The Causes of Sunni and Shiite Conflicts in Bangil Year 2007 – 2016

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to explain the cause of Sunni-Shiite conflict in Bangil, Pasuruan Regency since 2007-2016. Many opinions say that the conflicts between the two groups occur because of purely differences in understanding in interpreting religious texts. Historically in Indonesia there have been almost no sectarian conflicts involving Sunni-Shi'a. This is supported by the peaceful life of two groups in other cities in Indonesia such as in Jepara, Cirebon, and others. In analyzing the conflict the writer uses Michael E Brown's theory of internal conflict and the theory of globalization Jan Art Scholthe. The research method that I use is a qualitative method of deductive thinking. The process of collecting data the authors get from primary and secondary sources. The author's research results show that the Shiite Sunni conflict was caused first, by political factors marked by competition between the Sunni and Shia elites. Secondly, the era of globalization which is marked by democratization in Indonesia seems to be more used as propaganda about Sunni hatred towards Shiites so massive that it has stimulated in accelerating the occurrence of conflict.

Keywords: Cause of conflict, Sunni Syiah conflicts, Bangil, Globalization

1. INTRODUCTION

Many of the literature in world history states that conflicts between adherents of Sunni and Shi'a schools occur due to different understandings of Islam. So that each party sees itself as the right side and the wrong side on one side. With these differences have led to a provocation against the community and the occurrence of conflict between the two parties. For example, the difference in understanding who the leader should be after the death of Prophet Muhammad has become a debate that never ending [1]. However, the authors believe that different interpretations of understanding texts in Islam are not the real cause. First After the death of the Prophet Muhammad history has recorded that groups of thought have emerged in Islam, such as the Shiites, Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah (Sunni), and Khawarij. The group in the context of the interpretation of the meaning of Islamic religious texts has collaborated by quoting and referring to each other regardless of the group's background. This means that in the opinion often the Shi'a groups quote the opinions of Sunni scholars and vice versa. Second, the author notes that many regions in Indonesia are inhabited by these two communities but can live together, for example, such as Jepara, Cirebon, Aceh, and others [2]. Third, the existence of Shiites is not new. Shia has existed for a long time. However, as is generally the case, in Indonesia almost no sectarian conflicts have been encountered involving Sunni-Shia [3]. Therefore, for the writer, it is very surprising that suddenly Sunni-Shia helped color the religion and sectarian nuances of conflict in Indonesia. So therefore by citing the cause of the conflict by Michael E. Brown, the authors suspect that other factors triggered the

conflict, for example, factors in the political elite and globalization even in the opinion of the writer taking a larger portion in the Sunni-Shi'a conflict in Indonesia.

This journal will explain the events of the conflict in Bangil by emphasizing political factors as the cause of Sunni and Shia conflicts. The existence of the Shiite community in Bangil is considered as a "status quo" threat to the majority of the Sunni elite against their dominance in the socio-political-economic structure in the City of Bangil. Another supporting thing that is no less important is that the time of the conflict that coincided with the coming of the globalization era, has produced the hypothesis for the writer that globalization can be considered as a factor that accelerates the conflict above. Before we start our discussion, the writer will explain the identification of differences between Shiites and Sunnis in Islam and the background of religious life in Bangil.

Sunni-Shi'a understandings began as a dispute over leadership which emerged after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Some followers believe that his successor must be chosen from the ranks of the Companions of the Prophet through the shura or the advisory council held by elders and tribal leaders. Meanwhile, others believe that Ali ibn Abi Talib, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, was a person who had been directly chosen by the Prophet based on Allah's revelation as the successor and that the position was properly given to Ali. The first group won and Ali had to wait three periods before finally being appointed as the fourth caliph. However, his position was soon contested by Muawiyah, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty. Muawiyah's son then killed the Muhammad Prophet's grandson named Husain in a war known as the "Tragedy of Karbala" to fight for power. Shia followers did not recognize the first three caliphs and the Umayyad dynasty because they were considered to be seizing positions of Islamic leadership from their legitimate successors [4].

Disputes that began with political divisions have gradually turned into deeper doctrinal disputes. Sunni and Shia followers today have the same core beliefs about monotheism (oneness of God), Muhammad as the last prophet, and the Qur'an as a holy book. However, there are several fundamental differences, specifically related to the concept of Imamat (leadership). According to Shia teachings, after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, Muslims will be led by Imams Imam, Ali's direct descendant who is a chosen figure of Allah SWT, and the only one who has the right to interpret the teachings of the Al-Quran and make decisions for Muslims. For Sunni followers, the leader is the guardian of Islam, but not the infallible successor of the Prophet who can directly express the revelations of Allah SWT [5].

