

Transforming Power Relations in Religious Discourse: A Foucaultian Study of Nahdlatul Ulama and Indigenous Beliefs in Lamongan, Indonesia

Amiera Nur Afiah*, Ahmad Arif Widiyanto* Imroatul Hasanah**

*Universitas Negeri Malang, Indonesia

**Charles Darwin University, Australia

amieraaafh@gmail.com

Keywords : Power Relations, Nahdlatul Ulama, Sapta Darma, Religious Minorities, Foucaultian Analysis	Abstract This study analyzes the power relations between Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as the majority group and the adherents of Sapta Darma as a minority in Lamongan Regency, specifically in Kalitengah Subdistrict, Mungli Village. Using Michel Foucault's power relations theory, this phenomenological qualitative study examines how NU's dominant religious discourse, constructed through the Qur'an, hadith, fiqh via <i>Baḥṡh al-Masā'il</i> , and <i>kitab kuning</i> , functions as an instrument of power to shape the practices and identities of the Sapta Darma community. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with thirteen key informants from both groups and twelve months of field observation. The findings indicate that power relations are productive and relational, in which NU establishes dominant norms that define the boundaries of tolerance, while Sapta Darma adapts socially without relinquishing the core of its beliefs. Foucault's mechanisms of power are manifested through subtle oversight by NU elites and state institutions, alongside internalization of norms by Sapta Darma, creating self-regulation. The study concludes that social harmony in Mungli is built upon an uneven power structure, where the minority remains vulnerable despite formal recognition. The contribution of this research lies in providing a nuanced understanding of local religious majority-minority power dynamics, offering insights for policymakers and scholars to design inclusive strategies that enhance tolerance and respect for religious diversity.
Kata Kunci : Relasi Kuasa, Nahdlatul Ulama, Sapta Darma, Minoritas Keagamaan, Analisis Foucault	Abstrak Penelitian ini menganalisis relasi kuasa antara Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) sebagai kelompok mayoritas dan penghayat kepercayaan Sapta Darma sebagai minoritas di Kabupaten Lamongan, khususnya Kecamatan Kalitengah, desa Mungli. Dengan menggunakan teori relasi kuasa Michel Foucault, studi kualitatif fenomenologis ini menelaah bagaimana wacana keagamaan dominan NU yang dibangun melalui al-Qur'an, hadis, fikih melalui forum <i>Baḥṡh al-Masā'il</i> , dan kitab kuning berfungsi sebagai instrumen kuasa untuk membentuk praktik serta identitas komunitas Sapta Darma. Data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dengan 13 informan kunci dari kedua belah pihak dan observasi lapangan selama 12 bulan. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa relasi kuasa bersifat produktif dan relasional, di mana NU menetapkan norma dominan yang mengatur batas-batas toleransi, sementara Sapta Darma menyesuaikan diri melalui strategi adaptasi sosial tanpa menghilangkan inti keyakinannya. Mekanisme kuasa Foucault terejawantahkan melalui pengawasan lembut elite NU dan institusi negara, serta internalisasi norma oleh Sapta Darma yang membentuk pengawasan diri. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa harmoni sosial di Mungli terbentuk di atas struktur kuasa yang timpang, di mana minoritas tetap rentan meski secara formal diakui. Kontribusi penelitian terletak pada pemahaman dinamika relasi kuasa antara mayoritas dan minoritas keagamaan di tingkat lokal, memberikan wawasan bagi pembuat kebijakan dan akademisi untuk merancang strategi inklusif yang memperkuat toleransi serta penghargaan terhadap keberagaman kepercayaan.
Article History	Received: 2025-06-16 Accepted : 2025-08-15 Published: 2025-08-30
MLA Citation Format	Afiah, Amiera Nur, et al. "Transforming Power Relations in Religious Discourse: A Foucaultian Study of Nahdlatul Ulama and Indigenous Beliefs in Lamongan, Indonesia". <i>Canonía Religia</i> , vol. 3, no. 1, Aug. 2025, pp. 91-108, doi:10.30762/cr.v3i1.3273.
APA Citation Format	Afiah, A. N., Widiyanto, A. A., & Hasanah, I. (2025). Transforming Power Relations in Religious Discourse: A Foucaultian Study of Nahdlatul Ulama and Indigenous Beliefs in Lamongan, Indonesia. <i>Canonía Religia</i> , 3(1), 91-108. https://doi.org/10.30762/cr.v3i1.3273

Introduction

Belief systems based on local wisdom are viewed as ancestral heritage, encompassing Javanese and indigenous traditions shaped through the synthesis of diverse teachings, reflecting the community's cultural continuity and historical integration of multiple spiritual influences.¹ These belief systems, often called "aliran kepercayaan" or "kebatinan," represent a worldview rooted in the human soul, emphasizing spiritual orientation toward the Divine and reflecting a metaphysical understanding of life and moral guidance within local cultural contexts.² Although the term "belief" is often used interchangeably, in reality it differs conceptually: belief is considered a component of religion, whereas religion is not a subset of belief. Such indigenous belief systems are categorized as cultural expressions, and as a result, their adherents often occupy marginal positions in political, social, and administrative contexts.³

In reality, religious freedom in Indonesia remains ambiguous. Within Pancasila, the term "God" (Tuhan) is used to denote the Supreme Being, while the Preamble of UUD 1945 employs the word "Allah" to refer to God.⁴ However, given Indonesia's plural society, not all religions refer to the Divine as "Allah."⁵ The state's policy on religious recognition is thus not neutral; it constitutes a discursive arena where the definition of a legitimate "religion" is contested.⁶ The bureaucratization of religion has created official standards of orthodoxy, marginalizing groups outside these norms as "false" or "deviant." This labeling represents a form of disciplinary power that isolates and delegitimizes minority faiths.⁷ The situation becomes more complex when indigenous believers coexist with dominant religious groups, as religion extends beyond personal belief to regulate public space, symbols, and collective norms.⁸ Consequently, religion is shaped by multiple factors, including social solidarity fostered through the coordination of religious elites in constructing shared meanings and common values.⁹

¹ C Geertz, *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Kebudayaan Jawa, Dialektika* (Komunitas Bambu, 2014); Lia Hilyatul Masrifah, 'Relasi Kuasa Antara Muslim Ortodoks Dan Penghayat Kaweruh Kamanungsan Di Banyuwangi Dalam Perspektif Ideological State Apparatus Louis Althusser', *Religió: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, 6.1 (2016) <<https://doi.org/10.15642/religio.v6i1.610>>; Agnes Tutut Setianingsih and others, 'Eksistensi Penghayat Kepercayaan Kejawa Di Tengah Arus Modernisasi', *The Indonesian Journal of Social Studies*, 6.2 (2022), 79–86.

² J. Arroisi and others, 'Problematika Aliran Kepercayaan Dan Kebatinan Sebagai Agama Asli Indonesia', *Fikri: Jurnal Kajian Agama, Sosial Dan Budaya*, 6.2 (2021), 138–155.

³ Kristina Viri and Zarida Febriany, 'Dinamika Pengakuan Penghayat Kepercayaan Di Indonesia', *Indonesian Journal of Religion and Society*, 2.2 (2020), 97–112 <<https://doi.org/10.36256/ijrs.v2i2.119>>.

⁴ Abd. Latif Bustami, "Tuhan, Agamamu Apa?: Relasi Kuasa Republik Dan Keyakinan Keagamaan Publik Dalam Direktorat Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa. Kepercayaan Dalam Sebuah Realitas' (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Nilai Budaya, Seni, dan Film Departemen Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2005), pp. 1–50.

⁵ Jeffrie Geovanie, *Civil Religion: Dimensi Sosial Politik Islam*, ed. by Abd Rohim Ghazali (Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 2013).

⁶ F Husein, 'The Politics of Religious Recognition in Indonesia.', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 46.4–5 (2018), 481–503.

⁷ M Künkler and A. Stepan, 'The Bureaucratization of Religion and the Proliferation of "Fake Sheikhs" in Malaysia and Indonesia', *Comparative Politics*, 54.2 (2022), 223–44 <<https://doi.org/10.5129/001041522x16316387001634>>.

