as well as the existence of elements which function to form communal stability in order to create a fully social expression. The complexity of the interactions and interrelationships in social structures forms organized behavior. Organized behavior transforms into a cultural tradition, in other word it is called a social institution. This is the focus of functionalism studies: that society consists



of all parts, in which each has a function and a contribution to maintain the stability and order of the social life in the community itself.

The existence of a value manifesto regulates individual behavior collectively, which Durkheim call as a social fact.⁵ The manifesto of value is an external factor which influences and directs individual behavior in everyday relationships and interactions. Social facts do not refer to individual existence but to the social structure building itself, whether the individuals in it agree or disagree with the prevailing patterns in the structure. It means that social structure is considered as an independent reality consisting of (and different from) the interaction of entities in the form of individuals in the corridor of organized values and norms and behavior. Individuals must adapt in order to be accepted as part of the existing social structure. In this process, there must be an effort to suppress self-will of freedom because the demands of the social structure which rules individuals to comply the social structure.⁶

⁵ See George Ritzer dan Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi* (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2004) hlm.81; Lihat pula Happy Susanto, *Konsep Paradigma Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Dan Relevansinya Bagi Perkembangan Pengetahuan*, Jurnal Muaddib Vol.04 No.02 2014

⁶ Thohir Yuli Kusmanto & Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth, *Struktur dan Sistem Sosial pada Aras Wacana dan Praksis*, Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo Volume 2 Nomor 1 2018, p. 44



The social structure reflects two characteristics: a mechanical society and an organic society.⁷ In a mechanical society, the patterns of relationships between individuals are horizontal and holistic. Mechanical community enforces collective consciousness, so that every problem occurs in the society is the problem for every individual at the same time. On the other hand, organic societies underlie social interactions based on differences in functions and levels formed in the community. Organic society emphasizes the functionality of each individual and every institution (social behavior) influences each other. Although it maybe has same implications in reality, organic society is a modern community and is in contrast to the mechanical society which is as a reflection of traditional society.

The explanation above provides two descriptions. First, structuralism as an institutional and organizational dynamic in a social reality. Second, functionalism as the dynamics of the existence, interaction and inter-relations of each institution, organization and elements that exist in this social reality. Functionalism contains the principle that every society consists of elements that are connected and influence each other; the existence of each part is determined by its function

⁷ See Nicholas Jewczyn, *Assessing mechanistic and organic organizational structures: Measuring organizational uncertainty and determining an organization's proper structure*, The Journal of Business Management and Entrepreneurship, Vol. 1 No. 1 2010, p. 1-12.



in maintaining the social stability of society itself, so that in identifying a part, it is necessary to analyze how much it influences the stability of the overall order; every individual in society is subject to the mechanism of self-integration which makes him an inseparable part of the whole society.⁸ These three postulates are the most influential principles in the epistemology building of the structural functionalism paradigm.

Rather than Durkheim, the researcher of this study used Merton's approach in understanding structural functionalism. Merton proposes several paradigm shifting of the three postulates of functionalism. First, function and dysfunction. Classical postulates always lead to normative sketches which explains that the social structure always consists of the interplay between elements and their respective functions. This concept of course overrides the potential dysfunction of elements of the social structure and can exacerbate overall social stability. Function is called an integrative element, dysfunction is called a disintegrative element in the integrity of the social structure.

Second, there are positive function and a negative function. Classical postulate leads to idealization in which all exist elements lead to carry out their functions positively. The

⁸ See Stephen K. Sanderson dalam Ida Zahara Adibah, *Struktural Fungsional Robert K.Merton: Aplikasinya dalam Kehidupan Keluarga*, Jurnal Inspirasi Vol. 1 No. 1 Januari – Juni 2017, p. 173



facts show that some social behavior has a negative function, especially when making comparisons between structures in the social system of a society. For example, the positive function of an element in a certain social structure could be a threat or a negative function for other social structures. Thus, the study of this function must identify its scope and limitations. In this case, there is a conception of the balance of functional consequences.

