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RELIGIOUS CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: A STUDY ON THE ANSOR YOUTH MOVEMENT AND MUHAMMADIYAH IN LAMONGAN, INDONESIA

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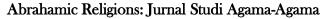
Abstract

Violence in the name of religion continues to sprout within Indonesian society. This article aims to describe the religious conflict resolution model of the NU Ansor Youth Movement and the Muhammadiyah Youth of the Paciran Lamongan Branch. This research employs a qualitative method with a sociological approach to religion, and data collection was conducted through interviews and the study of relevant literature. The findings of this study indicate that: 1) Both the NU Ansor Youth Movement and Muhammadiyah Youth reject violent models of preaching. 2) There is a difference in attitude towards perpetrators of violence, where the NU Ansor Youth Movement tends to adopt a non-accommodative firm stance, unequivocally rejecting and insisting that perpetrators of violence must be punished according to legal statutes, whereas Muhammadiyah Youth exhibits a firm-accommodative attitude, sternly condemning acts of violence but remaining willing to embrace and invite the perpetrators back to a tolerant and inclusive understanding. 3) The media of resolution employed include issuing advisory letters, press releases to the media, dialogues among community elements, conveying deradicalization insights through religious study sessions (Yasinan and Tahlilan), and the formation of Densus 99 Anti-Terror. 4) The conflict resolution model consists of two stages: long-term, aiming to build cadre awareness of the importance of a tolerant attitude and peaceful living through education, training, social and economic empowerment, ideological development, and the distribution of cadres to the public domain; and short-term, wherein preaching programs are executed sporadically and reactively at the time or after acts of violence to prevent the expansion and escalation of conflict.

Keywords: Religious, Conflict Resolution, Ansor, Muhammadiyah

Abstrak

Kekerasan atas nama agama masih terus terjadi dalam masyarakat Indonesia. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan model resolusi konflik keagamaan dari GP Ansor NU dan Pemuda Muhammadiyah Cabang Paciran Lamongan. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan sosiologi agama, dan pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara serta studi literatur yang relevan. Hasil studi ini menunjukkan bahwa: 1) GP Ansor NU dan Pemuda Muhammadiyah sama-sama menolak model dakwah yang bersifat kekerasan. 2) Terdapat perbedaan sikap terhadap pelaku kekerasan, dimana GP Ansor NU cenderung bersikap tegas non-akomodatif, yaitu menolak keras tanpa kompromi terhadap pelaku kekerasan yang harus dihukum sesuai





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dengan aturan hukum, sedangkan Pemuda Muhammadiyah cenderung bersikap tegasakomodatif, dengan sikap keras menolak aksi kekerasan namun tetap bersedia untuk merangkul dan mengajak pelaku kekerasan kembali ke pemahaman yang toleran dan inklusif. 3) Media resolusi yang digunakan meliputi surat himbauan, siaran pers ke media, dialog antar elemen masyarakat, penyampaian wawasan deradikalisasi melalui pengajian (Yasinan dan Tahlilan), serta pembentukan Densus 99 Anti Teror. 4) Model resolusi konflik terdiri dari dua tahap: jangka panjang, yang bertujuan membangun kesadaran kader tentang pentingnya sikap toleran dan hidup damai melalui pendidikan, pelatihan, pemberdayaan sosial dan ekonomi, pembinaan ideologi, serta distribusi kader ke ranah publik; dan jangka pendek, dimana program dakwah dilaksanakan secara sporadis dan reaktif pada saat atau pasca aksi kekerasan untuk mencegah perluasan dan keterbukaan konflik.

Kata Kunci: Keagamaan, Resolusi Konflik, Ansor, Muhammadiyah

A. Introduction

Religious violence has been a grievous blight upon the tapestry of human civilization for centuries, representing a profound paradox within the realm of human beliefs and actions. Despite the high moral values and teachings of compassion, peace, and tolerance that are fundamental to many religions, history and contemporary events alike demonstrate that religious ideologies can also be harnessed as catalysts for conflict and destruction. This dichotomy is underscored by the recurring incidents of religiously motivated violence, which, paradoxically, emerge from within the very institutions that preach harmony and understanding among people.

A.C. Manulang's perspective (2011:151) on terrorism, as a strategy for seizing power from another group motivated by religious, ideological, ethnic disparities, economic disparities, a blockage in citizen-government communication, or the ideologies of separatism and fanaticism, provides a critical lens through which religious violence is often associated with acts of terrorism. This article adopts a viewpoint that religious violence is an act committed by individuals or groups with the intent to harm, injure, or inflict suffering—be it mental, physical, or psychological—anchored in religious, ideological conflicts, ethnic and economic disparities, obstructed citizen-government communication, or the ideologies of separatism and religious fanaticism.