Bangil City located in Pasuruan district, East Java is known as a student "santri" city, this is not to be ruled out by the presence of dozens of Islamic boarding schools in the city. So that the role of the Ulama, Habib, or Kyai as a boarding school nurse can certainly play a role in religious life in Bangil. To increase the spread of preaching, scholars usually hold religious ceremonies called studies. Education is provided to non-resident students in the boarding school so that the spread of religious knowledge is not only felt by the students, but also the wider community. Among them are the Ihya'ulumuddin studies under the care of Ahmad bin Husein Assegaf, the regular study of Sheikh Baabdullah at the Mosque of Manarul Islam, and the regular study of Habib Husein al-Habsyi at the Jarhum Bendomungal Mosque [6].

In addition to the existence of pesantren, and the number of sermons that make Bangil known as the city of students. Bangil is also central to the development of Islamic religious thought, this can be seen from the establishment of Islamic organizations from various backgrounds such as Muhammadiyah, NU, Persis, Al-Irsyad, and the Islamic Boarding School Foundation (YAPI). The existence of YAPI seems to make the name of the city of Bangil increasingly known as the city of students in Indonesia. YAPI is an Islamic boarding school founded by Husein al-Habsyi on June 21, 1976. Husein al-Habsyi himself is not a native of

Bangil. Husein was previously a teacher as well as a politician who preached around the archipelago until finally settled in Bangil and founded the YAPI hut. YAPI itself is a relatively new foundation when compared to the existence of NU, Muhammadiyah organizations, and recitation managed by religious leaders. The emergence of YAPI was welcomed enthusiastically by the Bangil community, so that in a short time YAPI had succeeded in becoming a foundation that had three educational institutions, namely the junior-high-school men's , junior-high-school women's ,and kindergarten School.

The success of Husein al-Habsyi in establishing the institution was a great achievement if he saw the development of other pesantren. The existence of YAPI seems to make people flocked to send their sons and daughters to study at the cottage that was fostered by Husein al-Habsyi. According to an interview conducted by the author with Habib Muhdar Assegaf who is a Bangil elder, said: "Almost all Arab descendants and indigenous communities in Bangil at that time entrusted their children to go to YAPI including elites of religious leaders who are currently turning to campaign against anti-Shi'a like Ahmad bin Husin Assegaf who is one of the founders of an anti-Shi'a organization called ASWAJA [4]. It can be concluded from his arrival in 1976 to Bangil until 1990, Husein al-Habsyi had a place in the hearts of the people of Bangil. People from any circles support the progress of the cleric in carrying out his mission in Bangil. Up to this point, it can be said that religious life in Bangil is very soothing and friendly.

However, after the 1990s, the situation of religious life in Bangil has changed. The change began with a rumor that informed that Husein al-habsyi was a Shiite. This information is based on the activity of Husain al-habsyi who often travels to Iran for discussions with Shi'a scholars. As is known, Iran is the main base of Shia Muslims in the world. Besides that, Husein al-habsyi always emphasized the unity of the Shiite Sunni Islam in each of his da'wah. As a result, in a short time, Husein Al-Habsyi was left by some of his followers and began to get pressure from the Bangil Sunni elite. For example, by campaigning for Husein al-Habsyi as adherents of the Shiite heresy. Since then it can be said that the Sunni-Shi'a conflict began to surface in the city of Bangil.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

In this research activities, there are three (3) methodological steps that the authors undertake, namely the first data collection technique that the authors undertake comes from primary sources conducted using interviews, and secondary data obtained from printed and electronic sources and the internet. Second, data analysis uses qualitative methods with deductive thinking. This deductive way of thinking is used because an explanation arises from a theory or frame of mind. Frameworks of mind that are still general are broken down into things that are more specific or lower principles so that we can judge whether these cases can be explained by the frame of mind used by researchers. Third, this research aims to explain the causes of conflict based on political factor and the link between globalization which encourage the Shiite Sunni conflict in Bangil.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this discussion, the author will explain the analysis of political factors that caused the Shiite Sunni conflict in Bangil. Another important thing is how globalization also contributed to the occurrence of the conflict. The existence of Sunni-Shi'a groups that emerged since the death of the Prophet, indicates that the differences in the internal Muslim community are

things that have existed long ago. As explained above, religious life in Bangil before the 1990s was very conducive to the absence of conflict between groups. But different things have happened since the 1990s, with conflicts between these groups.