Third, every element and member of society must be subject to certain mechanisms in order to integrate themselves into reality as a whole. This statement is certainly not clear, especially which functions are mandatory and which are not. The proposed antithesis is called indispensability. Indispensability leads to two things, there are several functions that must exist and that must be eliminated. In some studies, this term is associated with the manifest and latent functions.

Structural functionalism contains a conclusion that every human being is formed from the functions of the social structures in which he lives. However, humans are also seen as actors who play a role in shaping the social structure through their own functions and mechanisms. Therefore, in the context of the object of study in this paper, functional structural theory is very relevant in examining how the origin of social structure, which social needs and social items are



empowered to create sustainability, and how patterns of organizing interactions between behaviors so as to create a reality of order. strong and balanced.

C. THEORY OF POWER RELATIONS

This discussion will explain Foucault's philosophical thinking about power, which is known to be completely different from the conception of power in political studies. Although this study puts forward Foucault's approach, especially in defining the relation of "power" which is produced / reproduced by and from each structural relation in the object of study, it is impossible to put aside the power paradigm in the political term, because power relations in the dynamics of social structures have concrete and dominant expressions. . Thus, the concept of Foucault's power relations in this study is used to understand the series of processes of production / reproduction of power as an effect of the functioning of functions in the social structure, while still referring to the terms of the political paradigm.

Foucault argues that power operates positively and productively. It is everywhere, fill every moment in social relations. Power is not about who controls and who is controlled, who wins and losses, power is an immanent reality that settles on the subject (human) through the process of internalization-normalization, and makes the subject as the



effect and vehicle of power itself. Thus, power must be interpreted as a form of immanent power relations in the place in which it operates. Power must be considered as something that perpetuates power relations, which forms a chain or system of relations, or what isolates them from others or from a power relation. Therefore, power is a strategy in which the power relation is the effect.⁹

There are five propositions offered in defining power. First, power is not a gift, used or shared, or it is something that can disappear and become extinct. Power always comes from anywhere, exercised all over the place in a dynamic relationship. Second, power is not in the form of a hierarchical relationship which contains the assumption that there are individuals who control and are controlled. Every difference, division, inequality and imbalance will always generate power relations.

Third, power comes from below. Power does not indicate binary oppositions, power always exists in the relationship between the dominant and the dominated. Fourth, power is non-subjective and intentional. Power always has a target, and manifests as a strategy in the relationship between vision and target. Power as a strategy always moves dynamically and is produced by local situations in which the

⁹ See Abdil Mughis Mudhoffir, *Teori Kekuasaan Michel Foucault: Tantangan bagi Sosiologi Politik*, Jurnal Sosiologi MASYARAKAT Vol. 18, No. 1, Januari 2013, p. 79



vision-targets is applied. Nobody can have, but just "know" how to "catch" the strategy in the right situation so that the coherence between the vision and the target comes true. Fifth, power always generates resistance. This resistance is not interpreted as other powers from outside the conditions of power, because resistance is (always) produced by a power relation itself.

In Foucault's insight, power is closely related to knowledge. He calls it as episteme, a framework of knowledge that has authority and legitimacy in any given relation and place in time. This authoritative and legitimate knowledge structure influences the social practices of individuals, both ways of thinking, speaking, and acting as a knowledge regime. In his early work, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, this knowledge structure is also referred to as a discourse formation.¹⁰ Power produces knowledge, and knowledge has power. Knowledge, in this context, is not understood in terms of evolving archeology, but an existence of knowledge which constantly shifts as a legitimate and authoritative episteme from one knowledge to another in every condition and era.

