

STRENGTHENING RELATIONS AMONG IDEOLOGIES IN THE MIDST OF RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT CONFLICT IN GLADAK PAKEM JEMBER

Mahillah

Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember

Email: ilayup82@gmail.com

Muhammad Faiz

Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember

Email: faiz_spi@uinkhas.ac.id

Abstrak

Di negara yang multikultur dan majemuk seperti Indonesia, hubungan antar gerakan keagamaan terkadang menemui pergesekan dan konflik. Kajian ini akan menyoroti gerakan Sekolah Tinggi Dirosat Islamiyah Imam Syafi'i atau disingkat STDI Imam Syafi'i yang telah berdiri sejak tahun 2007 dengan nama awal Ma'had Aly Imam Syafi'i. Lembaga pendidikan Islam ini merupakan salah satu lembaga ideologi Wahhabi yang ada di Kabupaten Jember. Menurut kaum Wahhabi, umat Islam berkewajiban untuk kembali ke Islam yang dipandang murni, sederhana, dan benar, yang diyakini sepenuhnya direbut kembali dengan menjalankan perintah dan teladan Nabi secara ketat dan mengikuti praktik ritual yang benar secara ketat. Kelompok-kelompok tersebut membuat mayoritas warga Jember seperti kalangan Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) merasa resah dengan keberadaan kampus STDI Imam Syafi'i yang berideologi Wahhabi. Warga NU merasa terancam keberadaannya sebagai kelompok mayoritas di Jember. Secara ideologis dan religius, Wahhabi dan NU sangat berbeda. Banyak praktik Nahdliyyin yang dianggap sesat (bid'ah) oleh kelompok Wahhabi. Sedangkan menurut masyarakat sekitar kampus STDI Imam Syafi'i berbeda. Keberadaan kampus STDI

memberikan dampak ekonomi yang lebih baik bagi warga sekitar kampus. Karena sejak kampus beroperasi, pendapatan warga bertambah dengan membuka warung makan, rumah kontrakan, dan kos mahasiswa. Konflik tersebut berawal dari perbedaan pemahaman dalam menangkap dalil-dalil keagamaan yang bersumber dari Alquran dan Sunnah. Adanya tafsir, pemikiran, dan pendapat para ulama (ijtihad) telah memicu pemahaman umat Islam. Sikap kalangan NU yang tergabung dalam aksi TOPI Bangsa di Jember menunjukkan potensi konflik yang bisa terjadi kapan saja. Mengingat, baik aparat keamanan maupun pemerintah daerah belum terbukti kuat mengantisipasi konflik terbuka di balik keyakinan yang bertentangan.

Kata Kunci: *Relasi-Lintas Ideologi, Konflik Sosial, Gerakan Keagamaan.*

Abstract

In a multicultural and diverse country like Indonesia, relations between religious movements sometimes encounter friction and conflict. This study will highlight the Imam Syafi'i Dirosat Islamiyah High School movement (STDI Imam Syafi'i) which has been established since 2007 with the initial name Ma'had Aly Imam Syafi'i. This Islamic educational institution is one of the Wahhabi ideology institutions in Jember Regency. According to the Wahhabis, Muslims are obliged to return to Islam, which is seen as pure, simple, and righteous, which is believed to be fully reclaimed by strictly carrying out the commands and example of the Prophet and strictly following correct ritual practices. These groups made the majority of the Jember community such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) followers feel uneasy about the existence of the STDI Imam Syafi'i campus with Wahhabi ideology. NU community feels that their existence is threatened as the majority group in Jember. Ideologically and religiously, Wahhabis and NU are very different. Many Nahdliyyin practices are considered heretical (bid'ah) by the Wahhabi group. Meanwhile, according to the community around the Imam Syafi'i STDI campus, it is different. The existence of the STDI campus provides a better economic impact for members around the campus. Since the campus has been operating, members' income has increased by opening food stalls, rented houses, and student boarding houses. The conflict started from differences in understanding in capturing religious arguments sourced from the Quran and Sunnah. The existence of interpretations, thoughts, and opinions of scholars (ijtihad) has triggered the understanding of

Muslims. The attitude of NU members who are members of the TOPI Bangsa action in Jember shows the potential for conflict that can happen at any time. Considering that neither the security forces nor the local government have proven strong enough to anticipate open conflicts behind conflicting beliefs.

Keywords: *Cross-Ideological Relation, Social Conflict, Religious Movement.*

INTRODUCTION

There have been demonstrations by the majority of Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) Jember members who reject the existence of the Dirosah Islamiyah High School (STDI) Imam Syafi'I Summersari Jember. Members who demonstrated thought the existence of STDI had disrupted the establishment of existing religious beliefs. Most of the STDI campus community, the majority of which are NU, are uncomfortable with the da'wah pattern used by STDI. The climax was on August 3rd, 2018 when members who named their action *Topi Bangsa* (Reject the Nation's Ideology Colonizers) moved to the Jember Regent's office. Among the demands of the demonstrators is the temporary suspension of the STDI institution because it is considered that its understanding has disturbed the surrounding community.

Initially, a representative from the Anshor Youth Movement (Gerakan Pemuda Anshor), Ayub Junaidi, indicated that there were groups that differed from the majority of Jember (NU) members, namely groups that liked to disbelieve and convert NU's deeds. In early 2018, Anshor once asked the security forces and the local government to be aware of the emergence of groups (religious sects) that are intolerant of beliefs and beliefs believed by the majority of Jember members (NU). There are fears from some communities around the STDI campus whose children attend the

institution that someday they will disbelieve and convert their families¹.

