

# CONFLICT MANAGEMENT BASED ON “*MULTICULTURAL COMPETENCIES*”: ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS TO INDIGENOUS AND SALAFI CONTESTATION IN LOMBOK

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## *Abstract*

*The relationship between salafism and indigenous muslim at Lombok caused several contestations and needed to be studied deeply. In this study, salafism and indigenous muslim will be classified into rural and urban. This classification based on their unique relations: (1) salafism gets high resistance from rural indigenous muslims, (2) meanwhile, salafism receives tolerance from urban indigenous muslim. This study uses qualitative approach with interpretive paradigm to answer causes of rural indigenous muslims resistances toward rural salafism, causes of urban indigenous muslims tolerance toward urban salafism and how to formulate conflict management based on multicultural competences. This study shows that different responses of indigenous muslims toward salafism aren't only caused by the contestations of Ahlu-al sunnah but also many other elements. Then, multicultural competences needed to be developed by religious elite as an alternative to manage conflict in plural society for the sake of peace built on reciprocal multicultural values*

*Relasi antara antara salafi dan pribumi di Lombok telah melahirkan berbagai kontestasi yang perlu diulas secara mendalam. Dalam kajian ini, salafi dan pribumi diklasifikasi menjadi dua yaitu salafi desa dan kota serta pribumi desa dan kota. Klasifikasi ini didasarkan pada keunikan relasinya: (1) salafi desa mendapat resistensi tinggi dari muslim pribumi desa, (2) salafi kota mendapatkan*

toleransi dari pribumi kota. Kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan paradigma interpretatif untuk menjawab penyebab resistensi pribumi desa terhadap salafi desa, penyebab toleransi pribumi kota terhadap salafi kota serta bagaimana rumusan model manajemen konflik berbasis kompetensi multikultural. Kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa perbedaan respon pribumi terhadap salafi tidak hanya disebabkan oleh kontestasi ahlu al-sunnah tetapi juga banyak unsur-unsur yang lain. Selanjutnya, multicultural competence perlu dikembangkan oleh elit agama sebagai alternatif manajemen konflik dalam realitas sosial yang plural demi kerukunan yang dibangun oleh nilai-nilai resiprokal-multikultural.

**Keywords:** conflict management; salafism; indigenous; multicultural competences

## Introduction

Salafi (religious method) movement is increasingly prominent in Indonesia, including Lombok, known as the Earth of a Thousand Mosques. This adds to the plurality of Lombok society, which is already known as a plural society in terms of ethnicity, language, customs, and religion. Particularly for religion, diversity is not only external but also internal. Internal diversity is caused not only by variations in da'wah and religious organizations (NU, NW, and Muhammadiyah) but also variants of Islam with typical religiosity that have many differences from one another.

Indeed, research on Salafi dialectics and indigenous/traditional Islam in Lombok is not new, including Abdurrachman's research (2013: 45-46). The study focused on forms of resistance and factors of Salafi resistance to traditional Islam. The result of his research is that Salafi's resistance to traditional Islam departs from the discourse of implementing *Ijma* and *Qiyas* as an additional legal basis in the religious praxis of traditional Muslims in West Lombok. According to Salafis, these two foundations of Islamic law open up opportunities for the practice of superstition, heresy, and *khurafat* (belief in things contrary to Islamic teachings). At the same time, the factors of Salafi's resistance to traditional Islam are textual, contextual interpretations, and claims of *ahlussunnah wal jamaah* (Abdurrachman, 2013: 45-46). So is the research of Faizah (2012a) and Tantowi (2009). Unlike the studies above, this study emphasizes indigenous Islam or mainstream Islam of the Sasak community in responding to the existence of Salafis by examining response differences in rural and urban.

Related to this study, the existence of Salafis in Lombok is classified geographically into urban Salafis and rural Salafis. Urban Salafis are Salafis living in Mataram, such as in Lawata Mataram (Abu Hurairah Mosque and school), Cakranegara Grand Mosque Mataram, and at-Taqwa Mosque Mataram. In contrast, rural Salafis are Salafis who live near or blend in with communities in various regencies and villages in Lombok. The classification of urban Salafis and rural Salafis, in this case, is based on the fact that although they have relatively similar religious beliefs between urban and rural Salafis, they have interesting uniqueness to be researched.

