

Religious Conflict in Indonesia: Crisis of Tolerance and Violations of Human Rights Against Ahmadiyah

Elrisa Diana Kumalasari

Program Studi Sosiologi, FISH-Unesa
e-mail: elrisadiana.21058@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Imma Latifa

Program Studi Sosiologi, FISH-Unesa
e-mail: immalatifa.21057@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Ririn Aminarsih

Program Studi Sosiologi, FISH-Unesa
e-mail: ririnaminarsih.21059@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Febriana Firsta Damayanti

Program Studi Sosiologi, FISH-Unesa
e-mail: febrianafirsta.21063@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Zidan Ilmi Mubarak

Program Studi Sosiologi, FISH-Unesa
e-mail: zidanilmi.21062@mhs.unesa.ac.id

Abstract

The crisis of religious tolerance and human rights violations against the Ahmadiyah congregation that occurred in Sintang are examples of violations of freedom of religion and belief in Indonesia. This sad and concerning incident indirectly indicates that Indonesian society is increasingly conservative and proves that acts of intolerance and discrimination based on religion are increasing and happening more intensely, even during a pandemic like today. This article aims to describe the forms of human rights violations against the Ahmadiyah congregation in Indonesia and provide an overview of alternative solutions to religious conflicts in Indonesia. This study uses a literature study method sourced from several scientific literature. The data analysis technique used in this study is the Miles and Huberman model analysis. This study found that acts of human rights violations depicted in religious conflicts between the majority of Muslims and the Ahmadiyah congregation in Indonesia occur in various forms, ranging from discrimination through verbal and psychological actions to physical violence and restrictions on public access to Ahmadiyah congregation. The alternative solution that can be applied to overcome this tolerance crisis is education, especially with interreligious multicultural education that allows open dialogue. From this, it can foster attitudes and behaviors of mutual respect between fellow religious people in the frame of diversity.

Keywords: *Religious Conflict, Human Rights, Ahmadiyah Congregation*

1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia, as a nation rich in diversity, from year to year, shows an alarming sign. The sign danger alarm challenges the Indonesian people's conditions of diversity and social integrity. It can be seen danger alarm, for example, in the case of increasingly widespread acts of intolerance involving various aspects of social identities, such as race, ethnicity, and religion (Setara Institute 2022b). The latter has recently become a hotly discussed issue, as happened in early September 2021. Indonesia was shocked by the news about the destruction and burning of the Miftahul Huda Mosque belonging to the Ahmadiyya Community, which occurred in Balai Harapan Village, Temunak District, Sintang Regency, West Kalimantan by hundreds of people. The destruction and burning of the mosque belonging to the Ahmadiyya Community are a few violations of freedom of religion and belief (KBB) reported in Indonesia in 2021.

Reporting to the site (Jawa Pos 2021), in this case, estimated that there are around 200 people who carry out this action. The mosque belonging to the Ahmadiyya Congregation in Sintang was estimated to be demolished by 200 people after holding Friday prayers. Videos of anarchic actions, in that case, quickly spread to the public through social media. In the shared video, hundreds of people surround the mosque and destroy it and nearby buildings. A part of the building was also set on fire by the mob. According to further news circulating in the media, the cause of the action began with the rejection of a group of alliances calling themselves the Alliance of Muslims. The alliance opposes the worship activities of the Ahmadiyya Congregation in Sintang. In addition, the case also includes the installation of anti-JAI (Jamaah Ahmadiyah Indonesia) hate speech banners. The negligence of the police, who failed to prevent Muslim anarchism from destroying the Miftahul Huda Mosque, and three warning letters from the Sintang Regent to JAI regarding the demolition of the Miftahul Huda Mosque.

The social identity conflict that occurs over the existence of the identity of the Ahmadiyya Congregation in Indonesia, however, must be taken seriously. Talking about identity that identity is the most crucial recognition and expression of modern political expression, especially among minority groups who seek recognition (Taylor in (Andries, Maso'ed, and Bagir 2014). Furthermore, religion is a category of collective social identity that has the potential for a process of reciprocal influence between individuals and other individuals. In this case, social or cultural influences play an important role in shaping a person's identity and character in his culture. The resulting collective identity often creates conflict by creating a fanatical personality against other identities (Simamora, Hamid, and Hikmawan 2019). Something different from the view or interpretation of the majority is finally considered a "deviant" outside of religious teachings. It is attached to other negative stigmas to become a justification for intolerant and discriminatory behavior towards minority groups (Setara Institute 2022a).

