



Disharmony of intra-Islamic religious life at the women's *Majelis Ta'lim* in Aceh

Rasyidah*✉, Mustabsyirah Husein, Husna Amin***, Dwi Dendi****, Masrizal*******

**Department of Islamic Community Development, Da'wah And Communication Faculty,
Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh, Indonesia
Email: rasyidah@ar-raniry.ac.id*

***Department of Islamic Education, Tarbiyah and Teacher Training Faculty, Universitas
Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh, Indonesia
Email: mustabsyirahhusin@ar-raniry.ac.id*

****Department of Aqidah and Filsafat, Faculty of Usuluddin and Humanities, Universitas
Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh, Indonesia
Email: husnaamin@ar-raniry.ac.id*

*****Women's Studies Center, Universitas Islam Negeri Ar-Raniry, Banda Aceh, Indonesia
Email: dwi.dendi@ar-raniry.ac.id*

******Department of Sociology, Universitas Syiah Kuala, Banda Aceh, Indonesia
Email: masrizalfisip@unsyiah.ac.id*

ABSTRACT

*This paper explains the disharmony of intra-Islamic religious life at the women *Majelis Ta'lim* in Aceh. *Majelis Ta'lim* as one of the local wisdoms in Aceh which is still practiced as a community school that educates women/mothers in the community. This should be able to become a pillar that strengthens the peaceful role of women. However, this becomes difficult, because of there is disharmony situation in religious interactions in the women's *Majelis Ta'lim*. Whereas the peaceful energy possessed by women should be maximized to build intra-Islamic religious harmony. This study used a qualitative approach, using data collection techniques through interviews, observations and FGDs. The results of the study showed that there were three issues of disharmony experienced by women in the *Majelis Ta'lim*. They were 1) the immature attitude in responding to various differences in practice among members of PERTI, NU and Muhammadiyah, 2) the resistance of women's groups to the presence of salafi/Wahabi groups, which according to them, had taught a different understanding of religion and were not familiar with their religious understanding, and 3) the emergence of competition between the followers of the *Teungku Majelis Ta'lim*, both in terms of teaching substance and in terms of popularity, which caused disharmony.*

Keywords: *Disharmony; majelis; ta'lim; women.*

✉ Corresponding author:

Email Address: rasyidah@ar-raniry.ac.id

Received: April 29, 2022; Accepted: September 18, 2022; Published: September 30, 2022

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/equality.v8i2.13211>

ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini menjelaskan disharmoni kehidupan beragama intra Islam pada majelis ta'lim kaum ibu (perempuan) di Aceh. Majelis Ta'lim sebagai salah satu kearifan lokal di Aceh yang sampai sekarang masih tetap dipraktikkan dengan pola sekolah yang mencerdaskan kaum ibu di masyarakat, seyogyanya mampu menjadi pilar yang memperkuat peran damai kaum ibu. Namun hal ini menjadi tidak mudah mengingat sekarang adanya kondisi disharmoni yang melanda interaksi keberagamaan kaum ibu di Aceh. Padahal energi damai yang dimiliki kaum ibu dapat dimaksimalkan untuk membangun harmoni intra Islam. Kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, dengan menggunakan teknik pengumpulan data melalui wawancara, observasi dan FGD. Hasil kajian menunjukkan ada tiga isu disharmoni yang dialami perempuan di Majelis Ta'lim. Pertama, adanya sikap kurang dewasa dalam merespon berbagai perbedaan amalan yang bersumber dari organisasi Islam seperti PERTI, NU dan Muhammadiyah. Kedua, adanya keresahan sebagai bentuk respon spontan terhadap munculnya kelompok salafi/Wahabi yang membawa konsep berbeda dari amalan yang mainstream di masyarakat. Ketiga, munculnya persaingan antar pengikut teungku pengajian, baik dari segi substansi, maupun dari segi popularitas yang dapat merenggangkan keharmonisan sesama.

Kata Kunci: *Disharmoni; majelis; ta'lim; perempuan.*

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, intra-Islamic harmony in Aceh has been disturbed again. In June 2015, a group of muslims stopped the implementation of Friday Prayers at the Baiturrahman Grand Mosque in Banda Aceh, demanding that it must be in accordance with the Ahlus Sunah wal Jama'ah School (Al-Chaidar, 2015). September 2015, thousand of a people, mostly dayah students in Aceh, conducts a peaceful march in the capital Banda Aceh to reject the Wahabi Sect (Hasan, 2015). In October 2017, there was a burning mosques owned by Muhammadiyah in Sangso Village, Samalanga District, Bireuen Regency, which was allegedly an act of intolerance from other Islamic groups (Muhyiddin and Yulianto, 2017). In June 2019, a group of Muslims disbanded the Daurah Islamiyah Study at the Al-Fitrah Mosque, Keutapang Banda Aceh because it was considered Wahabi (Editorial Team of Aceh Kini, 2019). In January 2020, the same thing happened again at the Oman Mosque in Banda Aceh (Editorial Team of Aceh Kini, 2020). This phenomenon confirms the increasing disharmony of intra-Muslim religious life in Aceh.