This uniqueness is noticeable when comparing the reality between Salafis in the city and the village. The existence of urban Salafi is "relatively" safe, comfortable, and far from disturbances such as attacks, threats, and expulsion from the majority group; if there has ever been a conflict, it is not as big as the conflict in the village while rural Salafis, on the contrary, many accept; (1) *tahkim*/local arbitration either by local religious leaders, which in Sasak language is called "*tesidang*" (trial), (2) experiencing isolation or expulsion by residents, (3) faced with a dilemma between staying in the original place on condition that they stop being Salafists or remain Salafists but must leave their hometowns. A choice that has no answer because it relates not only to (vertical) beliefs but also to a series of social histories, such as home, family origins, and childhood memories.

Empirical facts that demonstrate the difference in "fate" between urban and rural Salafis include (a) arbitration seeds of Salafi in Golong Narmada village, (b) expulsion of Salafis in Batu Kliang Central Lombok on June 10, 2015 (Radar Lombok, June 10, 2015), (c) destruction of Salafi houses in Dasan Kembar Gerung West Lombok, (d) cessation of Salafi proselytizing in Gunungsari West Lombok, (e) destruction of mosques/musala (small mosque) owned by Salafis in Sekotong West Lombok. One thing to note is that these facts took place outside the city of Mataram (in the village), which indicates a difference in response to Salafis in the city and the village.

Therefore, this paper focuses on the causes of rural indigenous resistance to rural Salafis in Lombok West Nusa Tenggara, the causes of urban indigenous tolerance towards urban Salafis in Mataram City Lombok West Nusa Tenggara and conflict management models based on multicultural competence and their implications for religious elites in Lombok society in general.

One of the efforts made is to develop multicultural competencies. This is to emphasize

that multicultural is not only a matter of formal education in schools / *madrasah* (Islam school) but also in the community and its elements. Multicultural competence generally refers to awareness, knowledge, and attitudes toward differences. This paper uses Boutto's theory (1999 in Lee, 2015) to see how conflict management based on multicultural competence is built based on indigenous and Salafi relations in Lombok. The details of Boutto's theory are illustrated in the table below:

**Table I: Three Stages of Multicultural Competence**

	Level I	Level II	Level III
<b>Level of Awareness</b>	<i>My perspective is right and only one</i>	<i>My perspective is one of many</i>	<i>My perspective is changing and being enhanced</i>
<b>Emotional Response to Difference</b>	<i>Fear, rejection, denial, we're all alike</i>	<i>Interest, awareness, openness</i>	<i>Appreciation, respect, joy, enthusiasm/ active seeking</i>
<b>Mode of Curriculum Interaction</b>	<i>Isolation, avoidance, hostility</i>	<i>Integratio, interaction, acceptance</i>	<i>Transforming, internalizing, rewarding</i>
<b>Approach to Teaching</b>	<i>Ethnocentric curriculum</i>	<i>Learning about other culture</i>	<i>Learning from other culture</i>
<b>Approach to Management</b>	<i>Monocultural authoratic, directive</i>	<i>Compliance, tolerance</i>	<i>Collaborative, valuing diversity, maximizing potential</i>

Source: adaptation of the *Stage of Multicultural Growth* (Boutto, 1999 in Lee, 2015)

Based on the table above, conflict management is directed at transforming religious attitudes from stage 1 to stage 2 and then to stage 3. For example, in terms of self-awareness, it is necessary to transform my perspective from only my correct opinion (my perspective is right, only one) to my opinion, my sect, my belief is one of many opinions, sects, or beliefs (my perspective is one of many) then to my opinion changes and is being improved (my perspective is changing and being enhanced) and so on.

Then, the barometer of multiculturalism, according to the *Karuna Center for Peacebuilding*, as quoted by Misrawi (2013: 203-204), namely: *first*, living close together peacefully and equal rights among citizens

(*co-existence*). *Second*, there is an open-minded to see other groups as citizens and creatures of God who have equal opportunities before the law (*awareness*). *Third*, introduction to other groups while conducting constructive dialogue (*mutual learning*). *Fourth*, comprehension of other groups (*understanding*). *Fifth*, honor and recognition of other groups (*respect*). *Sixth*, respect for similarities and differences and celebrate plurality (*value and celebration*). This last level is the prime barometer for measuring the extent to which multiculturalism realizes itself in society. Celebrating diversity is one of the pinnacles of multiculturalism because differences can be understood as one of inevitability, even the power to build togetherness (Misrawi, 2013: 204).

