

The Impact Of State Regulations On Social Changes Futures As Cultural Spaces

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Abstract

The development of urbanization in Surakarta, which is not followed by land expansion, makes the availability of land for tombs reduced, minimal, and even unfit for burial places. The type of research is descriptive qualitative, and data collection is carried out: first, observation of community activities at the cemetery. Second, interviews with community leaders, religious leaders, policymakers; and third, documentation. The interactive analysis model includes data reduction, data submission, and concluding. Validity test by data triangulation and informant study. The results showed that the social change of the tomb was no longer a sacred place but became a public place. The management of graves regulated by the government and business institutions is changing. The term Public Cemetery has implications for the people of Surakarta City and its government. The tomb is a shared public space so that socially the grave is no longer a sacred space but is regulated by the state. The government provides equal access to its citizens regardless of religious differences and social status.

Keywords: Cemetery, Public Space, Religion, Democracy, Modernity

Introduction

Tombs are understood to bury bodies and remember those who have died. According to Islam, tombs are closely related to certain doctrines of spirituality. In some places, tombs exceed religious boundaries, such as incarnated as sacred or haunted tombs. As the times progressed, the tomb shifted its role as another social function. At this time, the tomb became a residence, a center of economic growth, and the public space of the surrounding community. This reality takes place in urban areas. In the end, the tomb as a sacred and sacred place shifted with modern life that was materially physical and reduced its sacredness. Grave perceives it as a public

space to understand the relationship between Islam, democracy, and modernity. How Islam views and practices democracy is related to their need for sacred space. Accessibility is one of the main physical dimensions of public spaces, helping to shape democratic public areas by providing a chance to residents and visitors of a place to participate in civic activities. Especially in a pluralistic society such as Surakarta, graves must pay attention to other religions.

Tombs are perceived as public spaces to understand the relationship between Islam, democracy, and modernity. How Islam views and practices democracy is related to their need for sacred space. Accessibility is one of the main physical dimensions of public space.

Democratic public spaces allow residents and visitors to participate in civic activities. This is especially true in the context of compound societies such as Surakarta, which must pay attention to other religions. Surakarta is a region transitioning to a modern city that is multicultural, multiethnic, and multi-religious. The award received by Surakarta as a livable city can be used as one of the indicators of modernity. The city of Surakarta has a safe and comfortable space as a place of settlement and cemetery. How does the status of a livable city become a city worthy of a funeral? What aspects should be fulfilled? This is because the population of Surakarta continues to increase while the land for settlements and cemeteries never increases or even decreases. Surakarta is also a dense city, with an area of 11,631 people / Km². The development of the population that continues to grow makes the availability of tomb land is also decreasing and even displaced for settlements. This is a problem for Surakarta that must be found a solution. A tomb adjacent to the residence is used as a shared activity space. Another problem, public cemeteries managed by the Surakarta city government are almost overloaded. It is expected that it can only accommodate for the next five years, in terms of people's lives continue to take place.

This article tries to perceive the tomb as a public space. A tomb is a community space that can understand the relationship between Islam, democracy, and modernity. Muslims in Surakarta view and practice democracy is related to their need for sacred spaces such as tombs. Accessibility, one of the main physical dimensions of public spaces, helps shape democratic public spaces by providing opportunities for residents and visitors to participate in civic activities (AM Johnson, R Miles, 2014; 1894).

The development of Islam in Surakarta is very dynamic and occurs in many aspects of life, including accessing tombs. It is not surprising that some Islamic tombs are found as sacred sites specifically for Muslim groups. The phenomenon can also be found in Islamic banks, Islamic housing lots, Islamic markets, etc. Muslim burial places are a new

choice for some Muslims to follow the Shari'a more, even though the price of 1 x 2 m is relatively high, reaching Rp. 1 million. The commodification of land is associated with changes in the perception of Muslims in preparing for the post-life phase. For them, the tomb is no longer just a religious practice but a prestige with market share and economic value in the community. Therefore, the struggle for space for a funeral like this seems to be based on the application of sharia law or in the name of democracy.

This complex relationship creates tensions regarding tombs due to differences in religion, tradition, and modernity. Long ago, the state provided a public space for public funerals regardless of religion and ethnicity. Over time, the meaning of public space has shifted where the state no longer provides a burial place for everyone but is only reserved for certain people who have the same ideology. The affiliation of religious doctrine creates the commodification of graves, especially for their circles and services for the general public. Religious groups and private parties offer large tracts of land, including death ritual services for the community. With this phenomenon, the concept of sacred space has changed to be more exclusive to certain religious ideologies to remain pure and avoid the influence of other religions.

The grave as a public space can be a space for negotiation and dialogue between various interests such as religion, democracy, economy, and tradition. These negotiations show that the practice of spirituality is alive, where the people of Surakarta are trying to find a balance between spirituality and materialism, tradition and modernization. This article about tombs can deepen the concept of death by asking how Surakarta Muslims perceive the tomb as a public space? Can the spirituality of Muslims be able to define public space? Can the tomb as a sacred space motivate Muslims to establish harmonious relations with other religions?

The theoretical framework for reading the relationship between religion, democracy, and modernity in the grave context is public space theory. Graves in the

concept of public space and democracy can be a road map for redefining the relationship between Islam and democracy. The tomb becomes a place for the battle of spirituality and materiality, tradition, modernization, and both can find common ground. According to Tong and Kong (2000: 34), current living conditions require certain spatial forms and structures. Symbolic and behavioral adjustments are created to combine basic principles of sacredness. In their study of Chinese religion in Singapore, Tong and Kong show that traditional Chinese rituals are in the process of being modified, reinterpreted, and created to suit modern life. In the Chinese belief system, there is a clear distinction between the abode of the living and the abode of the dead. This is believed by most Indonesians, although now it has slowly changed. The existence of urbanization causes less land for settlement, which drives people to live near cemeteries. Therefore, such a ritual transformation requires the notion of space and time—the link between social processes and spatial-temporal practice.