Knowledge in the context of power relations is no longer viewed or traced as what is right and wrong, but which one is in accordance with the episteme (discourse regime) that applies to a certain condition and era. For example, In the

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 81



relationship between science (scientific-based knowledge) and pseudoscience (assumption-based knowledge), power relations operate as a strategy in the form of measurement in the empirical realm of an object of knowledge, which is more coherent with that scientific standard. Likewise in some conditions, when religion is transformed into a discourse regime and exists in social relations, it becomes standardization and knowledge (normal science)¹¹ that is brought and operated by power.

In relation to reality, power and knowledge (in Foucault's paradigm) are one of the primary dimensions that initiate and form a balance of social structures through interaction and interrelation of individuals, organized elements and institutions.¹² Every point in social relations continues to move in order to produce power and legitimize knowledge supported by that power. Power becomes a strategy in implementing functions and strengthening structures, rotating from one point to another, from time to time. Power in this immanent term is then abstracted and strengthened in

¹¹ Compare this with Kuhn's method (in his magnum opus *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*) criticized the implicit and explicit truth in science itself. See Nurkhalis, *Thomas S. Kuhn's Paradigm Theory Construction*, *Futura Islamic Journal*, Volume XI, No. 2, February 2012

¹² According to Foucault, there are two important opinions when knowledge meets thoughts of humanity. First, with his own knowledge, humans are creatures that are limited by their surroundings. Second, rationality and truth have always changed throughout history. See Abdullah Khozin Af., *The Concept of Power of Michel Foucault*, *Journal of Theosophy* Volume 2 Number 1 June 2012, p. 138



an expressive form in both cultural and structural dimensions. In this phase, power is acquired, owned and maintained.

D. SOCIAL SYSTEM OF NW PEOPLE

The people of NW Anjani, like people of the NW in general, are a social fact in the form of a separate structure as well as an institution with the characteristics of an organic society. As previously discussed, mechanical society builds relationships based on the principle of equality which has an effect through a holistic perspective, while organic society builds relationships based on the principle of position differences and contribution mechanisms that have an effect on a functional perspective. In principle, the people of NW Anjani have a collective awareness which is used as a basis for their behavior or attitude. However, it is broken down into a concentration of functions so that the expression of collective consciousness only appears under certain conditions, does not become an item of continuous relations and interactions. There are several bases of relations which become sustainable and organized dynamics to strengthen the social balance of NW residents.

First, role-based relationships. The most prominent condition in this dimension is the teacher-student relationship, which is glued together by the motto "sami'na



wa atha'na."¹³ From the beginning, the NW has had an axiomatic power in the teacher-student relationship. The internalization of Islamic education in NWDI and NW madrasas in all places not only has implications for the dissemination of knowledge, but also creates social capital for the NW in which obedience-based relationships are realized simultaneously in a short and centralized time. TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid articulates NW residents into two layers, where the first layer is NW students and alumni or what are called abiturens, the second layer is all of affiliated congregations, supporters and observers of NW but not santri / alumni status or what called a fan.

¹³ There are nine characteristics that religious teachers must have in the Nahdlatul Wathan educational tradition, namely: first, murshid, namely teachers who show and guide their students to the right path; second, sincere, namely carrying out teaching, mentoring, and selfless protection activities, and not expecting a reward, either property or praise; third, obedience, namely submitting and obeying Allah, Rasulullah, and ulil amri which includes the government, the head of the Nahdlatul Wathan organization, teachers, and both parents; Fourth, mandate, to be responsible both inside and outside the school; fifth, have teacher morality, meaning that they have morals as teachers in the teachings of Ta'lim al-Muta'allim, tasawuf al-Ghazali, and the Will of the Devotions of the Times; sixth, to have a clear scientific lineage, that is, the teacher who deserves to be chosen is a teacher who is continuous in his knowledge up to the Friends and Rasulullah; Seventh, wise and polite in speaking; eighth, competent, namely teachers who have qualified skills and abilities at least in the personal and professional aspects; and ninth, istiqamah, which is to keep walking on truth and goodness to strive through education. This study concludes that the teacher characteristics mentioned in the Sheikh's will are based on the results of contemplation (tafakkur), empirical experience (tajribah), and extensive knowledge. See Prosmala Hadi Sapura, Dkk., *Teacher Characteristics in the Nahdlatul Wathan Educational Tradition*, Lombok, At-Tafkir Journal: Volume 13 Number 1 Year 2020, p. 15-16



