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Expanding The Boundaries of Tolerance in Indonesia

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Abstract

Conflict originates from differences that develop in society. These differences include gender, ethnicity, nationality, culture, social and economic strata, politics, religion, and beliefs, including religious sects. This study aims to determine the resolution of conflicts arising from differences in khilafah between Sunni and Wahhabi schools in East Lombok, Indonesia. This research uses a qualitative approach. Researchers obtain both primary and secondary data related to the problem by going directly to the research object (field research). Data collection techniques included observation, interviews, and documentation for qualitative data analysis in this study, using the flow model proposed by Miles and Huberman. The study's results show differences between the Sunni and Wahhabi schools of thought that developed in the village of Bebidas, Wanasaba, East Lombok, where adherents of each school hold that their respective religions' teachings and practices are authentic. This difference in understanding and practice of religion is the source of conflict. Conflict resolution is necessary to identify solutions that prevent or minimise disputes, thereby avoiding escalation to physical violence. Among other things, disputes are handled through negotiation, mediation, arbitration, and by the local village government. Additionally,

efforts were made to resolve the conflict by raising the tolerance threshold between the parties. This finding also has implications for conflicts originating from other differences that develop in society. Researchers also emphasise the importance of conducting research from multiple scientific perspectives.

Keywords: *Conflict resolution, Khilafiah, Sunni, Wahabi, Mazhab*

Abstrak

Konflik berasal dari perbedaan yang berkembang di masyarakat. Perbedaan-perbedaan tersebut meliputi: jenis kelamin, etnis, bangsa, budaya, strata sosial dan ekonomi, politik, agama, dan kepercayaan, termasuk sekte dalam agama. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui penyelesaian konflik yang disebabkan oleh perbedaan khilafiah antara mazhab Sunni dan Wahabi di Lombok Timur, Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Peneliti memperoleh data primer dan sekunder yang terkait dengan masalah dengan langsung menuju objek penelitian (penelitian lapangan). Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan antara lain: Observasi, Wawancara dan dokumentasi. Analisis data kualitatif dalam penelitian ini menggunakan model aliran menurut Miles dan Huberman. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat perbedaan antara aliran pemikiran Sunni dan Wahabi yang berkembang di desa Bebidas, Wanasaba, Lombok Timur, dimana masing-masing aliran memiliki pengikut yang sama-sama percaya pada kebenaran pemahaman dan praktik agamanya masing-masing. Perbedaan pemahaman dan praktik agama ini adalah sumber konflik. Penyelesaian konflik diperlukan agar mencari solusi agar konflik dapat dihindari atau setidaknya diminimalisir agar tidak sampai ke sisi fisik. Antara lain melalui negosiasi, mediasi, arbitrase, dan penanganan oleh pemerintah desa setempat. Selain itu, upaya juga dilakukan untuk mengatasi konflik dengan memperluas batas toleransi antar pihak-pihak yang terlibat dalam konflik. Temuan ini juga berimplikasi pada konflik yang berasal dari perbedaan lain yang berkembang di masyarakat. Para peneliti juga merekomendasikan pentingnya melakukan penelitian dengan perspektif ilmiah yang berbeda.

Kata Kunci: *Resolusi konflik, Khilafiah, Sunni, Wahabi, Mazhab*

A. Introduction

Indonesia has a lot of diversity, consisting of ethnic diversity, nations, regional languages, religions, cultures, and customs (Bazzi et al., 2017; Fitri Lintang & Ulfatun Najicha, 2022). This diversity undeniably creates differences between individuals, groups, ethnicities, and classes. On the one hand, this diversity is a national attraction and strength, reflected in the motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika." In reality, diversity is often the root of problems and conflicts in Indonesia (Anggraeni, 2022). Inter-ethnic conflicts, such as the Sampit Conflict in 2001; religious conflicts, such as the Ambon Conflict in 2011; and inter-tribal conflicts, such as the Dayak-Madura Conflict in 2001, are examples of conflicts in Indonesia that were caused by differences. Ethnicity, Religion, Race, and Inter-group (called SARA in Indonesia) are the most sensitive issues in Indonesia (Wibisono, 2021). That is why the discourses that are echoed always urge not to offend SARA (Kominfo, 2022; Suyahmo, 2022; Yuliani, 2021). One of the things that often becomes a conflict in Indonesia is religious conflict, both between religious communities and disputes within the religion itself (Hasudungan, 2021; Ottuh & Omosor, 2022; Setiawan et al., 2020).