These attitudes can be realized if they are based on "mutual" attitudes or what Edward calls (2015: 27-28) the reciprocation of values. It is affirmed in the teachings of Islam that "Love those on earth, and those in the sky will love you" (*irhamu man fil ardhi, yarhamkum man fis sama*'). In Nieto's term (1994), there are supporting values of this multicultural, namely tolerance, acceptance, respect, affirmation, and solidarity, critique so that attitudes are realized, which in the theory of *Otherness Development Model* (henceforth ODM) is known as 3Rs and 2Ss (relationship, respectability, responsibility, sensitivity, and sensibility).

The purpose's description of the ODM above is the attitude of how people can be part of others and vice versa (relationship), can be respected by respecting others (respectability), have responsibility in the form of their ability to put themselves right in the middle of differences (responsibility), and have sensitivity, namely imaginative thoughts about the possible outcomes of actions or inactions, and social sensibility related to the ability to demonstrate virtue, knowledge in an attempt to understand others. The latter is a sensibility, in which one's sensibility is shown in his judgment based on ethics and social-moral situations (Lovett & Jordan, 2010 in Edward, 2015: 26-28).

## Research Methods

This study used a phenomenological type descriptive qualitative design. The researcher is the key instrument, while the informant is determined by purposive and snowball sampling.

The data was collected through in-depth interviews, namely interviews with indigenous Islamic figures both from among the Lombok Indigenous community and experts at universities, especially IAIN (State Islamic Institute) Mataram and parties that are considered to be able to provide in-depth information about this research. In these interviews, informants are not determined based on quantity but on the quality or depth of information provided to answer the research question. Next is observation and documentation related to research. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) is also used for rigorous data filtering. After the data is filtered, it is analyzed through *data collection*, *data reduction*, *data display*, and *conclusion* flows. For the sake of the trustworthiness of this study, steps were used, namely determining credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability.

### **Overview of Lombok Indigenous and Salafi Islam**

Lombok Island is one of the islands in the region of West Nusa Tenggara Province. Lombok consists of 1 Municipality and 4 Regencies, namely Mataram Municipality, West Lombok Regency, Central Lombok, East Lombok, and North Lombok. Lombok Island is also known as *Gumi Sasak* or *Gumi Seribu Masjid*. *Gumi Sasak* is known for its plurality, both internal and external. Among these internal pluralities is an internal plurality within Islam known as Salafi and indigenous variants. The dialectic of both has elicited various forms of social construction, both associative and dissociative.

The term indigenous in Islam is often identified with attempts to disseminate Islam (indigenization). It is no wonder that Gus Dur wants to affirm reality for the sake of universalizing Islamic teachings regarding Indigenous Islam. He was the figure who introduced the term Indigenous Islam. The term indigenous Islam is often confronted with authentic Islam, puritan Islam, or Salafi Islam. Salafi Islam is closely related to Wahhabi, a movement attributed to Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, although they call themselves al-Muwahhidun. Salafis are also associated with the Sect of Imam Ahmad bin Hambal (Hamid & Yaya, 2010: 101). In addition to the discourse of returning to the Qur'an and as-Sunnah, Salafis are also invited to follow the traditions of salaf scholars and the behavior of the companions, *tabi'in* (Companions' disciples of the Prophet Muhammad) and *tabi'uttabi'in* (tabi'in disciples).

In this study, Salafis and indigenous were divided into urban and rural Salafis. Urban Salafis live in the capital city of West Nusa Tenggara

namely Mataram city. In contrast, rural Salafis live in various villages/hamlets throughout the Lombok district (especially West Lombok), West Nusa Tenggara. Furthermore, when discussing Salafis among Sasak Muslims in Lombok, the collective memory of the Sasak community is usually drawn to a series of characteristics, including; 1) bearded, 2) white-robed, 3) pants folded over ankles, 4) Arabic perfume, 5) most distinctive is his "rigid," inflexible, textual understanding by making the era of companions, *tabi'in*, and *tabi'uttabi'in* as the main reference of his speech. This last point is often accompanied by the addressing of statements, *syirik* (associating God with others), heresy, and *dhalal* (man's deviation from God's prescribed path) to those who do not share their religious beliefs. The rigid and textual understanding model of Salafis leads to an exclusive attitude and is directly confronted with the religion of Sasak society, which is generally built by two mainstreams, namely: (1) Sasak local Islamic mainstream, which is full of tradition insertion in the actualization of Islam. Because Lombok is where three major cultures of the Nusantara meet, namely Ancient Javanese culture (Majapahit Hinduism), Islam, and Hinduism (Balinese Hinduism) (Faizah, 2012b: 67)