Disharmony is also experienced in the women *majelis ta'lim* interaction. This is a condition that contrary to its purpose, considering that the women *majelis ta'lim* (*beut kaum mak*) is a potential group to build a peaceful religion (Wattimena & Hutabarat 2021). However, this women *majelis ta'lim* has not functioned effectively to educate as expected. There are four reasons why the women *majelis ta'lim* can be an important pillar to build harmonization of religious life in Aceh. Firstly, the group of women has a strong peaceful energy, Shonhaji (2017) calls it *soft power*. Secondly, the women *majelis ta'lim* is the most active religious social institution that organizes various activities that contribute to the social resilience (Abdul Basit, 2010), including in Aceh. Thirdly, the women *majelis ta'lim*

consisting of mothers, are the implementing of the pillar education system in the family, required to clever, more advanced one level above or at least equal with the knowledge of the child (Farhan, et al, 2020). Fourthly, the relationship among the membership of the women *majelis ta'lim* is emotionally and socially bound, because the *majelis ta'lim* is a da'wah media that is strategically tested to develop social life (Putri et al., 2019). Given the strategicity of this women *majelis ta'lim*, the existing disharmony must be addressed immediately. But, instead of being a process that strengthens the spirit of harmonization, some the women *majelis ta'lim* have become fertile places for disharmonization.

Currently, the function of the women *majelis ta'lim* that develops in Aceh are as a space to learn Islam, a space for silaturahmi, a developer of Islamic culture-especially Islamic art such as *shalawatan groups*, and *marhaban*, as well as a center of communication and information. Although the information just still about the news of illness, death or there are social visits among members, it is able to contribute to strengthening social capital. The reality shows that social human activities that are the pillars of community interaction in Aceh, are generally leading by the women *majelis ta'lim*. Some parties are seeking to increase the role of the *ta'lim* assembly. Analiansyah, (Analiansyah, et al., 2015) performed service in two women *majelis ta'lim* in Aceh Besar. The aim is to prepare the women *majelis ta'lim* as a strong institution, and able to cultivate its members, and their family. Sufian Suri wrote about the model of mentoring the women *majelis ta'lim*, specifically encouraging a participatory recitation process. The goal is to maximize the *majelis ta'lim* as a learning medium to educate its participants. The results offers mapping material needs, and compiling recitation materials based on needs (Suri, 2019). Efforts to strengthen the *majelis ta'lim* carried out by many parties including in preventing disharmony.

The intra-Islamic disharmony in Aceh disturbed many people, giving rise to suspicion and distrust of each other. Thomas (2015) said that high suspicion of differences is often a trigger for rifts in society, even often leading to conflict and violence. In fact, religion should play an important role in filling the public sphere with positive things, in order to realize harmony (Casonova, 1994). Robert N Bellah (2000), based on his analysis of the experience of religion in the United States, Tokugawa, Japan, and France, states that: there are various ways in which religions internalize their teachings. Some are concerned with building a spirit of peace, and some are the opposite so that it can give rise to conflicts between beliefs, between religions, and even culminate in civil war. Bellah hereby asserts that: it is the power of religious understanding that is able to lead his followers to a peaceful with the concepts of plurality and inclusiveness.

Islam has values that differences is a mercy. It's an inclusive perspective. But, Islamic understanding can be very exclusive because of various interests. Exclusiveness can cause disharmony in communities with limited access to information and weak bargaining, including women *majelis ta'lim*. This condition is the background of this study with a focus on revealing the disharmony that occurs in the women *majelis ta'lim*, so that efforts to prevent its expansion are known. The research was conducted by observing the activities of the women *majelis ta'lim*, interviewing *teungku*, administrators, the member of *majelis*, and review for other related documents.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. *Majelis Ta'lim*

Majelis ta'lim is a school that educated the community, and the most flexible Islamic educational institution. The flexibility of the *majelis ta'lim* is its strength, so that it is able to survive as a non-formal Islamic educational institution. *Majelis ta'lim* is also a vehicle for strong interaction and communication between the community and the *mu'allim* (religious teachers) and between the members of the *majelis*.