The teacher-student relationship in the social dynamics of the residents of NW Anjani was very strong. In some cases, some NW pesantren even found social institutions independently and it is marked through the distribution of alumni who are loyal and militant to each Tuan Guru, the pesantren's caretakers. In the context of functionalism, this reality actually proves an opportunity for dysfunction of core-culture elements, because it has the potential to be resistant to the communal structure of the residents of NW Anjani itself. For example, if institutionally NW Anjani issues a comprehensive instruction, the alumnus of this pesantren has the potential to disobey before the instruction is approved by the Tuan Guru. In this condition, power relations are produced and control the structural behavior: PB maximizes the function of the Mustasyar Council. The Mustasyar Council then reproduces the power with the power of a recommendation, or what is known as a “bless giver”.

From the beginning, the established teacher-student relationships had a significant effect on the cultural power of the residents of NW Anjani. There is a fundamental difference in the existence of assets in the form of compliance which arises from the teacher-student relationship with other relationships and interactions. This is understandable because from the beginning, NW started a social role by opening the widest possible educational network. The author considers



that the teacher-student relationship is one of the few forms of collective awareness that applies to residents of NW Anjani. It is very rare to find punishment, for example in the form of dismissal or exclusion in the community, except for "sacred" reasons, which is against the principle of teacher-student bonds. This relationship is even able to activate the negative functions of the community elements of NW Anjani for other social structures.

Second, relations based on institutional functions. When NWDI became an organization in 1953, leadership relations were systematically and intensively built. If the teacher-student relationship has a balancing effect in terms of manifest and value, the leadership relationship concerns the balance of systems and formal functions. In this institutional relationship, the relationship pattern developed by NW Anjani reflects an instructional and centralistic pattern. That is, the same pattern is found as in role-based relations. Compliance is always required, and institutionally reflects its centralized management.

The characteristics of centralized leadership have implications on minimal power relations. Every level of institutional structure in the context of authority still influences and depends on administrative formality. But it is not applied in terms of self-management and policies. For example, if there is information from one level to another

level, especially lower levels, will confirm to the center. Uniquely, power relations are actually generated based on the informal-individual relationship between a manager and the chief of the top management.

Third, group-based relations. Horizontally, the interaction between groups emerges in the social relations of the residents of NW Anjani. Each of them performs its own function in maintaining communal balance. In the old group / first generation, for example, made an important contribution through the transformation of loyalty and militancy. They always keep the oaths and bai'at that have been given to the NW, especially the implementation of the fifth bai'at:¹⁴ "promise to order their children and grandchildren and their families to continue to inherit Nahdlatul Wathan wherever they are."

Likewise, the existence of the youth group of NW Anjani which consists of santri, students and youth. This group makes an important contribution to the practical dimension in the form of activism and social activities. IPNW, for example, has a very strong relationship with the people of NW Anjani in general. The intensity of the interaction between the thullab Ma'had and the society is developed through IPNW forums, which are mostly held every month in all villages in

¹⁴ Fahrurrozi, *Nahdlatul Wathan : Refleksi Keislaman, Kebangsaan dan Keummatan* (Mataram : CV. Haramain Lombok, 2019) p. 200



each sub-district. NW Youth provides various and positive function in practical political dynamics. In most political activities and collaborative agendas with the government, NW Youth positions itself at the forefront as a succession activist and relational actor of NW Anjani. Likewise with Himmah NW. This group of students made a important contribution in terms of intellectuality, thought, and action criticism. The most of loyalists, organization functionaries, political actors, and madrasa activists were educated from the Himmah NW group, especially in the present-day social-structural reality of Anjani's NW.¹⁵

