MAINTAINING OR NEGOTIATING IDENTITY:
THE SOCIO-POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF COMMUNITY MOSQUES IN MALANG, EAST JAVA, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

The contemporary dynamics of mosque development in Indonesia is closely related to the socio-political dynamics of various Islamic groups or organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, etc. A great number of mosques in Indonesia have been built by Muslim communities affiliated to one of these Islamic groups. In this case, mosque architecture can be considered as one means of expression of the communities' specific identities which derived from their particular perspectives on the ideal picture of a mosque. However, there is also another case where a mosque is built by a heterogeneous Muslim community. In this context, the image of an ideal mosque becomes the object of negotiations among the diverse affiliated members. This paper discusses to what extent these socio-political dynamics affect the identity representation of community mosques in Malang, one of the regions in East Java where the dynamic interactions among various Islamic groups take place. The result shows that the attempts to represent identity in the community mosques are related to the socio-political dynamic of the Muslim communities. In the mosques of the specific groups, some architectural elements, such as the iconographic ornaments and colors, the spatial arrangement, and the specific features are maintained to represent their specific identities. However, in the mosques of the heterogeneous Muslim communities, these elements are negotiated and challenged by the community members. These negotiations could result, whether in the mutual understanding and tolerance, or in the space claim attempts by the dominant group through the domination of the activity systems, the role restrictions, and the physical control over the mosque.

KEYWORDS:
Negotiation, Islamic Groups, Identity Representation, Community Mosque

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian Islamic groups and organizations have an essential role in shaping the mosque development in Indonesia. The community basis in many mosques can be identified as the proponents of specific groups of the Islamic school of thoughts, such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah [1]. In fact, many mosques are built by the affiliated Muslim communities. These affiliated mosques are popularly known as Nahdliyin mosques, Muhammadiyah mosques, LDII mosques, etc. Some of these mosques' management are structurally connected to the organizations, while some others are culturally related to the affiliated communities. One of the most significant Indonesian Islamic organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), even established Lembaga Takmir Masjid Nahdlatul Ulama (LTMNU) to organize a large number of Nahdliyin mosques all over the country.

The deep concern towards mosque development is due to the importance of mosque institution for the Muslim society. A mosque is a place with socio-religious meanings where Muslim people gather together for various Islamic ritual and non-ritual activities. While pesantren is an institution for the specific and formal Islamic education of a limited number of Muslim students, a mosque is an institution for a more informal Islamic education of the majority of Muslim society.

As one of the significant institutions of Muslim society, a mosque has a socio-political role as the physical representation of the ideals, values, perspectives, and traditions of its Muslim community. Moreover, a mosque can be used as a means of expression of the more specific identity outside the commonly shared-identity of Islam. Each Islamic group expresses a specific construction of Islam in its mosque

through some selected and transformed cultural elements [2]. Different Islamic groups with different values and perspectives tend to have different ideals which shape the identity of their mosque architecture. As woodward suggested, identity is constructed through the marking of difference [3]. However, these groups' values, perspectives, and ideals on mosque architecture have not been adequately considered in many contemporary studies about mosques. Roose stated, "More often than not, studies of modern mosques in the West seem to regard patrons as a force to be countered or educated, driven by a lack of taste or historical knowledge and by the need for cheap, populist recognizability," [2].

In Indonesian context, the specific construction of Islam is represented bythe community affiliation to a particular Islamic group, such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, etc. With their specific values and perspectives, both the Traditionalist Muslims (represented by Nahdlatul Ulama) and the Modernist Muslims (represented by Muhammadiyah) conceive mosque in quite different pictures. For example, the existence of bedug and kentongan according to van Dijk [4], were often thought as a part of Hindu tradition by the Modernist Muslims. In other cases, the existence of graves which are frequently preserved in the sites or inside the mosque buildings by the Traditionalist Muslims had also led to some rejection from other Muslim groups [4]. Moreover, the interior's spatial division between men and women is another subject of disagreement. Women area which is frequently situated at the left or right side of men area in the Traditionalist mosques is not considered as an ideal arrangement by the Modernist Muslims who tend to place women area symmetrically behind men area. Regarding these, Roose underlined that the differences in some meaningful choices of architectural elements are based on the light of the construction of Islam of each Islamic group required to be represented in their mosques [2].