Therefore, it is not surprising that the Islam of the Sasak people is very thick with traditions influenced by the three cultures, namely Hinduism (Bali), Majapahit (Java), and even Sumatra, as well as Dutch and Japanese colonials. This is coupled with a *tuan guru* conveying moderate Islam in Lombok. Based on the results of Yusuf Tantowi's research, in the city of Mataram, there are two centers of Salafi dissemination. First, Islamic Centre Abu Hurairah, *Lawata, Gomong Lama*. The leader is named Ust. Ibn Hizam, one of the distributors of Wahabi development funds. This two-story building imitates the architectural style of the Middle East. The first floor is used for prayer and study, while the second floor is used as a place of study named the Abu Hurairah Integrated Islamic Education Institute. The cost of studying in this place is free. Second, the Islamic Center Mosque, Cakranegara. This mosque is often used as a place of recitation for Salafists from various regions in NTB (West Nusa Tenggara). This place is also often visited by Salafi preachers from Java and even from Saudi Arabia (Tantowi, 2009: 41). As time goes by, today; the Salafi center is also in the at-Taqwa mosque Mataram. So, in the city of Mataram, there are three Salafi centers. From these three centers, Salafi can then spread to various villages/hamlets in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. However, although Salafis have three centers in Mataram, Salafi's genealogy is in East Lombok. Tantowi mentioned that the spread of Salafis on

Lombok island began in the East Lombok district around 1990. Salafi teachings were brought by the late TGH (Tuan Guru Haji) Husni Abdul Manan, son of a *Tuan guru* NU born in Bagek Nyaka, Kembang Kerang village, Aikmel sub-district. The magnitude of the influence of his late father caused TGH Husni for a not relatively long time to gain quite a lot of adherents. No wonder in 1995, his adherents were almost spread in all villages in East Lombok (Tantowi, 2009: 27). Besides East Lombok, Salafis also exist in various parts of Sasak, both in the districts of Central Lombok, West Lombok, and North Lombok and one city of Mataram.

### **Causes of Rural Indigenous Resistance to Rural Salafis in Lombok**

The dialectic between rural Salafis and rural indigenous confirms what Ferdinand Tonnies (1855-1936) stated that divided society into two types of groups, namely *gemeinschaft*, and *gesellschaft*. As a *gemeinschaft* (association) community, village people are thick with exclusive attitudes either for reasons of blood, place, or mind which in this case is religious thought (*gemeinschaft by blood, gemeinschaft of place, and gemeinschaft of mind*). Resistance implies dissociative interactions such as competition between figures or people with different religious perspectives and vertical and horizontal conflicts. This is due to Salafis wanting purification of Islamic teachings on the one hand while, on the other hand, indigenous Islam wants to save Islam from Salafi teachings. More specifically, several things cause indigenous rural resistance to rural Salafis in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, namely:

#### ***First*, the contestation of influence between characters**

Contestation of influence among religious elites also contributed to indigenous resistance to Salafis. According to Muhlis (interview August 23, 2015), and I. R. Suhandra (December 20, 2015), this happened because the religious elite *kiai* (Islamic experts), *tuan guru*, *ustadz*, local community leaders) had a long and deep influence on the village community. If something new comes, particularly if something new is different from what is taught by the religious elite, there will automatically be a struggle for influence. So, no wonder that religious elites in the village also drive resistance to Salafis. Sasak Islam (the name for the indigenous people of Lombok) is Islam which, besides being strongly supported by a universal Islamic dialectic with local, is also supported by a strong religious tradition (high religious fanaticism) because



it is based on authoritative truth obtained from the *Tuan guru*. Linguistically the word *tuan guru* comes from the word "tuan," which means hajj, and "guru" means teacher. However, not all Hajj are called *tuan guru*. Being a *tuan guru* in the perspective of the Sasak community must have high knowledge (especially in the religion field), which then, with that knowledge, gets social legitimacy in the community, either because of the knowledge delivery in *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school), recitation, *majlis taklim* (non-formal Islamic educational institutions) or attend in person on various invitations to community events (*zikir* (praises to God spoken repeatedly), *tahlilan*, *roah*, *serakalan*, and others).

