
RESOLVING CONFLICT POTENTIAL: THE PREVENTIVE ACTION ON THE SHIA COMMUNITY IN YOGYAKARTA

Riza Saputra¹, Irza Melly², Siti Noor Aini³, Ahmad Khotim Muzakka⁴

¹ Universitas Islam Negeri Antasari, Banjarmasin

² Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta

³ STIPRAM, Yogyakarta

⁴ IAIN Pekalongan, Jawa Tengah

* CORRESPONDENCE: ✉ rizasaputra@uin-antasari.ac.id

Abstract

Since the 11th years ago the existence of the Shia community in Yogyakarta lived in harmony with other groups of religions and society, however, in 2013, the leaflet put in several places mention that "Shia is not Islam." This notion ultimately intrigued some people to know about the existence of Shia in Yogyakarta. Moreover, conflict potential may also occur because of this notion. This article focused on the defendable entity of the Shia community in Yogyakarta. The purpose of this paper is to identify the conflict potential among the Shia community in Yogyakarta and to observe the prevention of this community from the conflict potential. In this respect, we carried out field research, interview with Shia adherents in Yogyakarta and hamlet official indicating conflict potential and the way of Shia community interaction and prevention within the contentious notion of anti-Shia. This research finds the following results: conflict prevention which has been done is structural and operational. Shia actively socializes with the society, does the dialogue with MUI and people who disagree with their existence, and being open to the people who want to discuss and study religious studies from their community.

Abstrak

Sejak 11 tahun yang lalu keberadaan komunitas Syiah di Yogyakarta hidup dengan damai bersama kelompok agama dan masyarakat lain, namun pada tahun 2013, salah satu selebaran diletakkan di beberapa tempat yang menyebutkan "Syiah bukan Islam." Pernyataan ini pada akhirnya menarik perhatian beberapa orang untuk mengetahui keberadaan Shia di Yogyakarta. Selain itu, potensi konflik juga dapat terjadi karena pernyataan ini. Artikel ini fokus pada entitas komunitas Syiah yang mampu bertahan lama di Yogyakarta. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengidentifikasi potensi konflik di antara komunitas Syiah di Yogyakarta, dan untuk mengamati pencegahan komunitas ini dari potensi konflik. Dalam hal ini, kami melakukan penelitian lapangan, wawancara dengan penganut Syiah di Yogyakarta dan aparat desa yang mengindikasikan potensi konflik dan cara interaksi dan pencegahan komunitas Syiah terhadap pendapat anti-Syiah. Penelitian ini menemukan hasil sebagai berikut: Pencegahan konflik yang telah dilakukan adalah structural dan operasional. Komunitas Syiah di Yogyakarta secara aktif bersosialisasi dengan masyarakat, melakukan dialog dengan MUI dan orang-orang yang tidak setuju dengan keberadaan mereka, mereka juga terbuka untuk orang-orang yang ingin berdiskusi dan belajar studi agama dari komunitas mereka.

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A. Introduction

Disagreement to one group of a community may arise from the harmonious entity, whereas, the same group in other places are conflicting. Although, the pluralism in Indonesia does not ever limit a faith, since it is more personal and individual, but, the existence of several groups and different faith has built both of encounter and clash among religious groups. Some of them are reluctant with another, and some of them are very strict with their communities. Besides, the idea of trans-Islam is not a new case in Indonesia. There are a lot of groups are regarded as deviant. Thereof, the development of religious identity and a new form of thinking rose in a row with the change of epoch. The term "Islam anyar" may become a delineation of contentious Islam, they considered as the new movement that intends to change the existence of former religions in Indonesia. They attempt to refer back to the preceding of Islamic teaching and regard the differences that are misconstrued from Islamic teaching and must be abrogated.

Michael Lund explains that sentiment by making a strong case for defining conflict prevention as 'pre-empting the eruption of violence' rather than defining it loosely as applicable to any post-escalation level in a conflict's hostility.¹ However, we observe that conflict prevention is not only focused on the conflict place, but it is might also be done in a harmonious place. The warning-response dilemma, whereby opportunities for prevention are missed as a result of the lack of response, has been identified as a major obstacle to responding preventively.² The obstacles to early warning are still multiple and focus on questions as to who does the warning, who is to be warned, and what kind of warning is most useful. Several political developments have prompted the search for enhancing the effectiveness of preventive action strategies, including concerns over policy errors, failures in prevention that were based on an action that was not appropriate or effective for the situation, and indirect and negative consequences of preventive action.³