They are considering the teachings adopted by the Ahmadis to deviate from the instructions of the mainstream Islamic religion, giving rise to new conflicts. Ahmadis face serious challenges to maintain their existence or the existence of their community in society. Frequently, Ahmadis are rejected, ranging from trivial things such as verbal behavior labeled "heretical" or "outside Islam" to non-verbal acts of violence that cause death and expulsion from the area where the Ahmadiyya community lives.

This sad and alarming incident, of course, has indirectly indicated that Indonesian society is becoming more conservative by the day as well as proving that acts of intolerance and discrimination based on religion are increasing and happening more intensely, even during the current pandemic (Sigit and Hasani 2021). During the COVID-19 pandemic, it should be momentum for all religious communities to be more in solidarity wherever they are. However, there are still those who carry out such intolerant actions. Then the question is how can acts of intolerance and discrimination against the Ahmadiyya Community occur and thrive in

Indonesia? Furthermore, what can we do together to prevent the current trend of a crisis of religious tolerance in Indonesia?

Therefore, the primary purpose of writing this article is to describe the forms of human rights violations against the Ahmadiyya congregation in Indonesia and provides an overview of alternative solutions to religious conflicts in Indonesia. So, hoping that there will be no more such cases based on differences between religious communities. Suppose such acts of intolerance and discrimination continue to occur in Indonesia. In that case, it threatened Indonesia's diversity, showing its almost cracked position in an ivory tower.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

The research method used in this study is a qualitative research approach. According to Sukmadinata (2005) qualitative research can help describe and analyze both phenomena, social activities, events, views, beliefs, and thoughts of individuals and groups. Data collection techniques come from the results of literature studies from various written sources that still have themes relevant to the research object. A literature study is a series of activities related to the methods of collecting library data, reading and taking notes, and processing research materials (Zed 2008). Collecting various journal articles indexed by Sinta on Google Scholar and several reports from institutions for the primary literature study, the central theme is the Ahmadiyya Congregation. In addition to obtaining data sources, choosing this literature study method adds insight and knowledge for researchers regarding what happened and how it happened to the Ahmadiyya Congregation in Indonesia. After collecting all the necessary data, the next step is to analyze the data. The data analysis technique used in this study is the Miles and Huberman model analysis.

Applied model analysis Miles and Huberman (1992) with a flow model include 1) the data reduction stage, 2) the data presentation stage, and 3) the verification or conclusion stage. The first analysis stage (reduction) is done by selecting, sorting, and simplifying the data obtained. At this stage, the researcher summarizes and explores themes related to the problem of the Ahmadiyya Community in Indonesia to support the research. After that, the next step is the data presentation stage. This second stage presented simplified data as a collection of information arranged systematically. Presenting the data is done by writing a narrative discussion of the analysis results. Then the last stage is drawing conclusions or verification. This stage is a complete configuration of a series of research analysis activities carried out previously.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Portraits of Human Rights Violations Against the Ahmadiyya Congregation

1. History of the Ahmadiyya Congregation in Indonesia

Ahmadiyah is a religious group that takes its basic principles from the teachings of the Islamic religion. Ahmadiyah was founded in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who founded the group in Punjab, about 90 miles from Lahore, India. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was born on February 13, 1835. He was the second son of Mirza Ghulam Murtaza, owner of the Punjab tribe in the village of Qadian, India. He was born with a twin, but the twin died a few days after his birth. The development of Ahmadiyya group, which Mirza Ghulam Ahmad formed during its development, was divided into two: the Qadian group and the Lahore group. The Ahmadiyya group in Qadian believes Mirza is a prophet who did not carry the Shari'a. Meanwhile, the group in Lahore considers him a reformer in Islam. This different concept of prophethood became the starting point for the emergence of various acts of discrimination against the Ahmadiyya congregation.

In Indonesia, the entry of Ahmadiyah began when three young Indonesians from Madrasah Tawalib in Padang, West Sumatra, decided to study religion in India based on their admiration for an Indian Da'i of Islam for facilitating the conversion of a British person to Islam. The steps of the three people, Abubakar Ayyub, Ahmad Nuruddin, and Zaini Dahlan, were then followed by 23 youths from Madrasah Tawalib to study in Lahore (then India, now Pakistan). In 1925, the Ahmadiyya Community sent its missionary Maulana Rahmat Ali to Indonesia to develop its teachings. After spreading his teachings in Tapaktuan Aceh, he finally continued his mission to Padang, West Sumatra, and officially founded the Ahmadiyah organization in 1929. In 1930 Maulana Rahmat Ali continued his mission to Jakarta, and in 1932 the Ahmadiyah Executive Board was formed in Jakarta with R. Muhyiddin as its chairman. In 1987, the administrative center of the Ahmadiyya Jama'at moved to Parung Bogor. Currently, there are 181 branches of the Ahmadiyya Community in all provinces in Indonesia.