Internal conflict within the Islamic religion is one of the conflicts that frequently occurs in Indonesia (Amin & Nurdin, 2020; Hakim, 2017; Saifullah & Aksa, 2021). Internal conflict within Islam is an extraordinary phenomenon. Islam is fundamentally a religion of peace and promotes unity among all beings, especially among fellow Muslims (Mawdudi, 2013; MUI, 2020). The meaning of the word Islam itself is peace (Mawdudi, 2013; Wapresri, 2018). Allah SWT has said in QS. Hujurat verse 13 states that humans are created differently, so that they can get to know each other (Shihab, 2002; Shofwan & Munib, 2023). This verse concludes that differences are inevitable. These differences may concern ethnicity, religion, race, culture, social class, physical appearance, or even ways of thinking.

However, people in Indonesia today still do not fully practice Islam correctly (Rais, 2023). The fact that often occurs in society today, especially in Islamic culture, is that conflicts are frequently encountered, which are caused by differences (Sandal, 2021). One conflict arising from differences is the Sunni-Wahabi conflict in East Lombok. The community here previously adhered to the Sunni school of thought. The arrival of the Wahabi sect has sparked quite intense conflict. This situation contrasts with actual Islamic values.

The arrival of the Wahhabi school of thought, which brought Arab beliefs, was seen as a threat to the local community. The Wahhabi sect aimed to make modern Islam more similar to the Islam of the Prophet Muhammad's time (Hamdi, 2021). The Wahabi sect brought substantial funding to Bebidas Village, leading to the establishment of numerous mosques and Islamic boarding schools. This situation subsequently attracted many residents of Bebidas Village to adopt the Wahabi sect. Consequently, the Bebidas community split into two groups: Nahdatul Ulama (NU), which adheres to the Sunni sect, and Nahdatul Waton (NW), which adheres to Wahhabism.

This conflict peaked in 2004 at the Sa'datul Ijtihad Mosque in Bebidas Village and escalated into anarchic clashes in 2006 in Ledang Nangka Hamlet. The problem arose because the community's values, which had initially NU, differed from those

promoted by the Wahabi sect. The indigenous community, which had previously adhered to the Sunni sect, experienced discomfort. This discomfort arose from practices deemed deviant. The conflict was not limited to psychological or verbal conflicts, but also physical ones, including the burning of mosques.

Differences of opinion within a sect are referred to as khilafah. The term khilafah denotes differences. It is further stated that khilafah is a disagreement among the Islamic ummah regarding specific laws and ways of worship (Darda, 2016). Khilafah is natural because each interpreter has a different perception and approach to interpreting a law, provided that the interpretation remains consistent with the Qur'an and hadith. Khilafah can be a problem if it is not in accordance with the Qur'an and hadith, and causes conflict in society (Saprillah et al., 2020). This study aims to analyse the background of the conflict that gave rise to the Sunni and Wahhabi sects of Islam. This study further examines how to resolve differences between Sunni and Wahhabi communities to prevent further physical conflict among residents of Bebidas Village, Wanasaba District, East Lombok Regency.

B. Methods

This research employs a qualitative approach because it requires narrative descriptions of various arguments, discourses, and problem-solving related to the issues under study. Furthermore, qualitative research employs procedures that generate descriptive data, such as written or spoken words from people and observable behaviour (Engle, 2015).