Suppose the existence of cult groups that like to disbelieve or deviate from the practice of NU members does not get the attention of the security forces and the Jember Government. In that case, a conflict that leads to destruction or acts of violence is likely to occur².

STDI Imam Syafi'i Jember is one of the institutions with Wahhabi ideology in the Jember district. The foundations of Wahhabi theology were built by an 18th-century fanatic, Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab (d. 1206 H/1792 AD). Abdul Wahhab's central idea was that Muslims had made the mistake of deviating from the straight path of Islam, and only by returning to the only true religion would they be accepted and be pleased with Allah. With a puritanical spirit, Abdul Wahhab wanted to liberate Islam from all the destruction that he believed had undermined the religion of Islam, which included Sufism, the doctrine of an intermediary (*tawassul*), rationalism, Shia teachings, and many other practices which he considered as innovations of *bid'ah*.

According to the Wahhabis, Muslims are obliged to return to Islam which is seen as pure, simple, and righteous, which they believe can be entirely reclaimed by the literal implementation of the Prophet's commands and example and by strictly adhering to the rightful ritual practices³.

¹ Dialogue between researcher and residents around the STDI campus

² Previously there had been destruction of a place that was considered on a Pesantren in Summersari Jember, because the Islamic boarding school was considered to have spread teachings that made hatred towards other groups.

³ Khaled Abou el-Fadl, *Selamatkan Islam dari Muslim Puritan*, terj. Helmi Mustofa (Jakarta: serambi, 2006), p. 61-64.

Members of NU in Jember feel uneasy about the existence of the STDI Imam Syafi'i campus, which has a Wahhabi ideology. NU members felt their existence was threatened as the majority group in Jember. Ideologically and religiously, Wahhabism and NU are very different. So many practices of the Nahdliyyin are considered heretical by the Wahhabis.

This is different from the NU members around the STDI campus. The existence of the STDI campus has a better economic impact on members around the campus. Since the campus has been operating, the members' income has improved by opening food stalls, rented houses, and student boarding houses. In addition, members do not feel that the STDI Imam Syafi'i is creating a riot or influencing members about ideology. Even the existence of the STDI campus is considered positive because the campus often provides rice donations, regularly distributes sacrificial meat, and helps build mosques for members⁴.

Previously (April 2018), there was also a polemic around the campus, namely the members' refusal to establish a secondary school in the area. However, the members' refusal was not related to the ideology of STDI Imam Syafi'i but rather the alleged forgery of citizen signatures.

The conflicts described above originated from differences in understanding in capturing religious arguments, which came from the Qur'an and Sunnah. The existence of interpretations, thoughts, and opinions of scholars, or what we know as *ijtihad*, has triggered friction in understanding Muslims.

The attitude of NU members who are members of the *Topi Bangsa* action in Jember showed the potential for conflict that might occur at any time. The security forces and the local

⁴ Surya.co.id, August 4th, 2018.

government have not been proven to be strong enough to anticipate open conflict (mass violence) behind the conflict of beliefs. Equality of religion does not guarantee the existence of an equal attitude of restraint when facing different interests or differences of opinion. Brotherhood in one faith seems challenging to realize. Unity of religion does not guarantee unity in choosing a way of religion. These differences become the seeds of conflict, either hidden or open.

NU members (especially those in the lower layers) in Indonesia are identified as a community group defending their traditional beliefs. Moreover, the number in Jember is vast. Meanwhile, the existence of the Imam Syafi'i STDI campus is getting more potent because it is supported by members who get the "blessing" of having many students on the Imam Syafii STDI campus, so the potential for conflict can be quite severe.

In the context of the literature review, several studies have been carried out related to the relationship between religious ideologies (Islam), including: First, the research conducted by Didin Qonytha entitled "The Dynamics of Religious Movements (a case study of the post-Sunni Shi'a conflict in Puger sub-district, Jember district)." Second, research was conducted by Ali Maksum and Surwandono on "Analysis of Conflict Acceleration of Islamic Religious Organizations in Yogyakarta." Third, the thesis research conducted by Asyari with the title "Across Religious Boundaries (Studies on socio-religious construction in building harmonious relations between Muslims and Christians in Sumberpakem village, Sumberjambe district, Jember Regency." Fourth, research conducted by Sugiyono about "The Sociology of Religion Perspective (Case Study of Conflict in Kaligondo Banyuwangi), this study reveals the causes of conflict caused by two groups of

mosque congregations." Fifth, Taufiq Amal's thesis entitled "Conflict between religious sects: Case studies of NU members and the interpretation council of the Qur'an in Mediyunan Village, Ngasem District, Bojonegoro Regency."

The research that will be carried out differs from previous research, which lies in its characteristics, both from the point of view and focus. This research examines the problem of conflict of religious understanding, which results in a psychological impact on society so that prejudice arises against brothers and sisters in the faith. The nurtured prejudices have become embers in the husk, which one day can burn the foundation of Islamic brotherhood (*ukhuwah Islamiyah*).

DISCUSSION

ISLAM AND DIVERSITY OF RELIGIOUS UNDERSTANDING

Differences of opinion as *sunnatullah* are something new and considered a threat to Islam and the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. The battle of truth claims and wrong verdicts produces an attitude of intolerance in the lives, not only towards religion. But more than that, also diversity.