However, there is also another case where mosques are built by heterogeneous Muslim communities. These mosques of heterogeneous Muslim communities have become the object of negotiations where the existence of each element of the mosques is negotiated by the members of the community. In this context, the images of an ideal mosque were brought by each community member from various Islamic groups. Each of them could take different actions on the existing mosque. Accordingly, Abidin Kusno argued that architecture, particularly mosque, has"became the site of negotiation between the global pan-Islamic Islam and the Javanese world"[5].

In a broader context of the built environment, Amos Rapoport in his book "Culture, Architecture, and Design" showed that various actions towards the built environment are conducted after people evaluated their built environment based on their ideals, images, values, norms, etc. These actions include designing new environment, modifying the existing environment,

moving, or even giving up [6]. Therefore, this paper will discuss how these identity representation and negotiation in some community mosques have resulted in the designs and modifications of their mosques' architectural elements.

METHODS

This paper is one part of an explorative – qualitative research on the identity representation in Nahdliyin mosque architecture related to the local socio-political context in Malang, Jawa Timur. Malang is one region in East Java where the dynamic interactions between various Islamic groups and organizations take place. On the other hand, Malang is also known as a great basis of Nahdliyin people maintaining Nahdlatul Ulama's Aswaja traditions in their daily lives. An idiographic analysis of the dynamics between Nahdliyin and non-Nahdliyin communities related to their mosques as the center of their neighborhoods has resulted in two different categories of community mosques (Figure 1). One is the affiliated mosques, where two (or more) differently affiliated mosques were built in a neighborhood, adjacent to each other, but with different ideals one another. Another category is anon-affiliated mosque which is built together by a heterogeneous Muslim communityin a neighborhood. The dynamics between the majority and the minority, the dominant and the less-dominant parties of the heterogeneous Muslim community in the second category have made the mosque a negotiated-mosque. However, this paper will also discuss the case of two mosques in the first category to give a clear description of the ideal picture of a mosque from the perspective of each Islamic group.
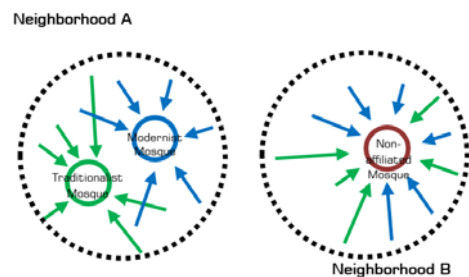

Figure 1.Neighborhood with single-affiliated mosques (A) and neighborhood with a negotiated non-affiliated mosque (B)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

THE SINGLE - AFFILIATED MOSQUES IN A NEIGHBORHOOD: REPRESENTING AND MAINTAINING IDENTITY

One interesting case in this category is the two adjacent mosques in a neighborhood known as Pasar Kidul, Malang: Masjid Noor and Masjid Ar-Rahmat (Figure 2). Masjid Noor represents Nahdliyin community, while Masjid Ar-Rahmat represents Muhammadiyah community. Nahdliyin community is the majority in the region, which can be observed from the size of the mosque building. Both mosques serve the local community as well as other people from the surrounding business area.

Figure2. Masjid Noor (left) and Masjid Ar-Rahmat (right) in Kidul Pasar, Malang
(Source: Google Maps, 2016 (center); Documentation of author, 2016 (left & right)

Besides the similarity and the shared-identity of mosque architecture in general, both mosques also showed distinction in some architectural elements. These different choices of architectural elements are more than mere pragmatic decisions. The meaningful choices of those elements are derived from the different ways to view several Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), local tradition, beauty and aesthetics, etc. The Table 1 shows some pictures of both mosques' physical aspects.

From the visual data and the interview data, a comparative analysis was conducted on physical and non-physical aspects of both mosques. The Table 2

below is the result of the comparative analysis based on the visual data and interview data from each mosque.