According to Wese Becker, conflict is a social process where people or groups of people try to fulfill their goals by opposing other parties accompanied by threats or violence. In his book K.J Holsti, argues that conflicts that cause organized violence arise from a special combination of parties, opposing views on an issue, hostility, and certain types of diplomatic and military actions. Forms of conflict are usually identified by a condition by a group of people, which consists of different ethnic, ethnic, cultural, religious, economic, political, social [7].

According to the definition above, identification of sectarian groups can indeed be used as a source of conflict. But conflict will not occur if there is no trigger to evoke sentiment of the difference. According to my opinion, the conflict occurs because there are factors other than differences in belief. As stated by Michael E. Brown, competition between elite groups is one of the causes of internal conflicts [8]. The author agrees with this factor as one of the causes of conflict. This competition occurs between Husein Alhabsyi and other elite groups who feel rivaled by the existence of Husein Alhabsyi. This group was represented by Sheikh Baabdullah and Ahmad bin Husein Assegaf. The existence of Husein Alhabsyi by having schools and preachers who have high charisma is considered a threat to the elite of other groups. This threat is seen from the increasing number of material and non-material support for Hussein's activities. For example the construction of kindergarten, junior high schools, YAPI high schools that received support from the community. According to Habib Muhdar assegaf as a Bangil elite, not a few philanthropists in Bangil gave away free land and property to support the activities of Habib Husain al-habsyi. Among the well-known philanthropists of the time were Habib Umar Susur alaydrus, and the family of bin Shaykh assegaf.

Seeing the threat to the Sunni group represented by Sheikh Baabdullah and Ahmad bin Husein Assegaf began to think of toppling Husain al-Habsyi. The attempt to bring down Husain al-Habsyi seems to be reflected in the Shia label that Husein al-Habsyi has pinned to him by the Sunni elite. Until the 1990s the Shia issue became widely discussed in Bangil by making Husein al-Habsyi and his followers a target of shootings. The result was a massive rejection of the Shiite sect to the extent that it led to an escalation of small-scale conflicts. For example, in 1990 the opposition of Sheikh Baabdullah, a teacher of the mosque of Muslim monastery Bangil published the book "The ruling and the Sunni scholars' stand on Shia beliefs [9]. Continued in 1993 the Sunnah-Shi'a relationship in Bangil became even more heated when the discovery of the secret letter of Husein al-Habsyi, the founder of YAPI, was addressed to someone in Iran in 1993. The letter contained the statement of Husein al-Habsyi, that he was obliged to hide the Shiites as a da'wah strategy. Whereas before he was known as a famous Sunni scholar in the city of Bangil[10].

The intensity of the conflict had declined after the death of Husein al-habsyi in 1994. But the regeneration formed by Husein al-habsyi was successful with the increasing number of Shiites in Bangil. This success is seen as a threat to the Sunni elite about the status quo. Moreover, YAPI as the spearhead of the Shiite community is growing with the recognition of YAPI as an educational institution under the auspices of the Ministry of National Education in 1998. YAPI also opened a special high school for advanced religious studies known as hauzah ilmiyah. Not only that, but the Bangil Shiite community has also increasingly demonstrated its existence by holding special Shia religious rituals that are rarely celebrated by the Sunni community such as the commemoration of the killing of Imam Muhammad's grandson in the battle of Karbala, and the anniversary of the birth of the Holy Ahlulbait.

In the opinion of the writer the increase in religious activities of the Shia community if left unchecked would disrupt the existence of the elite Sunni group. This is indicated by the gradual increase in the number of Shiites in Bangil, which currently reaches 200 families. As Habib Ali Ridho Assegaf stated that "Shias have experienced rapid development in Bangil, this has certainly become jealousy for other groups".