The disclosure of dialogue and threatening may also result in a provocative of conflict since one another does not have complete information and description about the others. Hence, the negative feeling is embedded without any compromising of other voices. Brown explains that violence is may cause misperception and miscalculation which comes from failure in obtaining information, and failure in gaining the correct prediction.⁴ The conflict that results in violence is not determinate since there are a lot of various determinants of violence. Pruitt and Rubin propose that "comparison" with other group is may lead to increased aspiration.⁵ Conflict occurs when parties believe that both sides' *aspirations* cannot be satisfied at the same time. According to them, *high aspiration* is more likely to provoke conflict upon communities, idealistically on what they think they can achieve or deserve.

The conflict between Shia and Sunni has shown the feeling of divergence which is meant the entity of conflict between two parties. Pruitt and Rubin mention that conflict is a perceived divergence of interest, or belief that the parties' current aspirations cannot be achieved

¹ Michael S. Lund, "Conflict Prevention: Theory in Pursuit of Policy and Practice," in *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2009), 287–321, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857024701>.

² Alexander L. George and Jane E. Holl, *The Warning-Response Problem and Missed Opportunities in Preventive Diplomacy* (Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1997), 2.

³ Lund, "Conflict Prevention," 5.

⁴ Wilhelm Heitmeyer and John Hagan, *International Handbook of Violence Research* (Springer Science & Business Media, 2005), 326.

⁵ Alan Tidwell, *Conflict Resolved?: A Critical Assessment of Conflict Resolution* (A&C Black, 2001), 121.

simultaneously.⁶ The word feeling of divergence may result in the feeling of the enemy where people feel different values and perspectives and further they call that other as enemy or outsider.⁷ The poster and pamphlet is an exemplification which some group feels that Shia is as an outsider from Islam. In contrast, Shia considers that the group is interconnected with other Muslims and must not be eliminated. Indeed, the contradictory idea among them is ought to mediate by a neutral group. However, this is not a simple action, since the negative notion and rumors have embedded in one and another.

The existence of Shia in Indonesia and the conflict that have been occurred in some places such as Sampang has raised some negative rumors of this group generally. It may true that comparison and aspiration are one factor of conflict potentials. The existence of Shia in Yogyakarta is has presented since 11th years ago. However, in 2013, the situation alternate into a potential of conflict. One of the conflict potential factors is provoked by the poster and pamphlet of “*Shia Bukan Islam*”. This pamphlet surely has intrigued the leader of Sleman Regency in Yogyakarta, to clarify that anarchy notion. He says that Shia adherents in Yogyakarta are kind people and be apt to open up with other societies. This clarification also has been done by the institution of Rausyan Fikr in Sleman, Yogyakarta. They say that the pamphlet was put by an intolerant people. Shia has lived harmoniously with the villager, but just recently someone put the provocative notion Shia is not Islam.⁸

Rausyan Fikir organization was also attacked by the radical FJI group (Islamic Jihad Front), in November and December 2013. A. Makin states that the terror scenario against Rausyan is not a stand-alone actor, but this case is part of a large movement of homogenization of Indonesian Islam.⁹ This case has made us intrigue in elucidating the case of Shia in Yogyakarta. Thereof, this research will explore briefly about conflict potential and prevention among Shia religious groups in Yogyakarta. This case will give us delineation about what is the factor of conflict potential, it is also want to show the existence of Shia in Yogyakarta and its relation with other communities and societies in Yogyakarta, notably in Sleman regency. To get a comprehensive explanation regarding the conflict potential among Shia communities in Yogyakarta, the problems to be studied are formulated as follows: Why Shia Communities are defendable in Yogyakarta? How is Shia in Yogyakarta’s responses to the threat of attack upon the Shia community in Yogyakarta? What Shia does after gaining threaten from Anti-Shia?

B. Research Method

This research design was qualitative, using field research, and collecting data through a semi-structured interview. Field research is recommended to study community, ethnic, religious groups, and complex dynamic situations.¹⁰ It allows an understanding of the native point of view¹¹ and permits the researcher to get an insider view of reality.¹² This is in turn, allows the researcher to

⁶ Dean G. Pruitt and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, *Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate, and Settlement* (Random House, 1986), 10.

⁷ Freek Colombijn, *On the Road: The Social Impact of New Roads in Southeast Asia* (KITLV, 2002).