From the Table 2, one can trace the distinctions in both physical and non-physical aspects of the Traditionalist and the Modernist mosques. The distinctions in the physical elements were found in the overall building's exterior and interior façades, the spatial division, the significant furniture selection, the aesthetic preferences and the use of ornamentation, the use of kullahin the ablution facility, etc. Meanwhile, the distinctions in the non-physical aspects were found in ritual and audial aspects of both mosques. Their historical backgrounds were another non-physical aspect which strengthens the sense of specific identity in each mosque.

The physical and non-physical distinctions are based on different views and ideals of each Islamic group. Even on those aspects that physically showed similarities, the perspectives behind the decision-making could be different. For example, physically the bedug does not exist in both mosques. However, how they view the absence of bedug in their mosques arequite different. The absence of the bedug in the Traditionalist mosque is due to some pragmatic

Table 1. The Architectural Elements of the Two Mosques: Masjid Noor and Masjid Ar-Rahmat

Mosque's Name	Building's Exterior	Interior and Spatial Division	Furniture	Iconographic Ornamentation	Ablution Facility
Masjid Noor (the Traditionalist)					
Masjid Ar-Rahmat (the Modernist)					

Source: Documentation of Putrie, 2016

Table 2. Comparative Analysis on Architectural Aspects of the Two Mosques in One Neighborhood: Masjid Noor and Masjid Ar-Rahmat

Architectural Aspects	Masjid Noor (the representation of the Traditionalist Muslims)	Masjid Ar-Rahmat (the representation of the Modernist Muslims)
Physical Aspects:		
Building's exterior and interior	Eclectic, elaborated, excessive ornamentation, with a huge dome and a minaret. **Reasoning:**"Allah is beautiful and loves beauty." Calligraphy is thought as one way to spread Islamic teaching.	Simple, "clean", less ornamented, dome or minaret are permitted but not a must-have one. **Reasoning**: Calligraphy is thought as unnecessary. "We prefer the mosque looks clean, therefore calligraphy is not really necessary".