Further analysis will show that there are a lot of relationships that are built based on the group in the body of NW Anjani. Each condition generates power and influences one another. This power relation is formed as a non-subjective strategy as a result of the struggle for influence, the socialization of ideas, the actualization of actions and activism, closenesses, up to the struggle for financial power and authority. The simplest example is when Himmah NW students are willing to become volunteers for a football project or Pilkada succession agenda led by NW Youth, power relations are produced and reproduced. Small interactions have a power

¹⁵ Complete Explanation About Himmah NW, see Fahrurrozi, *Nahdlatul Wathan*, p 162-166. See also Muh. Alwi Parhanudin, *Epistemologi Perjuangan Himmah NW* (Mataram : PW Himmah NW NTB & YP – Islahuna, 2016)



bias, influence the social structure schema and keep the balance according to the episteme in that situation.

In order to understand the communal dynamics of the people of NW Anjani better, the researcher divides the elements of their social structure into several categories.

First, NW Anjani has a source of values that are positioned as center of beliefs and meanings that shape behavior, is in the form of episteme and produce power relations, including:

1. Hizb Nahdlatul Wathan

Hizb Nahdlatul Wathan is a compilation of pray compiled by TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid originating from the spiritual treasures of 70 "waliyullah".¹⁶ The people of NW Anjani, like Muslims in general, believe that pray is one of the ubudiyah dimensions which reflect the perfection of belief. For people of NW Anjani, doing hizib is a sacred activity and is the foremost religious and organizational value.

2. Tariqat

Beside Hizb Nahdlatul Wathan, NW Anjani is also driven by the spirit of Islamic teachings compiled by TGKH.

¹⁶ Compare it with the review of Hizb Nahdlatul Wathan's experience in the concept of Durkheim ritual. See Saiful Hamdi, *Integration of Culture, Education and Politics in the Da'wah of Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) in Lombok: A Biographical Study of TGH. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid*, Journal of Sociology Walisongo - Volume 2, Number 2, 2018 p. 109-112



Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid with the name Tariqat hizb Nahdlatul wathan. Different from most tarekat which are formal institutions, the Nahdlatul wathan hizb order is a prayer arrangement which is routinely practiced every day within the specific time. Everyone can practice this tariqat, by first giving an oath of bai'at to NW and receiving a diploma. From the beginning, the Nahdlatul wathan hizb order was able to shape the spiritual characteristics of the people of NW Anjani. Even in certain opinion, residents of NW who have received a thariqat hizb certificate from Nahdlatul wathan have a different position from residents who have not received a certificate.¹⁷

3. Wasiat Renungan Masa

Wasiat Renungan Masa is a collection of TGKH messages of Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid for the people of NW in the form of verses. This will consists of 112 couplets in the early (1970) edition and 233 verses in the consummated edition (1981).¹⁸ Every people of NW Anjani, like many NW people, consider testament as the main source of guidance in the context of organizational life. In addition to some verses of testament, TGKH. Muhammad

¹⁷ Some studies about *Thariqat Hizb Nahdlatul Wathan*, see Sadip Indra Irawan & Siti Nurjannah, *Tasawuf Nusantara: Studi Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan*, Jurnal Yaqhzan Vol. 2 No. 2 2016; M. Rohman Ziadi, *Tarekat Hizib Nahdlatul Wathan Dan Perannya Dalam Perpolitikan di lombok*, <http://ejournal.uin-suka.ac.id/ushuluddin/ref/article/download/1866/1439>

¹⁸ Fahrurrozi, *Nahdlatul Wathan*, p. 215-221



Zainuddin Abdul Madjid also drafted an initial testament, which came out in 1976 consisting of four points of advice. The contents of the will are as follows.

My devoted children, and my bright students.