The data source is field research, which involves direct observation of the research object to obtain more concrete data relevant to the research problem. These data sources include primary and secondary data. Data collection techniques used include observation, interviews, and documentation. The interview was conducted with several religious leaders, community leaders, youth leaders and government representatives, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Informant

No.	Name	Position
1	Ustaz Muhammad Nawawi	Religious Figures
3	Ustaz H. Safii	Community Leaders
4	Ustaz Maskuri Gazali	Youth Figures
5	Lalau Atmayaji	Government (<i>Kesbangpol</i>)

Qualitative data analysis in this study utilises the flow model according to Miles and Huberman, which states that this analysis involves three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusions (Engle, 2015).

1. Data Reduction

Data reduction is the process of summarising, selecting key points, focusing on essential points, and identifying themes and patterns. This reduced data provides a clearer picture and makes it easier for researchers to collect further data and retrieve it when needed.

2. Data Presentation

Data presentation in qualitative research uses narrative text. By presenting data, researchers can more easily interpret the results and plan subsequent work based on their understanding.

3. Drawing Conclusions

Conclusions presented in the initial stage are supported by valid and consistent evidence, making them credible.

C. Results and Discussion

This research found that the background leading to the conflict over khilafah among the schools of thought in East Lombok was attributable to three factors: substantial differences in the schools of thought adopted, differences in the understanding and experience of Islam, and mutual blame.

Differences in schools of thought

In the 1990s, the people of East Lombok began to split into two sects. Wahhabis were present in Bebidas village and its surroundings, and the number of Wahhabi Islamic boarding schools in the town increased significantly. The 1990s saw the peak of conflict between Wahhabis and Sunnis, particularly from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Nahdlatul Waton (NW).

"Since returning from Mecca, TGH Husni has taught a different approach to the four Sunni schools of thought: Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hambali. These differences have to do with the hijab, placing God above the arys, and even abandoning the school of thought and returning to the Qur'an and Hadith. This sermon sparked a riot in the village of Bebidas, resulting in TGH Husni's dismissal from teaching. He wrote a letter of resignation, with a copy of which was sent to the Sub-district Head and Babinsa- as the village supervisor" (Interview with Ust. M. Nawawi, 2021).

Interviews with religious leaders revealed no conflict in Bebidas village during the 1990s. The majority of the community at that time remained Sunni. The spiritual leader who brought Wahhabi teachings to the town in the 1990s was TGH Husni. He taught in Bebidas village from the 1990s until 1993. Upon his return from Mecca to continue his studies, he was immediately asked to resume teaching in Bebidas village in 1996. Since his return from Mecca, TGH Husni has taught a different approach to the four Sunni schools of thought: Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hambali. These differences relate to the hijab, placing God above the arys, and even abandoning the school of thought and returning to the Quran and Hadith. This preaching caused unrest in Bebidas village, leading to TGH Husni's dismissal from

teaching. He wrote a letter of resignation, with copies sent to the sub-district head and the Babinsa- as a village supervisor.

Table 2. Differences between the Sunni and Wahabi Schools

SUNNI	WAHABI
Akidah 20 Imam Order Asy'ari (Born in 240 H)	Tauhid Uluhiyah, Rububiyah And Asma Wasifat Susunan Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahab
Follow one from 4 madzhab	No Mazhab
There's bid'ah Hasanah	All of it is a misguided bid'ah
Dhikr and Doa, after Shalat Jamaah	No Dhikr and Doa Jamaah
Following the Salaf scholars who were born in the first 3 centuries of Islam	Following Muhammad Bin Abdul Wahab
Tolerance in furu'iyah/khilafiyah	There's no tolerance in khilafiyah
Qunut for syafi'I madzhab	Qunut misguide bid'ah
Yasinan, Tahlilan, and Maulidan	Yasinan, Tahlilan, and Maulidan misguide bid'ah
Ziarah and do'a in the graveyard	Ziarah and do'a musyrik in the graveyard
Islamizing the infidels	Infidel Muslims