Husein al-Habsyi's journey, which often travels to Iran, has shown that the era of globalization has caused an easy flow of information exchange and advances in technological transportation that makes it easy for people to move to other places. One of the meanings of globalization according to Jan Art Scholte is the spread of democratic values throughout the world [11]. In this context, Democracy has provided space for freedom of religion and belief for humans. Note that before democracy was spread through globalization, socio-political life in Indonesia was very limited due to authoritarian government regimes that severely limited religious freedom. As a result, this opportunity is not passed away for the Shiite group to show its existence. Over time the Sunni group also used democracy as a form of freedom of association by forming an organization called ASWAJA in early 2003. This organization was founded by Ahmad bin Husein Assegaf who was a competitor Husain al-Habsyi along with other Sunni figures such as KH. Nur Cholis to stem the Shiite influence in Bangil. With the existence of ASWAJA, Sunni groups are increasingly aggressive in campaigning against propaganda against Shia. Like doing hate speech addressed to Shiites. Since then the Shiite-Sunni conflict has increasingly surfaced.

Previously conflicts only occurred at the verbal level by insinuating each other in a study forum and publishing a book. However, in early 2007, conflictual relations between Sunnis and Shiites in Bangil began to emerge within the framework of open conflict. The incident occurred in January 2007 at 22:00 and was carried out by unknown people. The escalation of the conflict intensified on April 20, 2007, when ASWAJA initiated a large demonstration after Friday prayers to reject Shi'ism, which was joined by thousands of Sunni Muslims. After Friday prayers, around 1,000 people gathered at Alun-Alun Bangil with the Bangil District Prosecutor's Office as the place for the final action title. Their demand: the dissolution of Shia. Starting from Alun-Alun Bangil, they walked to the YAPI Ponpes office, Al Abrar Kindergarten affiliated with Shia, voiced their aspirations at a private Bangil radio station, and finally stopped at the Bangil District Attorney's office. The protesters shouted their dislike of Shia teachings. During the anti-Shi'a demonstrations, the only conflicting tools used were posters, banners, and speeches which were conditional on abusive and hostile messages. The posters and banners read, among other things: "Banish adherents of Shiite teachings from the City of Bangil", "Don't dirty the city of Bangil with misleading teachings", "Shia = Jews", "Mut` ah = Adultery", "Shias have justified adultery", or "Shia Jancwook". Besides, the cry of one of the demonstrators in his speech: "The government must immediately disperse misleading Shiite teachings. Clean the city of Bangil from the Shiites. Although tense, the situation did not escalate into open conflict. There were no victim and damage recorded from the demonstration [12].

In the same year also carried out terror and small-scale destruction by throwing stones at the houses of the Shiite community and carried out attacks on the Jarhum Mosque which is considered to belong to the Shiite community [13]. The peak was on February 15, 2011, the YAPI pesantren was attacked by the ASWAJA group. Clashes occurred between the ASWAJA masses and YAPI students, causing casualties between the two parties. After the clash, the atmosphere of the city is getting tense, small-scale conflict continues.

The description of the conflict above has shown how globalization which spread democracy throughout the world has created momentum for certain elites to evoke primordial

sentiments to achieve their political interests. The Sunni elite has an interest in reducing the existence of Shi'a groups so that propaganda and intimidation continue to be realized. On behalf of democracy, the government is always weak in upholding security and order in society. Different things happened in the authoritarian regime of the new order which restricted religious activities of the people. During the New Order, religious activities should not be filled with political activities or lectures that disturb society. Religious activities are only carried out as routine ceremonial symbols. If there are parties who try to violate, then the government will quickly secure the person without going through a court process. With such conditions, political security and security can be ensured always maintained.

Secondly, in addition to universal values such as democracy, globalization which is characterized by information disclosure caused by technological progress has become a stimulus for the spread of Shi'a values throughout the world. Iran as the only country that guarded Shiite civilization underwent an Islamic revolution in 1979. The revolution caused admiration for the majority of Muslims in the world, bearing in mind that at that time Muslims were devastated by the Western civilization that dominated the world. Husein al-Habsyi was very impressed with the revolution carried out by the Iranian Nation to restore the upholding of the glory of Islam, of course, based on Shia values. So in the 1980s, Husein al-Habsyi went to meet with ulemas in Iran to learn from the success of the Iranian revolution. Since returning from Iran, Husein has been more enthusiastic about conveying Islamic unity by promoting equality rather than discussing differences between schools. Not infrequently Husein also expressed his praise of Iran and Shia for the Islamic revival revolution. Until finally in the rest of his life, Husein has written many books aimed at refuting slander against Shia, such as "Shia Sunnah in ukhuwah"[14].