Despite the noble values often associated with religion, such as love, peace, and tolerance, historical and ongoing events reflect the reality that religion can also serve as a catalyst for conflict and destruction. The phenomenon of religious violence, which encapsulates this paradox, has not only persisted through the past but continues to escalate in the present day, with Indonesia experiencing a significant increase in such incidents in recent years. According to the annual report by the SETARA Institute, acts of violence and intolerance remain prevalent within society. For instance, in 2020, there were 180 incidents of violations and 424 acts of violation, with a slight decrease in 2021 to 171 incidents and 318 acts of violation, illustrating a persistent challenge within the





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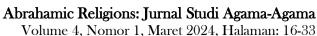
Indonesian societal fabric. SETARA Institute (2021) also reveals that the dominant issues of violations conducted by state actors include discrimination (25 cases), discriminatory policies (18 cases), and accusations of religious defamation (8 cases). On the other hand, the predominant violations by non-state actors involve intolerance (62 actions), hate speech (27 cases), rejection of the establishment of places of worship (20 cases), reports of religious defamation (15 cases), rejection of activities (13 cases), attacks (12 cases), and desecration of places of worship (10 cases). This trend remains consistent with the previous year, highlighting the ongoing struggle against religious intolerance and violence.

The drivers of religious violence are multifaceted, encompassing both internal and external factors. According to Umi Sumbula (2006:5-6), the expression and behavior of violence can stem from both internal and external human factors, as well as internal and external religious factors. Eric Fromm (2004) suggests that an inherent destructive tendency in humans can lead to violent acts when their desires are obstructed, indicating that unchanneled religious ideological desires can precipitate violent actions. Amin Abdullah (2011: vi) elaborates on the significance of understanding religious teachings, distinguishing between historical-contextual interpretations and normative-literal understandings, which can lead to reductionist and often intolerant social-religious relations, further fueling religious violence.

The role of religious understanding in contributing to violence is further emphasized by Qomaruddin Hidayat (2012:159), who notes that in many cases of religious violence, religious beliefs and convictions provide the impetus and zeal for conflict against those of different faiths, often in the name of God. External factors, such as economic, political, social, and cultural motivations, can also infiltrate religious dimensions, demonstrating that religious violence is not solely motivated by religious interests. Haqqul Yaqin (2009) argues that religion often becomes a stake in the political arena, with the complex socio-religious landscape of Indonesia making it fertile ground for sectarian sentiments to be exploited for political gains.

Research by Zainuddin Maliki (2004) supports the notion that socio-economic changes during the New Order regime and shifts in the political constellation have been sources of religious and ethnic violence. The interplay of ideological-political interests, often intertwined with religious orientations, has marked the relations between different community groups, sometimes leading to violence perpetrated by majority groups against minorities. Studies by Martinus Legowo and FX Sri Sadewo (2009) reveal that the process of democratization has not necessarily opened spaces for the acceptance of minorities, with stigmatization leading to conflict and acts of violence.

Harold R. Isaacs (1993) and Jack Snyder (2003) have observed similar phenomena, where excessive nationalistic fervor can lead to counterproductive actions, including religious divisiveness and large-scale massacres. The perpetuation of religious violence is also attributed to political and social marginalization of minority communities, as discussed by Said Al-Asymawi (1987:66), who highlights that the





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emergence of Islamic extremism is notably driven by a crisis of faith in national, religious, and political institutions. Despite the core teachings of peace and non-violence in all religions, including Islam, the reality of religious violence presents a stark contrast, raising questions about the role of religious organizations, such as NU-Muhammadiyah, especially among the youth groups (GP Ansor NU and Pemuda Muhammadiyah), in fostering a peaceful society in Indonesia. Given this backdrop, the focus of this article is to describe the perspectives and conflict resolution models employed by GP Ansor NU and Pemuda Muhammadiyah Paciran Lamongan.

B. Method

This study adopts a qualitative method focusing on the sociology of religion approach as outlined by Bungin (2003:66). It aims to describe and understand the dynamics of social-religious relations in the Pantura community, specifically focusing on how GP Ansor NU and Pemuda Muhammadiyah comprehend and respond to acts of religious violence. As the primary source of information, this research involves the administrators of GP Ansor NU and the Pemuda Muhammadiyah Branch of Paciran Lamongan as the main informants. Data were collected through a series of in-depth interviews, enabling the comprehensive gathering of insights regarding the perspectives and strategies adopted by both organizations in addressing issues of religious violence. Data analysis was conducted through a multidisciplinary descriptive-sociological approach. This approach ensures that the interpretations and conclusions generated accurately and deeply reflect the complexity of the phenomenon under study.