According to Johnson and Miles, the definition of public space is changing. Conventionally, public space is a static space that can be accessed by all people, such as roads, sidewalks, parks, recreation areas, plazas, and outdoor areas. The definition of public space is now shifting; public space is not necessarily static or accessible to all. On the other hand, public spaces are constantly changing, created, and re-created by people in non-traditional places. According to Muslims, implementing the change in public space provides a redefinition of the tomb as a public space. So far, the people of Surakarta still place the tomb as a sacred site. It is essential to position it to be renegotiated according to changing times. Graves as religious symbols in public spaces are used to understand the relationship between religion and modernity.

In Indonesia, especially in Surakarta, Muslim cemeteries have become increasingly popular after the 1998 reformation and the strengthening of Islamism's ideology. This is intended as a movement that aims to encourage the presence of Islam in the public

sphere, both in cyberspace and in social, cultural, and political life. According to Bowen (2007; 156) in his study of the hijab in France, Islamism refers to movements that advocate the establishment of an Islamic state and activities that promote the manifestation of Islam.

Surakarta is a socio-religious laboratory because it is the basis of the Islamism movement in Indonesia. About Islamism, their activity tries to dominate the space in Surakarta City by making many Muslim holy sites or places become symbols and identities that show their desire to have their own 'exclusive sacred sites' and their congregations. Therefore, death rituals can be applied according to the interpretation of their religious ideology. In Islamic teachings, the tomb is a transit space or the transition of human life from earthly to heaven. Its memorial rituals are considered sacred and unadulterated from the doctrines of other religions. Having an exclusive tomb means providing holy land and following Islamic traditions. Complete tombs are considered better and more sacred than burying the bodies of other faiths in one burial complex.

In Surakarta, several religious organizations have started to take the initiative to provide exclusive funeral packages in terms of price, type of group, and other accessibility. For example, the Qur'an Tafsir Council (MTA) provides a Kaliboto Muslim cemetery in Mojogedang, Karanganyar, for its congregation, and this tomb is for MTA followers. In Delingan, Karanganyar, there is a general trend for tombs because the tombs of Delingan in the Karanganyar area combine the orientation of business and religious, economic interests, and are specifically for those who have a middle-class economy from different religious and ethnic backgrounds. In addition, there are also graves for the public where all religions and beyond geographical boundaries can be buried, such as TPU Daksinoloyo in Danyong Grogol Village, Sukoharjo, and Pracimaloyo in Kartasura Hajj Graveyard Sukoharjo Village. This can be used to define changes in the meaning of public space. The tomb is not only a neutral

and private space to mediate between the life and death of an individual. Still, it is connected to the community's perception of religious doctrines and institutional ownership. The tomb as public space becomes an area for negotiation between religious doctrine, democracy promoted by modernization, and economic interests. When touched with the thought of modernization, the view of the tomb as a sacred space will open up tensions between various religious organizations that need to be negotiated.

Methods

Sample Technique

The sampling technique is a way to determine the number of samples by the sample size used as the actual data source, considering the characteristics and distribution of the population to obtain a representative sample (Sugiyono, 2016). Snowball sampling technique. Based on the sampling technique results, the research was carried out in the province of East Java.

Research design

The research method in this article is descriptive qualitative research. Descriptive qualitative is expected to reveal the meaning in terms of thoughts and actions of the research object (Corbin, 2005: 5). So that the presentation of graves as public spaces in the relationship between religion, democracy, and modernity is more open and natural, it is proposed using a descriptive-analytical model. This study uses two approaches, namely the sociology of religion and phenomenology. Sociology of religion views religion as a social fact (Connolly, 2002: 267), fundamental, factual, observable, and influences people's behavior (Sodik, 2006: 78). Religion becomes part of its adherents' real life, which can be seen in their daily life practices, ideas, and works of religious followers (Kahmad, 2006: 78). The sociological approach of religion studies the social aspects of religion (Suprayogo and Tabrani, 2003: 61). Phenomenology is a philosophy that talks about the phenomenon

of everything that appears (Katssoff, 2004: 97). To find the truth, one must return to the object itself to talk about its nature (Bertens, 2001: 113). This approach is to see the spiritual experience of religious groups in the tomb as a public space and identify its characteristics.

Data collection technique

Data was collected through in-depth interviews, involving observation and documentation techniques (Sutopo, 1998: 45). Regarding graves, interviews were conducted with religious leaders, community leaders, and policymakers. Observations were carried out on their activities and activities at the graves carried out by religious leaders, the community, and the government. In contrast, this documentation technique is used for supporting data sources about the management of the tomb. The data analysis technique in this study is an interactive analysis model that includes three stages: data reduction, data submission, and concluding (Suprayogo and Tabrani, 2003: 192). At the stage of presenting the data, it is carried out in a systematic arrangement according to the flow made. To appreciate the feelings of the informants, the researchers used emic and ethical models of presentation. Conclusions are drawn by considering various things that have a solid database in the research. The obtained findings were tested for validity in two ways: data triangulation; and review of informants.