⁸ Z. A Bagir, *Kerukunan Dan Penodaan Agama: Alternatif Penanganan Masalah*, 2017.

⁹ Sarmauli, 'Persaudaraan Lintas Iman: Relasi Legitimasi Dan Identitas Elit Agama Kota Palangka Raya', *Al-Qalam*, 21.1 (2016), 169 <<https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v21i1.212>>.

In another context, religion exists within Indonesia's plural society alongside the state's open policy, leading to a form of secularization.¹⁰ Given the diversity of religions and belief systems, the government enacted Law No. 23 of 2006 on Population Administration. In 2007, the relationship between adherents of indigenous belief systems and God was officially recognized under Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia No. 37, Chapter 1, Article 18.¹¹ This policy increased the academic and administrative attention toward indigenous belief systems across various levels of government over the past few decades.¹² The struggle of these belief communities has extended into multiple spheres, including education, culminating in 2021 when the academic program "Belief in the One Almighty God" was officially legalized and integrated within Indonesian universities.¹³

Concurrently, the issue of discrimination against adherents of indigenous belief systems has been historically documented, prompting these communities to advocate for their rights and freedoms.¹⁴ The Setara Institute recorded 171 cases of violations of Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan (KBB) in 2021 and 175 cases in 2023. These cases include discriminatory policies, intolerance, business restrictions, accusations of blasphemy, and rejections of worship place permits.¹⁵ In several regions of Indonesia, such as Wetu Telu in Lombok, Sedulur Sikep, the Wana people, and Pitap, discrimination has driven adherents to convert to recognized religions, leading to a decline in their populations.¹⁶ From the perspective of power mechanisms, there is a visible dynamic in the recognition of indigenous beliefs, particularly regarding state policy implications. In 2016, the Constitutional Court (Decision No. 97/PUU/XIV/2016) legalized the recognition of indigenous beliefs and allowed their inclusion in civil identity documents (ID cards or KTP and family cards or KK).¹⁷ Thus, a just national leadership plays a crucial role in achieving equality.¹⁸

In practice, adherents of indigenous belief systems often remain distant from public discourse despite living alongside mainstream society.¹⁹ One example is found in East Java, which ranks second after Central Java in the number of registered indigenous belief

¹⁰ Abd. Latif Bustami.

¹¹ Pemerintah Pusat Indonesia, *Peraturan Pemerintah (PP) Nomor 37 Tahun 2007 Tentang Pelaksanaan Undang Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2006 Tentang Administrasi Kependudukan* (Indonesia, 2007).

¹² Djessyka Dameria and others, 'Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Perkawinan Warga Negara Kelompok Penghayat Kepercayaan Dengan Agama Tertentu Di Indonesia', *Bhirawa Law Journal*, 2.2 (2021), 87–95 <<https://doi.org/10.26905/blj.v2i2.6827>>.

¹³ Direktorat Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan yang Maha Esa dan Masyarakat Adat, *Buku Saku Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Dan Masyarakat Adat*, ed. by Rinto Tri Hasworo and Sukmono Fajar Turido (Jakarta: Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi, 2021).

¹⁴ Viri and Febriany.

¹⁵ Setara Institute, 'Setara Institute Catat 329 Pelanggaran KBB Sepanjang 2023 Setara Institute', 2024.

¹⁶ Masrifah.

¹⁷ Akil Fitra Sholakodin, 'Arus Utama Wacana Identitas Penghayat Kepercayaan Pasca Putusan MK Di Media Daring Kompas.Com', *Jurnal Sosiologi Pendidikan Humanis*, 6.2 (2021), 166 <<https://doi.org/10.17977/um021v6i2p166-182>>.

¹⁸ Muhammad Abdurrahman, *Bunga Rampai Budaya, Sosial, Dan Keislaman*, ed. by Meita Sandra (Jogjakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2020).

¹⁹ Ahwan Fanani, *Jejak Islam Dalam Kebudayaan Jawa*, Pertama (Jakarta: Kencana, 2020).

organizations, accounting for 26.45 percent.²⁰ This phenomenon can be observed in Mungli Village, Kalitengah District, Lamongan Regency, where members of the Persatuan Sapta Darma (PERSADA) coexist with residents affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). According to 2022 village data, Mungli has 1,181 residents, with Sapta Darma adherents representing 0.59 percent, while the rest identify as Muslims.²¹ In Mungli Village, thirteen members have officially changed their religious status on their identity cards. In line with this, historical studies on belief in the Almighty list Lamongan as one of the regencies involved in the dissemination of indigenous beliefs.²² These studies emerged as a governmental response to the diversity of belief groups that have often been marginalized and negatively labeled. The acknowledgment of such movements reflects both the persistence of local faith traditions and the evolving state approach toward accommodating plural spiritual expressions within Indonesia's civic framework.²³

Numerous studies have examined indigenous belief adherents in Indonesia. Previous research has primarily focused on three areas: first, mapping contradictions and negative issues faced by minority groups.²⁴ Second, exploring the history, construction, and dynamics of belief systems.²⁵ And third, analyzing religion in relation to hegemonic power within political, religious, and economic spheres.²⁶ However, scholarly references examining the mechanisms of power between Islamic religious elites and Sapta Darma adherents remain scarce. Believers face obstacles stemming from government policies and societal assumptions, especially from dominant religious groups. Consequently, an in-depth analysis of the power dynamics between Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) elites and Sapta Darma adherents, particularly in the local context of Lamongan Regency, is essential. Such research provides critical insight into how authority, religious discourse, and minority belief practices interact, negotiate, and influence the exercise of faith, social conformity, and community acceptance in contemporary Indonesian society.

²⁰ Abdul Latif Bustami, 'Pendampingan Organisasi Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Yang Berkarakter Jati Diri Indonesia', *Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, Dan Teknologi*, 2018.

²¹ Pemerintah Desa Mungli, 'Data Demografi Berdasarkan Agama', 2022.

²² Abdul Latif Bustami, 'Sejarah Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Indonesia', *Pendidikan Dan Latihan Jabatan Penyuluh Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*, 2017, 1-54.

²³ H. S. Rohmawati, 'Kerokhanian Sapta Darma Dan Permasalahan Hak-Hak Sipil Penghayat Di Indonesia', *Jurnal Yaqzhan: Analisis Filsafat, Agama Dan Kemanusiaan*, 6.1 (2020), 67-81.

²⁴ 'Kebebasan, Toleransi, Dan Terorisme: Riset Dan Kebijakan Agama Di Indonesia', ed. by Ihsan Ali Fauzi, Zainal Abidin Bagir, and Irsyad Rafsadi (Jakarta Selatan: Pusat Studi Adama dan Demokarasi Yayasan Paramadina, 2017); N Kholis and N. S Hasan, 'Quo Vadis Pendidikan Dan Gerakan Sosial Agama Lokal Di Indonesia; Studi Atas Agama Lokal Parmalim, Sapta Darma Dan Agama Djawa Sunda.', 2022; Muhammad Nalan Arif Rahmatan and others, 'Wetu Telu: Kesalahpahaman Dalam Persepsi Masyarakat', in *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Gelar Wicara*, 2023, 1, 174-77.

²⁵ Ansori, 'Ensiklopedi Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa', *Paper Knowledge . Toward a Media History of Documents*, 3.April (2015), 49-58; Harry Bawono, 'Proselytize to the "Non-Religious": Muhammadiyah's Systematic Da'wah to Indigenous Religious Followers During 1970s', *F-Icis*, 2022, 68-78; J. F Mawaza and R. M Manese, 'Pengikut Sapta Darma Di Tengah Pluralitas Terbatas', *Palita: Journal of Social Religion Research*, 5.1 (2020), 49-64.; A Zuhri, 'Konstruksi Identitas Kelompok Penghayat Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Di Pekalongan', 2022; Abdul Latif Bustami, 'Sejarah Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Indonesia'; Geertz; Setianingsih and others; Sholakodin; Viri and Febriany.