C. Result and Discussion

1. An Overview of the Paciran Community

Historically, Paciran (North Coast) has been one of the early central routes for the spread of Islam in Java, led by Sunan Drajat, specifically in the Drajat area of the Paciran District. Thus, it is not surprising that the Paciran region boasts a high Islamic culture with very strong religious ties. This is evident in the proliferation of religious organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, Al Irsyad, and FPI. Among these socio-religious organizations, the development of Muhammadiyah in this area has been faster and more significant than in other areas of Lamongan. According to Faturrahim (2006), Paciran has the highest number of Muhammadiyah adherents compared to other regions in East Java, and even Indonesia.

This situation has undergone drastic changes with the influx of external information through print and electronic media, and the behavior of young people who study across Indonesia, bringing urban beliefs and behaviors. Moreover, the behavior of outsiders working in the industry, bringing their more relaxed regional traditions, when meeting the religious community of Paciran, has led to cultural acculturation or assimilation.





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According to Nafik, this cultural acculturation has impacted the religious behavior of the Paciran community, becoming more relaxed. For example, previously, Paciran women felt ashamed and were the subject of neighborhood gossip if they left the house without a hijab. However, it is now common for women to leave the house without a hijab, with neighbors being apathetic (Interview, 13/10/2013). The phenomenon of socio-cultural shifts in the Paciran community has generally led to changes in socio-religious behavior.

According to Max Weber (2012), the change from traditional-agrarian-magical community traditions to industrial-capitalistic-rational traditions results in cultural shock in all aspects of community life, including social, cultural, and religious aspects. Consequently, many new social, cultural, and religious behaviors that contradict old practices have emerged in the community.

Generally, the socio-cultural character of the coastal communities of the North Coast (Paciran) is religious, dynamic, open, and firm. According to Wahyono (2001:19), the character of coastal communities is open, firm, and egalitarian. Coastal community characteristics differ from the characteristics of agrarian or farming communities. In terms of income, farmers have controllable earnings due to predictable harvest patterns, allowing them to determine the desired income from their crops or livestock.

In contrast, the livelihood of coastal communities, dominated by fishing, is unpredictable. Fishermen struggle with the sea to earn a living, so their desired income is uncontrollable. They face open access resources and high risks. This makes coastal communities, like fishermen, have a firm, hard, and open character.

According to Wahyono (2001:20), the characteristics of coastal communities include intelligence and a respect for knowledge. This can be seen in aspects of knowledge, theological beliefs, and the social position of fishermen. From the knowledge aspect, coastal communities are a step ahead in astronomy. In terms of beliefs, they are still influenced by mysticism, as seen in the tradition of sea festivals or "sedekah laut" intended for safety and thanksgiving for sea harvests. However, this tradition is being abandoned, especially by Muhammadiyah fishermen. In terms of social position, most fishermen are generally still living in poverty.

According to Nur Syam (2001:22), the coastal community (Paciran) shows several characteristics: a tendency towards straightforwardness, spontaneity, the use of informal language (ngoko), relatively coarse arts, a tendency towards puritanical Islam, and high mobility. Additionally, the lifestyle of the Javanese coastal people tends to be extravagant and showy. In resolving issues, they prefer not to beat around the bush. The social life pattern tends to be egalitarian, showing more respect for informal figures like Kyai than for government officials. This character also influences the character of NU and Muhammadiyah members in Paciran, characterized as firm, egalitarian, open, fanatic, hardworking, and intelligent, or as Nur Syam (2001) terms it, "Muhammadiyah Tus" and "NU Tus."





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The peaceful, comfortable, and tolerant conditions of Paciran have been disturbed by the preaching activities of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) in the Paciran area, aimed at eradicating immorality in the North Coast. According to Farid (Chair of GP Ansor NU), the current condition of Paciran has shifted towards more frequent conflicts and religiously nuanced violence, attributed to the presence of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) in Paciran. This marks a significant change from the past two decades (around the 2000s) when gang-related violence was rare (Interview, 5/10/2013).

The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) of Paciran, Lamongan, was officially established as a Community Organization (Ormas) on August 18, 2008, in Paciran. The establishment of FPI in Paciran was significantly influenced by the Forum Ukhuwah Islamiyah Pantura Lamongan (FUIPL), led by Zainal Anshori, an alumnus of Pesantren YTP Kertosono and IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

According to Anshori (Chair of FPI Paciran), the emergence of FPI in Paciran was a historical necessity and inevitability. This was due to the condition of the Paciran community engaging in immoral acts without shame, even deliberately, and the organized network of immorality, which had even colluded with state apparatus, such as drug networks allegedly backed by police officers (Sholihul Huda, 2011).

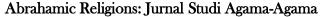
Anshori stated in Huda (2011: 56) that the goal of FPI in Paciran is the implementation of Islamic teachings in the Paciran community. The primary objective is to safeguard the morals and behavior of the community from immoral acts. The actions of FPI in Paciran in this context depend on the dynamics and escalation of immorality within the community. Thus, if the level of immorality in the community is high, FPI's response will be more vigorous and stricter, and vice versa, if the level of immorality decreases, FPI's response will also diminish.

