

Dalam waktu beberapa tahun terakhir sampai saat ini, di Yogyakarta dipenuhi dengan perumahan-perumahan muslim. Terbukti, di setiap kabupaten (meliputi Sleman, Bantul, Gunungkidul dan Kulonprogo) dijadikan lokus pembangunan perumahan muslim oleh pengembang. Pembangunan perumahan muslim bukan semata-mata berorientasi bisnis, melainkan juga digerakkan dan “dipandu” oleh hal-hal yang sifatnya ideologis-keagamaan. Pada titik ini, penulis menemukan semacam “persekongkolan” antara pengembang dan elit kelompok Islam dalam memproduksi perumahan-perumahan muslim di Yogyakarta.

Penelitian tesis ini bermaksud untuk menganalisis bagaimana produksi ruang perumahan-perumahan muslim di Yogyakarta, dan bagaimana relasi dan kepentingan ekonomi-politik di antara pengembang dan elit kelompok Islam yang terlibat dalam proses produksi ruang perumahan-perumahan muslim tersebut. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif, dengan observasi dan wawancara mendalam sebagai metode pengumpulan datanya. Perumahan-perumahan muslim yang diteliti meliputi Perumahan Muslim Darussalam 1 dan 2, Perumahan Muslim Darussalam 3, dan Perumahan Muslim Gapura Sitimulya Estate. Data lapangan dianalisis dengan teori produksi ruang (*production of space*) Henri Lefebvre, terutama konsep triadik yaitu, *spatial practice*, *representation of space* dan *space of representational*.

Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa perumahan-perumahan muslim di Yogyakarta sebagai ruang (sosial) tak bisa dilepaskan dan selalu terikat pada realitas sosial-politik-ekonomi yang melingkupinya. Perumahan-perumahan muslim di Yogyakarta terbentuk karena proses pendalaman islamisasi dan penguatan Islam politik dan puritanisme Islam, yang dalam praksisnya, memperebutkan “ruang” negara sampai “ruang-ruang keseharian” termasuk perumahan muslim. Pengembang perumahan-perumahan muslim di Yogyakarta memiliki hubungan “ideologis” dan “bisnis” dengan kelompok Islam politik dan puritanisme Islam. Inilah *spatial practice* perumahan muslim di Yogyakarta. Dalam *representation of space*, perumahan-perumahan muslim di Yogyakarta tak memiliki konsep yang jelas: hanya sekadar diberikan label “perumahan muslim”, mesjid diutamakan, dan peruntukannya harus untuk muslim (tak boleh untuk non-muslim). *Representation of space* perumahan-perumahan muslim menghasilkan semacam “kebenaran ruang” dalam *space of representational*-nya. Tak hanya menunjukkan pendalaman islamisasi di dalam ruang perumahan-perumahan muslim di Yogyakarta, tetapi juga meminggirkan warga “non-muslim” dari dalam perumahan muslim. Cara hidup seperti ini memang menjadi sikap yang khas kelompok Islam politik dan puritanisme Islam.

Meski pengembang dan konseptor memandang pemroduksian perumahan-perumahan muslim di Yogyakarta bagian dari “kerja dakwah agama”, tapi tetap tak sepenuhnya lepas dari kepentingan ekonomi. Pengembang dan konseptor memboncengi “dakwah” untuk kepentingan materialnya.

Kata kunci: perumahan muslim, produksi ruang, Henri Lefebvre, konsep triadik dan ekonomi-politik.

ABSTRACT

In the last few years to date, lots of Muslim housing have been built in Yogyakarta. It proves true, each regency (including Sleman, Bantul, Gunungkidul and Kulonprogo) is designated as the locus of Muslim housing development by developers. This Muslim housing development is not merely business-oriented, rather this development is also driven and “guided” by ideological and religious matters. At this point, the author finds a sort of “conspiracy” between the developers and the Islamic groups’ elite with regard to Muslim housing development in Yogyakarta.

This thesis research aims to analyze the space production of Muslim housing in Yogyakarta and the economic-political relationship as well as interests between the developers and the Islamic groups’ elite involved in the process of producing space for such Muslim housing. This research employed a qualitative approach, with observation and in-depth interviews as the methods to collect data. Muslim housing examined included the Muslim Housing of Darussalam 1 and 2, the Muslim Housing of Darussalam 3 and the Muslim Housing of Gapura Sitimulya Estate. The field data were analyzed based on Henri Lefebvre’s theory of space production, especially the triadic concept namely, spatial practice, representations of space and space of representation.

The research findings suggest that Muslim housing in Yogyakarta as (social) space cannot be separated and always tied to social, political and economic realities which surround it. Muslim housing in Yogyakarta exists due to processes of deepening Islamization as well as strengthening political Islam and Islamic puritanism, which in practice, fight over state “space” to “space of everyday life” including Muslim housing. Developers of Muslim housing in Yogyakarta have “ideological” and “business” relationships with the groups of political Islam and Islamic puritanism. This is the spatial practice of Muslim housing in Yogyakarta. In terms of the representation of space, Muslim housing in Yogyakarta does not have a clear concept: simply labeled “Muslim housing”, mosques take precedence, and intended for Muslims only (and not for non-Muslims). The representation of space of such Muslim housing results in a sort of “truth of space” in its space of representation. It does not only indicate the deepening Islamization in the space of Muslim housing in Yogyakarta, but also marginalize “non-Muslim” residents from the Muslim housing. Such a way of life is a typical attitude of the groups of political Islamic and Islamic puritanism.

Even though developers and conceptors view development of Muslim housing in Yogyakarta as part of the “religious preaching work”, such development, however, cannot be separated entirely from the economic interests. Developers and conceptors use “preaching” for their material interest.

Keywords: Muslim housing, space production, Henri Lefebvre, the triadic and economic-political concepts.