Mainstream Islam preached by the *tuan guru* in Lombok usually comes from the majority of religious organizations in Lombok, namely *Nahdlatul Wathan* (henceforth NW) and *Nahdlatul Ulama* (henceforth NU). The *tuan guru* of both NW and NU (in most if not all of them) carry the theology of al-Ash'ari, fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) as-Shafi'i and Sufism al-Ghazali which are characterized by moderation. The results of Faizah's research (2012b: 67), for example, demonstrate that in theological matters, the majority of Sasak people follow the views of the al-Asy'ari sect attributed to its founder Abu Hasan al-Asy'ari who understands that the *khbariyah* characteristics contained in some verses of the Qur'an are metaphorical in nature that require *takwil* (interpretation).

### **Second, the assumption that Salafis are out of the mainstream of Sasak Islam**

For Sasak people, particularly in villages, mainstream thought not only has the meaning of majority but also the truth (majority means truth). There are many who legitimize his opinion with the rule, "*Imtina 'tawathu'uhum 'al-kadzibi fil-adah.*" (it is impossible to lie together precisely). Thus, when religious discourse arises from the minority, the minority is considered out of the mainstream of thought, which also means a mistake that requires correction.

The mainstream religion of the Sasak community is Islam uses the theology of Imam Hasan al-Ash'ari and Imam Abu Manshur al-Maturidzi, uses the jurisprudence of Imam as-Shafi'i and the Sufism of Imam al-Ghazali. This was brought by the *tuan guru*, Middle East alumni, in Lombok which was further strengthened by the existence of existing organizations such as NW founded by TGKHM. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid and NU founded by K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari. Most Lombok people embraced Ash'ari-Maturidi theology, fiqh as-Shafi'i, and Sufism al-Ghazali. Violent Salafization and disturbing the religious comfort of the Sasak people (claims of *syirik*, heresy, and superstition) are the seeds of contestation common in Lombok.

The existence of *kiai* and *tuan guru* in the community of Sasak Village Lombok is not only an exemplary figure in behavior but also in terms of religious sect *Tuan guru* is considered a representation of God's teachings. Their religious abilities, which are supported by the language ability to understand the primary and secondary sources of Islamic teachings, make the community a source of religious truth in the Sasak community. The ability possessed by the *tuan guru* is responded to with high acceptance in the form of fanaticism, even though many consider someone holy. This authoritative model of truth when opposed or attacked by other teachings, makes the indigenous Sasak people put up to defend it. It is common for both organizations to have a majority of defenders in Gumi Sasak Lombok. They have *amalan-amalan* (worship, virtue, habits) that in addition to being the result of *ijtihad* (earnest efforts in seeking knowledge of the Sharia Law) from the scholars of sectare also influenced by local culture. Among them are *serakalan*, *maulidan* (commemoration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday), *barzanji* (recitation of praises containing the narration of the Prophet Muhammad), *ziarah kubur* (visiting someone's grave to pray for him), *tahlilan / roah* or local traditions inserted by Islamic teachings such as *nelung* (3 days ritual fter someone's death), *mitu'* (7 days ritual after someone's death), *nyiwa'* (9 days ritual after someone's death), *nyatus* and *nyiwu* (ritual hundred and thousand days after death), *pelampak* (charity for the dead) and so on. All the religious rituals of the indigenous Muslims of the village have long and settled into traditions for generations. Inevitably, when it was refuted and claimed to be an aberrative ritual by Salafis, the initial moderate attitude of Imam Abu Hasan al-Ash'ari and Imam Abu Manshur al-Maturidzi adherents turned fierce in the village.