2. Forms of Human Rights Violations against the Ahmadiyya

Violent incidents that allow the general public to commit acts of violence outside social norms indicate something wrong with the community. Violence, however, is an act that violates the human rights inherent in every individual human being. If violence continues, social problems can spread further, and the situation can worsen when accepted violence as part of society's culture (Rumagit 2013). Violence against the Ahmadiyya Community results from a complex process, and many cases have occurred. The Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation came to Indonesia in 1925 and has experienced varying degrees of acceptance in society since its first arrival. Some accept, and some do not.

The Ahmadiyya Congregation in Indonesia, as a religious minority group, in reality, gets the most attacks from mainstream Islamic groups who have views that do not agree with the differences brought by the Ahmadiyya group. The forms of human rights violations experienced by the Ahmadiyah group occurred in various forms, such as hate speech, labeling heretical, verbal, psychological, and physical discrimination, to restrictions on access to public facilities for members of the JAI group. Whereas in real life, the Ahmadiyya Congregation in Indonesia is a clear example of a minority group whose constitutional rights as citizens are often not fulfilled by the state. Both in terms of organizing worship, construction of places of prayer, administrative affairs, and other public services (Setara Institute 2022a).

B. Sources and Motives of Conflict Based on Religion in Indonesia

As explained in the previous discussion, the problems faced by the Ahmadiyya Community in Indonesia are complex. Caused by many factors, sources, and different motives that exist and develop in society. Some of the factors that contributed to this religion-based conflict are as follows.

1. The High Bond of Primordialism in Indonesia

Diversity in Indonesia covers almost all aspects of life that can potentially become public sentiment when the existing diversity intersects with each other. This diversity (pluralism) includes differences in ethnicity, religion, culture, language, etcetera. Most members of these groups respect each other and make each other proud. They feel their group is the most significant, correct, superior, superior, and best. This thought arises from the solid values and teachings of each group member. Primordialism occurs when superior thoughts, etcetera, are indoctrinated and exaggerated so that they can have a negative impact. The definition of primordialism in the KBBI is that a person holds fast to everything brought from childhood, including customs, traditions, beliefs, and everything known from the first environment.

Primordialism in this topic connect with the tenacity of teachings brought from childhood by Muslims, which of course, contain many differences. Muslims in Indonesia adopt

several sects. These schools have different bases, so the teachings believed by the adherents of each sect also differ. For example, in the chapter on prayer movements, some believe that the dawn prayer must read the qunut prayer, while others believe it is not required to read the qunut prayer. Another example is when a woman is menstruating or menstruating; some believe cutting nails and washing hair is forbidden. On the other hand, some consider it a myth and not part of Islamic teachings, as well as other differences.

High primordialism causes many people not to be able to appreciate the differences that exist and tend to underestimate other groups who are not in line with them. In this case, the Ahmadiyya group also has different teachings from other Islamic schools. However, people influenced by this high sense of primordialism think that the teachings of the Ahmadiyah are heretical and deviate from the teachings of Islam. As a result of this impulse, they feel the need to get rid of the Ahmadiyya by subtle means. Such as negotiations, or by rough means, such as by committing acts of violence.

2. Identity Politics

Heller and Puntsher (1996) defined political identity as a political concept and movement whose attention focused on differences as a significant political group. Indonesia is a multicultural country where various religions, ethnicities, languages, and tribes live side by side and interact with each other. Political tolerance can only occur in the political conditions of a democratic country because factors such as the structure, system, and prevailing political atmosphere significantly affect the political tolerance of a country (Habibi 2017). Even though Indonesia is a multicultural country with a democratic principle system in its government, there are still groups that dominate or become the majority amid these differences. In Indonesia, the dominant group is Muslims or Muslims. It causes power dominance in various fields of life, both political and social, and cultural.

One prominent example is the President of Indonesia, who is all Muslim, as well as other positions in government that Muslims dominate. Into several groups, Islam divided, including Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Institute (LDII), and other groups whose numbers are not as large as the three groups. Group differences in Islam also lead to differences in the adopted schools, such as the Shafi'i, Hanbali, Maliki, and Hanafi schools. This school has the most adherents, and many other schools are believed by Muslims, for example, the Salafi or Wahhabi schools.

