

MAPPING ISLAM: New Order Policy, Mosque Distribution, and Religious Dynamics in West Java, Indonesia

*Roni Tabroni & Muhammad Dachlan**

*Research Centre for Treasures of Religion and Civilization, BRIN, Indonesia

Email: roni.tabroni@brin.go.id

Abstract

One of the key factors shaping the religious landscape in Indonesia is the strategic policies implemented by the New Order Government. This article examines how these policies influenced the geographic distribution of mosques and the subsequent religious dynamics in West Java. Additionally, it investigates the impact of government policies on the formation and development of religious organizations and Islamic communities across different regions, with a specific focus on West Java. This study employs a historical method by analyzing government archives, historical documents, and mosque establishment data. Spatial analysis is used to correlate mosque locations with centers of social, economic, and political activity. The findings indicate that the New Order government's mosque construction policy directly shaped the spatial distribution of mosques in West Java. The placement of mosques during the New Order era prioritized areas with concentrated Muslim population, aligning with the government's strategy to monitor religious organizations. By strategically placing mosques, which often serve as the center of life for Muslim communities, the New Order aimed to control Muslim activities. This article contributes to a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between state power, religion, and spatial politics in Indonesia.

Salah satu faktor utama yang membentuk lanskap keagamaan di Indonesia adalah adanya kebijakan strategis yang diterapkan pemerintah Orde Baru. Artikel ini mengkaji bagaimana kebijakan tersebut memengaruhi distribusi geografis masjid dan dinamika keagamaan di Jawa Barat. Selain itu, artikel ini menyelidiki dampak kebijakan pemerintah terhadap pembentukan dan pengembangan organisasi keagamaan dan komunitas Islam di berbagai wilayah, khususnya di Jawa Barat. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode historis dengan menganalisis arsip pemerintah, dokumen sejarah, dan data pendirian masjid. Analisis spasial digunakan untuk menghubungkan lokasi masjid dengan pusat kegiatan sosial, ekonomi, dan politik. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kebijakan pembangunan masjid pemerintah Orde Baru berdampak langsung pada bentuk distribusi spasial masjid di Jawa Barat. Penempatan masjid selama era Orde Baru memprioritaskan daerah dengan populasi Muslim yang terkonsentrasi, selaras dengan strategi pemerintah untuk memantau organisasi keagamaan. Dengan menempatkan masjid secara strategis, yang sering berfungsi sebagai pusat kehidupan komunitas Muslim, Orde Baru bertujuan mengontrol aktivitas Muslim. Penelitian ini berkontribusi pada pemahaman mendalam tentang interaksi kompleks antara kekuasaan negara, agama, dan politik spasial di Indonesia.

Keywords: mosque distribution; new order; religious dynamics; spatial politics

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Introduction

In the context of Indonesia's historical and political currents, during the New Order period, marked by President Suharto's leadership from 1966 to 1998, significant shifts in socio-cultural dynamics shaped the nation. One prominent area of influence was the religious landscape, especially concerning Islam. Government policies during this period played a substantial role in regulating the religious life of Indonesian Muslim communities, which, in turn, indirectly affected the development of Islam across various regions. The impact of the New Order policies on the development of Islam in different regions is closely linked to the centralistic and authoritarian nature of this period.

This characteristic is evident in policies regulating religious practices among Indonesian Muslims. For example, students were initially prohibited from wearing the *jilbab* (headscarf) to school, as it was considered a violation of school uniform regulations, stipulated in the Decree SK 052/C/Kep/D.82 issued by the Directorate General of Primary and Secondary Education. This rule was later revised in 1991, allowing *jilbab* to be worn in schools. Further examples include the enactment of the 1974 Marriage Law, the 1989 Religious Courts Law, the 1991 Compilation of Islamic Law, and a joint ministerial decision in 1991 concerning *amil zakat* (charitable collectors), *infâq* (voluntary alms), and *sadaqah* (charity) distribution (Syamsuddin & Fatkhan 2010, 145), as well as mosque distribution policies.

The spatial distribution of mosques is a notable example of how New Order religious regulations impacted Indonesia's Muslim communities. Mosque placement and distribution are essential since mosques serve as centers of religious and community life in Muslim communities. They are not just places of worship; they also reflect broader social, economic, and political dynamics (Putri et al. 2018, 45; El Boujjoufi et al. 2021, 465). Mosques often function as community hubs, centers of social interaction, and indicators of economic activity. Hartanto (2019) demonstrated the role of mosques as economic centers as written in his study conducted in the Jogokaryan Mosque and Syuhada Mosque. Furthermore, mosques can also symbolize power and influence. They are often built with support from local governments or community leaders, as illustrated by the Cheng Hoo Mosque in Surabaya (Mahfud 2018). These examples highlight that Islam, through its mosques, has the potential to shape not only the spiritual lives of its adherents but also the socio-cultural structure of society, especially within the complex political landscape of the New Order period in West Java Province.