Data Analysis Techniques

Data collection and data analysis activities cannot be separated from each other. Both take place simultaneously, and the process is cyclical and interactive, not linear. The interactive nature of data collection is an integral part of data analysis activities. Data reduction is an effort to conclude the data then sort the data into specific concept units, categories, and themes. The data reduction results are processed to see the figure more fully. Conclusions are drawn by researchers

continuously while in the field. From the beginning of data collection, the qualitative researcher begins to look for the meaning of things, noting regularities of patterns (in the academic record), explanations, possible configurations, causal pathways, and propositions. These conclusions are handled loosely, remain open, and skeptical, but findings are already provided. The results were also verified during the research, by (1) rethinking during writing, (2) reviewing field notes, (3) reviewing and brainstorming among colleagues to develop intersubjective agreements, (4) efforts to extensive efforts to place copies of one found in another set of data.

Results and Discussion

Surakarta from a City Eligible for Mukim to Suitable for Graves

Surakarta or Solo is geographically located in the southern part of Central Java Province. Its area is 44,040.06 Km² and has a population of 561,576 people with an almost equal male and female population, namely 48.63% and 51.37%. At the same time, the density level is 12,220 people/Km², and it is the most populous city in Central Java. Administratively, it consists of 5 sub-districts and 54 families with 590 Rukun Warga (RW) and 2,620 Rukun Tetangga (RT). For population growth of 0.42%, based on population growth data in Surakarta in 2010-2015, within five years, it was 0.476%, while in 2014-2015, it was 0.416% (BPJS 2017).

Surakarta is a small, densely populated city with various ethnicities, languages, mass organizations, and social prototypes. The city with the slogan Solo Spirit of Java becomes a friendly city to greet everyone who comes. As the center of Javanese civilization and culture, the first impressions that appear are the residents' upload-umgguh, ngajeni, and roso nguwongke wong. Since hundreds of years ago, this city has become the center of Javanese civilization and culture, the center of Javanese society and culture. This pattern places Surakarta as a

hierarchical center for administrative services in its economic, social, cultural, political, and religious buffer zones. This is in line with the people's view of life as the direction of the papat limo pancer, where Surakarta is the pancer, while the buffer area is the mecca of the papat that surrounds it. In the north bordered by Karanganyar and Boyolali; south with Sukoharjo; east there is Karanganyar; and to the west of Karanganyar and Boyolali. Several regencies are geographically not directly connected to Surakarta but become its buffer zones, namely Sragen in the north, Wonogiri in the south, and Klaten in the west.

For at the cemetery, Surakarta residents choose their final resting place in the buffer zone. In the east, there are Polokarto Muslim tombs, Delingan tombs, and the MTA tomb in Mojogedang. In the west there are TPU Pracimaloyo, Gagak Sipat, Banarjo, Gorongan, and Kraungan Ngemplak, in the north there is a Kaliyoso Muslim cemetery, and in the south there is TPU Daksinoloyo Danyong. The increasing population growth is inversely proportional to the availability of land for mukim and graves. This is a problem for the Surakarta City Government to find a solution and the problem of tombs that are close to settlements and even become residences. In Surakarta, there are six TPUs whose lands are related to the history of the Surakarta Palace and are now managed by the City Government, especially the Department of Housing for Settlement and Land Areas (Disperum KPP).

The six tombs that exist, only five graves used for the general public, only leaving a capacity of 11,000 bodies, meaning that the number is predicted to be complete in the next five years (Sunardi, 7/09/2020). In Surakarta the average death, the ratio is 2,200/year for the five common graves which means each tomb annually holds 440 bodies. Given the limited land, since 2106, the Surakarta City Government initiated the purchase of land outside the city, for example, in Jeruk Sawit Boyolali, despite rejection from the surrounding community to use the land as a cemetery. The city government needs 13

hectares of land to meet the tomb's needs for the next 20 years (Sukasno, 31/1/2016).

The six tombs cover 155 hectares, 18 hectares of which is TPU Bonoloyo in northern Surakarta, specifically on-street Sumpah Pemuda Kadipiro Banjarsari. TPU Untoroloyo in North Surakarta, street Brigadier General Katamso No 11, Mojosongo Jebres, TPU Purwoloyo on the street HOS Cokroaminoto Pucangsawit Jebres also in northern Surakarta. TPU Daksinoloyo Danyong on street Solo-Baki Kwarasan Grogol, geographically this TPU is not in the Surakarta area but Solobaru Sukoharjo. TPU Pracimaloyo on street Slamet Riyadi No. 361 Makambahji Kartasura, this tomb is also outside the city of Surakarta, namely in Kartasura Sukoharjo. So far, the City Government has not fully implemented Perwali No. 9 of 2012 regarding the implementation guidelines for the Cemetery Regulation regarding the re-regulation of graves every five years. This regulation can encourage the efficiency of grave land.

In addition to the existing graves, Surakarta residents also carry out funerals at TPUs located on the city's outskirts, such as TPU Mojo on the street Mojo Jebres, Jebres, North Surakarta. TPU Mundu at street Solo-Purwadadi No. 71 Mundu Selokaton Gondangrejo, geographically also outside Surakarta. TPU Bibis on street Walanda Maramis No. 6 Nusukan, Banjarsari, North Surakarta. Apart from TPU, in Surakarta, some tombs are notable historically and for specific reasons. Such as the Heroes' Cemetery (TMP) Kusuma Bhakti on street Ir Sutami, Pucangsawit Jebres, Ki Gede Solo's Tomb in Baluwarti, the Palace complex, Mbah Pacet's Tomb at street Abiyoso No 21 Sriwedari Laweyan, Tomb of Habib Anis on street Captain Mulyadi Joyosuran Pasar Kliwon, and the tomb Ki Ageng Henis in Pajang Laweyan is a special tomb for the nuclear family of the Surakarta Palace. The pattern of distribution of graves in Surakarta is dominated in the northern part, while residents living in the western part entrust their burial to the Pracimaloyo Kartasuro TPU. Likewise,

residents in the southern part carried out funerals at the TPU Daksinoloyo Grogol.

