Conflict and Violence among Religious People: A Case Study of Conflict and Violence Against the Ahmadiyah Congregation in Makassar City

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the process of conflict and violence experienced by Ahmadiyah in Makassar City and to analyze the resistance and conflict resolution models of Ahmadiyah in Makassar City in dealing with conflict and violence. This research uses qualitative methods by collecting through observation and in-depth interviews. Secondary data comes from books and research journals published online and in print. Data analysis by transcribing data, reading the entire data, analyzing in detail and describing it holistically-integratively. The results showed first, identity violence is influenced by the existence of a dominant identity factor that commits violence because of differences in beliefs. Second, direct violence against minority groups causes psychological trauma. Conflict resolution is in the form of no resistance because Ahmadiyah has the principle of "love for all hatred for none" which morally spreads teachings of peace and love for others even though they have different beliefs. From the conflict that occurred, Ahmadiyah offered a resolution in the form of asking the government to "come back to provide a sense of security for all its citizens and strengthen diversity through the restoration of social dialogue between residents" and, to remind the government that JAI is an official Islamic religious organization with the legal entity of a Ministerial Decree Justice. Second, to remind all JAI members as peace-loving Muslims with the motto of love for all, hatred for no one.

Keywords: Identity Violence; Direct Violence; Resistance and Conflict Resolution

Introduction

In Islam, apart from the two major Sunni and Shia schools, there is one other school that has followers with different characteristics. This school is called the Ahmadiyya School. Judging from the name, this mazhab comes from the belief after the departure of the Prophet, a person named Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who was asked to replace him. Not just a substitute, the existence of this figure is also believed to be the Mahdi who will come at the end of time. Different from the other two schools of thought, from this point of view Ahmadiyya is one of the beliefs that are often viewed as oblique and heretical.

The origin of this heresy is seen by many people as stemming from their belief in the issue of leadership after the death of the Prophet. If the Ahlul Sunnah wal Jama'ah school states that after the
death of the Prophet, the leadership of the ummah was handed over to four caliphs, namely Abu Bakr, Umar bin Khatab, Usman bin Affan, and Ali bin Abi Talib, and the Shia mazhab to the descendants of Rasulullah from the lineage of Ali bin. Abi Talib and Fatimah bin Muhammad, outside of the agreement, Ahmadiyah believes that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is the successor of the leader who deserves to be the post-Prophet leader.

Due to these differences, it is not uncommon for Ahmadiyah followers to receive discriminatory treatment from many parties. In Indonesia, over the past decade, several records show how often Ahmadiyah has been subjected to acts of violence in the name of religion.

In 2011, in Banten, there was violence against the Ahmadiyah group in Cikeusik, by means of hundreds of people storming the house of a resident suspected of having Ahmadiyah beliefs. At that time there were clashes between the protesting residents and the Ahmadiyah members because they were provoked by circumstances. Unavoidable bloodshed. As a result, three people died as a result of being stabbed and several others were seriously injured (BBC, 2011).

This case of violence in the name of religion immediately became a major concern and naturally made it a national issue. Since this case has strengthened on the surface and rolled around, unexpectedly the violence or conflict that resulted in victims for the Ahmadiyya party has not stopped at all. Based on the records of the Setara Institute, from 2012 to 2015, Ahmadiyah in Indonesia were victims of violence in 164 incidents (Erdianto. 2007).

Meanwhile, the Komnas HAM annual report shows, from January to December 2016, there were 22 out of 97 complaints of violations of the right to freedom of religion and belief against Ahmadiyah Indonesia. That number is up from 17 complaints in 2015 (Komnasham, 2016). This shows that different beliefs in the country are one of the causes of conflict in the community. For the Ahmadiyah case in Indonesia, the violence that occurred was often protracted because there was no clear resolution from the authorities in this case the state. From the context of citizenship, even though Ahmadiyah has different beliefs from the majority of Muslims in the country, they must receive a defense as citizens.