Feeling that one's self is the most right and thinking that others are wrong is the root cause of intolerance. Right, it is not because we think other people are wrong. Nevertheless, why is this still happening? Which one is individual or internal consumption, social or external consumption must be distinguished?

According to Abdul Karim Soroush's analysis, the problem lies in Muslims who cannot distinguish between religion and religious understanding. The Qur'an is perfect, but it is equally valid to say that human understanding of religion is imperfect. Religion is constant, while the science of religion is changing. The

Apostle is neither silent nor negligent in his mandate as the bearer of God's revelation, and the human mind is affected by need and neglect. Reason cannot help perfect religion. Reason strives to improve its understanding of religion. The Shari'ah of religion is never equal to human opinion, so it is impossible for conformity or incompatibility between the two. It is the understanding of a human being that may or may not be the same as the understanding of another human being⁵. What is compatible with it is accepted, and what is contrary is removed. From here, each group takes refuge in the removal of those who disagree and throws them into a different area.⁶

On a macro scale, this very pluralist condition has not caused division, especially in the divine aspect (worship and rituality). However, at the non-divine level, it is recognized that there are sects that later develop into conflicts between groups. Perhaps Clifford Geertz is right⁷, who states that: the paradoxical fact in religion is not the divine, nor is it some manifestation of the divine in the world. Whatever the proper form of the truly real, man must be content with only creating an image of him which, if he is a devout person, he considers as an image of the real, and he uses as a guide to connecting himself with Him. For what is it if not an unflappable belief in the eternal?

From Geertz's analysis above, it can be concluded that religious ideas can be a source of conflict. Religious ideas also help legitimize the dominant group's racial position in society.

⁵ Abdul Karim Soroush, *Menggugat Otoritas dan Tradisi Agama*, terj. Abdullah Ali (Bandung: Mizan, 2002), p. 42-43.

⁶ Ali Harb, *Kritik Kebenaran*, terj. Sunarwoto Dema (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2004), p. 47-48

⁷ Clifford Geertz, *Islam yang saya Amati* (YIIS, 1982), p. 67.

Suspicion between adherents of an understanding that has been buried for a long time is so easily exploited by provocateurs and irresponsible parties to create a prolonged conflict. Like dry leaves that burn easily, the issue of religious ideology (understanding) is a sensitive issue for its followers. The slightest friction can make followers emotional. Furthermore, for reasons, fanaticism sometimes makes their actions challenging to control.

CROSS-IDEOLOGICAL RELATIONS AND THEIR ROLE TO PREVENT THE CONFLICTS

Residents around the STDI Imam Syafi'i campus said that initially, this institution was only a da'wah institution named the Imam Syafi'i Foundation. "Who would have thought that they were a Wahhabi group, Ms. Wong, using the name Imam Syafi'i," said Sugianto. Some residents started to suspect a sword logo on the right and left of the nameplate of the Imam Syafi'i institution. However, at that time, there were no members who protested. Because their group never bothered the residents. It was only when the Bali bombing occurred that the nameplate was changed. The Imam Syafi'i STDI Campus was established in 2010 with an operational permit numbered⁸ (Dj.I/375/2010). This institution was originally Ma'had Ali Imam Shafi'i. The location of this campus occupies land owned by Mr. Ahmad bin Ali Jawwaz. An Indonesian citizen of Yemeni descent⁹.

The STDI campus in Jember has attracted many high school and Madrasah Aliyah graduates to continue their education. The students come from the corners of Indonesia. The scholarship program offered by STDI attracts high school graduates. The

⁸ An interview with Sugianto, 30th September 2019

⁹ www.stdiis.ac.id

success of this institution in higher education has made this institution penetrate the level of early childhood education. So a kindergarten school was established and followed by an Imam Shafi'i elementary school. Although relatively new, this institution can attract people's interest to send their children to it. This can be seen from the number of students who study there. What is interesting is that the majority of those attending the Imam Syafi'i Kindergarten and Elementary School are outsiders of the Gladak Pakem area.

THE RESPONSE OF GLADAK PAKEM RESIDENTS TO THE EXISTENCE OF THE IMAM SYAFL'I FOUNDATION

In general, the people around the STDI Imam Syafi'i campus have no problem with the existence of the Imam Syafi'i STDI campus and its community. The majority of residents in Gladak Pakem are Nahdliyin. However, they are not bothered by the differences in ideology and the religious understanding of the STDI campus community, which has a Salafi-Wahhabi ideology.

"The important thing is not to interfere," said Yunita. Furthermore, Yunita said that the people of Gladak Pakem have continued to carry out NU religious traditions, such as Tahlilan, Yasinan, Istighatsah, and other practices. The point is that the community' condition around the STDI campus is very conducive. Even if there is a problem with students boarding in residents' homes, it is not an ideological problem but a general problem, such as when students ride a motorbike, sometimes they are not polite. Nevertheless, people still think it is usual; he said that they are indeed young people¹⁰.

¹⁰ An interview with Yunita, 20th September 2019

Likewise, the story from Laili Efendi, an employee at IAIN Jember, according to him, STDI lecturers and students have never influenced people about beliefs. He is one of the residents who sympathize with the STDI institution. According to him, STDI often organizes events that are very beneficial for members, such as mass circumcision, cheap bazaars, and building mosques. If it is Eid al-Adha, STDI also distributes sacrificial meat to members. Regarding the different religious understandings and ideologies between members and the STDI, so far, this has not been a problem. STDI has never disturbed the religious understanding of the residents. Everything went smoothly, and there was never any significant conflict.