Most of the residents of Surakarta City for funerals are still taking refuge in the surrounding TPU. Even though In 2018, Surakarta received the title of a livable city from the Indonesian Association of Planning Experts (IAP) with a survey in 19 provinces and 26 cities in Indonesia. The API in its assessment is based on several decisive aspects, including security, safety, cleanliness, and city transportation. As one of the most livable cities to live in, Surakarta is based on two things: first, related to the nature of cooperation to maintain pluralism, and second, aspects of urban planning (Sunardi, 7/09/2020). This predicate makes Surakarta continue to improve and encourage infrastructure to form green open spaces and public spaces such as adding sidewalks, open areas, gardens, tombs, and places for families.

The community highly expects the presence of the state through the city government to realize Surakarta as a city suitable for living and burial. As for public money, tombs are a primary need for city residents to meet, communicate, or just as a place to relax with the family in terms of social, economic, religious, and cultural aspects. Public space as one of the vital components of urban spatial planning in at least the tomb can be mapped into three parts. First, private-public spaces are tombs with a specific time limit to access them because their ownership is private. Such as Ki Ageng Henis, Ki Gede Solo, Habib Anis, and other sacred tombs in Surakarta. Second, semi-private public spaces are privately owned and paid for but can be directly accessed by the public, such as the Delingan tomb and the MTA tomb. Third, general public spaces where ownership is by the government and can be accessed directly by the public without a specific time limit and free of charge, such as TPU Pracimaloyo, Untoroloyo, Bibis, Bonoloyo, and Daksinoloyo, although now some are paid. We strive to create a balanced atmosphere between city buildings and public spaces.

One solution to overcome the problem of limited land for settlements and cemeteries is initiated by the private sector. It is an alternative policy for providing burial grounds by the private sector in collaboration with the local government. For example, Karanganyar issued Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 10 of 2020 regarding the obligation for housing developers (as private parties) to provide land for public cemeteries at least 2% of the land area they own. Initiated in the Regent's Regulation (Perbup) that developers who hold a minimum of 5,000 m² of land can provide land for graves in possible areas. PartyWasta saw this as a business opportunity; no wonder in some buffer areas of Surakarta, some developers provided exceptional burial grounds for Muslims. Surakarta has several sharia graves, for example, in Dengungan, Kartasura Sukoharjo, MTA Tomb in Mojogedang, Kaliyoso Muslim cemetery in Sragen, and Polokarto Muslim tomb, which in addition to providing land, also includes care for the bodies according to their religious, ideological affiliation.

In Karanganyar In addition, the Delingan sharia grave is also intended to accommodate the needs of the land and care for bodies that are exclusive, elite, and middle to high economic class, for example, the family of officials, including the tomb of the Wiranto family and the family of the textile entrepreneur Lukminto. There are private parties who provide alternative burials that are suitable for burial with economic interests, namely buying and selling land as regulated in the MUI fatwa No. 9 of 2014. The fatwa contains three things: first, the definition of a luxurious grave contains elements of *tabdzir* and *israf*. Second, provide a legal basis for the management of corpses, and the government is obliged to provide land for public cemeteries. Third, MUI provides recommendations regarding luxurious tombs. The government must prepare and ensure the availability of burial grounds for residents and their maintenance according to sharia, including not mixing Muslim and non-Muslim graves. In addition, businesses engaged in the

sale and purchase of land for graves do not sell luxuries in their business. Because of that, the government, business actors, and the community related to providing serious ground should take this fatwa as a guideline. The fatwa Instead becomes legalization and diplomatic space between market interests and religion.

Presence of contestation money and the need for a common ground that sees the burial ground as a sacred space that is still considered sacred and mysterious and becomes a mediating space between life and death. In addition, the provision of grave land is a form of implementing a democratic government system where all communities have equal opportunities to access land and services related to a proper burial. The MUI fatwa emphasizes that Burial for Muslims is obligatory *kifayah*. The government is obliged to provide ground for public cemeteries. Every Muslim can also prepare a particular land to be buried when he dies and may make a will to be buried in a specific place as long as it is not difficult. Therefore, the Surakarta City Government must ensure the availability of grave land for the community and its maintenance and be carried out following sharia provisions, including not mixing between Muslim and non-Muslim cemeteries. The presence of the state is essential in providing land, but the fatwa also includes elements of "discrimination" and "categorization" based on religion. They are enclosed by an ideological barrier called "religion" after death when they are still alive. They still have to be boxed in the name of "the grave."

Tomb Redefinition: Space Contest of Religion and Modernity

The achievement of Surakarta as livable should be balanced as a city fit for burial emphasizing development in the sector of fulfilling land for burial. One indicator of a livable city is the people have been able to respect each other, tolerate, and respect the existing pluralism. Surakarta is a city with various ethnicities that merged as "Wong Solo." This cultural capital is used to

strengthen civil society in controlling the Surakarta City Government to provide land for graves. The Surakarta City Government must carry out urban planning to provide comfort for its citizens.