A number of studies by Komnas HAM, Setara Institute, and Wahid Institute, which they release annually, often mention that local governments, both provincial and regency/city, are the largest perpetrators of violations of the right to freedom of religion and belief. In Makassar itself, when the persecution occurred in Banten, almost the same thing happened. Previously, on January 28, 2011, when the Ahmadiyah congregation which was headquartered at Jalan Anuang was holding a recitation, suddenly there was no wind, no rain came, a group of people who were later found out was the FPI carrying out attacks at persecution.

At that time, FPI arrived using a car and dozens of motorized vehicles. The FPI crowd immediately attacked Ahmadiyah members who were carrying out an annual recitation activity which was attended by 50 Ahmadiyah representatives from South Sulawesi, until the police forced Ahmadiyah to be evacuated to the police station at night in order to avoid casualties (Tempo, 2011). According to the forum consisting of FPI, Wahdah Islamiyah, and the Indonesian Chinese Islamic Association, they came to the Makassar people's representative building to urge the government to issue a letter in the form of a regional regulation aimed at dissolving the Ahamadiyah group organization in Makassar.

From this fleeting story, it appears that this communal group-based conflict is not only targeting the physical and psychological adherents of groups who are considered heretical. But also making vital religious objects, in this case the mosque as an outlet for its violence. Not until the case of the burning of the Ahmadiyah mosque in Babakan Sindang Village, Cipakat Village, Tasikmalaya Regency, in 2013,
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when the Ahmadiyah mosque in Makassar which was standing on Anuang Street was "only" stoned, vandalized and painted with coreti during the 2011 incident.

The phenomena described even though they have occurred for a long time does not mean they will not occur at a later time. Conflict in this case, both on a small scale and on a large scale, has the same potential to be raised to the surface when there is a trigger that triggers it. For religious-based conflict events, the potential is quite large because it is something related to faith that will not last.

This research digs deeper into how the Ahmadiyah community in Makassar faces the conflict or violence that has so far suffered them. There are two reasons why prospective researchers want to take up this theme. First, considering that the conflicts that have occurred in Indonesia are like a chain of interconnected networks, the trigger can also affect the existence of the Ahmadiyah community in Makassar, so that prospective researchers want to explore further the processes of conflict that Ahmadiyah has experienced in Makassar.

Second, based on a sociological perspective, surface conflicts often only trigger latent conflicts that have been hidden and have been settling unnoticed. Muslims, believing or not believing, are a large community which has historically been a religion which on the one hand has resulted in many conflicts from its own followers.

There are many reasons for the conflict, but so far, according to the researcher's observations, the conflict within the Muslim community is caused by different interpretations of its main doctrines. For the Ahmadiyah conflict itself, this is related to the issue of leadership after the death of the Prophet.

In addition, the role of religious leaders in each of the mass organizations mentioned above also influenced the conflict. In this case, apart from cultural factors in the form of differences in belief systems, doctrine and religion, conflict is also more determined by the presence of certain figures who often provoke and exaggerate differences in the understanding held by Ahmadiyah. Therefore, this study analyzes the conflict and violence processes experienced by the Ahmadiyah of Makassar City and analyzes the resistance and conflict resolution models of the Ahmadiyah conflict in Makassar City in dealing with conflict and violence.

Methods

The study used a qualitative method that seeks to understand the background of the conflict occurring in the Ahmadiyah community in Makassar. The research was conducted in the city of Makassar. The number of informants in the research was 5 people consisting of a preacher and four members of Ahmadiyah. This research is supported by data derived from primary data through observation and in-depth interviews. This study also uses secondary data from books and research journals. Data analysis techniques are transcribing data, reading the whole, detailed analysis of theme segments, describing holistically-integratively in order to get the native's point of view.

Results and Discussion

Background to the Conflict

Symbolic identity violence is influenced by the existence of identity battles between the majority and minority groups which symbolically causes minority groups to experience threats to physical violence in the form of prohibiting minority groups from carrying out religious practices or activities through their religious symbols (Arthur, 2000; Askew, 2007; Gans, 1994; Mancini, 2008; Nirenberg, 2015).
Ahmadiyah is a religious group that has different beliefs regarding the existence of the figure of Isa Al-Masih and Imam Mahdi at the end of time who will manifest into the figure of Mirzha Ghulam Ahmad as the doctrine of Mahdism.