Research on how state power influences religious communities through the construction of houses of worship can be explored across several studies. In the article titled "One House of Worship with Many Roofs: Imposing Architecture to Mediate Sunni, Alevi, and Gulenist Islam in Turkey," Andersen (2019) describes the response of religious communities in Turkey to the construction of the Cemevi Mosque. This mosque was intended to foster connections among Sunni, Alevi, and Gulenist communities. This study highlights the power imbalance between government-backed Sunni groups and other religious groups, like the Alevi, who lack government support in the construction of worship spaces.

Andersen's study illustrates the significant influence of government-backed groups in decisions surrounding the construction of houses of worship.

State influence on community behavior through the construction of religious buildings is also addressed in other works. The study titled "Giving Everyone Their Due: Religious Buildings in Sofia and the Conceptualization of National Identity, 1878-1912" describes Bulgaria's efforts to redefine national identity through the construction of St. Nevsky Cathedral. This article sheds light on how governments utilize houses of worship to promote ideological narratives (Stoicheva 2009).

In Indonesia, the impact of state policy on the distribution of mosques remains an understudied theme. Studies on New Order policies often center on the development of Islamic education. Jailani and Muhammad's (2019) article, "*Kilas Balik Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Indonesia pada Masa Orde Baru (1967-1997)*," explores how the New Order government gave fresh air to Islamic education, integrating it into curriculum from elementary to higher education and formally recognizing *madrrasah* and *pesantren*. Other studies on New Order policy examine the broader Islamic landscape, such as the role of the *Majelis Ta'lim* (Dahlan 2018) and interreligious relations (Saleh 2020). These studies indicate that the influence of New Order policies on religious communities through mosque distribution has not been comprehensively addressed, particularly in West Java Province.

Based on the background outlined, this study addresses two main questions. The first question is: "How did the policies of the New Order Government affect the distribution of mosques in West Java?" This question aims to identify the specific policies implemented by the New Order government that influenced the distribution pattern of mosques in West Java. The second question is: "What was the distribution pattern of mosques during the New Order period?" Beyond identifying distribution patterns, this question also investigates the impact of mosque distribution on religious dynamics, particularly within the Islamic community in West Java during this period.

The spatial analysis of mosque distribution in this study provides insight into the interaction between government policies and religious dynamics in West Java. The primary objective is to explore the relationship between government religious policies and the development of Islam in West Java during the New Order era by analyzing the geographical placement of mosques. This analysis is crucial for understanding the historical context of government religious policies and their influence on Islamic practices and

expressions in the region. Ultimately, this research aims to reveal the lasting impact of New Order religious policies on the Islamic landscape in West Java and how these policies continue to shape Islamic identity and expression in the region today.

Research Method

This research employs historical research methods, consisting of four stages: heuristics (tracing historical sources or data), source criticism, interpretation or analysis, and historiography (historical writing). Data on the names and numbers of mosques in each regency/city in West Java Province during the New Order period were obtained through the *Sistem Informasi Masjid* website. From these sources, it was revealed that in 2022, West Java Province had the highest number of mosques in Indonesia, totaling 61,142. From this dataset, a sample of 258 large mosques established during the New Order period was selected for analysis.

The data analysis in this study comprises two primary approaches. The first is spatial analysis, used to map and understand the distribution patterns of mosques in West Java during the New Order era. This analysis examines the spatial relationship between mosque construction sites and centers of social, economic, and political activity. The second approach applies the theory of *political control* and *central place* proposed by Calvert et al. (1989). *The political control theory* is used to explore the mechanism of political control exercised by the New Order central government. It examines how government policies were implemented and their subsequent impact on society. This theory is relevant to see the control of the central government in implementing policies, particularly those affecting the mosques distribution in West Java during the New Order era.

There are some key aspects of the political control theory, (a) centralized control: the role of the highest political leadership in shaping religious policy, particularly those related to mosque distribution; (b) variations in implementation: differences in mosque distribution patterns across various regions in West Java; and (c) political influence: the involvement and influence of political actors in implementing mosque distribution policies.

The central place theory, as discussed by King (2020), is applied to understand the relationship between mosque distribution and the spatial organization of social, economic, and political activities. This theory helps explain whether the distribution patterns of mosques were influenced by the

centralization of these aforementioned activities during the New Order era. The mosque's function as a central place for Muslims in religious and community life is a focal point of this analysis. The theory will also provide a geographical perspective on how the distribution of mosques reflected the broader societal dynamics during the New Order period.