⁸ Based on Interview with Edi in Rausyan Fikr Institution, Thursday, 19, 12, 2013

⁹ Al Makin, “Homogenizing Indonesian Islam: Persecution of the Shia Group in Yogyakarta,” *Studia Islamika* 24, no. 1 (April 30, 2017): 1–32, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v24i1.3354>.

¹⁰ Royce A. Singleton Jr. and Bruce C Straits, *Approaches to Social Research* (United States: Oxford University Press, 2005), 321–24.

¹¹ James P. Spradley, *Participant Observation* (Waveland Press, 2016), 33.

¹² Singleton Jr. and Straits, *Approaches to Social Research*, 322.

better articulate the processes of how individuals understand and interact with their world. Field research is central to research questions where there is relatively little knowledge about the topic, with only a few publications,¹³ both situations that apply to my case.

We conducted a semi-structured interview with members of Rausyan Fikr institution, village official; we are also interested in the processes by which the respondents determine what meaning of tolerance and how they interact with each other. This study further examines the intersections of Shia community interaction,¹⁴ revealing how respondents have struggled religiously, and the meaning-making processes that develop as they negotiate and attempt to harmonize conflicting attitudes.

Analysis of conflict prevention is often divided into two categories: direct prevention and structural prevention. Direct conflict prevention refers to measures that are aimed at preventing short-term, often imminent, escalation of a potential conflict. Structural prevention focuses on more long term measures that address the underlying causes of a potential conflict along with potentially escalating and triggering factors. At the operational level of conflict prevention, Michael Lund argues that preventive measures are especially effective at the level of unstable peace, which is a “situation where tension and suspicion among parties run high but violence is either absent or only sporadic”.¹⁵ This is arguably not always the case since some preventive measures are best operationalized at an earlier stage, preferably during stable peace where there is a minimum of suspicion between potential adversaries. The reason for this is simply that the acceptance of preventive measures is higher when no suspicion disturbs the situation. If institutions, trust, and cooperation are built at an early stage, it is less likely that the conflict reaches the stage of unstable peace.

C. Discussions

1. Shia and “Conflict Prevention”

The important matter which must be described in this discussion is the term “*conflict prevention*”. Conflict prevention entails any structural or interactive means to keep intrastate and interstate tensions and disputes from escalation into significant violence and to strengthen the capabilities to resolve such disputes peacefully as well as alleviating the underlying problems that produce them, including forestalling the spread of hostilities into new places. It comes into play both in places where conflicts have not occurred recently and where recent largely terminated conflicts could recur. Depending on how they are applied, it can include the particular methods and means of any policy sector, whether labeled prevention or not (e.g. sanctions, conditional aid, mediation, structural adjustment, democratic institution-building, etc.) and they might be carried out by global, regional, national or local levels by any governmental or non-governmental actor.¹⁶

A decade ago, conflict prevention referred only to actions undertaken in the short term to reduce manifest tensions and to prevent the outbreak or recurrence of violent conflict.¹⁷ It now

¹³ Singleton Jr. and Straits, 323.

¹⁴ C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 70.

¹⁵ Michael S. Lund and Professor Michael Lund, *Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy* (United States Institute of Peace Press, 1996), 39.

¹⁶ David Carment and Albrecht Schnabel, *Conflict Prevention from Rhetoric to Reality: Opportunities and Innovations. Volume 2* (Lexington Books, 2004), 3.

¹⁷ See OECD, *The DAC Guidelines Helping Prevent Violent Conflict Part I: Helping Prevent Violent Conflict: Orientations for External Partners - Part II: Conflict, Peace and Development Co-Operation on the Threshold of the*

includes long-term engagement as well as short-term responses.¹⁸ It addresses the built-in capacities of societies to deal with conflicting interests without resort to violence.¹⁹ It also extends to the management of disputes with destabilizing potentials. Such work helps de-legitimize the belief that violence is an inevitable or acceptable way of resolving disputes, making non-violent alternatives known and more attractive, addressing structural and immediate causes and reducing vulnerability to triggers.

Alex Schmid's (1998) mentions in "*Thesaurus and glossary of early warning and conflict prevention terms*" that "conflict prevention" is actions, policies, procedures or institutions undertaken in particularly vulnerable places and times to avoid the threat or use of armed force and related forms of coercion by states or groups, as the way to settle the political disputes that can arise from the destabilizing effects of economic, social, political and international change.²⁰ Conflict prevention can also include action taken after a violent conflict to avoid its recurrence. Conflict prevention mainstreaming involves analytical efforts to assess conflict risk, as well as informed policy responses from a variety of actors to help minimize or mitigate these risks.