Meanwhile, Sugianto saw that the existence of STDI was different from the members who accepted the existence of the STDI campus. "Currently, the impact on the community's religious traditions and understanding has not yet been seen, but later it will certainly disrupt the establishment of the community's religious traditions and understanding." Sugianto hopes there will be a strengthening of Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah (Aswaja) for Gladak Pakem. So far, residents have not taken issue with STDI's ideology because they need help understanding Aswaja. Sugianto has good relations with STDI and knows several teachers and students. Sugi's house is next to the DIMart Store (STDI's supermarket).

According to the man who is also an employee at the Postgraduate Library of IAIN Jember, the issue of community conflict in Gladak Pakem has never surfaced. The relations between the Gladak Pakem community members are conducive. According to him, the STDI institution is considered to have good social relations with residents. When Sugi's father-in-law died, a representative from STDI gave death compensation to his family.

Although he rejected the existence of STDI, Sugi accepted their gift and was still comfortable living side by side with the STDI campus. There are also members of NU Gladak Pakem who refuse all gifts from STDI and have never once been involved in an event held by STDI. Because according to him, STDI only looks for faces to attract people's sympathy.

Some members who objected to STDI were community leaders from NU Gladak Pakem. Among those who refused were the principal, mosque taker, teachers, and lecturers, who lived around Gladak Pakem. They are a group of people who are very strongly against the existence of STDI. Therefore, they refused all gifts from the STDI campus. Some refuse subtly, and some refuse firmly. For them, all these gifts are one of STDI's ways to silence members, so they do not protest the institution's existence. If STDI's gift is accepted, it is the same as accepting the institution's existence. That is the analysis of members who reject anything related to STDI (Salafi-Wahhabi)¹¹.

From this, it can be concluded that, in general, the majority of Gladak Pakem residents can accept the existence of Imam Syafli'i educational institutions. Those who receive it are citizens who get a "blessing" from the Imam Shafi'i institution or do not question other people's religious beliefs. They are residents who have never or have not felt the impact of interaction with groups with different religious beliefs.

The people who reject the existence of STDI are NU community leaders. This group is represented by members who are very concerned about the teachings of Aswaja NU. STDI, with its Wahhabi teachings, is a threat to the existence of Aswaja and

¹¹ An interview with Sugianto, 7th Oktober 2019

the NU tradition, especially in Gladak Pakem and its surroundings and Jember Regency in general. The appearance or characteristic of the Imam Syafi'i STDI group for groups who oppose it is a nuisance to the scenery in their area. There is a kind of concern from this group that STDI will invade their territory and their religious beliefs. "We are not pleased with the world and the hereafter; Jember is controlled by the Wahhabi group" That is the commitment of the opponents of the STDI institution¹².

POTENTIAL CONFLICTS OF RELIGIOUS UNDERSTANDINGS IN GLADAK PAKEM

The beginning of the conflict in Gladak Pakem was the distribution of bulletins issued by STDI. From here came the statements from people who labeled STDI as "the other". According to residents who reject STDI, the bulletin issued in 2013 invites polemics. In the bulletin, writings prohibited the activities of the Prophet's Birthday, and there were allegations of equating Kyai with shamans. This has become one of the seeds of conflict in Gladak Pakem¹³. The construction of educational institutions often triggers conflicts. The conflict also began with the construction of educational institutions, starting from the STDI campus, Imam Syafi'i Kindergarten, Imam Syafi'i Islamic Elementary School, and Imam Syafi'i Islamic Junior High School. Residents who refuse feel cheated by the establishment of an educational institution belonging to the Imam Syafi'i Foundation. So when the Imam Syafi'i Islamic Middle School was established, people felt the need to move to question the completeness of the operational permit. The same thing happened in Gladak Pakem.

¹² An interview with Yazirul Aziz, 7th Oktober 2019

¹³ An interview with Abdul Aziz, 4th Oktober 2019

Establishing educational institutions is the right of every citizen. The emergence of educational institutions with religious nuances (predominantly minority religious views) poses a threat. Every time the construction of educational facilities (schools) belonging to minority groups, what comes to people's minds is danger. If the community is predominantly NU, then NU members will be threatened with the emergence of educational institutions belonging to Salafi-Wahhabi or other religious ideologies.

It can be concluded that what happened in Gladak Pakem was a feeling of sentiment and dislike of the majority of citizens towards establishing minority group educational institutions. The conflict caused by the issue of the establishment of educational institutions for minority groups in Muslim societies is a complicated and quite sensitive issue. Because what is at stake is *ukhuwah Islamiyah* and the nation's integrity. Conflict occurs when competition to achieve a goal needs proper canalization. Undeniably, the establishment of educational institutions affiliated with religious ideology often leads to social conflicts. It will produce dissatisfaction as the initial condition of conflict¹⁴.

Various social groups in society in an area have their positions that are different from one another. Because a social group has a position, it also has authority. The authority is determined by the position of their social base and the power they have in society to carry out hegemony. NU members and the Salafi-Wahabi group in Gladak Pakem have different types of authority. The strength that exists in each of these groups is their capital to carry out hegemony. If the strength of NU members is

¹⁴ Alo Liliweri, *Prasangka dan Konflik* (Yogyakarta: Lkis, 2005), p. 254.

the majority, then the strength of the Salafi-Wahhabi group is funds and solid groups¹⁵.