Some essential aspects of this theory include, (a) hierarchy of central places: the hierarchical arrangement of central places in West Java during the New Order and how mosques fit within this hierarchy; (b) range and threshold: the maximum distance people were willing to travel to mosques and the threshold population required to sustain a mosque. This aspect explores the spatial relationship between mosque distribution and social, economic, and political centers; (c) competition and service area: competition between central places and the services areas of mosques; and (d) impact on community dynamics: the influence of mosque distribution on community dynamics, including social interactions, economic transactions, and political engagement. By integrating these analytical approaches, this study provides a comprehensive geographical and socio-political perspective on the distribution of mosques during the New Order period, shedding light on broader societal dynamics in West Java.

Results and Discussion

The New Order Government Policies and The Distribution of Mosques

The relationship between Islam and the government during the New Order period can be described across three distinct phases. These phases are referred to as the periods of consolidation (1966–1977), fragmentation (1977–1983), and reformulation (Syam 2012). During these periods, the relationship between Islam and the government was notably strained, primarily due to the government's efforts to undermine the political influence of Muslims perceived as misaligned with the New Order's political agenda.

Key measures taken by the government included the marginalization of Masyumi-affiliated individuals and the establishment of *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP; the United Development Party) in 1973. The PPP was apparently created as a platform for Muslim's political aspirations but operated under significant government influence. Simultaneously, the government actively supported non-political Islamic activities, including facilitating the construction of religious offices and mosques for Muslims who refrained from engaging in political dissent.

The government's approach is evident through the policies of the central government, particularly those executed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Culture. During this time, three Ministers of Religious Affairs—Muhammad Dahlan (1968-1971), Mukti Ali (1971-1978), and Alamsyah Ratu Prawiranegara (1978-1983)—played significant roles. Similarly, four Ministers of Education and Culture—Mohamad Sanusi Hardjadinata (1967-1968), Mashuri Saleh (1968-1973), Syarief Thayeb (1974-1978), and Daoed Joesoef (1978-1983)—were instrumental in shaping education policies.

Several key policies during this period had a significant impact on Muslim communities. *First*, National Quran Recitation Competition. The introduction of the *Musabaqah Tilawatil Qur'an* (MTQ) at the national level in 1968, first held in Ujung Pandang (now Makassar), demonstrated the government's support for non-political Islamic activities (Syam 2012). *Second*, Marriage Law of 1974. The enactment of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 1974 on marriage was controversial, as it conflicted with Islamic law. *Third*, the support for physical developments. The Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs Number 1 of 1975 facilitated financial assistance for Islamic social organizations, private universities, and the construction or rehabilitation of mosques, *mushollas*, and historic tombs, issued on March 6, 1975. *Fourth*, regulation of *Majelis Ta'lim* activities. The Decree of the Minister of Religious Affairs Number 70 of 1978 regulated *Majelis Ta'lim* (Islamic study groups) to prevent their use as platforms for political activities. *Fifth*, guidance on *da'wah* activities. The Instruction of the Minister of Religious Affairs Number 5 of 1981 provided guidelines for religious sermons, lectures, and *Da'wah* to align with government policies. *Sixth*, national school uniform policy. The Decree of the Directorate General of Primary and Secondary Education, Ministry of Education and Culture Number 052/C/Kep/D.82, issued on March 17, 1982, prohibited students from wearing Islamic attire such as the *jilbab* (headscarf) in schools. *Seventh*, school holidays during Ramadan. The Ministry of Education and Culture's Decree Number 0211/U/1978 stipulated the academic calendar, including a prohibition on granting school holidays during Ramadan, enacted in 1983.

The prohibition of political activity, as evidenced by the policies that emerged during this period, triggered a new movement among Muslims. This movement was known as the *da'wah movement*. One significant *da'wah* movement that arose during this period was the establishment of the *Dewan*

Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII, Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council) in 1967 (Tabroni & Idham 2023). Initially founded to counter the spread of Christianization, the institution gradually transformed into a *da'wah* organization addressing various societal challenges faced by Muslims.

The simultaneous suppression of Muslim political aspirations and the government's support for religious physical development significantly influenced the construction of mosques in West Java. During this period, 127 large mosques were built in the region. The specific locations of these mosques are detailed in Table 1 (Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam 2024).