From the two explanations above the term conflict prevention is more indicated on how to keep a normal situation and avoid conflict. The term is related to how is an action to prevent or rebuild a harmonious condition. Thereof, as mention in the introduction, this paper focuses primarily on conflict potential upon the Shia community in Yogyakarta. We use the term conflict prevention since the conflict potential occurs among this community.

2. Shia Community and Conflict Susceptibility in Indonesia

Shia comes from an Arabic word, that meaning as partisans or followers. While as a group, it is labeled to those who believe that Ali ibn Abi Talib is the successor to the Prophet Muhammad. Moreover, leadership (*Imamah*) will not fall apart from Ali and his descendants. In the field of science, Shia adherent follows schools of *ahlulbait*, and generally have a common love for the Prophet and his descendants originating from lane daughter, Fatimah R.A wife of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, and especially the priests who they regard as holy men.

The Conflict between Shia and Sunni is the conflict that has a long history. The seed of this conflict began since the death of Prophet Muhamad SAW where the political about who was an appropriate leader after his death. The conflict has made a boundary between the followers of Ali and the followers of other *sahabat*. Moreover, the big impact has colored the history of the Islamic world which is so hard to be compromised to the present,²¹ including in Asia, such as Indonesia. The Sunni is a majority group, while Shia is the minority.²² As the majority, Sunni naturally has an ego power to oppress and even attack the Shia, since Sunni thinks that Shia disagrees on what

21st Century: Part I: Helping Prevent Violent Conflict: Orientations for External Partners - Part II: Conflict, Peace and Development Co-Operation on the Threshold of the 21st Century (OECD Publishing, 2001).

¹⁸ Some policy makers and academics distinguish between *operational* and *structural* prevention or between *early* and *late* prevention. For the purposes of this guidance, conflict prevention comprises all of these categories. See for example Menkhous in Picciotto and Weaving, eds. 2006.

¹⁹ See OECD Ministers' Statement on Helping Prevent Violent Conflict in OECD DAC, 1998 and 2001.

²⁰ Fen Osler Hampson and David Malone, *From Reaction to Conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 294.

²¹ Ahmad Sahide, "Konflik Syi'ah-Sunni Pasca-The Arab Spring," *Kawistara* 3 (Desember 2013): 227–334.

²² Muhammad Taufik, "Keluar Dari Tekanan: Konstruksi Gerakan Syi'ah Di Yogyakarta," *Rausyan Fikr: Jurnal Studi Ilmu Ushuluddin Dan Filsafat* 15, no. 2 (2019): 405, <https://doi.org/10.24239/rsy.v15i2.491>.

Sunni's members believe.²³ Therefore, Shia identity cannot be seen easily within the Indonesian context. The Shia spread in the community and does not live in groups in a particular region. The lack of harmonious relationship between the Shia and the Sunni in Indonesia was motivated by the difference of understanding toward religious teaching which then makes a little dispute and even conflict.²⁴

Robitul Firdaus says in his paper "*Paham dan Gerakan Shia di Indonesia: perkembangan dan tantangan*" that Shia as a movement or a group, in Indonesia began its development after the Iranian revolution in 1979. Using the momentum of the birth of Iran as a "Shia state" and the euphoria of revolutions that use Islam as the basis of its struggle, the Shiite began to dare to show their identity in either Indonesia or the world. This movement also began systematically arranged in an institutional framework or organizations affiliated to the Shia respective ideologies. However, this does not mean that as a movement, Shiites began its development after 1979. Some historians even believe that it is the Shiites who are the first who spread Islam in the archipelago.²⁵

Robitul Firdaus describes there are two well-known theories related to the arrival of Islam in Indonesia. First, the theory that Islam entered Indonesia through the Sunni and is proven by the fact that the majority of Indonesian Muslims are the Sunni sensible. Such a theory expressed by Hamka and Azyumardi Azra that is commonly accepted by experts in the history of Indonesia. Second, proponents who believe that the existence of Shia has been around since the beginning of the history of Islamization in the archipelago. Even the followers of Shi'a are trusted to play a major role in the Islamization process. This second theorist bases its conviction on the number of items that can be found Shi'i tradition and practiced in the archipelago.