The educational institution owned by Imam Syafi'i in Gladak Pakem is a symbol of the strength of the Salafi-Wahhabi group in Jember. The magnificent campus buildings and student dormitories certainly have a motivational aspect as well as the projection and existence of their group. So it is not an exaggeration if some NU figures are inflamed by the splendor of educational institutions belonging to the Salafi-Wahhabi group (STDI campus).

Bazaar activities, distribution of sacrificial meat, and compensation to the poor cannot change the community's social conditions to accept the existence of Salafi Wahhabi educational institutions because there are still pros and cons in the Gladak Pakem community. The pros think STDI has good relations with the residents and has never done anything wrong. Meanwhile, people who are against think that the activities carried out by STDI are an effort to seek the sympathy of the members so that their goals can be achieved. Those against STDI will refuse all gifts from the campus, both teachers and students.

According to Moch. Cholili as a companion for the Gladak Pakem members affected by the invasion of the Salafi-Wahabi ideology, said that NU members understand differences in religious understanding because it is necessary. However, when groups with different religious beliefs behave in ways that offend or criticize their religious beliefs, such as converting the *amaliah* of NU members. "We would not do the violation if they do not start

¹⁵ The statement that the Wahhabi-Salafi group in Gladak Pakem was very solid was obtained from researchers a number of interviews with NU leaders in Gladak Pakem

it. We understand the difference"¹⁶. Ustadz Cholili's view can be used as a reference for cross-religious community groups to maintain behavior that makes groups different from us offended and uncomfortable with our behavior and words.

What became a prolonged conflict in Gladak Pakem was the issue of licensing the establishment of the Imam Syafi'i Islamic Middle School. Of the several cases that triggered the conflict in Gladak Pakem, the issue of licensing for the Imam Syafi'i Middle School is the most complicated case. There has been a middle ground just now.

The issue of the operating permit of the Imam Syafi'i Islamic Junior High School is indeed a complicated issue that has yet to end. If there is no clear solution to the problem, it will lead to conflict between members. The treatment of the officers also seemed excessive. The STDI feels like a criminal group whose authorities monitor every move. Every time there is a graduation ceremony, social service, or other event, there is the deployment of tens or even hundreds of officers on guard on the STDI campus. "Do you want to impress that the City of Jember in general and our location is precarious as if there was a terrible war, even though it is very calm," said Arifin Badri¹⁷. Of the many triggers for conflict between STDI and several NU members in Gladak Pakem and NU members in Jember in general, the polemic of the establishment of the Imam Syafi'i Islamic Middle School occupies a position that is most prone to trigger conflict.

"They are stubborn," he said, agreeing to be temporarily closed, but they are still holding the learning process in class. They trick us into a school without a uniform. When they were

¹⁶ Moch. Cholili, *Interviewed on 20th September 2019*

¹⁷ <https://surabaya.tribunnews.com>

investigated, they did not carry out teaching and learning activities"¹⁸. The attitude of the Imam Syafi'i Foundation is what angered the residents.

Meanwhile, according to the chairman of PCNU Jember, Abdullah, who is more familiarly called Gus Aab, the establishment of SMPI Imam Syafi'i does not fulfill one of the clauses for granting operational permits to educational institutions. Because when viewed from a feasibility study concerning the distance between the school and other schools. It should be noted that the distance between SMPI Imam Syafi'i and Madrasah Tsanawiyah An-Nidhom and Madrasah Tsanawiyah Al-Azhar is, at most, two kilometers¹⁹.

The establishment of the Imam Syafi'i Islamic Middle School under the Imam Syafi'i Foundation has drawn controversy. Some members object because they are considered to teach Islamic understanding, which is intolerant to the understanding of NU members, and their stance is not according to the procedure. MTs An-Nidhom and MTs Al Azhar, closest to the Imam Syafi'i SMPI, also have yet to approve the recommendations as stipulated. Some of the students of the two MTs are members of the Pakem and Kranjangan areas, Summersari District, which also coincides with the background of students who were accepted at SMPI Imam Syafi'i. Differences in understanding make the situation uncomfortable. As revealed by the head of the local community, Mat Said, he firmly rejected the establishment of the Imam Syafi'i SMPI. "Their community has never heeded the presence of the

¹⁸ Interview with Yazirul Aziz, 7th September 2019

¹⁹ www.beritajatim.com

community chairman. Their religious traditions are different from the traditions of the local community²⁰.

However, it differs from what was conveyed by Siti, a resident of Gladak Pakem whose house is right in front of the Imam Syafi'i Middle School. He did not object at all to the existence of SMPI Imam Syafi'i. "The Imam Syafi'i Foundation has its group, meaning that students who study there have the same religious understanding as the foundation. Residents here cannot send their children to school there because their religious understanding is different. As long as we respect each other's existence, I think it will be fine"²¹.

In the observations of researchers, indeed, most of the community of Gladak Pakem does not question the existence of the STDI Imam Syafi'i group. This is in line with what was conveyed by Hauli Haikal²², a lecturer at IAIN Jember whose house is in the Pakem area. Most of the members of Gladak Pakem accept the existence of the Imam Syafi'i group. This can be seen during the TOPI Bangsa demonstration some years ago. Instead, those who rejected their group were people outside Gladak Pakem and also mass organizations affiliated with NU, such as Ansor and the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII).