Table 1
Large Mosques in West Java built in 1966-1983

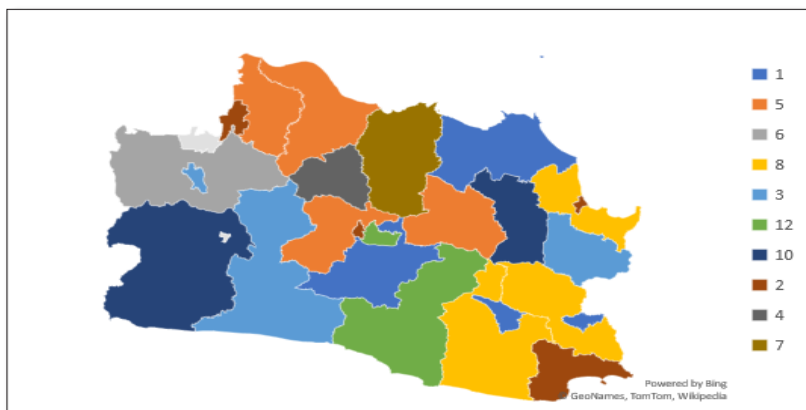
No.	Location	Mosques
1	Bandung Regency	At-Taufiq (1978), Al-Muttaqin (1980)
2	West Bandung Regency	Al-Ikhlash (1967), Nurul Iman (1972), Al-Kahpi (1975), Al-Kautsar (1978), As-Sifa Atoyibin (1980)
3	Majalengka Regency	Al-Huda (1978), Darul Mutaqin (1978), Al-Hikmah (1979), Nurul Islam (1983)
4	Pangandaran Regency	Al-Istiqomah (1974), Al-Islah (1975)
5	Purwakarta Regency	Al-Muawanah (1966), Al-Ikhlash (1968), Baitussyukur (1970), At-Tasbeh (1978)
6	Bekasi Regency	Annur (1967), Nurul Iman (1975), Al-Hidayah (1978), Nurul Yaqin (1980), Al-Mukaromah (1981)
7	Subang Regency	Al-Muttaqin (1966), Al-Istiqamah (1969), At-Taufiq (1970), Darurrahman (1977), Al-Musabaqoh (1979), Nurul Huda (1981), Al-Mukhlisin (1983)
8	Bogor Regency	Husnul Ma'ab (1966), Baiturrahmah (1968), Al-Ittihad (1971), Ar-Rohmah (1973), Miftahussa'adah (1974), Al-Alam (1980)
9	Ciamis Regency	Uswatun Hasanah (1966), Al-Mujaahidiin (1966), Baetul Magfiroh (1972), Panjalu Great Mosque (1980), At-Taqwa (1980), Darul Ulum (1982), Al-Huda (1982), Al-Manar (1983)
10	Sukabumi Regency	Nurul Huda (1966), Ruhul Jihad (1970), Nurul Anwar (1970), Attaqwa (1970), Al-

		Wahidi (1970), Al-Hidayah (1970), Al-Barokah (1975), Al-Hikam (1976), Daarussholihin (1979), Nurul Fata (1980)
11	Cianjur Regency	Al-Barokah (1969), Al-Ishlah (1973), Almubarokah (1980)
12	Sumedang Regency	Nurul Iman (1966), Al-Hikmah (1970), Conggeang Great Mosque (1981), Wado Great Mosque (1982), Al-Hidayah (1983),
13	Cirebon Regency	Al-Munawaroh (1971), Dog Jumeneng (1974), Al-Hidayah (1974), Baitusholihin (1976), Al-Mujahidin (1978), Al-Ikhlas (1980), Al-Barkah (1982), Baitur Rohmah (1983)
14	Tasikmalaya Regency	Rajapolah Great Mosque (1970), Al-Ikhlas (1970), Kalangsari (1974), Al-Imaroh (1976), Al-Irsyad (1980), At-Ta'awun (1981), Nurul Anwar (1981), Nurul Hidayah (1982)
15	Garut Regency	Al-Hidayah (1966), Al-Ikhlas (1967), Al-Barokah (1970), Al-Hidayah (1975), Al-Hikmah (1978), Nur Ihsan (1978), Al-Mukhtar (1979), Jami'atu Ta'limil Qur'an (1980), Tarbiyatul Ulum (1980), Nurul Iman (1982), Tarogong Kaler Great Mosque (1982), Al-Ikhlash (1982)
16	Indramayu Regency	Al-Anwar (1983)
17	Karawang Regency	Al-Huda (1968), Al-Ikhlas (1970), At-Taqwa (1970), Al-Huda (1976), Al-Maghfiroh (1980)
18	Kuningan Regency	Nurul Iman (1970), Al-Hikmah (1971), Al-Hidayah (1980)
19	Majalengka Regency	Al-Hikmah (1967), An-Najah (1976), Al-Gufron (1970), Al-Hurriyah (1973), Nurul Amaliyyah (1977), Anwarul Huda (1977)
20	Bandung City	Ukhuwatul Islam (1966), As-Siraj (1968), Agung Al-Ukhuwah (1970), As-Suruur (1972), Baiturrahman (1972), Nurul Iman (1974), At-Taqwa (1977), An-Naas (1980), Al-Fithroh (1980), Al-Islah (1981),