The revival of this Islamic revolution seems to have received a negative response from countries such as Saudi Arabia that ideologically opposed to Iran. Saudi Arabia is the country where Salafi schools were born or currently known as Wahabis. Wahhab schools according to various Islamic scholars are classified as branches of Sunni. But some include Wahhabism as their different schools of thought. The widespread influence of Iran with its Shia values is considered by Saudi Arabia as a threat to Saudi Arabia's dominance as a major force in the Middle East and the Islamic world. In responding to this threat Saudi Arabia as a petrodollar nation splurried its dollar to support the spread of Wahabi values throughout the world by using various charitable organizations to ward off Shiite influence. Besides the distribution of books, online media creation, and online viral videos have contributed significant roles for the achievement of these objectives, for example, Arrahmah.com, Nahimunkar.com, Yufid TV, and others [15]. As a result in a short time, anti-Shi'a propaganda has spread throughout the world resulting in conflict between followers of the two schools. We can see that the internal conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bahrain have become clear evidence of the spread of anti-Shi'a propaganda.

Bangil was not free from the feud between the two dominant countries in the Middle East. With the booming oil prices at the time, Saudi Arabia increasingly contributed funds to organizations such as Al-Irshad, Persis, and individuals who supported Wahhabi thought such as Sheikh Baabdullah [4]. Funding support is usually manifested in the form of assistance in the construction of mosques, or other charitable activities. The reciprocity of anti-Shi'a propaganda must continue to be echoed as a threat to Muslims. In the context in Bangil, in the early 1990s, the Wahabi Sunni group did not directly show their hostility towards the Shiite community in Bangil, because their community was small and tended to be exclusive. Add to this the fact that the Shiite group in Bangil was represented by religious leaders from the Habib circles. So they collaborated with other conservative Sunni groups such as the

ASWAJA organization, chaired by Habib Ahmad bin Husein Assegaf, to carry out hostility towards Shiites. With this collaboration, the anti-Shi'a campaign was successfully carried out using intellectual arguments that challenged the Shi'a doctrine mainly by distorting Shiite teachings to arouse fear and hatred among Sunnis. With the increasing hatred of Sunnis, it is hoped that it will become a provocation for the people to be antipathy towards Shiites.

With the increasing hatred of the Sunnis against the Shiites, the Wahhabi group is increasingly open in showing its existence to combat the Shiites in Bangil. The indication is with the formation of the Arriyadh organization in 2012 which was allegedly supported by Saudi Arabia [4]. This organization was founded as an effort to stem the spread of Shiite teachings in Bangil. Thus two organizations focus on fighting the Shiites, namely ASWAJA and Arriyadh. With the increase in the anti-Shi'a organization, the escalation of conflicts between the schools has increased. This was proven in the April 1, 2016 incident by the forced dissolution of the recitation of the Shiite group in commemoration of the birth of Siti Fatima's daughter of the prophet who was initiated by the Arriyadh group.

From the explanation above, the role of globalization is very significant in stimulating the occurrence of Sunni Shia conflicts in Bangil. Globalization has given birth to political openness and democratization in all fields. The jargon of democracy which should make the fulfillment of individual rights and uphold human rights and the law is only a figment. The taps for reform and democratization that began after the fall of the New Order regime seem to play a role in reviving primordialism and the sentiments of differences in schools through various issues supported by the sophistication of information and communication technology. Foreign propaganda through the mass media can easily ignite these sentiments and arouse primordialism. In this case, the propaganda about Sunni hatred towards Shiites is very massive in this democratic era. Besides, easy access to information and biased national boundaries as a result of globalization makes it easier for foreign countries to play a role in a country's internal conflicts. In this case countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iran also contributed to the escalation of the conflict between the two schools.

4.CONCLUSIONS

The research above shows that the cause of the Sunni-Shiite conflict in Bangil involves religious leaders who directly feel rivaled by the existence of the Shiite community which in their view threatens the "status quo" of religious life in Bangil. The presence of Wahabi Sunni groups also contributed to the conflict based on ideological hostility with the Shiites. Globalization has provided space for Saudi Arabia and Iran to expand its influence into the Islamic World. In this case, their support was given to each community both Sunni and Shia. While strengthening the role of non-state actors at the local level as a result of globalization, at the same time globalization has had consequences for the weakening of the country's sovereignty and strengthening of domestic actors. At this point, non-state actors in the form of primordialism groups can trigger conflicts between these Sunni and Shia groups. Until finally Exploitation was not based on the differences between these two schools became interesting propaganda for the elite to achieve its goals.

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