Architectural Aspects	Masjid Noor (the representation of the Traditionalist Muslims)	Masjid Ar-Rahmat (the representation of the Modernist Muslims)
Physical Aspects:		
Spatial division	Women area is placed at the right corner of men area, with non-transparent and above-eye-level partitions. **Reasoning**: The *Shafi'iFiqh* rules give flexibility in certain condition. The important thing is men and women are well separated, with less contact physically and visually.	Women area is placed symmetrically behind men area, with transparent and below-eye-level partitions. **Reasoning**: The hadith stated that women are placed behind men in congregational prayers. "According to the Sharia, women are behind men, not beside them…"
Significant furniture	Throne-shaped *mimbar* with three-step stair and a *khatib* stick. No *bedug* were found. **Reasoning**: Maintaining the tradition of the Prophet (pbuh) as well as the *Walisanga* tradition. "The *minbar* is the characteristics of NU. The *khatib* stick, the three-step ladder… The *khutbah*is different from the regular speech…*Bedug* is the request of the elders. It actually must exist, we already planned it,"	Podium-shaped *mimbar* with no stair and no *khatib* stick. No *bedug* were found because it was thought as unnecessary. **Reasoning**: Nowadays, Muslim people are not in a state of war like the Prophet times, so the *khatib* stick is not necessarily used.
Ornamentation	The representation of NU tradition, such as *Asmaul Husna* and some quotations from Sufi tradition. Iconographic ornaments: The logo of NU on the door and the minaret's wall, the massive use of star shapes in the *mihrab* area. **Reasoning**: "Allah is beautiful and loves beauty." Calligraphy is one way to spread Islamic teachings.	The only ornament in the building exterior is the iconographic ornament calligraphy of "Muhammadiyah" and a small logo of Muhammadiyah on the glass doors. **Reasoning**: Calligraphy is thought as unnecessary. "We prefer the mosque looks clean, therefore calligraphy is not really necessary".
Colors	Iconographic colors such as green, white, and gold. Green is widely used by Nahdliyin people and the organization of Nahdlatul Ulama in their official flag, logo, etc.	Dominated by grey and light blue, with red as an accent. Blue is popularly known as the color of the logo of Muhammadiyah organization.
Ablution Facility	*Kullah* or shallow pools with minimum 216 liters of water to wash feet before *wudhu*. **Reasoning**: The Shafi'i *fiqh* rule of *thaharah* (ritual purity). "The *kullah* is one of the characteristics of NU. We prevent *najis* (dirt) from contaminating the floor by making people go through the shallow pool with min. 216 liters of water."	The existence of *kullah* was thought as unnecessary. **Reasoning**: Muhammadiyah does not adopt the rule of minimum 216 liter of water as the precondition for *thaharah* (ritual purity) from Imam Shafi'i.
Site & Setting	No preserved grave in the site, because the founder of the mosque was exiled by the Dutch and he died in Bandung. Setting: Main street, unplanned settlement (*kampung kota*), business area. **Reasoning**: "The mosque was just a small prayer area (*langgar*) behind the market. After some times, we decided to make a bigger mosque at the main street,"	No preserved grave. Its existence was feared to be something sacred. Setting: Narrow street (*gang*), unplanned settlement (*kampung kota*), business area. **Reasoning**: "Because the crowd street were felt annoying and disturbing for the ritual activity of the mosque,"
Non-Physical Aspects:		
Ritual	Maintains NU's tradition in 23 *rakaat tarawih* prayer, *Shalawat Diba*, *Tadarusan*, *Yasinan*, etc. **Reasoning**: "This mosque is already known with *Aswaja* tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama. We maintain our tradition in Friday Prayer, Tarawih prayer…"	Maintains 8 rakaat tarawih prayers. Strictly follow only the tradition of the Prophet (pbuh). **Reasoning**: "We realized that many things are different. It's quite clear."
Audial	Two times Friday *adhan*, collectively recite the *doa* with the loud voice after the congregational prayers, *shalawat tahrim* before *adhan*. **Reasoning**: "The difference is we perform two times Friday adhan, but they only perform one time Friday adhan. After Tarawih, *tadarus* is one characteristics of the mosque. We begin to lower the voice about 10.00 pm in order not to disturb the others,"	One time Friday adhan. No loud voice from the mosque except regular *adhan*, because it was thought as possibly disturbing people. **Reasoning**: "In the mosque of NU, they held *shalawatan dibaan* every Friday night with loud voice heard outside the mosque. We don't have that kind of tradition. We only recite al-Qur'an with low voice inside our mosque,"
Historical Background	Built in 1929 as *waqf* from one of the Nahdliyin. The mosque has a historical background as the learning and training center for Indonesian fighters against the Dutch. At that time, the role of the *Kyai* is very important. The mosque also served as the place to hold the Muktamar NU in 1933.	Built in 1968 by the Pemuda Muhammadiyah Sukoharjo. The community thought that they need to have their own mosque. "Before having a mosque, we held Tarawih prayers from house to house. We need a mosque for ritual and non-ritual activities such as studying Islam and training the young generation."

Source: Analysis on the visual data and interview data of Putrie, 2015-2016

reasonings. Ideologically and politically, the Nahdliyin thought that the existence of the bedug is significant as a part of the ritual, as well as an attempt to show the identity of the NU's. On the other hand, the absence of the bedug in the Modernist mosque is mainly due to ideological reasons.

The different ideals between groups can also be observed from the mosques' interior spatial division between men and women. The position of women area towards mihrab and men area as well as the height and the transparency of the partitions indicate the different ideals between groups in each mosque. In the Traditionalist mosque, the spatial division between men and women are more flexible. Women area can

be placed at the right or left side of men area, or at the back corner of the mosque (Figure 3, left). The important rule is that in the congregational prayers, the first row (shaf) of women is one row behind the men's row. On the other hand, the spatial division in the Modernist mosque is more rigid, because the women area should be situated symmetrically behind the men area whenever possible (Figure 3, right). Meanwhile, the height and the transparency of the partition between men and women area is another important aspect of the spatial division in the Traditionalist mosque. There should be less visual and physical contact between men and women in the mosque, so the height of partition should be above the eye level, and the materials are dominantly not transparent. In contrary, the height of the partition in a Modernist mosque is frequently below the eye level, and the materials are quite transparent. The visual contact from the makmum (followers) area to the mihrab or the imam as the leader of congregational prayer is important for the Modernist.
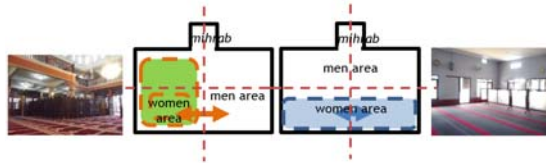