		Hayatul Islam (1981), Baiturrahman (1983)
21	Banjar City	Al-Hidayah (1975)
22	Bekasi City	Hidayatut Taufiq (1975), Al-Ittihad (1981)
23	Bogor City	Al-Mi'raj Great Mosque (1975), Al-Hidayah (1980), Al-Muhajirin (1982)
24	Cimahi City	Baiturrohman (1979), Cihanjuang Great Mosque (1980)
25	Cirebon City	Al-Hidayah (1968), Al-Huda (1970)
26	Tasikmalaya City	Muhajirin (1982)

Based on the data in Table 1, it is evident that Bandung City and Garut Regency built the highest number of large mosques during this period, with a total of 12 mosques each. The variant in the number of large mosques built across different regions in West Java Province during this period is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Number of Large Mosques per City/Regency in 1966-1983



The second phase in the relationship between Islam and the government during the New Order period is referred to as the period of cohesion and integration (Syam 2012). Spanning from 1983 to 1998, this period showcased the government attempt to reconcile tensions that had arisen among Muslims during the earlier era. These efforts manifested in the enactment of the Law on Political Parties and Mass Organizations in 1983, which established Pancasila as the sole ideological principle. This policy

prompted a shift in political strategies among Muslims. One notable result was the proliferation of *da'wah* institutions, initiated both by Muslim communities and the New Order government. Although this law faced rejection from some Islamic figures and activists, it ultimately served as a catalyst for potential cohesion between Muslims and the state. This was evident as Islamic social organizations and intellectuals began to abandon visible political orientations in the 1980s, focusing instead on cultural revitalization (Syam 2012). It was during this period that the cultural Islamic movement gained traction within the Muslim community.

The 1980s marked a transformative chapter in the Muslim struggle, characterized by a focus on socio-economic and cultural approaches. This decade reflected the intellectual dynamism and vibrancy of Islam, as evidenced by several developments. These included the rise of *Gerakan Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam* (GPPI, Islamic Thought Renewal Movement), pioneered by Nurcholis Madjid; an increase in lectures and scientific seminars; the popularity of religious study sessions in government offices; the heightened participation in religious activities at universities; the overflowing attendance at mosques; and even the emergence of Muslim fashion shows in luxury hotels (Syam 2012). Furthermore, this new phase of the Muslim struggle reflected the growing awareness of the Muslim middle class regarding higher education. This awareness extended beyond religious studies to include disciplines rooted in science and technology.

The vibrant intellectual and religious activities of the community during this period were complemented by the government's productive policies. Two Ministers of Religious Affairs served during this time: Munawir Sjadzali (1983–1993) and Tarmizi Taher (1993–1998). Under Munawir Sjadzali's tenure, several significant religious initiatives and policies were introduced. These included the enactment of the Law on Religious Courts in 1989, the establishment of the Indonesian Muslim Scholars Association (ICMI) in 1990, the Compilation of Islamic Law in 1991, joint ministerial decisions concerning the administration of zakat, infaq, and alms in 1991, the introduction of the Islamic banking system (*Bank Muamalat*) in 1991, and the issuance of a decree by the Director General of Primary and Secondary Education permitting the wearing of Muslim attire (*hijab*) in schools in 1991. During Tarmizi Taher's tenure, other notable policies emerged, including the Siskohat Policy (Integrated Hajj Computerized System) and the establishment of the *Dana Abadi Umat* (DAU, Ummah Endowment Fund).

These policies highlight the government's efforts to strengthen relations with Muslims and foster greater integration with the community.

This process of cohesion and integration is further evidenced by the distribution of mosques in West Java. During this period, 132 mosques were built in the region. The specific locations of these mosques are presented in Table 2 (Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam 2024).