Source: Researcher's Primary Data, 2019

Table 1 presents differences between Sunnis and Wahabis in Bebitas village, both in their religious understanding and in their fundamental practices. These differences between the two schools of thought have become a trigger for conflict. One example of basic worship is prayer. If we examine prayer closely, we will find seven differences between the Sunni and Wahabi sects. 1) The Sunni tradition of praising Allah and His Messenger after the call to prayer. 2) The use of the basmalah in Surah Al-Fatihah. 3) Raising the index finger during tasyahud. 4) The call to prayer twice in Friday prayers. 5) The kunut recitation in the dawn prayer. 6) The wirid after prayer. 7) The greeting after prayer while reciting salawat.

Differences in understanding and experience of Islam

Human history records that conflict stems from differences that develop within society. As long as differences exist, conflict is inevitable and will always occur (M. Yunus, 2014; Wirawan, 2010). On the one hand, these differences become conflicts when they are not understood and properly managed. The emergence of a sense of self-righteousness, mutual blame, and a refusal to accept differences can trigger conflict.

On the other hand, if differences are accepted and understood, they can become a strength. Conflict can be avoided by managing differences in a constructive manner, including through mutual understanding. However, in practice, this is very difficult to implement, resulting in constant conflict arising over differences. One such conflict, stemming from disagreements, is the Sunni-Wahabi sectarian conflict in Bebidas Village, Wanasaba District, East Lombok Regency. This conflict, stemming from differing understandings of the respective sects, is interesting to observe and study through research. Not only is it multifaceted, but it has also given rise to its own historical dynamics in Indonesia, particularly in Bebidas Village.

A school of thought or sect is a set of beliefs held firmly as a guide to a society's relationship with the Creator, with other humans, and with the natural world. The teachings of the four schools of thought are so deeply ingrained in society that they serve as guidelines for all aspects of behaviour and action, making every action inseparable from the beliefs held. From a socio-religious perspective, the school of thought is often used as a justification for the views, ideas, and opinions of an individual or group (Sears & Sapear, 2011) The social conditions in Indonesia, particularly in Bebidas Village, are multicultural and divided into several religious sects, including Sunni and Wahabi.

Each group, whether Sunni or Wahabi, holds distinct views on rituals, religious practices, and interpretations of Islamic teachings. These differences create barriers in social relations between members. Each group appears closed and unable to accept the belief systems of other groups, leading to significant conflict.

The differences that arise between the two sects, between Sunni and Wahabi, tend to cause conflict, and the inability to develop an attitude of respect for each member who differs from them, if not appropriately managed, can lead to an unavoidable level of conflict. This is also often experienced by the community in Bebidas Village, where the majority of the community is divided into two sects, Sunni and Wahabi. Each sect within the community in Bebidas Village considers only its own teachings and practices them correctly, while deeming the other sect wrong. The attitude is evident in criticising one another and in visiting only the places of worship of one's own sect. However, over time, the conflict within the

caliphate has gradually evolved from an anarchic initial phase to an ideological conflict.

The act of blaming

The conflicts in Bebedas village were Wahabi-Sunni conflicts, driven by differences in schools of thought. Due to these differences, the Wahabi sect often blames and declares those who disagree with it infidels, such as those related to grave pilgrimages, celebrating the Prophet's birthday, condolences, talking, dhikr for the deceased, and so on. It is through accusations of heresy or heresy levelled at Sunni practices that non-physical conflicts arise in Bebedas village. The Sunni response to these accusations is to use evidence to justify their actions.

"Through accusations of heresy or heresy directed at Sunni practices, non-physical conflicts arise in the village of Bebedas. The Sunni response to these accusations is to use evidence to justify their actions" (interview with Nukman, 2021)

Almost all conflicts are caused by radical differences in thinking or interpretation of something. This is, as said by Jusuf Kalla, 2018

"Pengalaman Indonesia dan di beberapa tempat lain, konflik berdarah terjadi karena pemikiran-pemikiran yang radikal. Banyak terjadi bunuh diri dan perang dengan atas nama agama" - In Indonesia's experience, and in several other places, bloody conflicts have been fueled by radical ideas. Many suicides and wars have occurred in the name of religion.