In the Guidelines for the Development of the *majelis ta'lim* (Depag RI: 2009), there are nine functions of the *majelis ta'lim*. *Firstly*, strengthening the function of teaching Islam broadly. *Secondly*, improving the functioning of the *majelis ta'lim* in terms of regeneration. *Thirdly*, develop a counseling function. *Fourthly*, make the *majelis ta'lim* a center for skill development. *Fifthly*, increasing the role of community empowerment through the development of economic and social potential. *Sixth*, make the *majelis ta'lim* a forum for silaturahmi and spritual tourism. *Seventhly*, develop a function as a center of communication and information. *Eighthly*, develop Islamic culture. *Ninthly*, make the *majelis ta'lim* as an institution of *social control*. Abidin (2019) mentioned that *majelis ta'lim* can be seen as a solution for sthrengten democracy, tolerance and multicultural, for the establishment of harmony intra-religious people.

2.2. *Pluralitas, Disharmoni, and Gender*

Plurality, whether externally plural with other religions or plurality within Islam it self, is a natural reality. In Indonesia there are six religions that are recognized as official religions. But in reality this number is increasingly plural when combining with culture, ethnicity, tradition, understanding or others. Amir Mihna and Áli Kharis in the book: *Jaami'al Firaq wa Madzahib Islamiyah* mentions: "there are various sects in Islam, which number approximately 204. A large part of the group can be classified as a school of though such as the Sunni sect which is divided into maliki, Hanafi, Shafii and Hanbali schools (Rahman, 2010).

This plurality is a useful part of the richness of life. But historical facts show that in addition to positive facts there are also negative facts, namely disharmony, division and conflict which begins with an exclusive attitude (Lestari, 2020). The slightest difference is part of the manifestation of conflict in a soft form, which if not managed properly will cause conflicts on a large scale (Kriesberg & Neu, 2018). Hendropuspito (1983, 151-152) mentioned that there are 4 forms of harmony and social conflict that originate from religion, namely:

- a. Differences in doctrines and attitudes.
- b. Differences in ethnicity, race and religious adherents.
- c. Differences in cultural levels.
- d. The problem of the majority and minority of religious believers.

The pluralism that emerged as a new response to pluraritas with a spirit of togetherness, is not sufficiently understood simply by saying that our society is plural. Because an understanding just only put forward the impression of fragmentation, difference and not pluralism. Pluralism is also incomprehensible as an attempt to abolish fanaticism. Pluralism should be understood as "the true connection of diversity in the bonds of civility". Pluralism

should be understood as "genuine engagement of diversities within the bonds of civility", as an agreement of mutual respect in differences (Suryadi, 2017).

The diversity of understanding in Islam demands the wisdom of all parties in addressing differences. Mutual understanding is the hidden hope behind the clause "difference is grace", and violence is certainly not an interpretation of the word "*hikmah*" as one of the principles of *da'wah* (Kurniawati, 2021). Disharmony and conflicts caused by plurality are prone to break out if not managed properly, what's more if each of them is being exclusive. Nevertheless, in Dahrendorf's perspective, conflict is a path to social change that begins with the formation of groups. There are pseudo-groups, interest groups and conflict groups in society. Among interest groups there are groups that have the same interests, whether realized or not, managed or not. On the contrary, there are also antagonistic interest groups that lead to conflict (Izza, 2020).

In disharmony and conflict situation as implications of failure to manage diversity, groups with weak bargaining are often sacrificed. Women's groups in Aceh have weak bargaining, due to the patriarchal socio-culture of the community. Family and society, construct stereotypes for women as a group that does not need to be involved in the policy-making process. So that the public space that is open to women's groups is limited. The *majelis ta'lim* is one of the public spaces for women, although it has many limitations as well. Considered only to examine the basic things, it is not considered necessary to understand the various discourses that develop in Islam. This causes limited Islamic insights obtained, even some of them tend to be exclusive. It also the background of the attitudes of the women's group in the *majelis ta'lim* which is relatively rigid in responding to various differences in religious understanding.

3. METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach. The data collection was carried out by observation, interviews, and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) in Banda Aceh City, Aceh Besar Regency and Aceh Barat Daya. The research resource persons were 69 people consisting of: 3 people from the Islamic Shari'a Service, 2 people from the Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, 3 leaders of the Ulema Consultative Assembly (MPU), 5 people from the *majelis ta'lim* development organization, 6 community leaders / customary leader, 6 religious leaders, 6 male and female preacher/*teungku*, and 38 *majelis ta'lim*'s administrators. While observation is carried out on the actifity in the *majelis ta'lim*, and intra-muslim religious life. Meanwhile, the FGD was carried out on the management of the *majelis ta'lim* in Abdya, Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar to explore collective views on existing differences.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

There are three affiliates of mainstream organizations that are referenced by women *majelis ta'lim* in implementing their worship practices, namely Nahdatul Ulama (NU), Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah (PERTI) and Muhammadiyah. NU and Muhammadiyah are the two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia that exist in all regions. PERTI is the name of a national Islamic organization that originated in West Sumatera on May 20, 1930, then expanded to other regions in Sumatera, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi, although not as wide as Muhammadiyah and NU. In addition, PERTI and NU generally have the same worship

practices, then it is often considered the same. In later developments, a new affiliated group of *majelis ta'lim* emerged, referring to the community as Wahabi/Salafi Groups. In Perspektif Dahrendorf, the existence of these affiliates are groups that share common interests, then unite in the name of the organization. These interest groups, however, can be antagonistic groups.

Each organization in some worship practices has its differences. Ry, from the Ministry of Religion Abdya, mentioned:

Indeed, there are different understanding and practice of worship among the Muhammadiyah and PERTI followers. But in all districts there are followers of Muhammadiyah and PERTI. Although the administration of the PERTI not as neat as Muhammadiyah, but culturally PERTI is more massif. The indicator: in the implementation of the Tarawih Prayer, there are more mosques of 20 *rakaat* than in the 8 *rakaat*. So far, the existing differences do not cause problems (interview, 2019).

This difference has long been understood by the community, but there is a spirit that is built to keep harmonious even though there are several different things. However, this dynamic is not static due to the emergence of disharmony. This confirms about what Kriesberg and Neu (2018) conveyed, that no matter how small the difference is a manifestation of conflict, which if not managed properly can give rise to great disharmony and conflict. The results showed that there were three contexts of intra-Islamic disharmony experienced by women's groups. First, disharmony caused by differences in the practice of worship among the followers NU/PERTI and Muhammadiyah. Secondly, the disharmony associated with the emergence of Wahabi/Salafi groups. Third, the disharmony caused by the difference in the substance of Islamic teaching among *teungku*, then leads to a truth claim, and emergence of competition among the followers of the *teungku* recitation, both in terms of substance, and in terms of popularity. In this case, it is also disharmony due to differences in substance related to the public role of women, especially in the *majelis ta'lim* led by women (*teungku inong*).

4.1. Disharmony derived from differences in the practice of some worship among the followers of 'NU/PERTI and Muhammadiyah

The context of this disharmony is experienced by women in the Aceh Barat Daya Region with the threat of latent disharmony between Muhammadiyah-NU/PERTI. All the research sources verbally mentioned that there was no problem of disharmony between Muhammadiyah followers and PERTI in Abdya. Strictly speaking, the public spirit that the research informant wants to show is: in Abdya, there is no disharmony problem caused by differences in Islamic practice, both NU, Muhammadiyah and PERTI. But, the interview results show different facts. Mr, one of the administrators of Aisyiah Organization mentioned:

Now, it develops in some assemblies of Islamic teachings that mention "*kenduri maulid*" is *haram*". Then the issue developed that the statement came from Muhammadiyah followers. Whereas the followers of Muhammadiyah have never discussed anything like this to the community, we very carefully talked about that. Then later it was mentioned that it was from the Wahabi group. But in the end, Muhammadiyah is called Wahabi too". The informant chuckled laughing at the reality she was telling (Interview).

The language of implied disharmony is also evident from the FGD process with the *majelis ta'lim* administrator. One of the administrators of the *majelis ta'lim* from PERTI/NU, stated:

If we from Babahrot District to Lembah Sabil have never heard of Muhammadiyah and PERTI being different, it's never. If anyone dies, if there's a "death feast" for 7 days. While the Muhammadiyah, even white water sometimes does not exist. Once the body is finished burial, visitors just sit down unceremoniously. The visitors understand, there is no blame, because they already know. For example, we want to go *ta'ziah* we ask, PERTI or Muhammadiyah? If muhammadiyah we already understand, just greetings. If PERTI before we drink tea at least, it is not allowed to go home (interview Ai, a *majelis ta'lim* Administrator).