Meanwhile, Indonesia, which applies the notion of democracy in its country's politics, where the highest power lies with the people, takes advantage of the domination of this group. The basis of democracy is the majority vote in determining a decision. The alignment of political actors towards the dominant will benefit their position in the government. Therefore, the government structure at both the regional and central levels is often dominated by Muslims because they represent the most votes in general elections. At the same time, it causes a bias towards certain groups in the political system in Indonesia.

3. Islamization

As a country with a predominantly Muslim population with the most significant number of people following the five other official religions in Indonesia, minorities inevitably have to be more obedient to the rules of the dominant groups. Minorities usually understand some teachings in Islam, such as the obligations and prohibitions for Muslims, without the need to become Muslims or study them. Because these are the things, they hear in the neighborhood where they live during their lifetime. On the other hand, many dominant groups or Muslims generalize their religion's teachings to all religions in the surrounding environment. Without understanding the differences in each religion, many people become intolerant due to their lack of understanding.

For example, during the holy month of Ramadan, many food vendors have to close their stalls from morning to noon and open them in the late afternoon. It is considered an act of 'respect' for fasting Muslims. Meanwhile, the rights of other religions to eat and drink during Ramadan for not fasting seem to be ignored. Another example is when a non-Muslim who wears slightly revealing clothes and passes by his neighbor's house often gets cynical looks and even advice to wear closed clothes because it is considered impolite. On the other hand, it is found only in Islam, the command to wear closed clothes or cover the genitals of women.

C. The Role of the State and Society in Resolving Religious Conflicts in Indonesia

1. Efforts made by the State and Society to prevent the Increased Religious Conflict in Indonesia.

In general, conflict is a case, dispute, or dispute caused by the absence of a common perception between the interacting parties. The parties to a conflict can automatically adjust to each other's circumstances by cooperating or compromising to reach an agreement. However, there is also the worst possibility that they cannot build an established agreement, resulting in conflicts and disputes that will continue and heat up. This condition of not reaching an agreement is happening between Ahmadiyah and non-Ahmadiyah in Indonesia. They still hold fast to their respective understandings. In contrast, the Ahmadiyya are steadfast in their stance and understanding as religious people, and the same is true for the non-Ahmadiyah with their stance.

The dialogues that mediate cases between Ahmadiyya and non-Ahmadiyyas have never come to light because one party and the other still adhere to their respective principles. A bright spot never resulted in a more sustainable conflict, even causing many victims. The aura of hostility arises due to the continued cessation of cooperation between the Ahmadiyya and non-Ahmadiyya parties, which hinders and even causes stagnation in the development of community progress. The ongoing conflict also gave rise to situations or conditions of social disintegration. It even reached the level of national disintegration, severely hampering development in Indonesia.

Conflicts resolve between Ahmadiyya and non-Ahmadiyyas by providing a dialogue forum to open up opportunities for both parties to hear each other's explanations. However, unfortunately, the dialogue has become a forum for judging from the majority, so the forum does not produce a bright spot but widens the conflict and becomes an arena for blaming each other and asserting their justification. The results of the Ahmadiyah forum still stated that the Ahmadiyya were the cause of the violence that befell them because they did not want to change the dogmas and principles that deviated from the teachings of Islam. It is common in forums facilitated or organized by the Ministry of Religion and other social institutions.

In every event of an ongoing conflict, society and the state have an essential role in resolving the conflict. These roles mainly protect victims of the conflict that are at least basis on a sense of humanity or humanism. The sequence of conflict resolution must be carried out comprehensively or not partially, which can start from the description of the conflict to reconciliation and its stages. The basis of the order is the habit of solving problems in a non-formal way and then proceeding with a formal way if the first method does not reach a common ground. Based on media reports, the Indonesian government has only carried out the initial stage of conflict resolution, namely conflict escalation. It means the government has not shown any tension between the Ahmadiyah and the non-Ahmadiyya. It concludes that the government and civil society have not succeeded in carrying out the reconciliation process due to the lack of results obtained from dialogue forums (Hasan and Mursalin 2011).