Actually, Sasak Islam Lombok is tolerant Islam or moderate Islam. In this case what Ridwan said was interesting (interview, September 20, 2015) namely Islam Sasak Lombok is quite tolerant, although there are often conflicts with Salafis due to Salafis aggressively attacking moderate Islam. Salafis often blame the strong Sasak Islamic religion on the *hiziban* tradition (prayers' collection reading activities by Sheikh TGKH M. Zainuddin Abdul Madjid, Founder of Nahdlatul Wathan organization in Pancor Lombok NTB), *barzanji*, *serakalan*, *roah/tahlilan* (spiritual *zikir*, ruh / *roah* to remember the family of the deceased with various Islamic readings from the Qur'an and Hadith and prayers composed by scholars), *talqin*, *maulid*, and others. While they (Sasak Islam) do not want Islam received from the *tuan guru* to be blamed even considered heresy, *syirik*

and so on. If Salafis were not like that, they would not have been expelled, their homes will not be burned and others, they were aggressive and not adaptive.

Furthermore, an interesting analogy from Kurnain (interview 6-7 August 2015) about Lombok Salafis vs. moderate Islam is that Lombok Salafis consider themselves straight to go against the current. Suppose Islam is a big river filled by two boats namely large and small boats, the big boat (moderate Sasak Islam) goes west, while the small boat (Salafi Islam) fights the stream to the east. After going against the stream, the small boat blamed the big boat to the west and invited it to the east, what was even worse was that the captain of the boat (*tuan guru*) was considered wrong in commanding the big boat. The entire big boat then pushed, damaged, and even tried to burn the small boat.

### ***Third, the assumption that Salafis do not get along***

For the Sasak Muslim village community in Lombok, one of the characteristics of their Islam is togetherness in rituals. refusing to be together is considered different, if the one who refuses it is Muhammadiyah, in some respects, tolerated, because there are rarely conflicts between NU-NW and Muhammadiyah socially and horizontally. But if it is Salafi, it will be arbitrated directly locally. Because Salafis reject not only the attitude but also the opinion addressed to the majority who invite it. This shows that although Muhammadiyah in Lombok (such as in Golong Narmada village) is different from indigenous Islam, they are tolerated because these differences are not manifested vulgarly like the salafization above.

Togetherness in rituality indicates what in sociology is called *minna wa minhum* (our and out-group). For example, if pilgrims believe that *tahlilan*, *barzanji*, *hiziban*, and *syarakalan* are part of an effort to draw closer (*taqarrub*) to Allah, then they will form groups of *tahlilan*, *barzanji*, *hiziban*, and *syarakalan*. *Syarakalan* is a term derived from *ashraqa* in *asyraqa al-badru 'alaina*. This Sasak tradition contains praises to the Prophet Muhammad *saw*. (peace be upon him) accompanied by *zikir* or roah.

For the Sasak community, Salafis are a religious group or sect that has a different religious practice from theirs. The continuous influx of Salafism through recitation, denouncing the religious and cultural practices actually carried out by the Sasak community reflects the efforts of Salafi groups to purify. This is because

they consider the religious practice of the Sasak community to be influenced by heresy. On the other hand, Salafists deal with the culture of Sasak society that prioritizes community and social solidarity. While the Sasak community considers that local culture is acceptable as long as it does not mix with Islamic worship and contradicts basic Islamic teachings (Faizah, 2012: 377).

#### ***Fourth, get used to homogeneity***

The religious pattern of indigenous Sasak Muslims is also characterized by the habit of homogeneity. Unity and living together based on the same religion and *tuan guru* are one of the characteristics of the Sasak Islam majority. This homogeneity becomes the power to maintain the establishment of religious understanding (interview with I. Rama Suhandra, 20 December 2015). For example, in Narmada, there are NU-based, NW-based, Muhammadiyah-based, and Salafi-based areas.

Something interesting according to Riyanto (October 2015 interview) is that indigenous Islam pays more attention to Salafis than non-Muslims. For example, in Suranadi (a village in the Narmada sub-district of West Lombok) which is a village where Islam and Hinduism mingle, and in Peninjauan village (a hamlet in the Narmada sub-district of West Lombok) where Hinduism borders the Muslims of Golong village. In these two places, it can be observed (observation August-December 2015), relations between Islam and non-Muslims run harmoniously because Muslims consider different religions to be normal. But if in one religion (Islam) there is a different understanding and even deviates from the habits of the majority, then that is unnatural and often leads to conflict. This suggests that in some ways, external religious differences are "more tolerable" than internal differences.