The doctrine of mahdism is a belief shared by Ahmadiyah who admit and believe that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is the Mahdi who cannot be separated from al-Masih because al-Mahdi and al-Masih are one character and one person.

Ahmadiyah believes that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is the Imam Mahdi, the Messiah and the Prophet. However, the prophecy that is believed does not bring a new law and only follows the existing law, namely the Shari'a of the Prophet Muhammad. In this case, Ghulam Ahmad only acts as a continuation of what has been brought by the Prophet Muhammad. However, for some Muslims, this view is seen as the beginning of a debate and ending with animosity between the Ahmadiyya and the majority of Muslims. Because according to the majority of Ahmadiyya Muslims, they have entered into a non-negotiable principle area (Nuruddin, 2014).

Al-Masih as told in the saheeh hadith, will come back to the world and he is a Prophet assigned by Allah to kill the Dajjal at the end of time. That is why Ahmadiyah's existence cannot be separated from the issue of revelation. The revelation that was delivered to al-Mahdi was to interpret the Koran in accordance with its renewal idea (Zulkarnain, 113).

Regarding revelation, there are five kinds of revelations from Allah that relate directly to the realm of life. First, Allah's revelation which was revealed to lifeless beings, such as the earth and the sky (Qs. 41: 11-12). Second, Allah's revelation which was revealed to animals, such as bees (Qs. 16: 68-69). Third, Allah's revelation sent to angels (Qs. 8: 12). Fourth, Allah's revelations were revealed to ordinary people, both male and female (not the Prophet), such as the companions of Prophet Isa (Qs. 5:11) and the mother of Prophet Musa (Qs. 28: 7). And fifth, Allah's revelation that was revealed to the Prophets and Messengers (Qs. 21: 7 and Qs. 4: 164).

Based on this, according to Ahmadiyah, the revelation until the end of time will not be cut off and will still be connected to the elect, namely the prophets who carry the mandate to liberate mankind. However, the revelation in question is not a revelation that aims to replace the existing Shari'a. Because the revelations will not be interrupted, according to Ahmadiyah it means that there is a figure who is always connected with God for the revelations he experiences, and according to Ahmadiyah that is Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

Identity Violence (Symbolic)

In an interview with MYS (42 years) Ahmadiyah is often a victim because of their different beliefs. This belief is Ahmadiyah identity which is the essence or doctrine of their belief. According to MYS Ahmadiyah is not much different from other Muslims in terms of the pillars of faith and the pillars of Islam, which causes the practice of faith to be not completely different. However, what is special according to MYS from Ahmadiyah is their belief in the figure of Mirzha Ghulam Ahmad who is believed to be Isa Al-Masih, and Imam Mahdi who must be trusted at the end of this era.

This Ahmadiyya belief is according to MYS, who served as preacher in Makassar, based on the signs that the Prophet had reported regarding the arrival of the perfect figure of Imam Mahdi in Mirzha Ghulam Ahmad.
Belief in Mirzha Ghulam Ahmad is explained as a continuation of the treatise whose task is to maintain and continue the message of the Prophet Muhammad in the sense of preaching Islam as perfect teaching. This was stated by BL in relation to whether or not while being Ahmadiyya there was an obligation to preach Ahmadiyah as the correct teaching. According to BL's confession, Ahmadiyah never preached the teachings of Ahmadiyah because what has been practiced so far is Islam itself.

Even so, this difference does not necessarily prevent Ahmadiyah from being discriminated against which leads to conflict.

Thanks to this different identity, according to YMT Ahmadiyah is often a victim of violence and conflict. In agreement with YMT, according to MYS, the conflicts that Ahmadiyah often experiences are not only occurring in the city of Makassar but have become an Ahmadiyah phenomenon in various regions.

In Makassar itself, there is a prolonged conflict between Ahmadiyah and intolerant groups, often resulting in violence in the form of prohibiting religious activities that can cause unrest among the residents. In the view of identity violence, through cases like this Ahmadiyah has experienced identity violence because the need to state their identity through their beliefs is prevented and even prohibited by the majority group.