As part of the spiritual aspect, Graves becomes important when strengthening religious attitudes meets the strengthening of democratic principles. This is related to how Muslims in Surakarta construct their religious views and perspectives about modernity, including democracy and urbanization. The need for burial land in line with the increase in population in Surakarta is closely related to accessibility. Provision of grave land is a public space facility that can build democracy and togetherness in the socio-religious realm where citizens and urbanites can participate—the provision of grave land by the Surakarta City Government as a form of responsibility. After the 1998 reformation, religious organizations emerged carrying various ideologies in filling Surakarta's public spaces, indicating that the phenomenon of Islamization is getting stronger, including the grave problem. Appearance graves based on religious ideology (Islam) are examples of new things that are getting a positive response from Muslims in Surakarta.

In Indonesia, especially in Surakarta society, Islamic tombs are increasingly popular in line with Islamism, which means an effort or movement that aims to encourage the presence or role of Islam in social life, community life, or politics. Bowen considered that the Islamism movement was used to refer to actions that advocate the establishment of an Islamic state and activities that promote the manifestation of Islam. In Surakarta, the Islamism movement can be seen from the graph of its social holiness, which shows the desire of various Islamic organizations to have their own 'exclusive holy sites' only for their congregations. Death rituals can be applied according to their religious interpretation. Tombs in Islamic teachings become a transition from the world to heaven, and memorial rituals are considered 'sacred,' not polluted from other religious conceptions. Grave exclusively is considered better and

more sacred than burying the body along with other religions (Bowen, 2008: 156).

The relationship between religion, democracy, and modernity through the graves in Surakarta is widely accepted both in concept and practice by the community. One form is the tomb as a public space and as part of democracy to redefine the relationship between Islam and democracy. The tomb becomes a place for the battle of spirituality versus materiality, between sacredness and profanity, between economy and ideology, tradition and modernity, and a meeting point can be found between the two. According to Tong and Kong, living conditions require adherence to certain spatial forms and structures. Symbolic and behavioral adjustments are created to integrate fundamental principles of sacredness (Tong and Kong, 2000: 34). Traditional Chinese rituals are modified, reinterpreted, and designed to fit modern life. In the Chinese belief system, there is a clear distinction between the abode of the living and the abode of the dead. The Indonesian people also believe this, although now it has slowly changed. Urbanization causes less land to live in, which drives people to live near cemeteries. This ritual transformation requires a reconstructed notion of space and time, underscoring the interconnectedness of social processes and spatial-temporal practices. and that's what drives people to live near graves. This ritual transformation requires a reconstructed notion of space and time, underscoring the interconnectedness of social processes and spatial-temporal practices. and that's what drives people to live near graves. This ritual transformation requires a reconstructed notion of space and time, underscoring the interconnectedness of social processes and spatial-temporal practices.

So far, the map of public space in Surakarta has undergone a shift. These, namely static spaces, can be accessed by all, such as roads, sidewalks, parks and recreation areas, plazas, and other publicly owned and managed outdoor areas. Public space is not necessarily statically accessible to all. On the contrary, public space is constantly changing,

dynamic, created, and re-created by the people in non-traditional places. In implementing the change in the concept of public space, the definition of a cemetery as a public space according to Surakarta Muslims also transforms, from sacred sites, to how sacred sites are negotiated or recreated along with changes in context. Whether a place is considered holy or not, especially in a pluralistic society in Surakarta, the relationship between religion and modernity can be understood.

The encounter between the tomb as part of religious spirituality and democracy promoted by modernity implies two things. First, the availability of land to be responsible for the Surakarta City Government is in line with population growth and meeting city standards suitable for living and cemeteries. The need for land is because the TPU in Surakarta is not yet feasible, so it needs a land area of 10 hectares which is calculated based on the population of Surakarta. However, it does not have to be in one location. The efforts of the Surakarta City Government to provide additional land are many obstacles. For example, residents refuse because the land is for grave purposes. People believe that the grave is sacred (sacred), so it is avoided as a place to live. The following impact is that economically the price of land becomes cheaper.

Second, the concept of involvement and participation of civil society in the procurement of grave land has emerged. The existence of the residents' initiative to own and provide their burial ground, apart from the Surakarta City Government, is the involvement and participation of citizens despite economic interests. The nature of democracy requires community involvement to take the initiative to resolve the limitations of grave land to be a positive thing. Even though grave material provided by the private sector is commercial, for example, the selling price of the tomb is relatively high, reaching 1 million/body, including a land lease agreement for ten years, and commercial vaults like this can only be accessed by the middle to upper economic community. Social

aggregation and religious, ideological affiliation are real challenges in the context of a pluralistic Surakarta society. The existence of a TPU provided by the Surakarta City Government for the general public regardless of religious differences and social status is still the best in the context of democracy, equal rights, access, and state administration services.

Graves as public spaces amid modernity Becoming an applied democracy that allows the emergence of a link between the needs of the tomb as a spiritual space (sacred) to a public space (profane) managed by the state. Makam can be redefined as a contested space between holy space and modernity where accessibility as a form of democracy is seen as the state's responsibility for the equality of its citizens regardless of religion, ethnicity, and social status. Thus it requires habitual adjustment for all democratic actors. As Tong and Kong view that conditions of modern living demand adherence to particular spatial forms and structures, symbolic and behavioral adjustments are invented so that fundamental principles of sacredness may be cohered with (Tong and Kong, 2000: 34).

Limited land and high land prices in urban areas is an unavoidable phenomenon. The availability of vacant land in urban areas for burial can be categorized as a rare item. Judging from the function of the city's green open space, the tomb contributes to maintaining the balance of the city's ecosystem, namely as a place for plant growth, city lungs, and water catchment areas. The tomb with the new definition is a green open space function that allows it to be applied to Muslim funerals. The habit of urban communities, including Surakarta, to build graves with permanent buildings causes environmental damage because it reaches a building coverage ratio (BCR) of more than 90%. Reality This is doubtful if the tomb in Surakarta is categorized as a green open space. The family's comfort on pilgrimage is also a point to provide a new understanding of the tomb because the TPU in Surakarta accommodates bodies beyond capacity. The

unavailability of adequate pedestrian circulation and the lack of protective trees cause the tomb to be unable to provide comfort to the visiting family. Not infrequently, they have to walk very far to reach the graves of their families by having to step on one another's graves.