- 1) Be patient. Because the struggle to achieve success need a strong soul and determination.*
- 2) Unite. Because success is not measured by individual intelligence but is created by a spirit of unity*
- 3) Work hard. Because it is the struggle that will be able to solve the underdevelopment of both poverty and stupidity.*
- 4) Fight according to the khittah of religion, nation and country. Because the struggle must be preceded by careful thought and planning, according to the big vision and mission of religion, nation and country.¹⁹*

Second, NW Anjani has primary institutions that serve as the basis for behavior. Some of the institutions owned include:

1. NWDI & Ma'had

In the past, the NWDI madrasah had the function to generate episteme and power by developing human resources that had an effect (from episteme) on society. As hub, NWDI is consistent with its internalization pattern: strengthening Islamic study on the one hand, and

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 214-215



strengthening the spirit of social movements on the other hand. When NWDI and all its branches had grown and gradually transformed into elementary and secondary schools, the NWDI function shifted to the existence of Ma'had Darul Qur'an wal Hadith.

Every mutakharrijin (graduate) Ma'had has two main tasks: spreading the teachings of Islam and spreading the NW. The stability of the social structure of NW Anjani is held by mutakharrijin Ma'had. It can be said that if oneday NW Anjani went under, the most likely main factor would have been the decline in the contribution of mutakharrijin Ma'had in social relations. Ma'had has significant functional structural determination. Its existence is primary which determines whether or not all other elements in the internal community of NW Anjani are stable.

2. Hamzanwadi da'wah Council II (Majelis Dakwah Hamzanwadi II)

Beside Ma'had, NW Anjani also has the Hamzawadi II Da'wah Council as a behavior hub institution. In principle, MDH II continues the Hamzanwadi Da'wah Council which was managed by TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid in the past. Hamzanwadi Da'wah Council is the main da'wah assembly which is used as a place for doctrine, internalization, information and organizational



socialization. MDH II was opened by Tuan Guru Bajang KH. Lalu Gede Muhammad Zainuddin Atsani in 2016. MDH II is held regularly at Jln. Panjitar Negara Mataram, which is the residence of Tuan Guru Bajang. After the Lombok Earthquake in 2018, MDH II was moved to Jln. Pejanggik Pajang Mataram.

Based on observation, the opening of MDH II had a significant impact on the structural and cultural development of NW Anjani, with a re-transformation of the principle of *sami'na wa atha'na*. MDH II is also the beginning of the power relations shifting which have progressed in NW Anjani's body. After the opening of MDH II, Tuan Guru Bajang's figure emerged and NW Anjani did not have the emptiness of a spiritual central figure as previously felt. MDH II is the basic factor for the initial momentum of Tuan Guru Bajang's success towards the highest leadership of NW Anjani, that is he was elected by acclamation as Chairman of the PBNW at the XIV Congress 2019 in Mataram.

Third, NW Anjani has a social institution in the form of an organizational tradition that functions as internalization of behavior and at the same time normalization (habituation) of power. Some of the institutions owned include:

1. Anniversary of NWDI (HULTAH NWDI)



In all sustainable traditions in Lombok, Anniversary of NWDI is the largest social event in terms of quantity compared with similar events from different institutions, even with Bau Nyale festival. Almost every family from the residents of NW Anjani took part in the NWDI anniversary, even from the citizens of the NW as a whole. Anniversary of NWDI has a very large social function and influence in terms of NW power relations over its citizens, teachers over their students, individuals over their wives / husbands and children and grandchildren. The goal is only one, whether consciously or unconsciously, whether approved or not, that is the cultural and structural stability of the NW. As a result, the NWDI Anniversary is one of the ways the NW maintains the episteme and manifestations which lead to the maintenance of power and social balance.

2. Anniversary of NBDI.

NBDI is synonymous with an autonomous body called Muslimat NW. in the NW Anjani structure, Muslimat has an important role in coordinating women so they still have participation and contribution to the organization. NW Anjani holds Anniversary of NBDI celebration which aims to tasyakkur every year. The existence of the NBDI Anniversary provides motivation for all mothers and women in general in the NW Anjani community to contribute to the organization.