Meanwhile, based on the results of an interview with NH, an Ahmadiyah women congregation, conflicts that occur are often experienced if there are Ahmadiyah activities that are known to the mass organizations, which in this case is FPI. According to NH, in these activities, the contra-Ahmadiyah group often provoked residents around the Al-Nusrhat mosque where the activity took place. Even in such circumstances, physical violence in the form of beatings often occurs.

Hugh Miall assumes that identity violence is a conflict caused by a threatened identity, which is often rooted in the loss of something or the unresolved suffering of the past. The identity of Ahmadiyah, in this case, is part of the differences in identity that cannot be resolved and it causes no common ground between the various identities (beliefs). The Ahmadiyah case in Makassar city in other words is a conflict that is motivated by the interests of identity. Because this conflict has been sticking out in recent times where many interest groups have put forward their group identities by vilifying the identities of other groups. (Miall et al., 2000).

Direct Violence

Direct violence can be seen in cases of beating someone against another person and causing injuries to the body. A riot that causes a person or community to suffer injuries or death from an attack by another group is also direct violence. Threats of terror from one group that causes fear and psychological trauma are also forms of direct violence (Susan, 2010).

So far, researchers have found that the conflicts that Ahmadiyah has accepted are often in the form of physical and verbal violence. This is based on the findings of an interview with MYS who said that, in the field, violence often manifests in the form of demonstrations and attacks, when the Ahmadiyah congregation carries out religious activities such as the jalsa salanah which is an annual meeting between various branches of Ahmadiyah in South Sulawesi, as strengthened by the statement BA, as follows:

Usually, what is the name, if there is a meeting of a large nature, such as the jalsa, it involves a lot of people, even during the 2011 attack on Ahmadiyah, a jalsa activity was held which...
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was attended by Ahmadiyah branches throughout South Sulawesi. there was no attack. (Researcher Interview with BA. Friday, 20 October 2020).

It should be noted, apart from carrying out religious activities, the Ahmadiyah congregation, especially in Makassar City, also carries out social actions such as blood donation, eye donation, and grocery distribution coupled with clean the city activities on Losari Beach after routine jalsah salanah (annual meeting) activities. at the end of every year, because it is motivated by an invitation to serve Islam in the form of doing social charity activities. It was during such activities that according to MYS, violence sometimes occurred. Even though according to MYS this happened only in a few cases, this violence still gave birth to victims who were hurt and injured physically through random raiding, as experienced by an Ahmadiyah congregation named TR, who was a victim of physical violence when in 2011, TR was beaten until he injured his head and received four stitches, as follows TR’s narrative:

Well ... after they came back, what road they closed, surrounded, and I was standing in front of it, yeah ... I was a victim of that, they attacked and I didn't know what hit my head, until that time I got stitches if I'm not mistaken four stitches. that, in the month of Ramadan at that time. They made a lot of noise, from ... LBH friends were also there, from the interfaith network there was also, so, at that time, I was the victim that night, I didn't know whether I was hit by a rock or what, what is clear as I was a victim and it was covered in blood at night that. (Researcher Interview with Mr. TR, Friday, 20 October 2020).

According to NH, physical violence may disappear in the not too distant future, unlike its psychological impact. NH calls Pak TR, a victim of physical violence who was subjected to raiding in 2011 when the Al-Nushrat mosque was attacked by a group of people who claimed that Ahmadiyah was heretical and misleading. At the time of the attack, TR was one of the victims of the acts of the masses (intolerant groups) who took the law into their own hands. TR stated that NH was a construction worker who had experienced trauma for months due to the attack on Ahmadiyah.

The MA also stated that the impact of trauma due to the attack was in the form of concern if during his daily activities he was subjected to harsh treatment in the form of being intercepted or attacked suddenly. He experienced this concern for months so that in that long period, MA did not dare to go to the mosque to perform prayers or do the recitation routine like before the attack.