²⁶ Samsul Ma'arif, 'Meninjau Ulang Definisi Agama, Agama Dunia, Dan Agama Leluhur', *Kebebasan, Toleransi Dan Terorisme: Riset Dan Kebijakan Agama Di Indonesia*, 2017, 13-48; Y Wati, 'Marjinalisasi Pedesaan Akibat Relasi Kuasa Lokal Dan Supralokal', *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, 9.5 (2016), 83-96.

This research was conducted in Mungli Village, Kalitengah District, Lamongan Regency, using a descriptive qualitative method with a phenomenological approach to understand group motives in daily life. Fieldwork took place over twelve months (August 2023–August 2024) employing purposive sampling and involving thirteen informants from the Sapta Darma Association (PERSADA), Nahdlatul Ulama (Syuriah, Tanfidziyah, and autonomous bodies such as PRNU and Fatayat NU of Mungli Village), as well as NU members serving as village officials. Additional perspectives were gathered from the Chair of PERSADA East Java and representatives of BAKESBANGPOL. Supporting documents included books, academic journals, official village websites, BPS data, government documents, identity cards of belief adherents, and invitations to BAKESBANGPOL meetings. Data analysis followed the Miles and Huberman model through reduction, presentation, and inductive conclusion drawing. Interview results were transcribed, interpreted through Michel Foucault's theory of power, and validated using source triangulation, in-depth observation, and contextual activity analysis to ensure accuracy and relevance.

This study aims to describe the mechanisms and power relations exercised by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a dominant group toward Sapta Darma adherents who are officially registered under the belief category on their identity cards. It also seeks to enrich academic discussions on discrimination, recognition of belief adherents' status, and resilience in public spaces. Using Michel Foucault's theory of power relations, the study examines: (1) the dynamics of Sapta Darma as a minority religious group in Mungli Village, and (2) the mechanisms of power relations between NU and Sapta Darma. The findings are expected to map patterns of dominance, the construction of religious discourse, and provide a foundation for government policies that foster solidarity, promote tolerance-based values, and strengthen interfaith harmony amid Indonesia's plural belief systems.

The Dynamics of the Sapta Darma Faith Community in Mangli Village

In general, the distinction between religion and belief has long been a subject of debate in both terminology and meaning. Upon closer examination, the two terms convey different concepts, as belief may be considered an intrinsic element within religion. Belief represents an effort to internalize and contemplate the existence and nonexistence of the transcendent, whereas religion constitutes a structured system of belief that encompasses sacred practices directed toward the Almighty and ethical relationships among human beings.²⁷ In this respect, the distinction between religion and belief can also be observed through the presence of sacred texts. Religion possesses a holy scripture that functions as a guide for moral conduct and prohibitions against wrongdoing, while belief does not. Therefore, belief occupies a distinct position from religion.²⁸

In Javanese culture, mystical or spiritual belief systems (known as *kebatinan*) represent an alternative form of faith for Indonesians from diverse social backgrounds, including ordinary people, the highly educated, and scholars of various disciplines. These

²⁷ Sita Hidayah, 'THE POLITICS OF RELIGION THE INVENTION OF "AGAMA" IN INDONESIA', *Jurnal Kawistara*, 2.2 (2012) <<https://doi.org/10.22146/kawistara.3967>>.

²⁸ Krisharyanto Umbu Deta, 'Deconstructing the Dichotomy of Agama and Kepercayaan: A Transformative Strategy in the Politic of Recognition towards Marapu Indigenous Religion', *Religió: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, 12.1 (2022), 103–26 <<https://doi.org/10.15642/religio.v12i1.1863>>.

esoteric traditions have continued to develop despite the dominant presence of officially recognized religions.²⁹ Alongside this, Islam has maintained a strong presence in Java, giving rise to classifications such as *Islam santri* and *Islam kejawen*, both of which are rooted in indigenous belief systems that predate the arrival of imported religions. These classifications reflect the persistence of local spiritual traditions that existed long before the introduction of foreign religions through human civilizations.³⁰ The Javanese refer to these adherents as *penghayat kepercayaan* or followers of indigenous beliefs. This movement does not exist in isolation but operates within officially recognized organizations that provide institutional structure and legitimacy. As of 2021, there were 174 officially registered *penghayat kepercayaan* organizations throughout Indonesia.³¹

Sapta Darma is one of the many indigenous belief systems that have spread across various regions of Indonesia. Etymologically, the term *Sapta Darma* derives from two words: “*Sapta*,” meaning seven, and “*Dharma*,” meaning virtue or purity. Initially, Sapta Darma was a teaching introduced by a spiritual figure named Hardjosapuro on December 27, 1952, in Pare, Kediri Regency, East Java.³² Over time, Hardjosapuro came to be known by the title *Penuntun Agung Sri Gutama* (The Great Spiritual Guide Sri Gutama). The formal establishment of the *Persatuan Sapta Darma* (PERSADA) began after a spiritual gathering (*sarasehan*) attended by Sapta Darma spiritual guides (*tuntunan*) on December 26, 1986. The event was led by Sri Pawenang, who served as the *Tuntunan Agung* (Supreme Guide), and took place at *Sanggar Candi Sapta Rengga* in Yogyakarta.³³

In its ritual concept, Sapta Darma practices *sujud* (prostration) facing east with the head bowed. This act of worship is performed three times, with a minimum obligation of once daily. Other core practices include *hening* (meditative stillness or inner calm) and *racut* (a state of separating the soul from the body, preceded by *sujud*, bowing the body, and lying down with folded arms, head facing east and feet pointing west).³⁴ In addition to these rituals, Sapta Darma possesses distinctive characteristics and unique spiritual expressions. These characteristics can be identified as follows.

Table 1. Aspects of Spiritual Guidance, Practice, and Reflection in the Sapta Darma Belief

Aspect	Description
System of Spiritual Guidance	Initial guidance was provided by the Great Guide Sri Gutama and continued by Sri Pawenang, expanding spiritual development to provincial, regency, and subdistrict levels. The Yayasan Sрати Darma was established as a legal entity to support mentors in preserving teachings and guiding adherents.

²⁹ Kiki Muhamad Hakiki, ‘Aliran Kebatinan Di Indonesia’, *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama*, 6.2 (2011), 63–76 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsla.v6i2.497>>.

³⁰ Wening Purbatin Palupi Soenjoto, ‘Islam Kejawen As An Adoption of Local Wisdom And Islamic Development In Javanese Communities’, *SHAHIH: Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary*, 7.1 (2022), 67–76 <<https://doi.org/10.22515/shahih.v7i1.4134>>.

³¹ Direktorat Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan yang Maha Esa dan Masyarakat Adat.

³² Nur Arifin, ‘MOTIF BERGABUNG DALAM ALIRAN SAPTA DARMA PENGIKUT AJARAN DI SANGGAR AGUNG CANDI SAPTA RENGGA YOGYAKARTA’, *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, 11.1 (2018), 35 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2017.111-03>>.

³³ ADITYA APRIAWAN SAPUTRA and Ega Mustika, ‘Kajian Kepercayaan Sapta Darma Serta Pandangan Masyarakat Dalam Perspektif Sosial Dan Budaya Di Kecamatan Mojosari’, *SOSEARCH: Social Science Educational Research*, 4.1 (2023), 1–22 <<https://doi.org/10.26740/sosearch.v4n1.p1-22>>.

³⁴ Yusdinal Rizki Siregar and Siti Ismahani Jufri Naldo, ‘Sapta Darma Belief System: Concept Of Diversity And Strategies For Navigating Social Change’, *Journal of Humanities and Social Studies*, 8.3 (2024), 1024–28.