#### ***Fifth, the education level of the village community (intellectual maturity)***

Rural communities in general are not as educated as urban communities. Indeed, the majority of urban educated people come from villages, but those who live in cities have adaptive (not hypocritical) attitudes. In the city, they are plural, and tolerant while in the village they dissolve in the fanaticism of the majority. This makes people's intellectual maturity low. This also makes many (but not all) scholars, masters, and even doctors who have long studied or taught in cities with inclusive modern thinking but return to being exclusive when they return to the village.

They may criticize the *kiai* and *tuan guru* when teaching or studying, but *salim* (kiss hands) and *sami'na wa ath'na* when they return to their village.

### **Causes of Urban Indigenous Tolerance towards City Salafis in Mataram, Lombok, NTB.**

The interaction between urban Salafis and indigenous in the city is more associative in nature characterized by tolerance. One example is that many indigenous Muslims join congregational prayers when they are in the Cakra Negara Mosque which is one of the Salafi centers (observation August-December 2015). According to Muhlis, Quddus, Razy (interview December 5, 2015), among the things that led to the creation of tolerance are:

#### ***First*, urban Muslims are more plural and intellectually mature**

According to Quddus and Razy (December 5, 2015 interview), the reality of urban communities is plural and heterogeneous. This plurality makes them accustomed to differences not only in terms of religion, culture, language, or tradition but also within sects of beliefs. For example, in West Lombok and in the city of Mataram NTB, a number of religions were found in Indonesia, namely Islam (the majority), followed by Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Confucianism. In contrast to East Lombok which is almost all Muslim. The reality of plurality above makes the religious pattern of urban society inclusive. It includes inclusion internally and externally.

Furthermore, intellectual maturity is due to the higher education level of urban people in general than in rural communities (A. Quddus, interview December 5, 2015). The education level of urban people such as in the city of Mataram can be found ranging from undergraduate to Master levels. Although they actually come from the village, their place of residence in the city makes them adaptive in showing their religion.

#### ***Second*, the individualist nature of the city's Muslims**

Individualism has been considered one of the negative characteristics, but considering that nothing is created in vain, the individualism of urban society in some ways has a positive side, which is not to interfere with other societies. In addition, the negative characteristics of individualist urban society contributed to religious tolerance.

***Fourth, references to varied and multi-perspective religious teachings***

In the city, *kiai* and *tuan guru* remain references, but the urban indigenous Muslims also have varied teaching references such as reading books, the Internet, and others. In other words, the phenomenon of the role of *kiai* or *tuan guru* is more dominant in the village than in the city. Because in the city, although the *tuan guru* still has an important role, he is not the dominant one and becomes a reference.

The existence of varied, multi-perspective teaching references and even comparative discourse also determines views and attitudes towards differences. Therefore, no wonder that indigenous and Salafi conflicts are more prevalent in villages than in cities.

**Multicultural Competence-Based Conflict Management and Its Implications for Religious Elites**

Relations that lead to contestation and conflict between indigenous and Salafis are common in plural societies. Reconciling the two cannot be done by trying to unify their understandings because this already involves believing in the best way of truth according to their group's perspective. The best solution is to provide a perspective of supporting values in responding to differences known as multicultural competence which consists of awareness of differences, knowledge of differences, abilities or skills, and attitudes in interacting and reacting to differences.

Given that the natives and Salafis studied in this paper are in the community and not in formal educational institutions, the figures who play a role in the conflict management of indigenous and Salafi contestation are religious elites. The religious elites referred to here are religious figures consisting of *kiai*, *ustadz*, *tuan guru*, or TGKH (Tuan Guru Kiai Haji). This role is very important because, in the context of Lombok society in particular, the religious elite is a figure of self-identification who is not only in thinking but also in behavior. Consequently, the truth of the elite perspective is a truth that is also widely believed by people, both in the village and in the city.