So, it is not surprising that Kyai Hamid (one of the NU figures in Gladak Pakem) suppressed the members so that they could refrain from participating in demonstrations. What he feared the most was anarchy. "Their group is strong in funding and human resources. their da'wah activities are supported by large

²⁰ www.beritajatim.com

²¹ An interview with Siti, 4th November 2019

²² An interview with Hauli Haikal, 2nd October 2019

funds and managed by a solid group. Meanwhile, we are financially weak and prone to disagreements leading to division".²³

When the researchers asked about freedom in voicing opinions and *fashtabiqul khairoh* (competing in doing good), the answers given by NU figures were almost the same. Their group is strong, while ours is weak in funds and human resources, which are easily broken. So the effort (to demand the dissolution of the Imam Syafi'i institution) is to prevent their existence. If their group is left alone, they may get bigger and stronger. "In time, Jember can become a Wahhabi city," were the words of NU leaders.

In contrast to other NU figures, Sugianto stated that the residents accepted the existence of the STDI Campus even though they did not follow its teachings due to the weak understanding of NU members towards Aswaja's teachings. "People here have never been given Aswaja reinforcement. Most NU members here are ritually NU, doing *yasinan*, *tahlilan*, and other practices of NU members, but ideologically, they do not understand Aswaja." He further said that, in Gladak Pakem, NU figures are busy building their existence; this can be seen from the many mosques and prayer rooms. During the holidays, *Eid al-Fitri* and *Eid al-Adha*, it is evident that the NU members need to be united. Mosques and prayer rooms hold the Eid prayer separately. He further said "NU leaders should pay more attention to their members. So far, NU members in Gladak Pakem do not feel part of NU (organizationally). So do not blame it if the members here are interested and respond well to the social actions carried out by STDI. When there is a mass circumcision event, NU leaders forbid members to include their children. They should introspect. So far,

²³ An interview with Hauli Haikal, 2nd October 2019

they ignore their followers. Why should they be angry when other parties understand the needs of the members here".²⁴

Because of the powerlessness of NU leaders in blocking the actions of the Salafi Wahabi group in Gladak Pakem, these leaders hope that the Jember government will freeze all activities and operations of this group. In essence, we hope they get out of Jember. If this group exists, it means we have betrayed the struggle of the founding scholars of Jember, such as KH. Achmad Siddiq and other scholars. So when Abdul Aziz heard the news that the IAIN Jember campus banned the veil, it was as if he got a breath of fresh air. He hopes that the veil ban also applies in Jember in general. Because if there is a legal basis for banning the veil, their group will automatically disappear. So the NU leaders in Gladak Pekem welcomed when the minister of religion planned to ban the use of the veil and their special pants. Because if there are clear rules, citizens can execute and discipline their group.²⁵

The misunderstanding between the Salafi-Wahabi groups in Gladak Pakem is getting sharper due to the existence of YouTube social media. The lectures of Salafi-Wahhabi figures on YouTube quickly spread in the community. When doing an interview with Abdul Aziz, he showed several video lectures of Ustadz Syafiq Riza Basalamah and Ustadz Khalid Basalamah. Lecture material that touched on the practice of NU members and religious understanding that was considered radical also triggered the increasing antipathy of NU leaders in Gladak Pakem to the existence of STDI Imam Syafi'i. They admit that the STDI Imam Syafi'i group has never bothered or caused problems with the community. The issue of religious understanding has never

²⁴ An interview with Sugianto, 30th September 2019

²⁵ An interview with Abdul Aziz, 4th October 2019

bothered them. So it can be concluded that social media has contributed to clouding the atmosphere of the prolonged conflict in Gladak Pakem, especially Ustadz Khalid Basalamah, one of the teaching staff at STDI Imam Syafi'i.

The factor that triggers the occurrence of cross-understanding conflicts in Gladak Pakem is the problem of the establishment of the Imam Syafi'i Middle School. The Imam Syafi'i Foundation maintains the secondary level educational institution in various ways. Meanwhile, NU leaders and several members strongly rejected the existence of this educational institution. The two sides have yet to reach the meeting point, and a conflict can occur. The tension in the relationship between the two groups seemed to keep coals in the husk, which could one day burn their anger.

The concerns and suspicions of NU figures in Gladak Pakem towards the Salafi-Wahabi group are due to the success of this group in influencing the community. NU leaders suspect the existence of public sympathy for the Salafi-Wahhabi group triggers residents to accept or follow the religious understanding of the Salafi-Wahhabi group. So, many people sympathize with this group.²⁶

There are concerns that if the Salafi-Wahhabi group is allowed to exist, Jember, predominantly NU, could replace it with Wahabi, considering that the Salafi-Wahhabi group is known to be very aggressive and cunning in carrying out their da'wah activities. So one of the efforts made by NU members is to guide how to build relationships with *Salafi Wahhabi* groups. The part NU members who reject the existence of the Imam Syafi'i Foundation, have distanced themselves from interaction with the

²⁶ An interview with Yazirul Aziz, 7th September 2019

Foundation as a form of their rejection of groups with different religious beliefs.

The existence of the Imam Syafi'i Foundation in Gladak Pakem has indeed changed the interaction between residents who refuse and those who accept. As Abdul Aziz felt, relations between members were less harmonious than they used to be.