This opinion was conveyed by Ai in a slightly sarcastic tone on the point "no drink at the funeral home of Muhammadiyah's followers", and a proud tone of voice when mentioning customs at the funeral home from the followers of PERTI/NU. This opinion then provoked the views of one of the Muhammadiyah's *majelis ta'lim* administrators. He alluded to the issue of "the death feast", that some were in debt, mortgaged land, and then regretted if there were orphans left behind. Heard this, in a hurry and a little high voice, the *majelis ta'lim* administrator from PERTI said: "oo not so, if we make a death feast, not a dime of orphan donations we use for the feast. It was indeed for orphans. For the death feast the cost is borne together". Other participants chimed in (also from the PERTI circle), usually if there is a death, for example, then there is a family bring boxes of drinks, it's not funny if we just keep it". Several other administrator of *majelis ta'lim* also argued to refute the opinion of the Muhammadiyah's *majelis ta'lim* administrators. In the end, the administrator of the *majelis ta'lim* from the Muhammadiyah chose to be silent. At first glance it seems that she wants to chime in, but then chooses to be silent.

Meanwhile, in Aceh Besar, there is a lay understanding of *majelis ta'lim* members (NI, 52 yrs) who consider Muhammadiyah as the wrong organization and should be shunned. Limited access to information caused *majelis ta'lim* members just receive information from their *teungku*, without comparison information from others sources. Meanwhile, as an area that is the center of provincial government activities, various interests strengthen and are close to the lives of the community, including women. The Context of Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar, are not as simple as Abdya. There are many interests groups that collaborate with the differences in Islamic teachings, so it is very difficult to make the mapping situation clearly. R1 (*Teungku Inong* Banda Aceh), mentioned: there are also groups that do have other intentions to heat up the atmosphere. The intention is "*beu i lop pateng lam bara*" (Acehnese language, meaning that what is taught must be fully accepted by the audience). With this condition, the issue of disharmony in the context of Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar tends to be more serious. Because many groups are trying to influence women/mothers through *majelis ta'lim* until their ideas can be accepted, although it is different from the understanding that is deeply rooted in society.

4.2. Disharmony because of the emergence of *majelis ta'lim* called by community as Wahabi/Salafi Group

This condition was found in Abdya, Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar with different responses. Some people call them Salafi and others call them Wahabi. In the Abdya context, the number of population densities that are not too high compared to Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar, the emergence of new groups can be quickly discovered. One of the Religious leaders in Abdya (AR, 60 yrs) mentioned:

"There are two locations of the Salafi *majelis ta'lim* in Abdya: Geulumpang Payung and Susoh. Its characteristics is that it is easy to declare others "*syirk* and *bid'ah*". Physically bearded with slightly hanging trousers. They are not from a group affiliated with a large Islamic organization that has long existed, but a new group. Muhammadiyah also disliked them". For this Salafist there has been a fatwa of the Aceh MPU which is "misleading heretical". Where after being examined by the MPU, the salafist teachings are different in terms of *aqidah* and *sharia*. In terms of faith there is a teaching that Allah has a place in the Arasy." It is understood that there is a chair like a human seat" (interview).

What some informants understood referred to the 2014 Aceh MPU Fatwa (<https://mpu.acehprov.go.id/index.php>) which banned the group's activities. Although the Salafist group has also sent its clarifications publicly through the Serambi Online Media. But still the emergence of new *majelis ta'lim* is considered to have triggered disharmony. According to Ry, from the Ministry of Religion Abdya:

Initially there was no problem of disharmony, but lately (the informant's voice shrunk) there appeared the Salafist tradition (dayah people call it Wahabi) who had made *majelis ta'lim* in two place in Blang Pidie. Generally, they are young men and teenagers who are thirsty for knowledge, thirsty for study. This is the situation of disharmony. From the MPU, they had come to the Ministry of Religion to discuss this matter, involved also the Police and Kodim. At the beginning, the people at the location of the *majelis* did not allow. However, this new *majelis ta'lim* usually approaches influential people who have access to certain mosques until they succeed in organizing their planned *majelis ta'lim*. The preacher are from Medan, Jakarta, Tapak Tuan, Meulaboh. The substance of the *majelis ta'lim* touched on the issue of *khilafiyah* with different perspective.

Ry added that on the one hand there is a positive thing developed through this salafist group, namely economic empowerment, its members are given jobs. But in terms of strategy according to Ry, this group has been wrong. "Having only been present in Abdya for a few months, this salafist group has discussed the issue of *khilafiyah* which has always been avoided by Muhammadiyah, PERTI and NU. *Maulid's* memorial was called *bid'ah*, the clothes of his followers changed".