2. Muhammadiyah and Ansor Youth Movement

a. Muhammadiyah in Paciran

Muhammadiyah Youth is an autonomous organization within Muhammadiyah, comprising young Muslims who endorse the vision and mission of Muhammadiyah. The objective of Muhammadiyah Youth is to gather, foster, and mobilize the potential of young Muslims to cultivate cadres for the Association, the community, and the nation, thereby achieving Muhammadiyah's goals. According to the Muhammadiyah Youth (2012), the purpose of Muhammadiyah, as stipulated in Article 6 of its Constitution, is "to uphold and elevate the Islamic faith to realize a genuinely Islamic society" (Haedar, 2007:9). A truly Islamic society is one where life is inspired by the spirit of the Quran and Hadith, characterized by progressiveness, dynamism, noble morality, and tolerance towards all societal elements.

Historically and culturally, the presence of Muhammadiyah Youth in Paciran is inseparable from the early history of Muhammadiyah's introduction and growth in Paciran, Lamongan. Organizationally, Muhammadiyah Youth was formally established around the 1965-1970s, notably led by Mas'udi Ridwan from Blimbing. According to Afnan Nafik (Secretary of PCPM), the inception of Muhammadiyah Youth stemmed





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from the cultural activities of young Muhammadiyah members in the Blimbing-Paciran area, where Blimbing was a Special Branch of Muhammadiyah in Lamongan at that time (Interview, 19/10/2013).

b. Anshor in Paciran

The Ansor Youth Movement, one of the autonomous bodies (Banom) of Nahdlatul Ulama, comprises young NU members. Initially named Ansoru Nahdlatul Oelama (ANO), it was renamed to the NU Ansor Youth Movement in the NU constitution and by-laws, established on 10 Muharram 1353 Hijriyah or April 24, 1934, in Banyuwangi, East Java, indefinitely. The organization's headquarters is located in the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia.

The Ansor Youth Movement, adhering to the Islam Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah creed, follows methodologies in jurisprudence from one of the four major schools: Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, or Hanbali; theology by Abu Hasan Al-Ash'ari and Abu Mansur Al-Maturidi; Sufism by Al-Ghazali and Junaidi Al-Baghdadi; and political thought by Al-Mawardi. The Movement's foundation rests on the belief in God Almighty, just and civilized humanity, the Unity of Indonesia, democracy guided by wisdom in deliberation/representation, and social justice for all Indonesians.

Characterized by its youth, societal, national, and religious nature, the NU Ansor Youth Movement operates democratically, with sovereignty in the hands of its members, fully enacted by the Congress (pw-gp-ansor-dki-jakarta.blogspot.com/2011). The objectives of the NU Ansor Youth Movement are: 1) To shape and develop resilient Indonesian youth as national cadres with faith and piety towards Allah SWT, embodying noble personalities, virtuous morals, health, skills, patriotism, sincerity, and righteous deeds. 2) To uphold the teachings of Islam Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah, adhering to the methodology of one of the four schools within the framework of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. 3) To actively and critically contribute to national development towards realizing the ideals of an independent, just, prosperous, humane, and dignified Indonesia, blessed by Allah SWT.

The early history of the NU Ansor Youth Movement in Paciran is closely linked to the presence of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Paciran. According to Farid (Chair of GP Ansor), the Movement's inception in Paciran originated from the anti-Communism movement in the 1960s, with its Banser (Volunteer Corps) playing a pivotal role in combating the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) affiliates. This effort was in collaboration with the NU Paciran movement (Interview, 22/9/2013). As detailed in Hersri Setiawan's book (2003), "Negara Madiun," the NU Ansor Youth Movement, through its Banser, participated in resisting and eradicating PKI networks across Indonesia, including Madiun.

The preaching role of the NU Ansor Youth Movement in Paciran, as outlined in their work program, does not solely focus on the issue of religious violence. According to Ahmad Farid (Chair of GP Ansor NU), the presence of the NU Ansor Youth Movement in Paciran aims to provide enlightenment for all aspects of community life,



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from religious, social, cultural, intellectual, artistic, legal issues, and beyond, grounded in the ideology of Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah (Aswaja). This approach seeks to foster a civilization that respects diversity, promotes peace, and encourages a harmonious coexistence among all community members (Interview, 22/9/2013).

3. Conflict Resolution Model: Response to Religious Violence Actions

a. Muhammadiyah Youth in Paciran

According to Afnan Nafik (Secretary of PCPM), the preaching program of Muhammadiyah Youth in Paciran does not solely focus on addressing religious violence within the community. This is because the Muhammadiyah Youth movement encompasses the entire potential and issues faced by young Muslims in Indonesia, ranging from economic, educational, intellectual, cultural, energy, sports, artistic, religious, health, environmental conservation, to political dynamics (Interview, 20/10/2010).