3. Anniversary of NW.

The Anniversary of Nahdlatul Wathan or abbreviated as HADI NW is a celebration of the establishment of the Nahdlatul Wathan organization on March 1, 1953. NW 65 Anniversary was first held at the UNW Mataram Campus in 2018, Anniversary of NW 66 in Taman Sangkareang Mataram in 2019, and Anniversary of NW 67 at Lanud TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid Rembiga in 2020. This new breakthrough of Anjani's NW was initiated by Tuan Guru Bajang when he led PW NW NTB in 2018.

4. Weekly Hizib Group.

Basically, NW Anjani was able to survive and develop because of the intensity and continuity of the small relations that were spread evenly in various places. Small relationships consist of individual and inter-family relationships in one village. One of the things that ties and unites the relationship between individuals and between families is the hiziban activity. Every individual affiliated with NW Anjani will carry out hiziban activities with his family. If there are two families, then they will join to hold hiziban. They invite each other from one family to another, from the old, the young to the children. Hiziban is the model of a small-scale public sphere which has greatly contributed to the civil society place of the people of NW Anjani.



5. Ijtima 'Ramadhan.

Every year, NW Anjani holds an iftar event to welcome the 27th night of Ramadan. It usually begins with the after Asr until fast breaking. The event was filled with the reading of hizb Nahdlatul wathan, wirid-wirid taught by TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid, as well as several tausyiah from Tuan Guru and the Nahdlatul Wathan Executive Board.

6. PBNW Silaturrahmi Recitation.

The PBNW gathering is a daily agenda held by NW Anjani. This recitation is usually held in two places in one day, except on Fridays and / or there are other agendas. Through this friendship, PBNW exercises cultural and structural control. From a cultural perspective, PBNW monitors the development of the congregation as well as what are the obstacles to organizational development from a basic point of view. From a structural point of view, PBNW can directly guide the branch, Sub-branch and branch administrators at one time. Through this activity, at least one Sub-branch of NW can be visited in one year.

Fourth, in the social reality of Anjani's NW, stratification appears in the form of a class-based hierarchy. This hierarchy is at the same time a power relation between groups that influence each other. The hierarchical levels include:



1. Tuan Guru Bajang

Tuan Guru Bajang is the highest position in the current social structure of NW Anjani. Apart from being a PBNW, Tuan Guru Bajang is also a historically appointed individual chosen by TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid as his successor led the NW. Among the residents of NW Anjani, Tuan Guru Bajang is identical to KH. Lalu Gede Muhammad Zainuddin Atsani, grandson of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid from his youngest daughter Hj. Sitti Raihanun Zainuddin Abdul Madjid.

2. Zurriyat

As a community built on the basis of teacher-student relations, zurriyat TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid is special for people of NW Anjani. However, this group is not fully capable of producing power in social and political realities. Based on observations, the researcher concluded that the figure of TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid cannot be used as a strength of interaction and identity by his second generation, unless there is an internal effort from each individual of his descendants to achieve and manifest their own charisma and personality.

3. Tuan Guru



In the NW Anjani tradition, the title Tuan Guru is obtained by someone who has adequate knowledge and leads a majlis ta'lim assembly, madrasah or pesantren as a place to actualize his knowledge. Tuan Guru has its own role and function in NW Anjani's social structure. Tuan Guru serves as the guardian of the establishment from the effect of internalization that has manifested. Tuan Guru also has an important role in the transformation of power in the narrative of Islamic da'wah. And apart from all that, Tuan Guru is a symbol of Islam and the hub of obedience that will always be present in every social relationship of residents of NW Anjani.

4. Intellectual

The NW Anjani intellectual group consists of professors, lecturers and teachers, preachers, scholars, to NW abituren who have a concern about science and thought as items and their functional content to the continuation of the social dynamics of NW Anjani. NW Anjani has developed bit rapidly in the dimensions of organizational management. This development is a positive implication of the openness of the organization in receiving input and direction, ideas, conception and analysis of intellectuals.