Figure 3. Preferabilities and tendencies of the position of women area towards mihraband men area in the Traditionalist Mosque (left) and in the Modernist Mosque (left)

The Table 2 shows that these meaningful choices of each Islamic group were obtained from their specific ideals towards the mosque and its activities. However, those ideals are easier to be put into the realization in the clear affiliated mosque of a particular Muslim community. In many neighborhoods of heterogeneous Muslim communities with only one mosque as the center of various Islamic groups, the more complicated socio-cultural phenomena occur frequently.

THE NON-AFFILIATED MOSQUE OF HETEROGENEOUS
MUSLIM COMMUNITY: NEGOTIATING AND CONCEALING IDENTITY

The next discussion is the three cases of mosques in three different neighborhoods which are culturally non-affiliated. In these non-affiliated mosques, the mosque's ideals of each Islamic group experienced the process of negotiation among the members of each Muslim community. Because of the heterogeneity in the community, there are the majority and the minority, as well as the dominant and the less dominant parties, although the majority is not always the dominant party. The Modernist could be the dominant, even if they are a minority, vice versa. The dominant affiliation in each mosque can be observed through its non-physical aspects, such as ritual and audial aspects of the mosques because these aspects are the most un-negotiated aspects in the negotiated mosques. Table 3 shows some architectural elements of these mosques.

Table 3. The Architectural Elements of the Mosques of Heterogeneous Muslim Communities

Mosque's Name	Building's Exterior	Interior and Spatial Division	Furniture	Ornamentation	Ablution Facility
Masjid Al-Falah, Polehan Blimbing (The Modernist, Non-Nahdliyin)					
Masjid Muhajirin, Sumbersari (The Modernist, Non-Nahdliyin)					
Masjid Nurul Falakh, Klojen (The Tradition-alist, Nahdliyin)					

Source: Documentation of Putrie, 2016

The Table 4 is a brief description of the socio-cultural setting of the mosques based on the observation and the interview data from each of the mosque.

Table 4. The Socio-Cultural Setting of Five Mosques in the Neighborhoods with Heterogeneous Muslim Communities