Masrur (Chair of PCPM) notes that although the specific programs of Muhammadiyah Youth do not exclusively concentrate on religious violence, there is a strong commitment that all preaching programs aim to establish a civilized societal order. This entails fostering a society built on mutual respect and appreciation for differences (tasammuh), a balanced approach (tawazzun), and continuously developing a positive and dynamic spirit and behavior towards goodness (fastabiqul khairat), as well as constantly advocating for righteous acts and advising against sins (munkar) (Interview, 19/10/2013).

According to Afnan Nafik, the general preaching program of Muhammadiyah Youth in building a peaceful society without violence is carried out in two phases:

1) Long-Term Conflict Resolution Model

This approach is a long-term oriented step towards developing a peaceful society without violence, targeting the cultivation of self and soul awareness about the importance of living peacefully, tolerating others, and understanding the dangers of religious violence to human civilization. This is achieved through awareness-raising efforts such as educational processes, training, social empowerment, economic independence development, and communication networking. The role or stages of long-term preaching by Muhammadiyah Youth in building a peaceful society (rahmatalil'alamin) without violence are illustrated in the table:

Table 1. Forms and Media of Conflict Resolution by Muhammadiyah Youth Long-Term

No.	Form of	Medium of Movement	
	Movement		
1	Organizational	Baitul Arqom Dasar (BAD), which includes cadre education	
	Cadre	for members and sympathizers of Muhammadiyah Youth,	
	Education	covering Muhammadiyah organization strengthening	



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		materials, the peaceful approach of Muhammadiyah's		
		preaching model, and strategies for developing a civil society		
		in Indonesia.		
2	Religious and	Diklat Dai/Mubaligh Muda Muhammadiyah, focusing on		
	Ideological	strengthening Muhammadiyah's ideology and preaching		
	Preaching	strategies for rahmatalil'alamin in the community.		
	Training			
3	Economic	Entrepreneurship Training, internships at Muhammadiyah's		
	Empowerment	AUM or businesses owned by Muhammadiyah members,		
		formation of Farmers and Fishermen Groups, Livestock		
		Farmers Groups, and Youth Cooperatives.		
4	Facilitation of	Channeling unemployed youth to become overseas workers		
	Employment	through official PJTKI, educators (teachers and lecturers) in		
	Opportunities	Muhammadiyah's educational ventures, journalists in mass		
		media (SINDO, Matan, Suara Muhammadiyah, Jawa Pos).		
5	Distribution in	Placing members in Executive, Legislative, and Judicial		
	Political and	institutions (DPR/DPRD, Mayors/Regents, General Election		
	Public	Commission (KPU), Election Supervisory Committee		
	Positions	(Panwaslu), Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI)).		

This model demonstrates Muhammadiyah Youth's comprehensive approach towards fostering a peaceful, tolerant, and dynamic society by addressing a broad spectrum of developmental areas, from education and economic empowerment to political participation, ensuring a well-rounded strategy for conflict resolution and societal advancement.

2) Short-Term Conflict Resolution Model

This model entails the immediate, temporal, sporadic, and reactive development of a non-violent society at the moment religious violence occurs within the community. According to Afnan Nafik, this role is necessary (for quick, tactical action on the ground) to prevent the spread of violence throughout the community. This is crucial as religious sentiment in the North Coast community is highly sensitive, easily provoking individuals into violent actions, given the strong adherence to religious beliefs among the people of Paciran.

The forms and media of preaching used by Muhammadiyah Youth in Paciran in response to acts of violence (e.g., the clash between the residents of Paciran and members of the FPI on August 12, 2013, in Gowah, Blimbing Paciran) are detailed in the following table:



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Table 2. Forms and Media of Short-Term Conflict Resolution by Muhammadiyah Youth

No.	Form of Movement	Media of Movement	
1	Direct Statement to	Press Release/Announcements including:	
	Government and Security Officials	 a. Encouraging security forces (Police) to take persuasive and dialogic actions b. Urging government officials (District and Village) to provide enlightenment through balanced and neutral information, not favoring any group c. Promoting youth organizations, especially Karang Taruna Blimbing and Gowah, to create community reflection and reconciliation events, inviting all elements of the Paciran community d. Reiterating encouragement for security forces and government officials to pursue balanced enlightenment and not to side with any group e. Promoting community reconciliation efforts among youth organizations. 	
2	Encouraging Active Involvement of Muhammadiyah Youth Branch Leaders (Blimbing) in Correcting Misinformation	Press releases to Radar Bojonegoro to clarify and provide balanced information about the violence.	
3	Direct Communication with NU Ansor Youth Movement in Paciran	Utilizing discussions/dialogues to reach a consensus on addressing violence in Paciran, especially regarding plans to deploy additional Banser forces from outside Paciran, which could be counterproductive to peace efforts.	
4	Audience with Local Government	Organizing community forums in Paciran to bring together both parties involved in violence for dialogue.	
5	Advocacy Among Families Involved in Violence	Legal support by soliciting assistance from Muslim lawyers (Mahendarta), aiming for a swift resolution of the issue.	