Table 2
Large Mosques in West Java built in 1983-1998

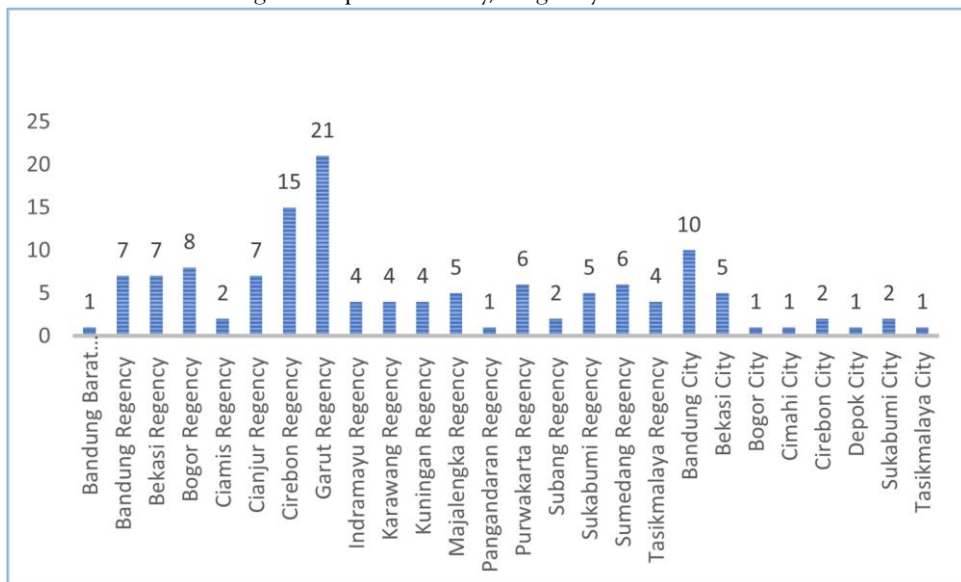
No.	Location	Mosques
1	Bandung Regency	Al-Muhajirin (1985), Al-Ikhlash (1987), Al-Muhajirin (1990), Arjasari Great Mosque (1992), Al-Fathu (1993), KUA Great Mosque (1997), Al-Barokah (1998)
2	West Bandung Regency	Batujajar (1993)
3	Garut Regency	Leles Great Mosque (1984), Tengah NU (1986), Nurul Huda (1987), Al-Munawar (1987), At-Taqwa (1988), Al-Huda (1988), Al-Hidayah (1988), Al-Mamur (1989), Al-Barokah (1990), Cijumungkung Tengah (1990), Karangpawitan Great Mosque (1990), Nurul Ikhlas (1990), Baetul Ma'mur (1990), Al-Falah (1994), Ma'had Az-Zulfa (1995), Al-Ikhlash (1995), Al-Muttaqin (1995), Al-Mahmudah (1995), Al-Ikhlash (1995), Shirotul Jannah (1995), Nurul Iman (1998)
4	Indramayu Regency	Salikul Huda (1984), Baiturrohim (1985), Al-Ittihad (1995), Uswatun Hasanah (1997)
5	Karawang Regency	Al-Ma'wa (1989), Al-Awwabien (1990), As-Syuhada (1994), Darussalam (1995)
6	Bekasi Regency	Al-Barkah (1986), Al-Hidayah (1990), Al-Istiqomah (1990), Hidayatul Muttaqin (1990), Hikmatussa'adah (1990), Al-Mukhlisin (1992), Miftahussa'adah (1993)
7	Kuningan Regency	Nurul Huda (1985), Miftahul Jannah (1989), An-Nuur (1990), Raudhatul Jannah (1995)

8	Majalengka Regency	Nurul Islam (1984), Al-Munawwaroh (1987), Darus Salam (1987), Darul Ikhlas (1989), Assalafiyah (1989)
9	Bogor Regency	Nurul Falah (1985), Al-Manshurunal Muqorrobbun (1986), Baiturahim (1987), Nurut Taqwa (1988), Al-Ijtihad (1991), Al-Falaah (1992), Nurul Faizin (1995), An-Nur (1997)
10	Pangandaran Regency	Al-Hikmah (1985)
11	Purwakarta Regency	Ar-Rohmah (1985), Al-Falah (1986), Baetur Rohman (1988), At-Taqwa (1994), At-Taubah (1996), Al-Barokah (1996)
12	Ciamis Regency	Al-Ikhlas (1985), Baeturrohim (1988)
13	Cianjur Regency	As-Su'ada (1987), Assalafiyah (1989), Al-Falahul Asakir (1992), Al-Fatonah (1995), Nurul Iman (1995), Al-Kautsar (1997), Darussalam (1998)
14	Subang Regency	Nurul Jannah (1984), Al-Huda (1989)
15	Sukabumi Regency	At-Taqwa (1998), Al-Ashli (1985), Qubbatul Muslimin (1986), R. Natadipura (1987), Darushsholihin (1990)
16	Cirebon Regency	Amirul Mukminin (1984), Al-Hidayah (1985), An-Nur (1986), Al-Mustaqim (1986), Darul Muttaqin (1987), Al-Muawanah (1987), Nurul Muttaqin (1987), Sumber Great Mosque (1988), Muktamarul Huda (1988), Ar-Raudloh (1990), Baitul Mu'minin (1990), An-Nur (1991), At-Taufiq (1992), Nur Aswitiyah (1994), Nurul Anwar (1995)
17	Sumedang Regency	Asy-Syuhada (1985), Al-Ikhlas (1993), Riyaadlul Jihad (1994), Baitul Amanah (1995), Al-Muhsinin (1995), At-Taqwa (1997)
18	Tasikmalaya Regency	Singaparna (1984), As-Salam (1985), Nurul Iman (1988), Mangunreja Great Mosque (1991)
19	Bandung City	Al-Ikhlas (1986), Husnul Hotimah (1986), Al-Ikhlas (1987), At-Tawakkal II (1989), Al-Adha (1990), Manunggal (1992), Al-Ihsan