When there was conflict mediation at the Jember Ministry of Religion, it seemed like the problem had cleared up, but not for Abdul Aziz. The Chairman of the Jember branch of NU, Abdullah was very moderate, so Abdul Aziz assessed that the Imam Syafi'i Foundation had deceived residents by misusing citizens' signatures to permit the establishment of educational institutions. This problem has become the starting point for the anger of the members who reject the Salafi-Wahhabi group, so it appears that the relationship between members who are pro and contra towards the existence of the Imam Syafi'i Foundation is very rigid. At least, that is the assumption of members who are against the Imam Syafi'i Foundation.

The attitude of the people who received the blessing became a stumbling block for NU figures who rejected the Imam Syafi'i Foundation. "We cannot do anything, and it is tough for members to unite to reject the Foundation. So we took the legal route by filing a lawsuit against the legality of the establishment of the Imam Syafi'i Junior High School". that is the expression of Yazirul Aziz.

All efforts were taken by NU leaders, including holding demonstrations in front of the Jember Regency Government office and the parliament of Jember. The demonstration was held on August 3, 2018, on Friday. This demonstration demanded that the Jember Regency Government immediately close the Imam Syafi'i

STDI. The NU demonstration was accepted by the then-chairman of Commission D, Hafidi Cholish. He promised to urge the leadership to immediately hold a meeting to resolve the polemic of the existence of STDI Imam Syafi'i in the Gladak Pakem area, Summersari District. The issues raised in the demonstration were susceptible because they involved issues of ideology and religious understanding.

The demonstration was triggered by the issue of insulting the *kyai* and accusing *shalawatan* and *Maulid Nabi* of being zindik. Members obtained information on this issue from a bulletin issued by the Salafi Jama'ah in Gladak Pakem. According to the action coordinator, Baiqun Purnomo, this action demands that the Jember Regency Government temporarily freeze all activities that disturb the community. The Wahhabi-Salafi understanding that discredits the Kiai (equating the Kiai with the shaman) is very dangerous for the unity and integrity of the nation because the Kiai participated in establishing this nation. Not to mention the statements in the bulletins that cornered and called those who celebrate birthdays and blessings zindiq (a term for people who profess Islam to cover up their disbelief). Even though Maulid has become a national holiday, refusing a birthday is the same as going against the state's rules. So it is natural that the people who participated in the demonstration considered that the Wahhabi-Salafi group was the ideological invader of the nation.

Regarding the residents' accusations, the chairman of the STDI Foundation, Imam Syafi'i, dismissed them. This can be known when he explained the case to reporters. According to him, the Foundation made a policy several years ago allowing students to live outside the dormitory. This policy is intended so that the STDI campus provides economic benefits to members.

Furthermore, Arifin also ensured that none of his students tried to influence Islamic understanding, which was believed by the community around the Foundation. So the issue that the Imam Syafi'i Foundation is closed and intolerant cannot be proven. As for the bulletin, which became one of the triggers for tension in the Gladak Pakem community, it was the bulletin that was issued in 2013, and there were no more problems after being mediated at the National Unity and Political Agency office in the same year.²⁷

Meanwhile, through social media, Ali Musri Semjan Putra, pioneer, and founder of STDI Imam Syafi'i Jember said, "Since we pioneered STDI in 2007 until now, our campus has not had any problems with the surrounding community. We always maintain good relations with the community around the campus. STDI also respects different *khilafiahs* in society. We carry out various social activities for the community with varied activities," he said.²⁸

They took into account the facts in the relationship between Muslims with different religious beliefs and the facts in the field that the researchers got. Then, if analyzed from the theory of religious pluralism, the conflict of religious ideology in Gladak Pakem is categorized as relatively tolerant. This model's tolerance results from the existing relationship pattern, not intensively between groups of cross-religious understandings, especially concerning sensitive theological issues. So, religious groups feel reluctant to discuss issues of faith.

There is still a community perception regarding the conflicts that occur, where the conflicts cannot be separated from the role of

²⁷ An interview with the staff of National Unity and Political Agency (unnamed)

²⁸ www.beritajatim.com

the local government of Jember, Faida. The conflicts are horizontal, but the vertical nuances are evident.

RESOLUTION OF CROSS-IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT IN GLADAK PAKEM

Because the Imam Syafi'i Foundation was considered to have intervened and banned the activities of the Prophet's Birthday and was suspected of equating Kiai with shamans, the *Topi Bangsa* demonstration took place. After the demonstration in front of the Local House of Representatives Jember, the Jember Police Chief, occupied by AKBP Kusworo Wibowo, initiated a meeting between the conflicting parties in the Hall of the Ministry of Religion of Jember Regency. The meeting was attended by the Chairman of the Indonesian Council of Ulama branch Jember Prof. Halim Soebahar, Head of The Ministry of Religion Jember, Busthami, and Chairman of PCNU Jember, Abdullah Syamsul Arifin (Gus Aab), and Head of STDI Imam Syafi'i, Muhammad Arifin Badri. The meeting resulted in several agreements, including not spreading the notion that was believed by other parties to be different. If the agreement is violated, the consequence is a legal punishment under the applicable law.