Development of Spiritual Nurturing	Sapta Darma adherents deepen their understanding of divinity, inner self, and <i>rasa</i> through consistent <i>sujud</i> , guiding them toward divine awareness, self-purification, and ultimate spiritual union with the Supreme Being.
Community Guidance	Guidance for adherents is implemented through faith education, spiritual strengthening, and habituation of social ethics. The core teachings emphasize belief in the existence and oneness of God, proper practice of <i>sujud</i> , and character formation grounded in honesty, virtue, compassion, and mutual care as preparation for eternal life after death.
Practice of Sujud	The <i>sujud</i> ritual is performed at least once daily in a seated position facing east, with men sitting cross-legged (right leg over left) and women kneeling. Both hands are folded, and the gaze is fixed on a point on the ground. The east (<i>purwa</i>) direction symbolizes the origin of humanity from purity.
Racut	<i>Racut</i> is a spiritual exercise involving the separation of the soul's consciousness from the body through stages of <i>sujud</i> , bowing, and lying with folded arms, head facing east, and feet pointing west. Its purpose is to attain spiritual perfection so the soul may reach the eternal realm (<i>nirwana</i>) by the Creator's side without losing its way.
Means of Self-Realization	Self-knowledge is cultivated through the Sapta Darma symbol, which represents the origin and essential nature of humanity. This symbol serves as a reflective medium for adherents to develop self-awareness regarding their potential and limitations along the spiritual journey.
Practice of the Seven Teachings (Wewarah Tujuh)	In social and religious life, Sapta Darma adherents apply the <i>Wewarah Tujuh</i> , seven moral and spiritual guidelines that direct behavior based on divine, civic, humanistic, ethical, and compassionate values. These teachings form the ethical foundation for maintaining balance between worldly and spiritual life.

In the same context, Lamongan Regency records 48 individuals who adhere to indigenous belief systems. In 2023, fourteen adherents of the Persatuan Sapta Darma (PERSADA) organization were identified in Mungli Village, as evidenced by their change of religious status on the National Identity Card (KTP) to "Belief in One Almighty God".³⁵ At the end of 2023, one of the fourteen adherents of Persatuan Sapta Darma (PERSADA) passed away, bringing the current number of followers in Mungli Village to thirteen. According to the available demographic data, Mungli Village has a total population of 1,190 people.³⁶ Therefore, 1.1% of the population are identified as followers of indigenous belief systems, while the remaining 98.9% are adherents of Islam.

The introduction of Sapta Darma to Mungli Village began in 1976 through the efforts of Santoso, a spiritual adherent from outside Lamongan. The presence of Sapta Darma grew stronger following the construction of the Sanggar Candi Busono, which served as a place of worship. The process of obtaining a permit for the sanggar faced significant challenges due to resistance and attempts at obstruction from certain parties within the subdistrict. Initially, the local community misunderstood adherents of Sapta Darma, labeling them as atheists, largely because the majority of residents were Muslims affiliated with NU. In response, NU leadership, consisting of the Syuriah, Tanfidziyah, and BANOM, emphasized the principle of tolerance. The Syuriah respected the presence of Sapta Darma adherents as long as the sanggar did not conflict with the principle of communal harmony, while the Tanfidziyah and BANOM reinforced similar values, ensuring the preservation of interfaith harmony.

³⁵ Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Lamongan 2024

³⁶ Pemerintah Desa Mungli Tahun 2022

Although the Sapta Darma adherents in Mungli Village initially faced social resistance, their presence gradually gained acceptance through the support of the government, village authorities, and NU elites. Recognition of this group was further strengthened by legal protection under national regulations, allowing the establishment of Sanggar Candi Busono as an official place of worship between 1995 and 1996 on both donated and state-owned land. Today, the community has begun to understand the existence of Sapta Darma adherents and their recognition through the change in national ID card status. The sanggar is open to followers from the Kalitengah area, although its existence generally remains hidden from the public sphere. The terms “penghayat” and “Sapta Darma” are still unfamiliar to some residents, indicating that social acceptance has yet to become fully widespread.



Figure 1. The Seven Spiritual Teachings of Sapta Darma, the Founder of Sapta Darma, a Portrait of Sapta Darma Worship Practices, and the Arrangement of the Worship Mat (read from left to right)

Based on the image above, the first picture shows the spiritual guideline book of Sapta Darma, titled *Wewarah Kerohanian Sapta Darma*, which serves as an obligatory reference for adherents. The second image portrays Sri Gutama, the Supreme Spiritual Guide of Sapta Darma. The third and fourth images depict scenes of spiritual practice within the *sanggar* (worship hall). The worship is performed facing east, using a white rhombus-shaped cloth as a mat. On the other hand, Sapta Darma faces challenges that have led to a gradual decline in the number of adherents over time. To analyze the factors behind this decline, the researcher presents the following diagram.

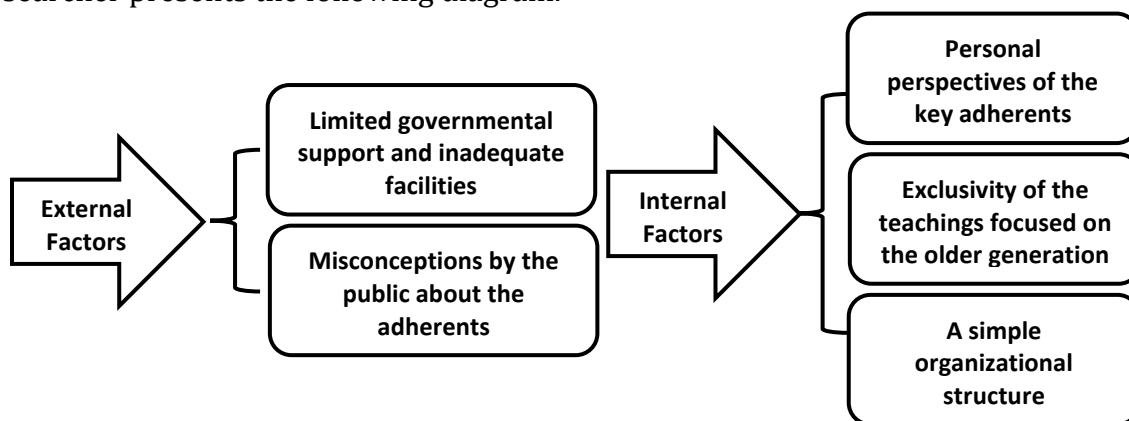


Figure 2. Classification of Factors Contributing to the Decline in Sapta Darma Adherents

The relatively small number of Sapta Darma adherents is caused by both external and internal factors. Externally, the government has not fully optimized public service facilities for adherents, leading to ongoing discriminatory practices at various levels. Social stigma

and negative labeling make individuals prioritize external validation over freedom of expression and worship, limiting their mobility, including changes to religious status on identity cards. Internally, low interest among younger generations in continuing their parents' beliefs threatens the continuity of Sapta Darma. Field findings indicate that no children of adherents continue the teachings due to rational considerations of personal values, social impact, and perceived benefits. Many adherents also avoid changing their religious status, seeing Sapta Darma as cultural preservation rather than formal religion. Weak documentation, simple organizational structures, and lack of official records further obscure data, increasing the potential decline of adherents and weakening institutional continuity.

Nahdlatul Ulama: Doctrinal Foundations and Methodologies for Interpreting Religious Discourse

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) was founded on 16 Rajab 1344 H (31 January 1926) in response to scholars' concerns over the gradual erosion of Islamic traditions in the Indonesian archipelago. Before NU, modernist organizations like Muhammadiyah (1912) sought to purify Islam and resist Dutch colonial rule, yet their reformist approach, which rejected local traditions, risked creating a spiritual vacuum and opening space for other ideologies, including Shi'ism and Wahhabism. NU was established under KH. Hasyim Asy'ari to preserve tradition. Over time, it has been referred to as "Cultural NU," "Abdurrahman Wahid Cultural," and "Post-Traditionalism," reflecting its evolving thought and praxis, upholding the Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah creed as a balance for tradition.³⁷

The leadership of Abdurrahman Wahid, or Gus Dur (1984–1999), marked a significant phase in the history of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). As both a leader and Muslim intellectual, Gus Dur was renowned for his populist, pluralist, and rationalist approach, alongside his commitment to freedom of thought, tolerance, democracy, and human rights. Under his leadership, NU underwent a paradigm transformation that prioritized humanitarian and national values as the foundation of its religious praxis. NU's moderate Islamic perspective is reflected in the concepts of *ukhuwah waṭaniyah* (national brotherhood) and *ukhuwah bashariyah* (humanitarian brotherhood), which are integrated with local wisdom, affirming NU's role as a pioneer of religious moderation in Indonesia.³⁸

The organizational structure of Nahdlatul Ulama consists of three main components: Syuriah, Tanfidziah, and Badan Otonom (BANOM). Syuriah serves as the supervisory council, establishing the organization's policy direction based on religious principles. Tanfidziah functions as the executive body implementing Syuriah's policies, overseeing leadership (*imāmah*), representation, rights, obligations, and institutional coordination, including the roles of *ahlu al-ḥalli wa al-'aqqi* and *wizārah*. Meanwhile, BANOM carries out

³⁷ Muhammad Rijal Fadli and Ajat Sudrajat, 'KEISLAMAN DAN KEBANGSAAN: TELAAH PEMIKIRAN KH. HASYIM ASY'ARI', *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora*, 18.1 (2020), 109 <<https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v18i1.3433>>.