The existence of salafists in Abdya became in stark contrast to other *majelis ta'lim*, so there was clearly opposition. There is also an identity symbol that makes the group easy to detect. The administrator of Aisyiah, Mr, mentioned:

"...members of this assembly who women should no longer wear powder, and lipstick. In the house there should not be photos and pictures. If men wear hanging trousers. Initially, some of them participated in *majelis ta'lim* in Banda Aceh, then made a recitation in Abdya by inviting members who were in Banda Aceh, continued to do so,

and slowly became more members. The *majelis ta'lim* process is as usual, but the substances of the teachings are different. Some say this is Wahabi, but there are also those who say Wahabi is Muhammadiyah. Indeed, there are also members of Muhammadiyah who participate, but they are who lack the basis of their religion understanding, while the strong basis of their religion understanding are not affected anymore".

The above conditions illustrate the disharmony experienced by women's groups, both those who joined NU/PERTI or Muhammadiyah due to the emergence of a new group called Salafi. Disharmony arose due to the joining of their family/frends in the new *majelis*, then changed appearance, changed the way of looking at the understanding of the old religious teachings. It also encourages some people to attend this salafist recitation out of curiosity. Some then quited after once presented, and some continued. Some research informants believed that the people affected by this recitation are the ones with no strong religious basis, while the strong ones are not affected by this. However, in general, research informants mentioned that many of these salafist teaching were unfamiliar to them (interview My, Ls, Mr and T).

The fundamental thing that is also troubling is the illegitimate claims of salafist groups against practices that have taken root in Acehnese society, such as saying that the *Maulid* Celebration is *haram*. Meanwhile, in the belief of Acehnese people, the month of *maulid* is commemorated for 100 days with the celebrations at home, in *meunasah*, in mosques, *tabligh akbar*, *shalawatan*, etc. *Maulid's* sieve is eagerly awaited by the community, and they believed that almsgiving through *kanduri maulid* is a *sadaqoh* that reflects their love for Rasulullah, so the reward is very great. It is the long-standing and entrenched practice, one of which is sued by Salafist groups, called *bid'ah*. *Bid'ah* is working on something that did not exist and was not known in the time of the Prophet (al-'Afraj, 2013). The connotation of *bid'ah* is considered negative by society, so if it is called *bid'ah*, it can cause anger. This is in line with what Rn (Kemenag Abdya) said:

"Actually, the strategy used by the Salafist group triggered the rejection, where as new comers, this group has claimed to be illegitimate of several rituals that are deeply rooted in Acehnese society. Contrary to the conditions between Muhammadiyah, PERTI and NU, although there are many differences, the three refrained from alluding to different practices.

In contrast to Abdya, the context of the salafist issue has existed for a long time in Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar, and has strengthened recently. Fi, one of the Acehnese scholars mentioned that large Salafist groups exist in Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar. From a sociological perspective, this is understandable, considering that Banda Aceh City is the capital of Aceh provincial government, so most of the resources are collected in this city, including in the surrounding area, namely Aceh Besar. The variety of *majelis ta'lim* are developing and emerging rapidly in this area. However, according to Rh, one of the *Teungku Inong* and *dayah* leaders who have been proselytizing for more than 20 years in many women's *majelis ta'lim*: so far, the enduring practice of Islam is the teachings of *dayah* alumni, and religious practices taught in accordance with the mainstream understanding in society. According to her, the people of Aceh are very selective in choosing *teungku* by considering which graduate And the

graduate of Dayah Samalanga and Labuhan Haji are favourite for the village community. Society is also selective on the background of schools and aqidah?. Regarding the many religious understandings today, Rh views it positively by referring to "difference is grace". Have to look at what's different, not necessarily judgmental. Sit together, ask and look, what's the problem? This statement directed Rh to respond to the differences in teachings developed by salafist groups in the hope that salafist groups should be wiser to see the situation. Rh mentions:

It's actually not a matter of study if there's a difference, it shouldn't be a problem either. What's more, on matters related to sunnah, advice that is not classified as a *ushuluddin*. For example: We go to the funeral home, in the presence of the *mayyit*, there are *teungku* that teach that it is best to pray, and *zikr* in the heart as a form of *tadabbur*. While people have long practiced reading shalawat, read Surat Yasin even though the *mayyit* is still there. This is a different condition than what *teungku* said, which teaches to be silent and *tadabbur*. I understand that what *teungku* said is true, but this society can't, can't beat, but tell stories, chat, and make noise there. So from the beginning, the community looked at Yasin, so there were positives. But because this *teungku* made a fatwa about this, it clashed, messed up, and confused the public. If I'd rather give up, it's true that he said, if we're willing to take a lesson then it's best, but often society doesn't like that. Mereka even chatted and this could hurt the family who was in calamity. Then it is better to see Yasin, can treat the grief of the calamity of the family. But the *teungku* didn't consider this, instead cornering the old understanding.