Muhammadiyah Youth advocates for future efforts to prevent the recurrence of violence in Paciran, suggesting several recommendations: 1) Reintegrating former FPI members who were once active in Muhammadiyah Youth, considering their historical cultural and structural involvement. 2) Encouraging the implementation of Village Regulations (PERDES) related to the prohibition of the circulation and sale of narcotic



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drugs, specifically karnopen, in the Blimbing and Kandang Semangkon areas. 3) Urging the National Narcotics Agency (BNN) of Lamongan and the police to intensify raids and eradicate the circulation of karnopen narcotics in the Paciran area. (Afnan Nafik, Interview, 2019)

b. Ansor Youth Movement in Paciran

The NU Ansor Youth Movement implements a program to prevent religious violence in Paciran by establishing two phases of resolution:

1) Long-Term Conflict Resolution.

The long-term resolution aims to create and develop a moderate (tawasuth), advanced, peaceful, tolerant (tasammuh), mutually supportive (tawazzun), tranquil, harmonious, prosperous, intelligent, and religiously observant society, or in other terms, a "mutamaddin" (civil society) based on the ideology of Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah (Aswaja). For a clearer understanding of the NU Ansor Youth Movement's long-term stages in building a non-violent society, refer to the table:

Table 3. Long-Term Conflict Resolution Model of NU Ansor Youth Movement in Paciran

No.	Institution	Program	
1	Education & Cadre Institution	a. Reinforcing the ideology of Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah annahdliyah among administrators and members.b. Conducting education and cadre training at the PAC and PR levels.	
2	Preaching Institution and Pesantren Development	 a. Promoting understanding and implementation of Ahlussunah Wal Jama'ah values in community life. b. Encouraging the awareness of NU Ansor Youth Movement cadres and members towards their societal responsibilities, both individually and collectively. 	
3	Islamic Thought Institution	 a. Conducting critical and systematic studies for the development of Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah in religious, political, economic, democracy, human rights, gender, and cultural fields by following one of the madhhab methodologies: Hanbali, Shafi'i, Maliki, and Hanafi. b. Disseminating theological principles of Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah in religious, social, national, and state life. 	
4	Economic Empowerment and SMEs Institution	 a. Enhancing economic education and training activities for NU Ansor Youth Movement cadres and members in Paciran, especially in business management, capital, production, finance, and product marketing. b. Developing entrepreneurial and business spirit among NU Ansor Youth Movement cadres and 	



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5	Law, and Human Rights Institution	c. Supporting and assisting the economic endeavors of productive economic institutions owned by NU Ansor Youth Movement cadres and members in Paciran to access facilities, especially licensing, business credit, information, and market access, both domestically and internationally. d. Enhancing cooperation networks between productive economic institutions owned by NU Ansor Youth Movement cadres and members and the business world, both state-owned and private. a. Enhancing legal awareness among NU Ansor Youth Movement members in Paciran and advocating for the supremacy of law. b. Establishing advocacy functions in public services and policies. c. Improving cooperation with the Government, Agencies, and related Organizations in legal &
6	Tourism, Culture, and Sports Institution	 human rights advocacy efforts. a. Participating in developing local, regional, and national culture with democratic, civilized, ethical, and moral characteristics, filtering foreign cultures to align with the dignity of society and the welfare of the nation and State. b. Actively participating in enhancing the quality of arts and promoting sports to strengthen national identity. c. Supporting the development of talents, interests, and abilities of NU Ansor Youth Movement cadres and members in Paciran.
7	Defense and Security Institution (ex-officio Satkoryon Banser)	 a. Enhancing the vision, knowledge, and skills of Banser (Paramilitary-oriented to civilian-oriented with a humanitarian focus). b. Increasing the sensitivity of Ansor cadres and the General Ansor towards societal issues. c. Shifting Banser's paradigm from a paramilitary tendency to a focus on addressing social issues.

This structured approach reflects the NU Ansor Youth Movement's comprehensive strategy to foster a civil society that embodies moderation, peace, and tolerance, underpinned by the principles of Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah.