³⁸ Wahyudi Akmaliah, Priyambudi Sulistiyanto, and Sukendar, 'Making Moderate Islam in Indonesia', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 47.11 (2024), 1495–1509 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2022.2034224>>; Robin Bush, *Nahdlatul Ulama and the Struggle for Power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia* (ISEAS Publishing, 2009), 132-135 <<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789812308795>>.

operational organizational policies and engages directly with the community. Through these three structures, NU ensures the continuity of supervision, policy implementation, and social service within the framework of religious and national responsibilities.³⁹

The contributions of the *kiai*, grassroots Muslim communities, and *santri* played a fundamental role in establishing NU. The organization aims to realize the glory of Islam and Muslims (*'izz al-Islām wa al-muslimīn*). NU upholds the principles of *Ahlu al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* (ASWAJA) as the foundation for community guidance and recognizes the Sunni *fiqh* authority of the four schools: Shafi'i, Hanbali, Hanafi, and Maliki. The ASWAJA thought in the Nusantara region developed through figures such as Syaikh Mahfudz al-Tarmasi from Pacitan and Syaikh Nawawi al-Bantani from West Java, emphasizing a balance between rationality, the *al-Qur'an*, and *hadis* in the transmission of Islamic knowledge.⁴⁰

NU's interpretative methodology is rooted in Islamic scholarly traditions based on the *al-Qur'an*, *hadith*, *fiqh*, *'aqidah*, and *kitab kuning*. NU emphasizes the contextualization of Islamic values within modern society through the *Baḥth al-Masā'il* forum, employing three approaches: *qaulī*, *ilhāqī*, and *manhajī*, grounded in the principles of *uṣūl al-fiqh*.⁴¹ This forum not only explores the truth of legal matters but also produces normative decisions that function as social and religious guidelines. In matters of *'aqidah*, NU adheres to the *Asy'ariyah-Maturidiyah* school, balancing revelation and rationality, while integrating pesantren-based education grounded in *kitab kuning* alongside modern technological resources.⁴²

From a Foucauldian perspective, *kitab kuning* is not merely a textual reference but a source of knowledge that generates power, producing authority and normative capacity.⁴³ NU scholars exercise epistemic authority to convey and interpret these texts through *sanad*, the *Baḥth al-Masā'il* forum, and active community engagement. This interplay between ASWAJA principles, local sociocultural context, and NU's institutional mechanisms illustrates how traditional scholarly discourse continually reproduces, legitimizes, and reshapes local power relations and social hierarchies.⁴⁴

³⁹ Miftahul Ulum and Abd Wahid, 'FIKIH ORGANISASI (Reaktualisasi Sejarah Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Di Indonesia)', *Al-Insyiroh: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 5.2 (2019), 54–75 <<https://doi.org/10.35309/alinsyiroh.v5i2.3517>>.

⁴⁰ Faisal Ismail, 'THE NAHDLATUL ULAMA: Its Early History and Contribution to the Establishment of Indonesian State', *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM*, 5.2 (2011), 247 <<https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2011.5.2.247-282>>. Ibnu Hajar Ansori and Roudlatun Nasikah, 'DEMOKRASI KAUM SANTRI DALAM PANDANGAN ISLAM (Mendudukan Konsep Demokrasi Dan Ittiba>' *Kiai*', *Jurnal Dakwah*, 20.1 (2020), 68–92 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/jd.1440>>.

⁴¹ 'Fatwa of Bath Al-Masail Nahdlatul Ulama', in *Fatwa in Indonesia* (Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp. 183–228 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048531622-007>>. Suma Wijaya, 'The Role of Lajnah Bahtsul Masail Nahdlatul Ulama in Bridging Classical Jurisprudence and Contemporary Legal Challenges', *Bulletin of Islamic Research*, 3.3 (2025), 425–38 <<https://doi.org/10.69526/bir.v3i3.346>>.

⁴² Nelly Izmi, 'TRADISI PEMBELAJARAN KITAB KUNING DALAM KURIKULUM PESANTREN', *El-Rusyd: Jurnal Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Tarbiyah STIT Ahlussunnah Bukittinggi*, 7.2 (2023), 1–12 <<https://doi.org/10.58485/elrusyd.v7i2.132>>.

⁴³ Michel Foucault, 'Power/Knowledge', in *The New Social Theory Reader* (Routledge, 2020), pp. 73–79 <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003060963-10>>. Ervan Nurtawab and Dedi Wahyudi, 'Restructuring Traditional Islamic Education in Indonesia: Challenges for Pesantren Institution', *Studia Islamika*, 29.1 (2022), 55–81 <<https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v29i1.17414>>.

⁴⁴ Asrizal Saiin and others, 'Islamic Law in Indonesia: Bahtsul Masā'il Ijtihad and the Production of Knowledge', 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.211014.007>>.

Coexistence and Negotiation of Belief: Socio-Religious Dynamics between NU and Sapta Darma Adherents in Mungli Village

In the village of Mungli, socio-religious relations between NU and PERSADA are conducted harmoniously and with mutual respect. Both organizations maintain a cooperative relationship with the village government and local community, especially in socio-religious activities such as communal feasts and tahlilan. PERSADA members regularly participate in NU events, and NU residents attend when PERSADA families request Islamic prayers. This cross-organizational engagement reflects tolerance, inclusivity, and recognition of local belief diversity. NU leaders emphasize that as long as PERSADA's activities do not threaten social order, their presence is accepted as part of the village's cultural plurality, reinforcing coexistence and mutual understanding between religious and belief-based communities.

The NU tanfidziyah emphasizes coordination of socio-religious policies based on moderation and tolerance. NU's autonomous bodies act as mediators in fulfilling PERSADA's civil rights, including facilitating operational funding for the sanggar in cooperation with the village government. At the local level, NU branches view PERSADA as part of the Javanese cultural heritage that has long coexisted with the Muslim community. Therefore, NU underscores the importance of interfaith harmony and acceptance of belief practitioners, as long as they do not contradict Islamic principles or public order. These principles form the foundation of NU-PERSADA relations at the grassroots level, fostering synergy between religious identity, civil rights, and social stability, while strengthening social integration through moderation and respect for belief diversity in the village of Mungli.

Nevertheless, identity dynamics continue to emerge among PERSADA adherents, reflecting complex negotiation between belief, identity, and social expectations. Some members change their religious status on identity cards to "Belief in the Almighty God," while others retain formal religious affiliations such as Islam, Catholicism, or Hinduism while actively practicing Sapta Darma. This demonstrates significant internal religious diversity within PERSADA. From NU's perspective, changing status is viewed as theologically more honest compared to retaining an Islamic identity without practicing its teachings. Similar challenges emerge in burial practices, as families sometimes request Islamic rites even when the deceased had actively participated in Sapta Darma during their lifetime. These situations underscore ongoing tensions and adaptations in balancing personal faith, communal norms, and societal recognition within the local context.

Beyond theological considerations, health serves as a primary motivation for interest in Sapta Darma teachings. Some adherents report recovering from illnesses after participating in spiritual activities at Sanggar Candi Busono Mungli, led by a sanggar guide skilled in alternative healing. NU interprets this as an expression of spiritual needs and the pursuit of solutions beyond conventional medical practices. Interestingly, some adherents still send their children to Islamic education at TPQ (Taman Pendidikan al-Qur'an) or pesantren. This demonstrates that religious practice in Mungli is fluid and adaptive, reflecting a productive model of coexistence between NU and PERSADA that balances spiritual exploration with engagement in mainstream Islamic education.