Besides the absence of a bright spot through reconciliation, other communities and government efforts were coercive against the conflicting parties. The real partisanship carried out by the state can be seen in the Act. No.1/PNPS/1965 and the 2008 Three Ministerial Decree

concerning the Ahmadiyya. The steps taken by the government through laws and decrees have made minority groups or the Ahmadiyah victims of violence and discriminatory acts instead of providing protection. Government and state policies have made the Ahmadiyya a minority that removing from religious and state life in Indonesia. As a result of this policy, the adherents of hardline teachings seem to have legitimacy in launching attacks and violence against the Ahmadiyah in Indonesia. Based on the results of monitoring from Komnas HAM from 2005 to 2006, it concluded that cases of discrimination against the Ahmadiyah were human rights violations, such as the An-Najiya attack in Parung, Lombok, and Cianjur.

The government should launch a more specific statutory regulation to protect religious freedom and act objectively in dealing with cases of violence hiding behind the name of religion, especially by seeking a proper reconciliation of the parties involved. It is the function of the government, and the community can resolve discrimination and violence in religious conflicts. The government must seek massive socialization with the community regarding the basis of religious harmony through public education. Also, carry out dialogues or deliberations related to religion without focusing on one of the parties.

2. Interreligious Multicultural Education

Indonesia is a very diverse country. Clifford Geertz considers Indonesia to be a country where all the cultural currents of the three millenniums flow sequentially into the archipelago brought from India, China, the Middle East, and Europe. In a multicultural society, frequently three tendencies face, namely the potential for chronic conflict, conflict actors who always see it as an all-out war or an all-out war, and the occurrence of a social integration process that is more dominated by one group against another (Iqbal 2014). It is undeniable that there will be conflicts between religions in several regions of Indonesia.

In responding to multiculturalism in Indonesia, religious teaching that still uses a mono-religious model should change to an interest or multi-religious model. It is because religious learning will make someone who turns a blind eye to the existence of other religions and tends to be passive towards religion or even withdraw altogether from the environment outside. In addition, religious learning that is still mono-religious will always be identical to monoculture or a single culture. Religious, moral, and religious learning is also vulnerable to radical ideologies due to the lack of illustrations and holistic variations because the preferred learning method is only standardized tests. As a result, students do not develop into complete human figures with a holistic understanding of the world and only produce alums who are not adaptive to world changes and have the potential to become a single ideology that is easy to mobilize.

Considered the presence of multi-religious and interreligious education necessary to provide enlightenment. Nevertheless, it also provides essential and fundamental for the continuity of the social interaction of humanity or socio-cultural. Indeed, mono-religious, multi-religious, and intelligence learning models are not a level in the learning model, but each of these models has effectiveness in different contexts. The mono-religious education model effectively improves the quality of faith, as is the case with Islamic boarding schools where the students have the same religious background. While the multi-religious learning model is appropriate to be applied to secondary schools, thus allowing students to understand other religions around them. While the interreligious learning model itself is most effective when applied to public universities whose systematic emphasis is on the dialogue aspect.

Through the dialogue process, people will quickly gain a better and more critical understanding based on attitudes and actions considered more appropriate to broaden their religious views. Leonard Swidler assumes that dialogue will change behavior, meaning that the attitude of openness in understanding other religions can affect changes in perspectives, attitudes, and actions towards other religions. The main point is that through actual dialogue, people will continuously self-reflect and re-recognize themselves more intensively from several

or some perspectives. Interreligious multicultural education will provide a lesson on effective methods for forming positive attitudes and shared norms toward religious diversity in Indonesia. The meeting of inter-religious views can be used as an arena to collaborate and broaden views to optimize the personal potential of each religious believer in terms of humanity to create a community situation filled with peace and harmony with others.

4. CONCLUSION

The Ahmadiyya congregation in Indonesia is one of the victims of religious violence and has long lost its rights in terms of religion and belief. Violence against the Ahmadiyya Community results from a complex process, and many cases have occurred. Human rights violations in the form of acts of violence experienced by the Ahmadiyya Community in Indonesia occur in many times, places, and in various forms, ranging from discrimination, and verbal violence, such as hate speech and labeling heretical, to physical violence, restrictions on access to public facilities, etcetera. This religious conflict occurs because the Non-Ahmadiyya Jamaat, the majority and dominant group, considers that the notion adopted by the Ahmadiyah is a sect that departs from the actual teachings of Islam. So, the difference in perception causes the conflict to seem endless. Conflicts resolve between Ahmadiyya and non-Ahmadiyyas by providing a dialogue forum to open up opportunities for both parties to hear each other's explanations. In this case, other efforts accompany these efforts, such as applying interreligious multicultural education in Indonesian public education. The concept of interreligious multicultural education can be an alternative solution for resolving religious conflicts in Indonesia because it opens up opportunities for the creation of dialectical reflective awareness of religion in the frame of diversity.

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