According to Gus Aab, the issue of belief in understanding will be resolved on the day of judgment. Please discuss but do not influence the understanding of already established others. As for Muhammad Arifin Badri, this meeting was an opportunity for his group to explain and clarify that the Imam Syafi'i Foundation is open to communication. As a minority party, they were open to communication and receiving suggestions from NU leaders. Furthermore, Arifin Badri revealed, "Because we are an educational institution, we are ready to study the themes of NU friends because mutual tolerance must be put forward. This

difference is old. The communication pattern must be softer and prioritize common interests, differences will not be resolved, but the most important thing is tolerance."

Arifin welcomed and was happy with the agreement forum between his party and the NU Jember Regency. According to him, problems that initially looked complicated and led to physical conflicts could be resolved by sitting down together. He further said that this meeting became a whip for conflicting parties to prioritize communication and balanced interaction between the two parties. Although his party had long ago disseminated to his group that several differences in religious behavior had occurred for a long time. For him, Muslims should prioritize bigger things, such as moral decadence and the understanding of liberalism and communism that threatens the Indonesian nation.²⁹

Rational thinking is needed in responding to conflicts between Muslims because all decisions based on an emotional attitude and winning themselves will harm themselves and society. In theory, in every riot or dispute, the one with the most influential group and the most number would win, not the correct one. The measure of a victory is the one who has the power to impose his will on others, even if that opinion is wrong.³⁰ Additionally, in the effort to build peace among Muslims, the problem lies in the availability of breadth of insight so that their minds become open.

Many arguments about whether macro and micro approaches can be integrated into a discussion are still a long debate. It will be irrational if these two dimensions of conflict are

²⁹ www.faktualnews.com

³⁰ H.M. Ridwan Lubis, *Agama dan Perdamaian: Landasan, Tujuan dan Realitas Kehidupan* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2017), p. 150.

studied simultaneously with the same casuistic approach. In the micro dimension, a person's psychological state determines whether the person's attitude or behavior is in conflict. This is caused by various factors and the psychological construction and thinking of the person. If a line is drawn, a person's personal (micro) condition is correlated with society. Then it will indirectly penetrate the macro realm because it is related to society.³¹

The mediation initiated by the Jember Police unanimously resulted in an agreement. However, there are still those who would prefer to accept the mediation results. Their insincerity is caused by prejudice and excessive anxiety. Fear that minority groups will shift their established religious understanding and the invasion of geographical areas in their environment.

Therefore, as stated by Alex Thio in the sociological approach a person's psychological state will influence the policies he takes, even though through mutual consensus, but still in the final decisionmaking depends on one individual core policyholder, and this is very personal bias. This is because in the macro realm if it is related to the state and individual core holders of the decision-making process, they are actors from the micro dimension.³²

The gaps in dissatisfaction or insincerity from one of the parties to the conflict can result in embers in the chaff, which can one day be ignited. Two groups with different religious understandings should be able to open a more intensive dialogue space to be actively involved in the reality of religious pluralism. In other words, each of us is not only required to recognize the

³¹ H.M. Ridwan Lubis, *Agama dan Perdamaian: Landasan, Tujuan dan Realitas Kehidupan*, p. 151.

³² H.M. Ridwan Lubis, *Agama dan Perdamaian: Landasan, Tujuan dan Realitas Kehidupan*, p. 151.

existence and rights of other groups but is also expected to be involved in efforts to understand differences and similarities to achieve harmony in diversity.

CONCLUSION

The people in Gladak Pakem show that humans are motivated to fulfill their basic needs, such as gaining recognition, security, and identity. If one of these needs is not met, individual or group conflict will occur. The conflict in Gladak Pakem was caused by a threat to the identity of NU members and the fear of losing their sense of security if the Imam Syafi'i Foundation continued to exist and develop rapidly. Conflict will end if human needs are met. Values and perceptions play an important role in determining compliance (recognition, security, and identity). The event of a socio-religious conflict in Gladak Pakem is a horizontal conflict with vertical nuances. The main problem is identified in two main things, they are economics and politics.

REFERENCES

- Abou el-Fadl, Khaled. *Selamatkan Islam dari Muslim Puritan*. terj. Helmi Mustofa. Jakarta: Serambi 2006.
- Geertz, Clifford. *Islam yang saya Amati*. YIIS, 1982.
- Harb, Ali. *Kritik Kebenaran*, terj. Sunarwoto Dema. Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2004.
- Liliweri, Alo. *Prasangka dan Konflik*. Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2005.
- Lubis, H.M. Ridwan. *Agama dan Perdamaian; Landasan, Tujuan dan Realitas Kehidupan*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2017.
- Soroush, Abdul Karim. *Menggugat Otoritas dan Tradisi Agama*. terj. Abdullah Ali. Bandung: Mizan, 2002.
- Sugiono. *Memahami Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Alfabeta, 2005.

Wahidmuri. *Cara Mudah Menulis Proposal dan Laporan Penelitian Lapangan Pendekatan Kualitatif dan Kuantitatif: Skripsi, Tesis, dan Disertasi*. Malang: UM Press, 2008.

WEBSITE

www.Surya.co.id

www.surabaya.tribunnews.com

www.stdiis.ac.id

www.beritajatim.com

www.faktualnews.com

INTERVIEWS

Interview with Sugianto, 30th September 2019

Interview with Yunita, 20th September 2019

Interview with Laili Efendi, 1th November 2019

Interview with Yazirul Aziz, 7th September 2019

Interview with Abdul Aziz, 4th October 2019

Interview with Moch. Cholili, 20th September 2019

Interview with Siti, 4th November 2019

Interview with Hauli Haikal, 2nd October 2019