For Rh as a *teungku Inong*, the issue of disharmony related to salafi/Wahabi is because the new teachings delivered by Salafist groups have made people confused about which is right and wrong, causing division. On the other hand, Rh also does not support an unsubstantiated response to the Wahabi issue. She said:

Sometimes, there are people who have different views, directly claimed to be part of the wahabi group. How to define a Wahabi? The one with a beard like my husband is a Wahabi? People who are graduate of the State Islamic University (UIN) are also called Wahabi? Child cheer oooo Wahabi..Wahabi.., passed in front of my dayah. (meaning that other children refer to the children in Dayah Rh as Wahabi children). I told them not to be retaliated, but they were angry with this mockery. I explained to them about Wahabi carefully, although I don't even know for sure which Wahabi. But, then there are parents of students who are worried and move the child from here. Now this is what happened in the village, the term Wahabi was even used to bring down parties or people who were different from them.

What Rh described showed there was "blind anxiety" in society, especially the group of mothers, regarding the Wahabi issue. Compared to the salafi issue, the Wahabi issue seems more troubling to society. There was a negative connotation exhaled as a public discourse on Wahabi, until a group of children used the word "Wahabi" as scorn. Then another group of children were embarrassed and angry at this scorn as if they knew that the Wahabi being scorned at them was a bad thing. A group of mothers are also influenced and move their children to another dayah. "Blind anxiety" can also be seen from the expression of one of the MT administrators in Aceh Besar who said in an emotional whisper "we have to be careful with Muhammadiyah, ma'am. it's a Wahabi". When asked why? Answered "perverted". Then asked again how perverted? He replied, "Anyway, that's what my *teungku* says". One of the

community leaders interviewed in Aceh Besar, Ms, instead asked the researcher, "What exactly is salafist? Why do people blame it? It's not that there is a term of salafist dayah, or how?" Ms's question indicates the public's concern regarding the issue of salafism, even they are still questioning why this is a problem? This blind anxiety was also affirmed by Rt, one of the women ulama in Aceh:

The women *majelis ta'lim* in Banda Aceh, usually more passively accept differences and prefer to take silent responses. They do *sami'na wa ata'na* (meaning: we hear, then we obey it) or *sami'na wanasiina* (meaning: we hear, but we then forget). The education of these mothers are limited.

What Rt said, asserts that in fact at the level of the women's *majelis ta'lim*, the polemic does not come to the issue of perverts claims, but rather the confusion as to which one is true and worthy of being recited. It is not uncommon for them to finally ignore this new information because they are confused. Rt menyampaikan:

Even if something different is taught in the *majelis ta'lim*, they usually prefer to be silent (not protest). But outside the *ta'lim* group they complained about that. Why does this *teungku* teach like this and then the other *teungku* teach differently? Ahh, I'd better not believe the two of *teungku*. This kind of response arises because the members of the *majelis ta'lim* are getting tired and confused. Some even say: There is also a who says: '*lon semayang yang lageh nyoe mantong goh pah lom, bek geuperneog yg laen le*'. (Acehnese, that is to say: my praying now is still not perfect, there is no need to teach new ones anymore).

A new understanding of certain mosques has also become a new phenomenon in Banda Aceh. Mh, one of the administrators of *majelis ta'lim* in Banda Aceh City said that:

In Banda Aceh, there is a group that understands and judges people outside the group as a wrong group. I have the neighbor like this, even though our relationship is good and fine, but if we come to the mosque, he and his group don't like it.

The variety of religious contexts in Banda Aceh City and Aceh Besar Regency is a challenge. So even though various resources are centralized in these two areas, it is still difficult to do much. What's more, this issue is not to be better understood by women, or can be said that society is experiencing "blind anxiety". Blind means not having adequate information, only referring to what my *teungku* conveys. Because of the information is limited, so this unrest has actually become stronger.

4.3. Disharmony caused by the differences of the teaching substance at *majelis ta'lim*

In principle, this condition was found at three research sites. The high intensity was apparent in Banda Aceh and Aceh Besar. Some informants expressed their concerns regarding this matter. Rt, a member of MPU Aceh Besar said:

For example, I was invited to preach in the *majelis ta'lim*, and another *teungku* had also preached there. Then it came to my mind, how can I be invited again. So began to blame others *teungku* as rivals in this *majelis ta'lim*. In an angry voice Rt added: It's a social disease, but this exists. This happens among preachers. Then Rt closed with a severe complaint: '*nyan keuh, nyan yang hek ta pikei*' (Acehnese language: well this is what we are tired of thinking about that).