2) Short-Term Conflict Resolution

Direct interventions on the ground at the time of or after incidents of religious violence aim to localize the situation to prevent it from escalating or expanding. An instance of such violence occurred between the residents of Paciran and members of FPI



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Paciran on August 12, 2013, in Gowoh Blimbing Paciran. Several roles and media were utilized by the GP Ansor NU Paciran in responding to this violence, as can be seen in the table:

Table 4.
Short-Term Conflict Resolution Model by GP Ansor NU Paciran

NO	Role	Media
1	Building Communication/Synergy	Organizing meetings to discuss responses to
	with other Youth Organizations	acts of violence in Paciran to prevent
	(Muhammadiyah Youth, KNPI,	escalation
	Karang Taruna)	
2	Issuing Appeals to the General	Pamphlets warning against the dangers of
	Public	radical Islamic ideologies that preach
		violent proselytizing
3	Issuing Appeals to Government	Letters of Statement on the acts of violence
	Authorities	conducted by FPI, sent to government
		authorities (District and Police).
6	Conducting Internal Socialization	Through gatherings for Yasin-Tahlil
	about the Dangers of Radical	recitation and Istighosah
	Islamic Ideology	
7	Providing Islamic Insight on the	Islamic study sessions themed "Rejecting
	Concept of Islam as a Mercy to	Religious Radicalism" on July 28, 2013, at
	the Worlds	PP. Maslakul Huda Dengok Paciran
8	Maximizing the Role of Banser	Formation of Densus 99 Anti Terror as a
	(NU's Volunteer Corps)	continuation of the GP Ansor Central
		Program.

According to Ahmad Farid (Chair of GP Ansor), to prevent future incidents of religious violence, two approaches are necessary: First, a synergistic effort among all elements of the Islamic community in Paciran (Muhammadiyah Youth, Persis, LDII, NU, FPI) is required to socialize/preach about Islam as a mercy to all worlds to every segment of Paciran society. Second, law enforcement against perpetrators of violence must be decisive and accurate (Interview, 6/10/2019).

4. The Position of Youth and Actions of Religious Violence

Observing field information, it appears that both the GP Ansor NU and Muhammadiyah Youth of Paciran possess a high sense of commitment and play a significant role in conducting preaching activities or movements aimed at the development of a civil society. Borrowing the term from Muhammadiyah, this is referred to as a "prime society" or, as popularly known among the Nahdliyin (NU), mujtama' al-mutamaddin (Sazali, 2005). Essentially, the meanings of these terms converge, aligning with Nur Kholis Majid's view (1998) that a civil society is one of



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quality and civility, flourishing with attitudes of mutual tolerance. This entails the willingness of individuals to gracefully accept all aspects of difference, prohibiting any party (majority or minority) from engaging in intimidation, co-optation, regimentation, and discrimination. Such actions would lead to lawlessness with costly social repercussions for human civilization.

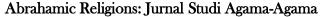
Fundamentally, the leadership of GP Ansor NU and Muhammadiyah Youth of Paciran shares a substantive view against legitimizing religious violence, generally disagreeing with and tending to reject violent methods in preaching. They favor an inclusive perspective, acknowledging differences as a divine natural order that cannot be avoided. Therefore, the most crucial aspect of difference is mutual respect and tolerance (tolerance), as each group understands truth differently. Imposing one group's understanding as the absolute truth upon another, especially through violence, is unacceptable. This view is reflected in the roles played by GP Ansor NU and Muhammadiyah Youth in preventing religious violence in the Paciran area.

Despite differences in approaches to handling perpetrators of violence, Muhammadiyah Youth tends to adopt a firm-accommodative stance, unequivocally rejecting violence in the name of religion by anyone for any reason. According to Masrur Hadi (Chair of PCPM), Islam (read: Muhammadiyah) never advocates for violence in preaching. Yet, they remain accommodating, willing to rehabilitate and educate perpetrators towards the correct path, embracing them back into active participation within Muhammadiyah Youth.

Conversely, GP Ansor NU Paciran adopts a firm-nonaccommodative stance, vehemently rejecting violence that hijacks religious interests to justify its actions. According to Ahmad Farid (Chair of GP Ansor NU), the Aswaja (Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah) ideology of NU does not condone preaching through violence. Instead, it encourages the development of tolerance (tasammuh), balance (tawazzun), and moderation (tawasuth) towards other groups. Thus, they are intolerant of perpetrators of violence (non-accommodative), advocating for strict legal action without bias.

Muhammadiyah Youth and GP Ansor NU play a significant role in preventing religious violence in Paciran, evident from various programs and media utilized in fostering a peaceful society (rahmatalil'alamin) without violence. Ahmad Farid believes that a peaceful society is one where a culture of mutual respect (tasammuh) for differences thrives. Thus, the hardline and abrasive preaching model of FPI detracts from a peaceful societal order. He attributes the emergence of violence in the name of religion to the proliferation of transnational jihadist ideologies (including FPI ideology) in Indonesia during the reformation era, including in Paciran.