Mosque's Name and Dominant Affiliation	The Socio-Cultural Setting
Masjid Al-Falah, Polehan Blimbing (The Modernist, Non-Nahdliyin)	The *takmirs* of this mosque are people from various Islamic groups, dominated by the Modernists. However, they have a high willingness to embrace all elements of Muslim people in the mosque. Therefore, some negotiation process took place on several aspects of the mosque, such as *bedug, minbar, kullah*, and ornamentation. One of the Nahdliyin in the neighborhood donated a *bedug* and a throne-shaped *minbar*. At first, the *takmirs* tended to reject the donation. However, the donor insisted on giving them away, even though they will not be used in the ritual. After the negotiation process, the takmirs finally accept the *bedug* and the throne-shaped *minbar*. The *bedug* is situated on the 2nd floor, while the throne-shaped *minbar* is modified into the podium-shaped *minbar*. Other negotiation also occurred about the *kullah* in the ablution area. The *takmirs* finally planned to renovate the *kullah* and change it into the regular floor with the flowing water. Another negotiation is about the placement of ornamentation. The decision is to place the rich ornamentation on the interior side of the dome and temporarily left the *mihrab* walls un-ornamented. Moreover, non-physical aspects such as the ritual and non-ritual activities also became the object of negotiation. Some people once asked the *takmirs* to hold the Traditionalist's activities as they thought that the mosque belongs to the Traditionalist when they saw the *bedug* on the second floor. After a discussion, the *takmirs* decided to reject the request.
Masjid Muhajirin, Sumbersari (The Modernist, Non-Nahdliyin)	The mosque was initially related to one university in Malang which is located adjacent to this mosque. However, since it is located separately from the campus, this mosque became a public mosque for a more heterogeneous community. The mosque is opened for 24/7 for Muslim people. Therefore, it has been through a dynamic history related to some changes in the group dominance over the mosque. For several years the mosque was under the domination of the Salafi groups in the management of mosque and the organization of ritual and non-ritual activities. At the time, the throne-shaped *minbar* was replaced by a podium-shaped *minbar*. However, the throne-shaped *minbar* was not removed from its place. It was modified into a place for the *imam* by eliminating the three-step stair, the seat, and the *khatib* stick. The podium-shaped *minbar* was placed on the left side, while the modified throne-shaped *minbar* was still on the right side. This pattern is different from the general pattern of the *minbar* placement in other mosques. Other fixed elements, such as fences with the inscription of Walisanga names and the *gunungan* decorations with the inscription of *Quranic* verses remain unchanged. Around the year 2013, the mosque was taken over by the local community. The management of the mosque was replaced, and the activities of the Salafi group in the mosque were stopped. Today, the mosque is managed by the Yayasan Integritas Malang. Although it is dominated by the Modernist Muslim, the mosque management is eager to include other Islamic groups in this mosque. They want to eliminate the impression of a mosque belonging to a single group. They also call this mosque an "independent mosque." The *takmir*s then arranged the participatory roles of various Islamic groups, such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. To promote tolerance in all of their activities, they considered not to perform any *wiridan* after congregational prayers or *shalawatan* before *adhan*. It is because both of these activities are considered as the characteristic of one Islamic group only. Moreover, elements considered as the identity of the particular group were also excluded from this mosque, such as *bedug* and *kentongan*. However, these policies indicated the representation of the Modernist religious identity itself. From an early form of the mosque which is retained, it appears that this mosque is designed with the feel of a mixture between the modernity and traditionality. The mosque's ornamentation utilized local carvings with the inscriptions of Walisanga's names. A large *gunungan* ornament that contains the calligraphy of Quranic verses is permanently installed above the *mihrab*. There is also a three-dimensional shape of a lotus bud at the top of the guardrail. Although being modified, the initial throne-shaped minbar is maintained as the *imam* area. The roof of the mosque is the two-stacked of the pyramidal roof, while the façade of the mosque is made geometrically simple.
Masjid Nurul Falakh, Klojen (The Traditionalist, Nahdliyin)	Masjid Nurul Falakh is culturally dominated by the Nahdliyin's culture, but with heterogeneous Muslim communities in the neighborhood. The *takmirs* of this mosque are people from more than one Islamic groups, mostly the Nahdliyin people. They seek to respect the heterogeneity although the others are the minority. Therefore, the *takmirs* thought that it is not necessarily to put the logo of NU on their mosque façade or interior wall. They said that the *bedug* on the porch is an adequate symbolic statement to show that this mosque is the Nahdliyyin mosque. Some tolerance consideration towards the others occurred in the spatial division, the use of ornamentation, the design of the *minbar* and the *kullah*. The first row of women area has been moved three rows behind the first row of men area; however, the overall position of women area remains on the side of men area. The height of the partition remains above the eye-level, and the material is not transparent. The design of *minbar* has also been modified smaller than the regular throne-shaped minbar, but the seat, the three-step stair, and the *khatib* stick are still maintained. Other than that, the design of the *kullah* is made smaller, and people can choose whether they want to step into the shallow pool or not. Moreover, the selection of the ornamentation also considered the heterogeneity of the community members. They chose the calligraphy of the name of four Imams in *Aswaja*'s *Fiqh* traditions: Imam Syafi'i, Imam Maliki, Imam Hanbali, and Imam Hanafi, to keep the unity and harmony among the members of heterogeneous Muslim community. However, they made an explicit restriction on the role of strangers who aim to occupy the mosque. They also try to keep the Nahdliyin tradition in the form of the ritual and non-ritual activities, such as *shalawat nariyah*.