Aboebakar, for example, is one of the figures who believed that Shia was one of the first group was spreading Islamic teaching in the archipelago. According to him, Shia and Syafi'i sect are two confidence followed by the archipelago Muslim in the first period in Aceh. He also believed that Maulana Malik Ibrahim, the figure of Walisongo in the archipelago, is a teacher of Shia. Furthermore, Atjeh also confirmed that many of the kings, especially in Java and Sumatra, which has the title of *sayyid*. It indicates the relationship of the king to the *ahlu al-bait*.

The discussion above shows that the nuanced groups of Islam have presented since the coming of Islam in Indonesia, whether from Sunni and Shia community, however, the amendment of group Islam has a paradoxical from its arrival, the differences of teaching and its development is considered as an exaggeration of discord. One group catapults the scorns to others and looks for the wellspring of mistakes. Even, some look at the other as machination, and some of them vilify the other that may trigger to conflict potential. Indeed, this deficient of Intra claim religious relation has constrained the society to rectify the subtleties upon this derogation.

3. Conflict Potential among the Shia Community in Yogyakarta

In the earliest time, an interesting fact that in Yogyakarta, there is an upheaval of ideological that shocked people in this city, "Yogyakarta city is not safe." This notion is a paradoxical delineation of Yogyakarta which is in the book of "*Ilusi Negara Islam*" that this city is regarded as

²³ Sultriana Sultriana and Mustahyun Mustahyun, "Dinamika Konflik Sunni-Syiah Di Indonesia Perspektif Kuasa Michel Foucault," *PALITA: Journal of Social - Religion Research* 2 (October 8, 2017): 98, <https://doi.org/10.24256/pal.v2i2.522>.

²⁴ Resta Tri Widyadara, "Konflik Sunni-Syi'ah Di Indonesia," *Religi: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 11, no. 2 (2015): 103–20, <https://doi.org/10.14421/rejusta.2015.1102-06>.

²⁵ Robitu Firdaus, "Paham Dan Gerakan Syi'ah Di Indonesia" (Islamic Studies Forum for Indonesia (ISFI), December 12, 2012), <https://isfimalaysia.wordpress.com/2012/12/27/paham-dan-gerakan-syiah-di-indonesia/>.

a safe city and does not fluctuate like Poso, Ambon, and Aceh.²⁶ The notion of Yogyakarta as the hospitable city has amended into the conflict potential city. Indeed, this supports the idea that harmony is fluctuating. One factor that may trigger the conflict is the notion “*Shia Bukan Islam.*” The entity of Shia in Yogyakarta claims as misconstrued of Islam as well as other Shia groups in other cities. However, this conflict potential has delineated the new mark of Yogyakarta, indeed, it shows that tolerance is not always undergirded the city. The issue of conflict potential in Yogyakarta is more likely the deconstruction of a bulwark of this city.

The threat is received by the Shia groups in Jl. Kaliurang k.m 5, there is an intuitions names Rausyan Fikr, a research institute that focuses on the philosophy and Sufism. This institution is regarded as the foundation of Shia in Yogyakarta because there are many of Shia adherents in this institution. Rausyan Fikr has two simple houses occupied by the administrators and students. In a quite spacious room, there are more than thousands of books placed in the cupboard. These books, eventually put on the box, because they are afraid of aggression that may whenever come to this place.

Rausyan Fikr institution was born since 1995, and so far there is no refusal from the people in Yogyakarta. But, today in 2013, they get information that they are treated by the people who disagree with their existence. According to Police, there are several groups, who do not want Shia’s existence in Yogyakarta. Ultimately, in the middle of 2013, there was an incident, such as the destruction of the tomb of descendant lane IX which was troubling people of Yogyakarta, and the pamphlet “Shia is not Islam” upon the cupboard of Darul Huda mosque. Because of this notion, the issue of conflict is defacing religious harmony in Yogyakarta, notably among Shia community and other religious groups who disagree with their existence.

The provocation and threat of attacks have received by the Shia community twice, and one of them is under Rausyan Fikr institution addresses on Jl. Kaliurang, Pandega Wreksa no. 1B Yogyakarta. Edi Sharif, a caretaker of Rausyan Fikr explains that the threat of attacks is received by them in a leaflet within the mosque and surroundings of the secretariat of Rausyan Fikr. No one knows who has spread the propaganda. Also, in another place, such as the secretary of Forum Umat Islam found the same leaflet which states Shia is not Islam. Indeed, this event marks a new chapter in Yogyakarta as the city of tolerance, now the seed of susceptible conflict begins, such as uncomfortable with other religious groups.