It is understood that the attitude of some preacher has made Rt uneasy. This is the seed of *truth claims* with the aim of getting praise. Preacher in Aceh Besar, *Teungku Inong Rh* experienced this in several situations:

1. First, according to her, there is another *majelis ta'lim* in her village stating that he said the truth, and others are wrong. While some of the audience who attended his *majelis ta'lim* and other *majelis*. So the audience became confused and asked for confirmation to Rh. According to Rh:

That true, there is a *khilafiyah*, but the *khilafiyah* is not related to the *qat'iy* thing. If you then demonize each other, this is because there are other interests, so that the audience believes what he says, then contradicts the other. I do not want to refute or retaliate against such a person. Because Islam is a polite religion.

2. Another experience, according to Rh, there was *Teungku* who told her students that Rh's *majelis ta'lim* was Wahabi, so the child ridiculed Rh's dayah students with Wahabi taunts.
3. Rh also admitted that there had been another *teungku* in her village and the village leader cancelled the mothers' event because it was considered not very important. Rh argues that this demeaning attitude towards women is a challenge because there is a *teungku* in gampong that discredits women's *teungku*. Rh added:

Didn't get support, not even attention. Well, usually this kind of young *teungku*. They learn in short time at some dayah movely. They studied at Dayah Ulee Titi today, tomorrow they have gone to another Dayah, and continiou like that, then already feel knowledgeable. They are not focused to studying Kitab in detail. Those who focus, and learn boarding in dayah, are commonly called *Meudagang*. Why is it called *Meudagang*? *Meudagang* is trading with Allah hoping for the reward of *lillahi ta'ala*. If the dayah students do not board, they cannot fully adopted the *Teungku*'s behavior at night, subuh, morning and afternoon. The *Teungku*'s behavior is peaceful and always respects others. Women are also glorified there is no demeaning. But this young *teungku* actually behaved condescendingly towards women.

Teungku Inong Rh's experience is a reality record of the interaction among *teungku majelis ta'lim* who truth claim or mutually harass each other. This situation will certainly be unsettling for the audience of *majelis ta'lim*. In conditions, where the audience strongly agrees with the Islamic teaching presented by their *teungku*, and then is considered wrong by other *majelis ta'lim*'s audience, it can cause disharmony.

The same thing also happened in another *majelis ta'lim* experienced by *Teungku Fw* who gave Islamic teaching at five *majelis ta'lim* in Aceh Besar. In addition, Fw also often treats people through *zikir* therapy, and many patients come to get treatment. But a year ago, some *majelis ta'lim* didn't want to invite him again. The patients were also deserted. At first Fw did not know why, but then he knew that there was a slander addressed to him that he was *meu jen* (Acehnese meaning: on his body there was a genie). This means that he had black magic. Then some *majelis ta'lim* replaced him with another *teungku*. One of the administrators of the *majelis ta'lim* where Fw teaches explained to the researcher:

"..., many people are jealous because *teungku Fw* is often invited to teach Islam, "Friday Sermons", and then many people in luxury cars go to his place to treatment with

zikir therapy. It must be the one with the disease in his heart, so envious. There are also people who want him to be slumped, how will it definitely be done by them to make Fw ruin his life.

An overview of the experience of research informants showed that the competition among *teungku* in the *majelis ta'lim*, both in substance, and in terms of popularity, has caused disharmony among the group of women. In fact, this has also caused the anxiety of some *teungku* or preacher who care about this situation.

5. CONCLUSION

There are three disharmony conditions experienced by the women's *majelis ta'lim* in Aceh that have impact on the quality of intra-islamic harmonization. First, disharmony caused by immaturity in responding to differences in worship practices among the followers of PERTI, NU and Muhammadiyah. The second disharmony related to response to the existence of salafist/Wahabi groups that taught a different Islamic teaching. The third disharmony arose as a result of the conflict in the substance of Islamic teaching among *teungku*, and the competition among *teungku*'s followers, both in terms of substance, and in terms of popularity. Theoretically, the process begins with the existence of differences, then the formation of groups that have the same importance, and antagonistic interest groups. This condition must be managed wisely so that the differences as soft conflicts do not turn into disharmony, even wider conflicts. The social interactions that have been established among the PERTI/NU and Muhammadiyah followers, have constructed social management in addressing differences namely by limiting intersections (or avoiding discussions) in different parts of worship practices. What's more, the response that has existed so far tends to be "blind unrest", not based on adequate information. It is these differences that have not been fully understood that lead to the emergence of disharmony and even conflict.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank the Research Centre of State Islamic University of Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh-Indonesia for financial support of this study.

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