Seeing the problem of graves in urban areas, such as the availability of narrow land, the atmosphere of the tomb is haunted and neglected care. By redefining the tomb, at least Pracimaloyo TPU, located in Makam haji, can be a role model for integrating the tomb with green open spaces and absorption areas. Seen beautiful around the cemetery area from the view with frangipani trees around it. A round the graves, people can sell gravel, coffins, and other death necessities. In the middle of the tomb, some people open food stalls as a public space for discussion among the lower classes while talking about life and politics. In TPU, many tree frangipanis are blooming beautifully. The thick frangipani flowers also make the tomb area smell good.

According to Hartono, a grave shop trader at the Pracimaloyo TPU, the frangipani tree in the tomb was planted in the community around the burial at the request of the deceased family. SIn addition to being a sign or a sign of a dead family's grave or a character, it is also intended so that the grave is not hot. Bfrangipani flowers in the TPU also become an economical source for some surrounding communities by harvesting and drying them. after drying, the flower can be used as a perfume mixture for IDR 12,000/Kg (Hartono, 13/10/2020). This can be an ontological basis for formulating a new definition of graves and can be put into practice in Surakarta City Government policies for structuring existing graves.

The tomb with a new definition is an area and space of controversy between democracy and modernity, between spirituality and economic interests, comfort and necessity, between lifestyle and the burdens of life, and between sacred and profane spaces. The tomb becomes a public space that can be accessed by all people and becomes a space for negotiating their interests.

The tomb is not just a religious resting place but a place of worship presenting a beautiful and cozy feel, a place to remember loved ones. With the existing facilities, the tomb becomes an area to reduce grief for grieving families, as a vehicle for entertainment, recreation, and even religious tourism destinations equipped with halal products. As a space for the contestation of democracy and modernity, the tomb is defined as an area that carries the concept of diversity in the community's religious culture. It is a piece of land for those who have died. In modernity, a tomb with a new definition is a space that prepares all modern facilities that make us feel like the family is no longer bothered with grave care, lawn, security, and other costs.

As an urban society shifting to become modern, the people of Surakarta, in choosing tombs, use various considerations, both economic, social status, comfort needs, and religion. Several aspects that are taken into consideration by the Surakarta community in choosing tombs, for example starting from the type of land, whether it is single, semi, private, or peak estate; the direction of the wind for some people want the tomb towards a particular cardinal rule such as wanting to go west or north. Accessibility considerations with public facilities such as a graveyard close to a parking lot or road, so you don't have to go far into the street. Aspect land contour, For example, people who have money want tombs on a relatively high hill spiritually intended to be closer to God. At the same time, naturally, they are not subject to natural disasters such as floods. Thigh and low location This is essential because on a hill with a beautiful view, at least it can be a recreational arena.

Several aspects that become the point of view provide a new definition of the tomb family center because it is based on the consideration of seeing the local traditions of the Surakarta people when they make pilgrimages with all their family members, and they rarely make pilgrimages alone. The tomb with a new meaning is a space for the expedition as a form of sacred spirituality by traveling, secular modernity. Families can

freely play in the tomb simultaneously with the tradition of pilgrimage to the family grave because we teach the need for an expedition to the next generation. The tomb as a space for negotiation and discourse between tradition, modernization, and democracy makes the tomb a public space to display religious expressions in terms of sacred spirituality with various religious symbols in each grave. For example, the shape of Islamic-style tombs and Christian-style tombs so that characters, identities, and expressions of religious norms are phenomenologically displayed in primary forms on the graves.

The rise of religious expression in the tomb as a public space is a global phenomenon where religion takes advantage of advances in information technology. Religion offers the public, alternative views, beliefs, and identities (Biersdorfer, 2005: 1). Faith colors and transforms public spaces previously dominated by secular traditions. The presence of religion in the tomb as a public space must be seen not only as part of the people's aspirations but as a prominent social identity. Makam is a democratic space, a burial ground, and an arena for negotiating economic, political, and power interests. The hall of modern public space requires various forms of religious expression and political contestation, democracy, modernization, and identity.

In the discourse of democracy, it has been recognized the importance of the role of religion, where the position of religion in the democratization process is very slippery, at one time and places it can be present as an active driver of democratization. On the other hand, religion becomes an obstacle factor. The efforts made to activate religion in the democratization process are a critical stage of normative religious values related to public life and struggles to reinterpret them. Second, the steps of existing values are implemented in the community's social, political, cultural, and religious life. Because religion is a moral force for a process of democratization. With democracy, religious people do not understand absolute themselves, concepts, and beliefs because they are part of "idols" that must be shunned by every believer. Every

believer must be open to correction, expose the human side of religion, be aware of the characteristics of a system of understanding life that is indeed different (Zainudin, 2012: 89).