On Thursday evening, November 21, Rausyan Fikr Foundation received the threat of attack news from the police office and the Ministry of Religious Affairs, which is believed to be carried out by the Forum of Muslims after Friday prayers. Before the threat emerges, there are flyers posted at a Mosque near the Secretariat office. According to a spokesman of the Foundation Rausyan Fikr, Edy Sharif, the leaflet stated the director of Rausyan Fikr, Andi Muhammad Sofyan is a Jewish agent, he said.

On the next day, Police forces maintain strict Rausyan Fikr Foundation, a research institute of Islamic philosophy, in Gang Pandega Wreksa, Sleman. To anticipate the possibility of an attack by some groups against the foundation that has been blamed as the center of the Shia community. Hearing the attack news, the Public Relations of Rausyan Fikr Institute, Edy Sharif said he and his friends are not only concerned about the safety of their lives, but also the thousands of books that

²⁶ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Ilusi negara Islam: ekspansi gerakan Islam transnasional di Indonesia* (Wahid Institute, 2009), 51.

become valuable assets institute. "Arguably the books are the most valuable asset. It's ours that we must protect. We are science research institutions, so the book is our treasure. All our books are considered rare, we directly input into the cardboard. Later if there is anything, these books are the first that we must evacuate," he said.

Because so many books, he and his colleagues just pack the books is considered rare and are written by the great philosopher of Islam. "We just can pack around 10 boxes. Because, if it was attacked we're worried, the anarchic mass will burn our books," said Edy. He also added that these books have been reduced by half because some time ago has been sent partially to Makassar. "Otherwise, the number is surely much more. Fortunately, most have been sent to Makassar. To keep all possibilities that could happen, Edy said, will do monitor rotating between students and those who participated in the institute. "We'll keep watch, because it had such a short fuse, if not anticipated it'll be a problem. We are coordinating with Police officers," said Edy.

4. The Emergence of Discussion upon anti-Shia in Yogyakarta

On Sunday, December 15 about a month after, the exclamation of anti-Shi'ah grow louder. In the book review event in the Mosque of Gadjah Mada University (UGM) by the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), entitled Know & Wary Shia Deviations in Indonesia. Attending the book review event; Prof.Dr.Yunahar Ilyas (MUI Chairman), Dr. Muinudinillah (Surakarta Sharia Council), and M. Zaitun Hasmi, Lc, MA (Member of the Foreign Affairs MUI). Before the event started, Sleman Regent H.Sri Purnomo with several Islamic organizations declares Society Sunnah Lovers. This declaration is a social commitment to strengthen Ahlussunnah teaching, and wary of cult such as Shia.

Noted 18 organizations joined the Sunnah Lovers community, among others; Jemaah Saladin UGM, FSLDK, LIDMI, Sham Organizer, Jemaah Ansharut Tauhid, Harakat Islamiyah, FORSALAMM, Indonesia without JIL Yogyakarta, FKAM, KAMMI, Force Muhammadiyah young, Laskar Mujahidin, KMNU UGM, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia, and others. About two thousand Muslims were so excited to attend this event want to know more clearly straying Shia teachings, and awaken the people above dangers, and on that occasion, the committee gave 500 books for free.

In the seminar, Dr. Muinudinillah conveys the history of the emergence of Shia. Meanwhile, M. Zaitun delivers about 17 principal Shia irregularities. According to DR. Muinudinillah, of various opinions about the history of the emergence of Shia, which is considered the most powerful is the argument that Shia appeared in recent Ustman caliphate bin Affan with feigned conversion to Islam was a Jew named Abdullah bin Saba. Then Prof. Dr. Yunahar Ilyas who is also Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah said that for the time being MUI published books Wary Deviations Identify and Shia Muslims in Indonesia to understand the dangers of Shia first and if something happens, then Ahlusunnah is ready.