Power, Knowledge, and Subjectivity: A Foucauldian Analysis of Nahdlatul Ulama and Sapta Darma Relations in Mungli Village

NU grounds its approach toward belief practitioners on the al-Qur'an, hadith, *fiqh*, *'aqidah*, and *kitab kuning*. NU recognizes these practitioners as Indonesian citizens; however, PBNU Chairman KH Said Aqil Siradj emphasizes that belief systems differ from religion, as religion encompasses sacred scriptures, prophets, rituals, and meaningful teachings.⁴⁵ Through the *Baḥth al-Masā'il* forum, NU examines government regulations regarding the labeling of deviant groups while continuing to provide guidance if such groups threaten public order. This approach demonstrates NU's respect for the civil rights of belief practitioners according to the law, while simultaneously affirming the theological distinction between religion and belief systems, ensuring that educational and supervisory practices are balanced with principles of tolerance and social security.

In the village of Mungli, Sapta Darma faces complex challenges in sustaining its existence. These challenges stem from internal issues, including limited capacity to establish formal organizational structures, as well as external factors, such as misunderstandings, biased assumptions, and discriminatory treatment by other groups. As a result, Sapta Darma occupies a vulnerable position, receiving skewed perceptions from both the broader community and NU. Religious freedom is further constrained by village government policies and NU elites, reflecting a form of minority consent that risks human rights violations. Ideally, in accordance with NU's principles of moderation, Sapta Darma's position should remain central and neutral, ensuring balanced treatment and protection within the socio-religious landscape of Mungli.

Field monitoring is conducted by the government with support from BAKESBANGPOL on a routine schedule. NU's Syuriyah encourages the community to respect belief practitioners, emphasizing the fulfillment of rights in accordance with human rights and freedom of belief. NU's Tanfidziyah supervises the activities of belief practitioners to ensure compliance with government regulations, while also safeguarding equitable public services and access to places of worship (*sanggar*). NU's autonomous bodies respect the choices of Sapta Darma adherents who change their religious status. Accordingly, NU facilitates and enables the change of identity card (KTP) status for Sapta Darma practitioners, while maintaining principles of harmony, social order, and respect for minority rights within the socio-religious context of Mungli.

The management of funds and the regulation of freedom of movement in Mungli are conducted by the village government, NU elites, and the broader NU community, facilitated by local leaders. Local traditions inherited from Javanese culture continue to be preserved, even as changes in cultural, economic, political, and social spheres remain significant challenges for democracy and religious freedom in rural areas. In this context, power and the relationships between dominant and minority groups are intrinsic elements shaping everyday social life. These power dynamics create normative boundaries, structure interactions, and influence how minority groups' rights, responsibilities, and identities are

⁴⁵ Hary Lukita Wardani, 'Penghayat Masuk Kolom KTP, PBNU: Harus Akui Eksistensi Mereka', *DetikNews*, 2017.

enacted. Consequently, the negotiation of authority and social order becomes central to sustaining coexistence and community stability.

If the relationship between the two organizations is examined from Foucault's perspective on power relations, broadly speaking, there is a division of knowledge myths and their deconstruction into several components, namely: 1) power, 2) knowledge, and 3) subjectivity (the individual shaped by society).⁴⁶ Foucault's framework will be illustrated in the following diagram.

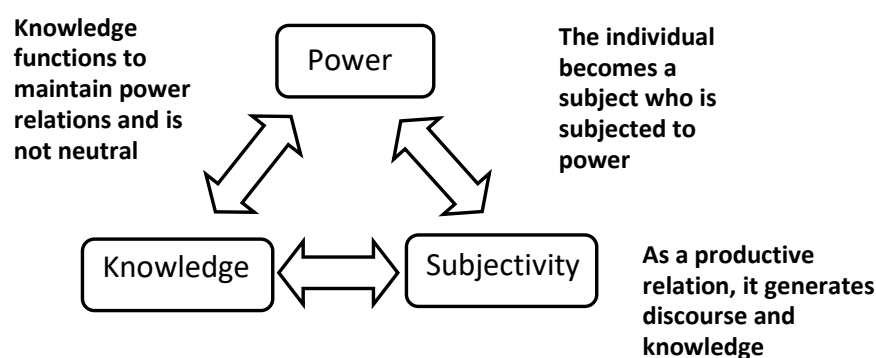


Figure 3. Power Analysis in the Thought of Michel Foucault

According to Foucault, power functions as a form of subjective truth that structures social change and dynamics. Knowledge is inherently bound by social and cultural contexts and cannot transcend the dominant regime. The three elements, power, knowledge, and subjectivity, are inseparable because power does not originate from a single source. Power is intrinsically linked to knowledge and the process of subject formation within society. It is exercised to produce knowledge while simultaneously shaping compliant objects. In this study, discourses of power influence both theoretical and practical knowledge, particularly in the realm of belief systems and religious practices.

In social practice, power circulates through discourse and routine practices rather than being directly possessed. In the village of Mungli, NU, as the majority, holds strong legitimacy and dominates the establishment of social norms. Conversely, Sapta Darma, as a minority, must adapt to gain acceptance. This relationship creates productive power that guides Sapta Darma's behavior to align with the broader social order. Foucault calls this the microphysics of power, operating through social surveillance, recognition, and moral legitimacy rather than coercion alone.

Within the knowledge domain, NU maintains a dominant religious discourse propagated through educational forums, sermons, and *kitab kuning*. Sapta Darma, however, has limited space to disseminate its teachings openly, rendering its knowledge marginalized and often socially and administratively unofficial. Subjectivity is shaped through social pressures and norm compliance, a process Foucault describes as disciplinary power, whereby individuals internalize power and adapt their belief-based identities for societal acceptance. For instance, adherents may participate in NU socio-religious activities or

⁴⁶ M C B Umanailo, 'Thought of Michel Foucault', 2020, 1-11.

conceal their own practices. This phenomenon illustrates how social norms structure individual behavior and identity formation.

Overall, the relationship between NU and Sapta Darma in the village of Mungli illustrates a relational and productive mechanism of power. NU utilizes religious knowledge to maintain dominant values and social norms, while Sapta Darma adapts and shapes the internalized subjectivity of the community.⁴⁷ The archaeology of knowledge, the genealogy of power, and the formation of subjectivity are implemented through internal village institutions as well as external bodies such as BAKESBANGPOL and DUKCAPIL. NU produces narratives of truth, determines acceptable practices, and identifies deviations, including framing Persatuan Sapta Darma practices as conflicting with Islamic teachings. This is executed subtly through discourses of moderation and social legitimacy, without coercion.

Table 2. Overview of Power Relations between NU and Sapta Darma

Key Concept	Subjectivity	Power
Archaeology of Knowledge	Persatuan Sapta Darma adherents who change their identity cards	NU elites, based on Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah (ASWAJA), regard Sapta Darma as local culture and support the change of identity cards
Genealogy of Power	Practices, discipline, and authority of religious elites	Internal institutions: Village Government and NU; External: MLKI, BAKESBANGPOL. Village institutions and NU elites prevent interfaith discussions as a form of rationalized harmony
Subjectivity	Discipline and surveillance	Persatuan Sapta Darma registered according to official population records; oversight conducted by state institutions such as BAKESBANGPOL and DUKCAPIL

Based on the table, it can be explained that the power relations of NU over Sapta Darma in the village of Mungli encompass three main categories according to Foucault's framework. First, the archaeology of knowledge emphasizes that power originates from knowledge, taking into account individual subjectivity through learning experiences and acquired understanding. This knowledge serves as a pathway for achieving individual liberation and freedom.⁴⁸ Foucault analyzes the effects of power in society as a continuous process operating through social institutions.⁴⁹ Within the NU elite, this knowledge functions as a tool for regulation and discipline over Sapta Darma, thereby fostering alignment of minority behavior with the social norms of the majority.