5. Activist

Apart from intellectuals, activism also fills the hierarchical levels of the NW Anjani social structure.



Activists here refer to: first, functionaries of organizations, functionaries of autonomous bodies, functionaries of institutions under PBNW Anjani, functionaries of BEM, DEMA, Senate Ma'had, the press, and other organizational activists; second, political activists or politicians delegated by NW Anjani in various political institutions, events and contestations; third, lobbying activists or those concerned with developing NW Anjani's external network in the realm of government and public policy. If the groups in numbers 1 to number 4 play the role of influence, symbol, abstraction and thought, this activist group has a praxis function. Due to contact with the world of praxis, power relations are so complex and reproduced in every situation and between relations. This group also functions as an agent and actor for the distribution of organizational resources.

6. Congregation / citizens

Jamaah carries out its affiliation functions in a simple but consistent and sustainable manner. Jamaah plays a role in reviving NW Anjani's social system through sustainable expression of organizational behavior, traditions and culture. Jamaah consists of individuals, families and communities who continue to interact both directly and symbolically.



E. CLOSING

NW Anjani, at the point of view of political sociology, is part of the large social system of Lombok society which has special relationship mechanism in maintaining the balance of its community from time to time. As a communal society in an organic type, NW Anjani expresses a functional social structure where each of the elements of behavior and institutions in it. It influence and need one another. As a consequence of individual interactions, relationships between behaviors and functional determinations between institutions in an intensive and sustainable manner, power relation is always produced and become binder, condition strategie, and as reinforcing and balancing episteme (sources of prevailing values and knowledge).

Since the outbreak of disputes within the NW post-Congress X in Praya in 1998, the NW Anjani initially moved the NW center from Pancor to Kalijaga, East Lombok until in early 2001 and it moved again to Anjani until now. Since 2001 the system of values and dynamics of NW Anjani has begun to develop. In the early phases, NW Anjani's social solidarity was very strong. Anjani is an identity that unites all aspects, levels, groups and interests. Anjani at that time was transformed into a collective consciousness which directed the responsibility of its citizens. In the middle phase, the power relation shows dialectic. Internal differences and conflicts arise. It was based



on differences in interests, structural friction, to practical political problems. Some members of NW Anjani quited or were expelled institutionally and received social sanctions from residents in the form of exclusion and marginalization. Such as the dismissal letter of a NW Anjani figure from Rakam (TGH. Hamzah Abdul Halim al-Ma'hady), including the farewell of two prominent NW Anjani figures from the East Lombok Kerang Kembang (TGH. M. Ruslan Zain an-Nahdly) and Paok Tawah Central Lombok (TGH. Habib Tanthawi).

Likewise with the dynamics of activists and politicians. Some quited because of the attitude of resistance to power relations that developed at that phase. Putting hope in a fairly large and complex social structure, NW Anjani has been quite successful in bringing political activists into practical politics, especially in Legislative, both at the local and national levels. However, NW Anjani's cultural hegemony was ineffective in delivering its members in the Pilkada succession or in the Executive. As a result, NW Anjani in this phase showed a very complex social and political naturalization. The following phases of the socio-political event took place from 2001 to 2018, or during the four periods of PBNW Anjani's leadership.

NW Anjani's social structure is still stable. The presence of Tuan Guru Bajang's leadership is recognized by the majority of NW Anjani residents with the effect of rejuvenating the system, the education system, social



interaction patterns, dakwah management, to political policies which have implications for progress. NW Anjani has various basic values that are still held by its citizens as capital as well as bond for social interactions. The social structure of the NW Anjani community also shows a strong and functional power relationship and has a significant impact on the integrity of the community. However, paradigm shifts and social actions of some NW Anjani residents remain visible, from communal to non-communal societies, and from authoritative power relations to resistance to symbolic authority.



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