Source: The observation and interview data of Putrie, 2013-2016

From the Table 4, one can comprehend the fact that socio-cultural settings of the mosques have influenced the decision-making process of their architectural elements. The Table 5 is the brief coding of the descriptions in Table 4.

Table 5. Types of Negotiation and Negotiated Elements of ThreeNon-AffiliatedMosques

Mosque's Name and Dominant Religious Culture	Architectural and Spatial Strategies	Negotiated Elements	Un-negotiated Elements
Masjid Al-Falah, Polehan Blimbing (The Modernist, Non-Nahdliyin)	Negotiating identity elements; Concealing identity; Considering tolerance; Restricting roles	**Physical:** the absence of the affiliation logo, *bedug*, *minbar*, *kullah*, ornamentation **Non-physical:** -	**Physical:** spatial division **Non-physical:** ritual and non-ritual activities, audial
Masjid Muhajirin, Sumbersari (The Modernist, Non-Nahdliyin)	Negotiating identity elements; Concealing identity; Claiming space; Managing participatory roles	**Physical:** the absence of the affiliation logo, ornamentation, throne-shaped *minbar* placement and design **Non-physical:** -	**Physical:** spatial division, the height and transparency of the partition, podium-shaped *minbar* design **Non-physical:** ritual and non-ritual activities, audial
Masjid Nurul Falakh, Klojen (The Traditionalist, Nahdliyin)	Negotiating identity elements; Considering tolerance; Restricting roles	**Physical:** the absence of the affiliation logo, the selection of ornament, spatial division, *minbar* size, *kullah* design **Non-physical:** -	**Physical:** the height and transparency of the partition, *bedug*, the three-step stair and the *khatib* stick of the *minbar*, the volume of the *kullah* **Non-physical:** ritual and non-ritual activities, audial

Source: The observation and interview data of Putrie, 2013-2016

The results of this research showed that negotiations occur in the mosques of heterogeneous Muslim communities. The negotiation process has resulted in the negotiated elements of identity as well as the claimed space. It happened through the domination of activity systems, the role restrictions, and/or the physical control over the mosque.

Moreover, the mixture of negotiated and un-negotiated elements in these mosques of heterogeneous Muslim communities have made these mosques showed some eclectic and obscure identity. In this regard, Roose urged that in order to understand the reasons why certain building elements were chosen, "especially when combinations seem mixed up, confusing, cheap, fantasy, or fake," the researcher should study "the patrons and their rational constructions of their own realities," [2]. His study about the architectural varieties within mosque design in the Netherland showed that the design represents, 'we are Muslims with such-and-such a religious view' instead of 'we are Muslim with such-and-such a culture," [2]. According to him, "The design expresses a specific construction of Islam in direct contestation of specific other constructions of Islam," [2]. In line with this, one can also conclude that in Indonesian context mosques represent various religious views, where the different views towards culture were inherent in the religious views as a whole. Some cultural elements, such as bedug and minbar become the object of negotiation because of the different religious views towards some cultural aspects related to religious ritual activities.

However, in Table 5, we can see that some elements considered ideals in a single-affiliated mosque turned out to be opened for negotiations in the non-affiliated mosques. Among the negotiated elements are mostly physical, such as the interior spatial division, the bedug, the minbar, the kullah, and the use of ornaments. Meanwhile, the un-negotiated elements are mostly non-physical such as the ritual and non-ritual activities. These negotiated elements in the non-affiliated mosques are mostly the characteristics or the identity representation of specific single-affiliated mosques, such as the minbar and the bedug for the Nahdliyin or the Traditionalist mosques. Therefore, negotiating these elements can be the representation of negotiating mosque's identity as a whole.

The combination of negotiated and un-negotiated elements has formeda new eclectic identity in the sense of its heterogeneity. As Woodward stated, "Identity gives us a sense of who we are and to some extent satisfies a demand for some degree of stability and security."[3] Therefore, this new eclectic identity might give the community a sense of togetherness, engagement, and in turn, a sense of stability and security in its heterogeneity.