Direct violence is violence that has a direct impact on the victim. According to Galtung, violence has a real direct impact on disrupting the fulfillment of basic needs in the form of economic welfare to fulfilling the spiritual feelings of the victims. If direct violence is not resolved, it will continue to rise to the surface and will be difficult to handle because it has traumatic and psychological effects on the victim.

Direct violence as stated by NH also occurs when Ahmadiyah performs worship activities such as recitation or an annual activity called Jalsah Salanah, namely religious activities in the form of listening to lectures, praying five times a day, praying tahajjud, and presenting speakers from parties outside Ahmadiyah. On that occasion, direct violence was also carried out by people who were allegedly paid to commit acts of dissolving the activities of the Ahmadiyya Community.

Models of Conflict Resistance and Resolution

Literally, resistance is "resistance" or "against". Derived from English, namely, resist. In this case, what is meant by resistance is all actions that reject or oppose something that imposes its will on the object in question. In everyday reality, seen from its form, resistance can appear in formal or non-formal forms which are generally marked by the disapproval of what has been going on.
Even though in reality Ahmadiyah can fight back, Ahmadiyah still refuses to take any form of resistance. After all, at the minimum level, Ahmadiyya states its resistance in the sense of continuing to carry out activities as usual by carrying out religious activities and social actions.

Ahmadiyah has the principle of "love for all hatred for none", according to MYS narrative, which means that anywhere it is not allowed to carry out acts of anarchism, riots, and others, which cause harm to other parties. According to MYS, this principle can be checked from the items of the Terms of Bai'at. So that when there is a "conflict" Ahmadiyah is always positioned to seek peace, so that they do not actively fight.

According to MYS, from the conflicts faced by Ahmadiyah, it is Ahmadiyah who are always the victims, who actually have the right to take retaliation. However, Ahmadiyya has not taken the same action, even according to MYS, they (Ahmadiyya Jama'at) always leave this matter to the government.

Resistance due to direct causes is exemplified as oppression, threat, pressure, coercion by landlords, government, capital owners, or other parties. Resistance is indirectly carried out through clandestine resistance, which often causes covert resistance to achieve greater results than open resistance (Eriyanti, 2018).

Resolutions are often an alternative solution to reduce and even resolve conflicts. First, negotiations were taken involving two parties to the conflict without including elements outside the parties experiencing the conflict. Second, is mediation, where there is a third party who helps the conflict resolution process. Third Arbitration. Arbitration is an effort to involve an arbitrator who is more or less the same as the role of a mediator in decision making. Litigation is the last three ways the previous three resolution models were thought to be a dead end.

Two attempts at the Ahmadiyah resolution, first, to report all incidents to the relevant authorities or officials. As well as asking the government to "come back to provide a sense of security for all its citizens and strengthen diversity through the restoration of social dialogue between citizens" and, to remind the government that JAI is an official Islamic religious organization with the legal entity of a Decree of the Minister of Justice, based on Pancasila, non-political, never aspire to establish an Islamic State. Second, to remind all JAI Members as peace-loving Muslims with the motto "Love for all Hatred for none" and to encourage all members of Ahmadiyah to be patient, pray and worship Allah. Asking Allah SWT for help.

**Conclusion**

The things that become the focus of this research are: first, violence based on identity battles, second: direct violence, and third: the end of violence in the form of resistance and resolution to it. Therefore, violence or conflict can occur if there is an identity battle that does not protect the identity of the minority. First, violence or conflict cannot be separated from the influence of beliefs or identities that are different from general beliefs, which causes the birth of identity-based violence which is likely to hinder the development of the existence of groups with identities that are different from common identities. Second, direct violence in the form of physical assault has a psychological effect in the form of trauma, which causes the victim to be unable to carry out religious activities as usual. As a result of the conflict, it caused a response by the Makassar Ahmadiyah Community in the form of action without reprisal due to the principle of love and peace towards others. The resolution issued by the Makassar Ahmadiyah Congregation is the first, to report all incidents to the apparatus. Second, to remind all JAI members as peace-loving Muslims with the motto "Love for all Hatred for none" and recommending it again. To all members of Ahmadiyah to be patient, pray and worship and ask for help from Allah SWT.
References


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