The second category is the genealogy of power, or discourse power, which explains the distribution of NU's authority and discourse in political and religious spheres. The village government supervises PERSADA through BAKESBANGPOL to monitor belief practitioners and through DUKCAPIL for population administration in accordance with government regulations. NU elites exert significant influence in public spaces, affecting social, political, and economic practices, and shaping specific legitimacy within the village

⁴⁷ Ibnu Hajar Ansori, Rahman Rahman, and Zikri Darussamin, 'A Genealogy of 'Ilal Al-Hadīth Study (Tracing the Historical Root Gene of Existence and Development The Study of 'Ilal Al-Hadith)', *Jurnal Ushuluddin*, 28.1 (2020), 1 <<https://doi.org/10.24014/jush.v28i1.9215>>.

⁴⁸ Pip Jones, Bradbury Liza, and Shaul Le Boutillier, *Pengantar Teori-Teori Sosial*, 2nd edn (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2016).

⁴⁹ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Wacana Kuasa/Pengetahuan (Y. Santosa, Trans.)* (Yogyakarta: Narasi Pustaka-Promothea. (Karya asli diterbitkan tahun 1980), 2017).

of Mungli. This mechanism reflects how power relations establish social norms that are internalized by the community, including minority belief practitioners.

The third category, subjectivity, is shaped through social pressure and the internalization of norms, known as disciplinary power. Sapta Darma adherents adapt their belief identities to achieve societal acceptance, for instance, by joining NU socio-religious activities or concealing their spiritual practices. The lack of interfaith dialogue forums restricts interaction between minority and majority groups, while policies relying on minority consent may pose potential human rights risks. NU ulama and elites serve as mediators who locally channel NU's canonical authority, producing narratives that define acceptable practices and deviations, including those of Persatuan Sapta Darma, through ostensibly inclusive moderation discourse that nonetheless maintains explicit social boundaries.

Furthermore, NU's perspective on belief practitioners, rooted in the *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* (ASWAJA) framework, promotes an accommodative stance toward local traditions. The option for Sapta Darma adherents to alter their religious identity is viewed as a rational and legitimate act. Foucault's notion of discursive power is evident in NU's regulation of majority norms and village policies, shaping minority participation and legitimacy. The lack of direct representation reflects internalized power, sustained through social norms and discursive regulation in Mungli.

Conclusion

The conclusion of this study is that the power relations between Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as the majority group and Sapta Darma adherents in the village of Mungli are effectively analyzed through a Foucauldian lens, encompassing the archaeology of knowledge, genealogy of power, and the formation of subjectivity. NU employs religious discourse, local institutions, and government regulations to maintain social norms, while Sapta Darma strategically adapts its ritual practices and communal identity to achieve societal acceptance. The findings reveal internal challenges, including declining interest among younger generations, alongside external pressures such as social discrimination and administrative obstacles. This research contributes to the understanding of majority-minority power dynamics, documents religious practices grounded in local wisdom, and advances Foucauldian theoretical perspectives in analyzing the complexities of belief diversity. The study highlights how local socio-religious hierarchies shape behavioral conformity, identity negotiation, and the sustainability of minority spiritual communities in rural Indonesia.

Upon the completion of this study, several gaps remain for future research. It is recommended that subsequent studies focus on the subjective experiences of young adherents of belief systems, interfaith interaction dynamics at the regional level, or the effects of government policies on the internalization of minority religious identities. Comparative studies across regions or longitudinal analyses could further enhance understanding of the transformation of power relations and the practice of tolerance within the context of religious and belief diversity.

References

- Abdurrahman, Muhammad, *Bunga Rampai Budaya, Sosial, Dan Keislaman*, ed. by Meita Sandra (Jogjakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2020)
- Akmaliah, Wahyudi, Priyambudi Sulistiyanto, and Sukendar, 'Making Moderate Islam in Indonesia', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 47 (2024), 1495–1509 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2022.2034224>>
- Ansori, 'Ensiklopedi Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa', *Paper Knowledge . Toward a Media History of Documents*, 3 (2015), 49–58
- Ansori, Ibnu Hajar, and Roudlatun Nasikah, 'DEMOKRASI KAUM SANTRI DALAM PANDANGAN ISLAM (Mendudukan Konsep Demokrasi Dan Ittiba>' Kiai)', *Jurnal Dakwah*, 20 (2020), 68–92 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/jd.1440>>
- Ansori, Ibnu Hajar, Rahman Rahman, and Zikri Darussamin, 'A Genealogy of 'Ilal Al-Hadîth Study (Tracing the Historical Root Gene of Existence and Development The Study of 'Ilal Al-Hadith)', *Jurnal Ushuluddin*, 28 (2020), 1 <<https://doi.org/10.24014/jush.v28i1.9215>>
- Arifin, Nur, 'MOTIF BERGABUNG DALAM ALIRAN SAPTA DARMA PENGIKUT AJARAN DI SANGGAR AGUNG CANDI SAPTA RENGGA YOGYAKARTA', *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama*, 11 (2018), 35 <<https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2017.111-03>>
- Arroisi, J., S. Badi, M. P. Perdana, and A. T. Mafaza, 'Problematika Aliran Kepercayaan Dan Kebatinan Sebagai Agama Asli Indonesia', *Fikri: Jurnal Kajian Agama, Sosial Dan Budaya*, 6 (2021), 138–155
- Bagir, Z. A, *Kerukunan Dan Penodaan Agama: Alternatif Penanganan Masalah*, 2017
- Bawono, Harry, 'Proselytize to the "Non-Religious": Muhammadiyah's Systematic Da'wah to Indigenous Religious Followers During 1970s', *F-Icis*, 2022, 68–78
- Bush, Robin, *Nahdlatul Ulama and the Struggle for Power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia* (ISEAS Publishing, 2009) <<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789812308795>>
- Bustami, Abd. Latif, "Tuhan, Agamamu Apa?: Relasi Kuasa Republik Dan Keyakinan Keagamaan Publik Dalam Direktorat Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa. Kepercayaan Dalam Sebuah Realitas' (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Nilai Budaya, Seni, dan Film Departemen Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2005), pp. 1–50
- Bustami, Abdul Latif, 'Pendampingan Organisasi Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Yang Berkarakter Jati Diri Indonesia', *Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, Dan Teknologi*, 2018
- , 'Sejarah Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Indonesia', *Pendidikan Dan Latihan Jabatan Penyuluh Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa*, 2017, 1–54
- Dameria, Djessyka, Kadek Wiwik Indrayanti, I Gusti Ngurah Adnyana, and Fadilla Dwi Lailawaty, 'Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Perkawinan Warga Negara Kelompok Penghayat Kepercayaan Dengan Agama Tertentu Di Indonesia', *Bhirawa Law Journal*, 2 (2021), 87–95 <<https://doi.org/10.26905/blj.v2i2.6827>>
- Deta, Krisharyanto Umbu, 'Deconstructing the Dichotomy of Agama and Kepercayaan: A Transformative Strategy in the Politic of Recognition towards Marapu Indigenous Religion', *Religió: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, 12 (2022), 103–26 <<https://doi.org/10.15642/religio.v12i1.1863>>
- Direktorat Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan yang Maha Esa dan Masyarakat Adat, *Buku Saku Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Dan Masyarakat Adat*, ed. by Rinto Tri Hasworo and Sukmono Fajar Turido (Jakarta: Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi, 2021)
- Fadli, Muhammad Rijal, and Ajat Sudrajat, 'KEISLAMAN DAN KEBANGSAAN: TELAAH PEMIKIRAN KH. HASYIM ASY'ARI', *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora*, 18