Furthermore, even though some elements are negotiated, they are not completely changed. The important aspects of the elements, some conceptual aspects, such as the height and the transparency of the partitions, are hardly being negotiated, while the placement of the partition to form the women area can easily be negotiated. The existence of three-step stair and the khatib stick in the minbar of the Traditionalist mosque is another example of the un-negotiated aspects of negotiated elements. As described in Table 4, the size and the shape of minbar in Masjid Nurul Falakh were negotiated. However, the three-step stair and the khatib stick in the minbar remains un-negotiated. These un-negotiated aspects of mosque's architectural elements indicate that these aspects of elements are ideologically or politically important as specific identity of certain Islamic groups. However, as one of the mosques dominated by the Traditionalists, Masjid Nurul Falakh is willing to negotiate some aspects of its minbar to seek harmony by making people from other Islamic groups feel more accommodated and welcomed. Therefore, the combination of negotiated and un-negotiated aspects of mosque elements can also be seen as an effort to seek mutual understanding between the various

Islamic groups.

Besides intended to strive for the ideals of each group, the complex process of negotiations among the various groups in the mosques are also intended as an effort to prevent conflict and crisis, to seek tolerance, and to keep the community from the possibility of disintegration. The strong relationship between the negotiation of identity and the possibility of conflict and crisis is also mentioned by Woodward in her book, "Understanding Identity."She cited Kobena Mercer's statement that identity becomes an issue when it is in crises. She also stated that crises occur when an identity position is challenged or becomes insecure [3]. In this context of a mosque's specific identity, insecurity arises when more than one groups present and strive for their own ideals in the mosque. Following this perspective, Yasser Tabbaa as cited by Roose in his dissertation stated, "Art, like cultures and religions, defines itself against its opponents, and the more intense the conflict, the sharper this self-image," [2]. However, in this research, it is found that people handled the possibility of conflict in quite diverse ways. In the single-affiliated mosques as described in the first case, representing and maintaining identity is one way to prevent conflict with other groups. On the other hand, in the non-affiliated mosques as described in the second case, negotiating and concealing identity is another way to prevent the possibility of conflict.

Furthermore, the negotiation process in a mosque should be viewed as an on-going process. It is inseparable from the dynamics of the community, being shaped and re-shaped by the socio-cultural context of the neighborhood. Accordingly, Roose stated, "Religious architecture in the Islamic world never simply 'adapted itself' to 'its time' or 'its region' but instead dynamically followed politico-religious alliances," [2]. One of the on-going processes occurs in community mosques is the phenomena of space claims. One mosque of a heterogeneous community was dominated by one group at one time and then claimed by another group at different times. In this research, the space claim phenomena were found in Masjid Muhajirin. For several years the mosque was under the domination of the Salafi group.Around the year 2013, the management of the mosque was reconstructed, and the activities of the Salafi group in the mosque were stopped. Today, the mosque managed by the Yayasan Integritas Malang is apparently dominated by the Modernist Muslims. However, the mosque management leads the participatory roles to welcome the participation of other Islamic groups such as the Traditionalist Muslims in the mosque's activities.

The space claim as one of the temporary results of the negotiation process is an interesting topic to be studied further. In unplanned settlements, the space claim could happen spontaneously because of the regeneration of the takmirs. In other cases, the space claim happens because of the dominance of one party over the others. In planned settlements built by the developers, space claim in mosques could occur because the site and the building were provided by the developers, not by individuals with a clear affiliation. Therefore, mosques of this kind of neighborhood do not possess an adequate historical justification to prevent the space claim by one or more groups. This type of mosques will be explored deeper in the next step of this research.

CONCLUSIONS

Socio-political context of the surrounding community has a significant impact on mosque architecture. In Indonesia, the existence of various Islamic groups with their own ideals on mosque architecture has influenced the specific identity of mosques. Each category of mosque offers different ways to handle the possibility of conflict and crisis, from negotiating identity to claiming space, from representing identity to concealing identity. It is vital to study Indonesian mosque architecture within their socio-political context, not only because it raises our understanding of the various ideals and perspectives of Indonesian Muslim communities in developing their mosques, but also because it offers a proper way to view and topromote tolerance in the middle of the plurality of Indonesian religious lives.

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