		(1994), Baitul Muttaqin (1996), Baitul Makmur (1996), Nur Rohmah (1997)
20	Bekasi City	Hidayatullah (1985), Darul Hikmah (1986), Al-Mubtadiin (1990), Nurul Falah (1994), Baiturrahim (1994)
21	Bogor City	Al-Isro Great Mosque (1990)
22	Cimahi City	Al-Qolam Great Mosque, Central Cimahi (1995)
23	Cirebon City	Baitussalam (1990), Nurul Amal (1991)
24	Depok City	Al-Muhajirin Great Mosque (1984)
25	Sukabumi City	Great Mosque of Sukabumi City (1990), Baiturrahman (1993)
26	Tasikmalaya City	Al-Misbah (1994)

Table 2 shows that Garut Regency had the highest number of large mosques built during this period, with a total of 21 mosques. The variation in the number of large mosques constructed across different regions in West Java Province during this time is depicted in Figure 2.

Figure 2
Number of Large Mosques Per City/Regency in the 1983-1998 Period



The Distribution Pattern of Mosques, Religious Dynamics, and Islamic Development in West Java

From previous statistical data, it is evident that during the first period, the distribution of mosques in West Java was concentrated in Bandung City and Garut Regency. In the second period, the focus of mosque distribution shifted to Garut Regency. These findings indicate that these two regions were central hubs for Muslim communities in West Java during the New Order period. This centrality is closely tied to the roles of these regions as economic, social, and political centers from the colonial era through the New Order period.

The prominence of Garut Regency as a focal point for mosque distribution in West Java is largely linked to its historical status as a center of economic progress. During the colonial period, Garut was known as “Swiss van Java” due to its scenic beauty, earning it the nickname “Mooi Garut” (Beautiful Garut). Locals in Priangan often refer to Garut City as “Garut Pengirutan” (Garut is alluring) (Sofianto 2014). The natural beauty of Garut made it a leading tourist destination in the early 20th century, as evidenced by the rapid development of its tourism sector between 1900 and 1930. Significant investments in tourism infrastructure during this time included the establishment of prominent hotels such as the Papandajan Hotel, Villa Dolce Hotel, Belvedere Hotel, Van Hengel Hotel, Ngemplang Hotel, Melajoe Hotel, Begendit Hotel, Kamojang Hotel, and Cilauteureun Hotel. This development attracted notable visitors, including King Leopold III of Belgium and Empress Astrid, comedian Charlie Chaplin, and German artists Renata Mueller and Hans Albers (Arismunandar et al. 2020).

Garut’s natural resources also positioned it as a hub for agricultural-based economic development. The construction of the railway in 1889 further enhanced its accessibility and economic potential, leading to the establishment of many plantations by foreign investors. This history of agriculture, plantations, and tourism as drivers of economic activity in the *Priangan* region attracted a large number of visitors, many of whom were Muslims. To accommodate the needs of these Muslim visitors for prayer facilities, a significant number of mosques were constructed in the region.

In addition to its economic importance, Garut is historically recognized as a stronghold of Islamic communities. The influence of Islam in this region dates back to the colonial era. It was one of the areas where Christian missions, such as the *Nederlandsche Zendings Vereeniging* (NZV), faced challenges in expanding during the early 20th century (Sofianto et al. 2021).

Furthermore, Garut has been the birthplace of several prominent national-level Muslim intellectuals in the post-independence period, such as K.H. Yusuf Tausiri and K.H. Anwar Musaddad. The region also has historical significance as a center for the Darul Islam (DI) movement, which advocated for the establishment of the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII) between 1950 and 1962. Its leader, S.M. Kartoesoewirjo, spent much of his time in Garut.

The historical association of Garut with the Islamic State movement significantly influenced its selection as a mosque distribution center in West Java. During the New Order period, Suharto's government was particularly wary of Islamist ideologies, such as those represented by the DI movement, which sought to establish an Islamic state (Bamualim 2015, 99). Consequently, the strategic emphasis on mosque construction in Garut can be understood as a government effort to engage with and counteract the influence of Islamism in the region.

The presence of remnants of the Darul Islam (DI) movement was a primary concern for the New Order government in the Garut region and its surrounding areas. This is evident from the deradicalization program of former DI figures between 1962 and 1977. This program, which focused on economic empowerment, aimed at DI figures in the Garut region and its surroundings. During this period, the government provided economic incentives to figures who pledged allegiance to the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Among these figures were Adah Djaelani, Danu Muhammad Hasan, Tahmid Rahmat Basuki, Dodo Muhammad Darda, Ateng Djaelani, and Djaja Sudjadi (Setara Institute 2012).