- (2020), 109 <<https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v18i1.3433>>
- Fanani, Ahwan, *Jejak Islam Dalam Kebudayaan Jawa, Pertama* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2020)
- 'Fatwa of Bath Al-Masail Nahdlatul Ulama', in *Fatwa in Indonesia* (Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp. 183–228 <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048531622-007>>
- Fauzi, Ihsan Ali, Zainal Abidin Bagir, and Irsyad Rafsadi, eds., 'Kebebasan, Toleransi, Dan Terorisme: Riset Dan Kebijakan Agama Di Indonesia' (Jakarta Selatan: Pusat Studi Adama dan Demokarasi Yayasan Paramadina, 2017)
- Foucault, Michel, *Power/Knowledge: Wacana Kuasa/Pengetahuan* (Y. Santosa, Trans.) (Yogyakarta: Narasi Pustaka-Promothea.(Karya asli diterbitkan tahun 1980), 2017)
- , 'Power/Knowledge', in *The New Social Theory Reader* (Routledge, 2020), pp. 73–79 <<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003060963-10>>
- Geertz, C, *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi Dalam Kebudayaan Jawa, Dialektika* (Komunitas Bambu, 2014)
- Geovanie, Jeffrie, *Civil Religion: Dimensi Sosial Politik Islam*, ed. by Abd Rohim Ghazali (Jakarta: PT Gramedia, 2013)
- Hakiki, Kiki Muhamad, 'Aliran Kebatinan Di Indonesia', *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama*, 6 (2011), 63–76 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsla.v6i2.497>>
- Hidayah, Sita, 'THE POLITICS OF RELIGION THE INVENTION OF "AGAMA" IN INDONESIA', *Jurnal Kawistara*, 2 (2012) <<https://doi.org/10.22146/kawistara.3967>>
- Husein, F, 'The Politics of Religious Recognition in Indonesia.', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 46 (2018), 481–503
- Indonesia, Pemerintah Pusat, *Peraturan Pemerintah (PP) Nomor 37 Tahun 2007 Tentang Pelaksanaan Undang Undang Nomor 23 Tahun 2006 Tentang Administrasi Kependudukan* (Indonesia, 2007)
- Institute, Setara, 'Setara Institute Catat 329 Pelanggaran KBB Sepanjang 2023 Setara Institute', 2024
- Ismail, Faisal, 'THE NAHDLATUL ULAMA: Its Early History and Contribution to the Establishment of Indonesian State', *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM*, 5 (2011), 247 <<https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2011.5.2.247-282>>
- Izmi, Nelly, 'TRADISI PEMBELAJARAN KITAB KUNING DALAM KURIKULUM PESANTREN', *El-Rusyd : Jurnal Sekolah Tinggi Ilmu Tarbiyah STIT Ahlussunnah Bukittinggi*, 7 (2023), 1–12 <<https://doi.org/10.58485/elrusyd.v7i2.132>>
- Jones, Pip, Bradbury Liza, and Shaul Le Boutillier, *Pengantar Teori-Teori Sosial*, 2nd edn (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2016)
- Kholis, N, and N. S Hasan, 'Quo Vadis Pendidikan Dan Gerakan Sosial Agama Lokal Di Indonesia; Studi Atas Agama Lokal Parmalim, Sapta Darma Dan Agama Djawa Sunda.', 2022
- Künkler, M, and A. Stepan, 'The Bureaucratization of Religion and the Proliferation of "Fake Sheikhs" in Malaysia and Indonesia', *Comparative Politics*, 54 (2022), 223–44 <<https://doi.org/10.5129/001041522x16316387001634>>
- Ma'arif, Samsul, 'Meninjau Ulang Definisi Agama, Agama Dunia, Dan Agama Leluhur', *Kebebasan, Toleransi Dan Terorisme: Riset Dan Kebijakan Agama Di Indonesia*, 2017, 13–48
- Masrifah, Lia Hilyatul, 'Relasi Kuasa Antara Muslim Ortodoks Dan Penghayat Kaweruh Kamanungsan Di Banyuwangi Dalam Perspektif Ideological State Apparatus Louis Althusser', *Religió: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama*, 6 (2016) <<https://doi.org/10.15642/religio.v6i1.610>>
- Mawaza, J. F, and R. M Manese, 'Pengikut Sapta Darma Di Tengah Pluralitas Terbatas', *Palita: Journal of Social Religion Research*, 5 (2020), 49-64.

- Nurtawab, Ervan, and Dedi Wahyudi, 'Restructuring Traditional Islamic Education in Indonesia: Challenges for Pesantren Institution', *Studia Islamika*, 29 (2022), 55–81 <<https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v29i1.17414>>
- Rahmatan, Muhammad Nalan Arif, Dayang Sasa Sismia Utami, Elma Nailul Nuna, Melisa Qurratun Nada, Gema Teguh Kharisma M F, Bunga Lestari, and others, 'Wetu Telu: Kesalahpahaman Dalam Persepsi Masyarakat', in *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Gelar Wicara*, 2023, 1, 174–77
- Rohmawati, H. S., 'Kerokhanian Sapta Darma Dan Permasalahan Hak-Hak Sipil Penghayat Di Indonesia', *Jurnal Yaqzhan: Analisis Filsafat, Agama Dan Kemanusiaan*, 6 (2020), 67–81
- Saiin, Asrizal, Abdul Kadir Jaelani, Muhammad Jihadul Hayat, Arifki Budia Warman, and Muhammad April, 'Islamic Law in Indonesia: Bahtsul Masail Ijtihad and the Production of Knowledge', 2021 <<https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.211014.007>>
- SAPUTRA, ADITYA APRIAWAN, and Ega Mustika, 'Kajian Kepercayaan Sapta Darma Serta Pandangan Masyarakat Dalam Perspektif Sosial Dan Budaya Di Kecamatan Mojosari', *SOSEARCH: Social Science Educational Research*, 4 (2023), 1–22 <<https://doi.org/10.26740/sosearch.v4n1.p1-22>>
- Sarmauli, 'Persaudaraan Lintas Iman: Relasi Legitimasi Dan Identitas Elit Agama Kota Palangka Raya', *Al-Qalam*, 21 (2016), 169 <<https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v21i1.212>>
- Setianingsih, Agnes Tutut, Julia Kumala Asri Drakel, Mely Tri Octavina, and Wisnu, 'Eksistensi Penghayat Kepercayaan Kejawa Di Tengah Arus Modernisasi', *The Indonesian Journal of Social Studies*, 6 (2022), 79–86
- Sholakodin, Akil Fitra, 'Arus Utama Wacana Identitas Penghayat Kepercayaan Pasca Putusan MK Di Media Daring Kompas.Com', *Jurnal Sosiologi Pendidikan Humanis*, 6 (2021), 166 <<https://doi.org/10.17977/um021v6i2p166-182>>
- Siregar, Yusdinal Rizki, and Siti Ismahani Jufri Naldo, 'Sapta Darma Belief System: Concept Of Diversity And Strategies For Navigating Social Change', *Journal of Humanities and Social Studies*, 8 (2024), 1024–28
- Soenjoto, Wening Purbatin Palupi, 'Islam Kejawa As An Adoption of Local Wisdom And Islamic Development In Javanese Communities', *SHAHIH: Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary*, 7 (2022), 67–76 <<https://doi.org/10.22515/shahih.v7i1.4134>>
- Suma Wijaya, 'The Role of Lajnah Bahtsul Masail Nahdlatul Ulama in Bridging Classical Jurisprudence and Contemporary Legal Challenges', *Bulletin of Islamic Research*, 3 (2025), 425–38 <<https://doi.org/10.69526/bir.v3i3.346>>
- Ulum, Miftahul, and Abd Wahid, 'FIKIH ORGANISASI (Reaktualisasi Sejarah Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Di Indonesia)', *Al-Insyiroh: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 5 (2019), 54–75 <<https://doi.org/10.35309/alinsyiroh.v5i2.3517>>
- Umanilo, M C B, 'Thought of Michel Foucault', 2020, 1–11
- Viri, Kristina, and Zarida Febriany, 'Dinamika Pengakuan Penghayat Kepercayaan Di Indonesia', *Indonesian Journal of Religion and Society*, 2 (2020), 97–112 <<https://doi.org/10.36256/ijrs.v2i2.119>>
- Wardani, Hary Lukita, 'Penghayat Masuk Kolom KTP, PBNU: Harus Akui Eksistensi Mereka', *DetikNews*, 2017
- Wati, Y, 'Marjinalisasi Pedesaan Akibat Relasi Kuasa Lokal Dan Supralokal', *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif*, 9 (2016), 83–96
- Zuhri, A, 'Konstruksi Identitas Kelompok Penghayat Kepercayaan Terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Di Pekalongan', 2022