Referring to (partially) Mintzberg's thought (in Edward, 2015), the roles that need to be played by religious elites are monitor role, disseminator, figurehead, spokesman, and disturbance handler. The roles are interrelated

so that each other enters the boundaries of one another (penetrating boundaries). The explanation is:

First, the role of the monitor role, in this case, the religious elite must be able to monitor or supervise every act of its adherents either directly or indirectly. The monitoring role in the Salafi and indigenous contexts in Sasak land is seen in preventive and anticipatory measures taken by religious elites of different faith sects. Particularly between *kiai*, *tuan guru*, and Salafi figures. This is difficult to occur when religious leaders have an exclusive understanding. Instead of monitoring, what happens is to support the congregation itself so that horizontal conflicts are often inevitable.

Second, the role of the disseminator, in this case, the religious elite is expected to be able to disseminate universal religious values that advocate peace, and harmony with the principle of mutual respect between others, including different religious sects. Religious leaders are expected to convey the universal values of Islamic teachings in order to realize *al-islam rahmatan lil'alam*. Third, the role of a spokesman, in this case, the religious elite who often become lecturers in recitation is expected to be able to highlight tolerance by prioritizing aspects of religious *usuliyah* rather than aspects of *furu'iyah*. One of the leaders of religious figures' routines such as *tuan guru* in Lombok is to give religious lectures or recitations. In recitation, comparative discourse is rarely conveyed, because it is considered *talfiq* (mixing sect). Thus, if the general public has listened to the teachings of Imam as-Shafi'i (for example), then only as-Shafi'i is right, as well as others. However, there are also *kiai* or *tuan guru* (although there are few of them) who have begun to teach about tolerance from both theological and sociological perspectives.

Fourth, the role of disturbance handlers, in this case, religious elites as correctors or counselors when there are problems in relations between indigenous and Salafis, leaders are expected to be at the forefront of providing win-win decisions. This role is also related to the role of negotiators, which are religious elites negotiating with other parties either in preventive steps - anticipatory or curative. The roles above will be associated with supporting values in realizing multicultural competence (awareness, knowledge, skills, and attitudes) so that, when associated with the theory of multicultural competence above, the tasks of religious elites in conflict management are:

*First*, in terms of level of awareness, the religious elite is tasked with transforming one's awareness of differences from *my perspective is right and only one* to *my perspective is one of many* even escalated into *my perspective is changing and being enhanced*.

*Second*, in terms of emotional response to difference, religious elites are tasked with transforming emotional responses to differences from fear, rejection, and denial to responses that make people have interest, awareness, and openness towards differences and appreciation, respect, joy, and enthusiasm and actively seeking positive things from differences.

*Third*, in terms of the interaction model (*model of cultural interaction*), religious elites are expected to change isolative and avoidance attitudes into integrative, interactive attitudes that show acceptance of interaction with other different elements (acceptance) even the community itself is expected to be able to transform its own model of mutually beneficial interaction between indigenous and Salafis.

*Fourth*, in terms of approach to teaching and management, religious da'wah/recitation is not only directed at how to understand one's own group but also learn about and from others (*learning about others and from others*). So that monocultural nuances are directed to multicultural for the realization of differences that do not hinder peace.

## **Conclusion**

The existence of natives and Salafis is difficult (not to say impossible) to unite because it already involves a belief in a way of looking at the truth. Differences are not to be united but how they do not hinder peace. Contestation that leads to conflict between Salafis and natives in Lombok can be minimized by making multicultural competence one of the conflict management efforts. Conflict management is a conflict that is managed and not destroyed, because destroying conflict is not only difficult or impossible, but it is feared that it will metamorphose into other forms.



The most important element desired by this multicultural competence is the reciprocity of values in realizing peaceful relations such as respecting others if you want to be respected or do not pinch if you do not want to be pinched. Islam itself teaches, us to love those on earth and those in the sky will love (*irhamu 'man fi al-ardhi, yarhamkum man fi alsama'*).

Multicultural competence is a competency that consists of awareness of differences, knowledge of differences, abilities or skills as well as attitudes in interacting and reacting to differences. Multicultural competence is not only a matter of formal education but also real life in society. Religious elites who deal directly with people (religious groups / religious sects) play an important role in realizing multicultural competence, one of which aims to change the mindset from *my perspective is right and only one* to *my perspective is one of many* to *my perspective is changing and being enhanced*.

The drawback of this study is that it focuses more on rural and urban indigenous perspectives of Salafis in villages and cities rather than the other way around. Therefore, further studies are needed which are expected to provide further views using Salafi's perspective, both rural and urban towards rural and urban indigenous in order to realize peace in differences.

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