Several types of conflicts arise—first, physical conflict, which is essentially a conflict of beliefs regarding religious practice. However, over time, this conflict has escalated into physical confrontation.

"In the middle of the lecture, the Wahhabi congregation felt uncomfortable with the theme of the lecture delivered. The Wahhabi congregation carried out anarchic actions against Sunni leaders, namely by throwing stones at the leaders of the Sunni congregation. This incident triggered anger among the Sunni congregations" (Interview with Ust. Maskuri Gazali, 2021)

The physical conflict that has occurred in Bebedas village between Sunni and Wahabi, namely, physical clashes that occurred between Wahabi and Sunni congregations during a religious study or lecture activity held at one of the mosques in Bebedas village, led by Sunni religious figures with backgrounds in the NU and NW organisations. Midway through the lecture, the Wahabi congregation felt uncomfortable with the theme presented. So the Wahabi congregation took anarchic action against the Sunni leader, namely by throwing stones at the Sunni congregation leader. This incident sparked anger among the Sunni congregation.

Based on Coser's view, conflict is understood not only as opposition to values, but also as discrimination and oppressive behaviour (operations) against the weak (the proletariat). However, Coser also views conflict as stemming from the suppression of self-actualisation. In other words, conflict is a social process that occurs when individuals or groups challenge each other with threats of violence (Hugh Miall, 2011; Mayer, 2010).

The conflict between Wahhabis and Sunnis falls into the category of conflict over values and restraints on self-actualisation. Values considered ideal by each organisation are deemed incorrect, thereby serving as indicators or triggers for the conflict. Furthermore, restraints on self-actualisation by each organisation are one of the implications of the conflict between Wahhabis and Sunnis. Second, non-physical conflict. Non-physical conflict between Wahhabis and Sunnis is motivated by accusations of heresy and even blaming Sunni worshippers for their faith. Based on the conflict in Bebidas village, the conflict between Wahhabis and Sunnis can be classified as a form of destructive conflict. Destructive conflict arises from feelings of displeasure, hatred, and revenge held by an individual or group toward another party. In this conflict, physical clashes occur, resulting in the loss of life and property (Warren & Lauer, 2004).

Khilafiah Conflict Resolution in the School of Thought

Now that we understand the forms of conflict and the factors driving it between the Sunni and Wahabi sects in Bebidas village, we can outline the conflict-resolution efforts undertaken by religious, community, youth, and government officials. These conflict resolutions include:

1. Negotiations are conducted directly by the conflicting parties. It doesn't matter who takes the initiative, because no group can afford to remain in conflict for long.

"Negotiation is critical in conflict resolution because it is a bridge to reach a mutually beneficial agreement or a win-win solution" (Interview with Ust. Muhammad Nawawi, 2021)

Negotiations typically proceed through multiple stages of exploration to identify common ground regarding the source of the conflict.

2. Mediation: Conflicts are resolved through negotiations involving a third party who is not directly involved with the conflicting parties.

"In addition to digging for information, the government's role is also to mediate the parties to the conflict so that the problem does not widen and drag on" (interview with Lalau Atmayaji, 2021)

This option is appropriate when each party lacks reliable communication skills and a strong foundation of trust, necessitating the involvement of a third party as a mediator.

3. Arbitration: A third party not only assists but also determines the fate of the

conflicting parties. Therefore, whatever decision the third party makes, both parties must comply. Arbitration, as a third party, has greater authority than a mediator. In addition to being written in Law No. 30 of 1999, arbitration regulations are also contained in Presidential Decree (Kepres) No. 34 of 1981 and Law No. 21 concerning Sharia Banking. This legal basis demonstrates that arbitration is an effective mechanism for resolving disputes. In addition, the negotiation decision also has legal force like a court decision.