The presence of religious symbols and identities in tombs is increasingly prominent in public spaces supported by the growth of modern democratic freedom to determine the desired shape of the tomb. Religion's central issues through the grave as a public space revolves around belief, worship, spirituality, halal food, and the economy. The presence of faith in the public sphere strongly influences public policies such as making Laws and Regional Regulations prepared by the Surakarta City Government and the surrounding Regency Governments such as Sukoharjo Karanganyar, Boyolali, and Sragen. The community wants tombs as identities, symbols, and religious expressions to affirm that religious values are used as a source of norms in the form of tombs. However, they must take into account the differences in religion and culture. At the same time, the tomb is a space for the consolidation of democracy and modernization and the preservation of Javanese culture. So that the involvement of all parties such as the Surakarta City Government, the surrounding Regency Government, religious groups such as the MUI, churches, spiritualists, civil society, and the economic community is needed.

Graves, Religion and Change Social: From Sacred Space To Profane

Religion and social systems are like two sides of a coin. The explanation of religion is incomplete without involving the accompanying sociological aspects. Religion is seen as a set of values, rites, norms, and beliefs embodied in certain social behaviors (Tischer, 1999) 380). In Sociology, religion is seen from its function in the existing social structure. The integration function is related to the contribution given by religion in maintaining the integrity of society (Nottingham, 1996: 125). Tomb in functionalism theory sees the part of religion

in social cohesion seen from religious facilities which are symbols of community and sacredness where it comes from the power that is declared valid in the community as a whole for its people in a profane form. Fit's function is to maintain and strengthen a sense of solidarity and social obligation (Scharf, 1995: 43).so far, makam as a sacred spiritual space of religion shifts to profane human space and must place itself in the social structure. On this position, religion can be a source of conflict in society and a "spirit" for the sustainability of an organization (O'dea, 1985: 109).

Society is a sui generis reality not found in other societies in various cultures, including graves. According to Durkheim society as a perfect container for an everyday life between humans attached to "something" is above all, namely religion. Because of that, "something" becomes a factor that determines the subsequent development of society by giving color, character, and being sui generis (Mibtadin, 2016: 7). the various expressions of human beliefs are all social, exist in the community, and become objective facts that can be studied scientifically where social order is the driving force in society as a form of emphasis on social order. The whole construction of knowledge about society must be based on two principles, namely objective reality and social reality (Jones, 2009: 49). Objective reality and social facts have evident characteristics, namely different acting, thinking, and feeling. Everyone is outside the individual and can control the individual (Turner, 2006: 212).

The primary purpose of religion is not rational but social. Graves as part of the symbol and religious identity of Basically, it functions as a generator of social feelings that allows people to express their emotions which are always related to their social community. As long as graves and religion are still carrying out their social functions, faith is always in the correct position to protect people's souls (Pals, 2003, 163).In the phenomenological approach, the sacred nature of the tomb manifests itself in reality and is surrounded by religious ordinances that

enforce a radical separation from the profane. In principle, religion as a source of value in society encourages changes in norms for social change and democracy, including tombs that can be seen in the freedom to choose the shape of the tomb. Determining the model of the tomb is a choice of individuals and society as democratic freedom in modern society. The choice of the rationality of the grave as a sacred public space with various symbols and identities as religious principles is a form of democratic challenge, where the community must be able to accept all as a necessity (Taufik, 2005: 18). The term "grave democracy" in social change is an alternative solution to developing human values in a pluralistic society like Surakarta.

Makam as a public space is a tangible physical space that reminds humans of death. According to Sutarno, this makam is used as a reminder that tomorrow all humans will die and face Allah so that provisions for the world must be prepared as early as possible (Sutarno, 21/10/2020). Because in Islam, there is no dichotomy between the world domain and the religious domain. Islamic values are all-embracing for structuring social, political, economic, and cultural life systems (Zaenudin, 2019: 179). The people of Surakarta have a theological view that urip mung sak dermo stops by ngombe then everything that is done in the world is only an effort to get a more life after death. A similar view was expressed by a member of MTA that connects end with the life of the world. The grave has many benefits, making me always remember Allah (Suprpto, 17/10/2020).

Meanwhile, Mashuri assessed that the purpose of the grave pilgrimage was to seek the blessing of tawasul to them and pray for the family who had passed away. Because spiritually, we can connect with them even though physically separated by space and time. Traditional Islamic circles such as NU believe that coming nyekar while reading prayers will reach the dead (Mashuri, 25/09/2020). The tomb's existence becomes a symbol of death reminder by visiting or caring for the grave as a space where the current world and the world of death are connected

with memories of the afterlife and the present so that people are required to do good (Prasetyanto, 13/09/2019). Makam as a public space in Surakarta is the process by which graves are regulated as markers with two types of agencies, namely: first, regulated by the state through the Department of Housing for Settlement and Land Areas (Disperum KPP). Surakarta has six TPU in its history. The land of the tomb is a relic of the palace. This arrangement is different from the grave in the village, which is waqf land usually owned and managed by the town, and the performance is still individual and is left to the caretaker of the tomb. With this traditional management, the caretaker's position becomes central as a mediator between the current world and the world of the dead while connecting the natural and supernatural worlds, between sacred and profane worlds, between spirituality and humanity.

They were regulating the graves of the Surakarta City Government with modern management where administration, accountability, and transparency are essential. The grave officer, the State Civil Apparatus (ASN), has a mediator role between the heirs of the tomb and the City Government of Surakarta. Related to the arrangement of tomb retribution, but sometimes still has traditional functions such as leading prayers and tawwasul in front of the tomb to seek the safety of the world and the hereafter if requested—family side. As a State Civil Apparatus, the caretaker of the graves is paid by the state, but when he gets an additional role to lead prayers, he can receive money 'as is' from the heirs of the deceased family. The role of the tomb officer is a form of negotiation between the traditional caretaker role and the modern state civil apparatus. Seen from Tomb management in Surakarta City refers more to the process of social change in which tombs that were initially sacred have become more profane. The tomb is no longer a silent, creepy, haunted, and wingit death space but becomes the center of crowds, religious tourism, and seeking satisfaction as a public space.