A firm-nonaccommodative stance is essential, reflecting a commitment to reject and condemn acts of violence under any religious pretext, thereby embodying resistance (non-accommodative) against religious radicalism by any group (including FPI). This stance is evident as GP Ansor NU Paciran prepares to establish the DENSUS 99 ANTI





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TERROR team in the region and intensifies the concept of religious deradicalization as a countermeasure to radical-fundamentalist ideologies.

The views and attitudes displayed by GP Ansor NU are part of implementing the Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah Nahdliyah ideology. The teachings of Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah (Aswaja) in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) highly value and encourage its members to develop three attitudes: mutual assistance (tawazzun), respect for differences/tolerance (tasammuh), and moderation (tawasuth), embodying NU's moderate approach to addressing societal differences and issues (Zamakhsari, 1994).

The perspectives and attitudes displayed by the NU Ansor Youth Movement are integral to the implementation of the Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah Nahdliyah ideology. The teachings of Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah (Aswaja) within Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) highly value and encourage the Nahdliyin community to develop three attitudes: mutual assistance (tawazzun), respect for differences/tolerance (tasammuh), and moderation (tawasuth). These principles serve as the foundational stance of NU in addressing societal differences and issues (Zamakhsari, 1994). This stance is reinforced by KH. Ahmad Shiddiq's view in Syamsul Arifin (2009) on the trilogi ukhuwah (trilogy of brotherhood): ukhuwah Islamiyah (brotherhood among Muslims), ukhuwah Wathaniyah (brotherhood among nationals), and ukhuwah Basyariyah (universal brotherhood). The application of these concepts (Trilogy of Brotherhood) can significantly reduce the "opportunity" for conflict, despite any differences, as there remains a common ground in other "sectors."

Regarding the preaching programs/roles to prevent the recurrence of violence in the community, both the NU Ansor Youth Movement and Muhammadiyah Youth in Paciran employ similar models and media for handling such issues. This is evident in their strategies, which include long-term handling stages and short-term calming phases. Long-term handling requires a prolonged process and time, targeting the strengthening of self-awareness and the mental resilience of cadres to resist or be influenced by radical organizations. Thus, education and socio-economic empowerment are necessary, as these areas are vulnerable and easily infiltrated by radical movements. Social and economic instability may lead individuals to despair and be more susceptible to influence by others, including engaging in acts of violence.

Strengthening economic networks is highly effective in shielding cadres from the infiltration and indoctrination of radical movements (FPI), which advocate for preaching through violence. One of FPI's strong doctrines is to command good and forbid evil in a firm and concrete manner, as noted by Zastrow Ng (2006). Additionally, one of the motives behind religiously motivated violence is economic interests disguised through religious identity. As Karl Marx observed, religion is often used as a tool of legitimacy by the bourgeoisie (capitalists) to oppress the proletariat and control the means of production (economy and politics). Therefore, religion has the potential to be misused and become a tool of justification (ideology) by dominant groups. Economic-political interests are easily infused into religious sentiments.





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Short-term or direct interventions to prevent acts of violence, undertaken by the NU Ansor Youth Movement and Muhammadiyah Youth, are appropriate and necessary for immediate conflict resolution efforts. Religiously nuanced violence has a strong potential to spread within the community, especially in Paciran, where there is a strong religious bond and a resilient character shaped by the challenging maritime environment (Nur Syam, 2001). Emotions can quickly flare when religious sentiments are disturbed, necessitating direct action to localize and limit the spread of violence to prevent it from widening and dispersing further.

D. Conclusion

The NU Ansor Youth Movement and Muhammadiyah Youth unequivocally reject the model of preaching that employs violence in the name of religion. Regarding attitudes towards perpetrators of religious violence, the NU Ansor Youth Movement tends towards a firm-non-accommodative stance, strictly rejecting violent acts and refusing to compromise with perpetrators who must be punished according to legal statutes. In contrast, Muhammadiyah Youth adopts a firm-accommodative approach, resolutely rejecting violence while willing to embrace and guide perpetrators back towards understanding tolerance and inclusivity, as opposed to an exclusive, intolerant-radical viewpoint.

The form and mediums of religious conflict resolution employed by Muhammadiyah Youth and the NU Ansor Youth Movement in Paciran generally align and follow a similar pattern with a two-stage model for long-term and short-term processes in building a non-violent, peaceful society. The long-term resolution of prevention programs aims to foster self-awareness and the hearts of cadres about the importance of mutual tolerance and establishing a peaceful (harmonious) way of life approved by Allah SWT through ideological development, education, training, social empowerment, economic development, and distributing cadres' potential to the public sphere.

The short-term resolution of prevention programs is conducted sporadically, temporally, and reactively in the event or aftermath of violence to prevent further escalation and openness. The forms and mediums utilized include issuing letters of appeal, press releases to the media, dialogues among community elements, providing deradicalization insights through study sessions (Yasinan and Tahlilan), and establishing Densus 99 Anti-Terror.

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