The follow-up to this deradicalization program was the implementation of the "bamboo-splitting" strategy, which sought to create divisions within the DI movement. This strategy led to the formation of the NII Sabilillah faction in 1974, chaired by Adah Djaelani. The culmination of the government's efforts to eradicate the remnants of the DI movement was the "Sweep Jagad" operation conducted in 1981-1982. This operation aimed to arrest DI activists and succeeded in capturing several prominent NII figures, including Adah Djaelani, Aceng Kurnia, and Tahmid Rahmad Basuki (Ausop 2011).

The combination of the deradicalization program and the extensive construction of mosques in the Garut region facilitated the New Order government's ability to maintain control and supervision over the area. However, this suppression of the DI movement inadvertently gave rise to new radical groups, such as *Jemaah Islamiyah* and *Komando Jihad*. The case of the

DI movement in Garut highlights how government control and suppression can stimulate religious dynamics, leading to the emergence of new radical movements. This phenomenon underscores the logical consequence of the authoritarian strategies employed by the New Order government.

The second location identified as a distribution center for mosques in West Java is Bandung City. The selection of this city is related to its status during the New Order period. As the capital of West Java Province, Bandung was recognized as the hub of development in the region. It served as the focal point for growth within the Greater Bandung area, encompassing the regencies of Cianjur, Bandung, Sumedang, and Garut (Lubis 2016). Bandung's status as an economic and administrative center became a major factor driving migration to the city, particularly among Muslims from across West Java.

Bandung's selection as a mosque distribution center is also connected to its historical role as the birthplace and development site of several Puritan Islamic communities, including Persis, the Tarbiyah Movement, and PUI. One notable Islamic community of interest to the New Order government in Bandung was the Salman Mosque community at the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB). Established in 1964 and first utilized in 1972, the mosque experienced significant growth in the 1970s. Salman Mosque holds the distinction of being the first mosque constructed on a university campus in Indonesia. Its influence extended beyond serving as a place of worship to becoming a hub for activists, student leaders, and intellectuals from Bandung and across Indonesia (Millie & Syarif 2015).

The activities of the Salman Mosque during the New Order period played a critical role in fostering a new Islamic da'wah movement centered on campus mosques. This movement was further supported by M. Natsir, who initiated the *Bina Masjid Kampus* program in 1974 (Tabroni & Idham 2023). This program embodied Natsir's vision of transforming university campuses into incubators for intellectual and religious leaders who would promote Islamic da'wah. In line with this vision, the Salman Mosque established the *Mujahid Da'wah Training* (LMD) program, which attracted students from Bandung and beyond. This initiative became a catalyst for the growth of campus-based da'wah movements throughout the 1970s.

The activities of the Salman Mosque attracted the attention of the New Order government. The government perceived the mosque as a potential center for resistance movements and activities. Consequently, the New Order government placed the mosque under close surveillance through the State

Intelligence Coordinating Board (BAKIN). Evidence of this oversight includes the existence of BAKIN's Lapharus (Special Information) reports, such as the bulletin issued by the "Salman ITB Mosque Trustee Foundation" on December 3, 1985, a daily report on Salman Mosque activities dated July 9, 1983, and documentation of the discussion titled "Film as a Means of Da'wah" at the mosque on April 15, 1991. The case of the Salman Mosque community at ITB demonstrates how government supervision and control can stimulate religious dynamics, particularly through the emergence of da'wah movements. These movements eventually became a model for similar initiatives in West Java and across Indonesia, shaping the social and religious structures of Muslim communities in the decades that followed.

Conclusion

The mosque construction policies implemented by the New Order government significantly influenced the distribution of mosques in West Java. This distribution was primarily based on the centrality of certain regions for Muslim communities, particularly those with economic progress and strong Islamic organizations and communities. Such policies were closely tied to the government's efforts to control religious organizations, ensuring that mosques—often the centers of Muslim activities—facilitated governmental supervision of Muslim populations.

Bandung and Garut, as economic centers with deep Islamic historical roots, became focal points for mosque distribution under the New Order. This centrality allowed the government to exert greater control over potential resistance movements, such as the neo-NII movement in Garut and the da'wah initiatives led by the Salman Mosque community at ITB in Bandung. This supervision and control elicited a range of responses from Islamic communities in these regions, including the development of the *Bina Masjid Kampus* program at Salman Mosque and the emergence of new radical movements. These developments underscore how mosque distribution can profoundly influence religious dynamics in a region.

For future research, it is recommended to incorporate a larger dataset of mosques as research objects. This would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between the government's religious policies and the development of Islam in West Java during the New Order period, particularly through the geographical distribution of mosques. Additionally, further studies should employ the oral history method to capture the perspectives of the Islamic communities of West Java on the

government's religious policies and their impact on Islamic practices and expressions. This approach would offer critical insights into the historical and cultural contexts of these dynamics.

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