They are second, regulated by private parties affiliated with particular religious

views. In the last few decades, the rapid population development and the rapid rate of Islamization in Surakarta have opened up opportunities to provide business graves. Makam is affiliated with certain religious groups such as MTA, Polokarto Muslim Cemetery, an Islamic cemetery in Kaliyoso, Sragen, and business groups provide their graves, for example, in Delingan Karanganyar. The Al-Quran Tafsir Council (MTA) is an Islamic organization with a vision for purification. The Al-Quran Tafsir Council since 2010 has provided the Kaliboto Muslim cemetery in Dukuh Sidorejo, Kaliboto Mojogedang, Karanganyar with an area of 5,000 m² with 240 grave points. Representatives of the MTA Karanganyar Regency established this grave, and in general, the tomb is intended for Muslims, especially MTA followers spread across Indonesia. They have the principle that when life is united under the banner of MTA, death must be together in one space. The provision of this tomb is also tied to the MTA religious doctrine regarding death and is claimed to be a tomb whose management is more sharia according to Islamic demands. Physically in this tomb, there is no building at all, without a tombstone, and without gravestones

According to Hidayah, the treatment of corpses from MTA is handled by an internal team called the janaiz team. This is taking care of the corpse from bathing, shrouding, praying, and burying, while shohib al-disaster only helps bathe it. Di MTA: There are two janaiz teams divided by gender group, namely the male janaiz team took care of the male bodies while the female janaiz team took care of the female bodies. This person treats the corpses of his group primarily and exclusively. If those who die in their daily lives do not pray, then their bodies will not be prayed for. Aif the Janaiz team hands over the body, the care of the corpse must be willing to accept the rules that apply at the MTA (Hidayah, 2017: 41).

While the Delingan Memorial Park in the Karanganyar area is an elite tomb for the public, with different religious and ethnic backgrounds, this tomb was built in the early

1990s by the Surakarta Community Association (PMS). With a burial area of 14 hectares and a total grave area of 20 hectares, as well as being an exclusive tomb for several community leaders such as the founder of PT Sritex Muhammad Lukminto and Wiranto's grandson are buried in this cemetery. This room is more business-oriented, so the rental price is also expensive. This tomb building for the elite class is combined with the concept of entertainment and recreation, with a garden such as a pond, a place of prayer so that the tomb does not seem scary but also becomes comfortable for visitors.

The different management of graves shows how the people of Surakarta see death how death is prepared and perceived. The limitations of tomb land in Surakarta and the development of population, and the pace of urbanization or urbanization make residents no longer see the tomb as a sacred, spiritual place where the tomb is separated from their residence and is far from residents' settlements. In Surakarta, makam is a public space, a place to play and make money by selling food or the necessities of death. The grave is no longer only seen as a sacred, quiet, and scary place that is 'shunned' and only used as a burial room and pray for the dead to remember death but has been brought together with a building room that symbolizes modernity.

Term Public Cemeteries in principle have implications for changing the views of the people of Surakarta that the tomb is a profane public space so that socially, burial grounds are no longer sacred spaces but are arranged in such a way by the state to provide equal access to citizens regardless of religion and strata. Social. While pThe term "Muslim cemetery" refers more to the physical type of tomb adapted to the demands of Islamic law exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad, namely without buildings, tombstones, and gravestones as their religious ideology. The term Safe Memorial is more associated with relationships with family so that the impression of death is associated with memories of beauty.

With social changes and the shift of tombs from something sacred to profane, in principle, to balance urban spatial planning with various environmental aspects such as green open space when viewed from its ecological function, namely as an air freshener, improving the microclimate by reducing heat and pollution, maintaining and maintaining the balance of the ecosystem. Procurement safe, flowers, or trees in the tomb have an ecological function to beautify the city's decoration so that it can be accessed by the whole community making its existence as a public space in urban areas very important. In principle, the tomb as part of a religious ritual can have a role in life from two aspects. First, the conative element is related to the ability of religious people to provide facilities to the community to assist them in solving various life problems. Second, the cognitive component is connected to religion in determining the meaning framework to help humans get meaning in their entire life experience (Zainudin, 2019: v).

Social changes in the grave aspect are principally directed at several factors: first, comfort, intended so that users of the tomb as a public space feel comfortable in carrying out their activities in public areas. Second, safety to protect public space users from the possibility of a disaster; third, security to provide a sense of security for grave users in carrying out their activities in a public space and prevent vandalism and crime in public areas. Fourth, accessibility offers easy access to the tomb without any obstacles; and fifth, the attractiveness in the grave is related to ethical and aesthetic factors.

C. Conclusion

The development of urbanization in Surakarta, not accompanied by land expansion, has made the availability of areas for graves reduced, minimal, even very unfit for a city worth burying. The tomb is not a neutral and private space to mediate between the life and death of an individual. Still, it is connected to the communal perception of purification, and it belongs to the institution.s grave as a public space negotiated with economic and social

structures. Different concepts of sacred space open up tensions between various religious organizations that need to be dealt with. The social change of the tomb can be seen from the change in the concept of the tomb as a sacred space and the role of the caretaker. Graves are no longer religious but profane. The management of tombs regulated by the government and business institutions clearly shows this change. The term Public Cemetery has implications for the perspective of the people of Surakarta City and its government that the tomb is a profane public space so that socially the burial ground is no longer a sacred and sacred space, but is regulated by the state in such a way as to provide equal access to citizens. A country without regard to differences in religion and social status.

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