As for the government's efforts after the Sunni and Wahhabi conflict in the village of Bebidas, the village government resolved the conflict when the conflict occurred by bringing in the police. The problem-solving action carried out by the Bebidas village government in resolving the conflict between Wahhabis and Sunnis is by bringing the security forces, namely the police, into the community that is fighting. Following the conflict, the government did not implement preventive measures. The village government's attitude is considered ineffective by the community.

4. Resolutions provided by government officials

Regarding the government's efforts following the Sunni-Wahhabi conflict in Bebidas village, the village government resolved the conflict immediately after it occurred by bringing in the police. The Bebidas village government's problem-solving approach to resolving the conflict between Wahhabis and Sunnis involved bringing security forces, specifically the police, into the conflicting communities. Following the conflict, the government took no preventive action. The community deemed the village government's approach ineffective.

The government also threatened legal action against provocateurs who caused the conflict. In addition to resolving the conflict, the local village government also firmly informed the community that anyone detected as being behind the conflict between Wahhabis and Sunnis would be brought to justice. These government efforts are intended to prevent conflict between Wahhabis and Sunnis.

In addition to problem-solving measures and threats, the government also responded to the conflict by permitting the construction of a new mosque dedicated to Wahhabis. This measure is considered effective in minimising the occurrence of both physical and non-physical conflict. The permitting of the new mosque was granted because both parties had previously frequently committed acts of blasphemy, both directed at Sunnis by Wahhabis and vice versa.

The conflict resolution carried out by the East Lombok regional government (East Lombok Regent) involved mediation, with leaders of mass organisations and religious figures gathered at the regent's office for a meeting led by the regent himself. During the meeting, the leaders of mass organisations and religious figures agreed on seven points. The seven points were agreed upon in the meeting, the main points of which were that all figures agreed to jointly maintain the stability and conduciveness of religious life in East Lombok. The result of this agreement

was the execution of a joint agreement document on paper, witnessed by the East Lombok Regent (Sukisman Azmy), the Dandim (District Military Commander), and the East Lombok Police Chief.

Based on the above government actions in resolving the conflict between Wahhabis and Sunnis. According to Simon Fisher, the steps that the Bebidas village government should take are, conflict prevention aims to prevent the emergence of violence in conflict, conflict resolution aims to end violence through agreement and peace, conflict management seeks to limit or avoid violence through or encourage changes in the parties involved to behave positively, conflict resolution aims to address the causes of conflict and try to build new, relatively long-lasting relationships between hostile groups, and conflict transformation aims to address the sources of broader social and political conflict by diverting hostile forces from sources of difference to positive forces (Alo, Liliweri, 2005).

D. Conclusion

Based on the results and discussion of research on conflict resolution within the caliphate, differences between the Sunni and Wahabi sects in Bebidas Village, Wanasaba District, East Lombok Regency, the following conclusions can be drawn: (1) Differences between the Sunni and Wahabi sects tend to lead to both psychological and physical conflict. The inability to develop respect (tolerance) for members of the community who differ from others, if not properly managed, will inevitably lead to conflict. Conflict resolution is the process of finding a solution to a conflict, thereby preventing escalation or minimising it so that it does not reach the physical level. Several conflict resolution models can be carried out, including: a. Resolution based on the source of the conflict; b. Boulding model, c. Model of cultural pluralism, d. Third-party intervention models. (2) Several factors trigger the conflict between Sunnis and Wahhabis, including their distinct understanding of religion and their differing practices. Each faction often uses the distinctive models and methods of preaching. Wahhabis, with their preaching methods, directly condemn Sunnis as infidels, polytheists, and heretics, thus triggering the conflict. (3) Resolving the conflict within the sects can be achieved through several methods, including negotiation, mediation, arbitration, and handling by the local village government. Furthermore, efforts to resolve the conflict through associative social processes, namely, processes aimed at realising values such as social justice, compassion, harmony, solidarity, and tolerance.

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