The day after the book review event appeared a few responses are disappointed with the convening of the event, such as from activist for Religious Unity Forum (FPUB) Yogyakarta, Kyai Abdul Muhaimin who protest the amount of seed that allowed widespread intolerance in Yogyakarta and accused the local government DIY is not sensitive to the appearance of many symptoms that could potentially anti tolerance reproduce violence in the name of faith differences. "The concrete examples, the presence of a large banner of anti - Shia left scattered in the streets," he said that he was disappointed because the anti-Shi'ah seminar also took place at UGM Mosque. According to him, the intelligence community should be aware of the issue of anti-Shi'ah, it's a

danger for the agenda is no longer keeping the conflict based on differences in beliefs on fellow children of the nation. "UGM is a nationalist campus, stand on the ground of the palace, how to hold a seminar anti-Shia. It's Big betrayal on the ideology of nationality," he said. Muhaimin deplores this event because it shows the lack of UGM support to avoid the increasingly heated anti-Shia in Yogyakarta.

The next three days on Thursday, December 19 like not putting anti-Shia, Islamic Jihad Front visiting MUI secretariat office in Jogjakarta demand that Shia activities in Jogja must be discontinued. FJI also urged the MUI to make heresy fatwa to Shia. Muhammad Hanif Lusiawan as FJI representative said that this is the second coming to demand the discontinuation Shia activity in Yogyakarta. "A week ago we've been doing the same thing, wrote to MUI related to the Shia heretical fatwa," he said. Hanif added that the presence of Shia in Jogja very disturbing society and Islam. He accused the Shia can threaten the integrity of faith and troubling. Meanwhile Ahmad Mohsen as MUI secretary, Yogyakarta said it could not make a misguided fatwa for Shia. There must be evidence and data to prove the allegations astray. "We have to do the study before issuing a fatwa. Where are the evidence and data? used to collect evidence and data. Later there's also an expert assessment, then we can talk," he said. Nevertheless, Ahmad denies if there is an intolerance movement is trying to shake Jogjakarta as a city full of tolerance and live in peace in diversity. "No intolerance, Jogja is tolerant," he concluded.

From some reports in the media, it shows that recently appeared the spirit of anti-Shi'ah in Yogyakarta and from time to time seems to call for anti-Shi'ah growing louder, the early emergence of the threat of attack did not seem like a false report, but a plan of attack can be delayed by the presence of mediation efforts by providing a space for dialogue. Although the MUI itself has not provided a clear decision for the status of Shia in Yogyakarta, while waiting for a decision from the MUI, presence Shia group in Yogyakarta, was not calm, there are still threats of some intolerant parties, and more worrying is the threat in the form of provocative intellectuals, through seminars that can provoke public, and intolerant groups to commit acts of violence which can lead to many casualties as is the case in some areas lately, this situation has become even more pressing Shyiah group in Yogyakarta.

5. Conflict Prevention and Shia Interaction with the Society in Yogyakarta

a. Openness and Promote Dialogue

On Thursday, 20th December, we visited the Rausyan Fikr foundation, to ask directly the news that has grown in several media, at the time we got there and entered the house which is not big enough, but it looks like a library because quite a lot of books on display books on Islamic studies, they give a good welcome and are willing to provide answers and clarification on some of the charges were not true. We looked at this institute is an association that is sufficiently open to the public or other religious groups, it's as stated by one of the managers that there are often visitation from a few people to their foundation for learning and discussion, according to one of its member, Rausyan Fikr Foundation has a membership of approximately 200 people, the number of Pupils who settled 14 people, while staying outside but participate as a member of the Institute there are approximately 200 people, the study participants generally students from public and private universities, and the activity of its members are diverse, even about the member beliefs not only Muslim but also other religions like Christian and even Atheism, therefore they judge if there is assuming their place as the Shia center in Yogyakarta is wrong and baseless. They hope that the group was rumored to want to attack, would promote dialogue.

One of conflict prevention that has been done by Shia in Yogyakarta is “Operational prevention” which includes measures such as fact-finding and negotiation, mediation, monitoring missions, the creation of channels for dialogue among contending groups the Sunni and Shi'a.²⁷ In response to the threat received by a group of Shia in Yogyakarta, and the emergence of banners “Shia is not Islam,” on Monday 25th November, the Department of Religion, Yogyakarta together with MUI, held a dialogue to bridge these problems in the Department of Religion, Yogyakarta. In the event, they invited some representatives of several Islamic organizations in Yogyakarta for attended, including representatives of the Shia in Yogyakarta and Rausyan Fikr Foundation. On that occasion, the MUI through its chairman, KH.Toha Abdurahman said that so far there has been no fatwa from the MUI declared Shia is heresy." Until now, the MUI has not made a fatwa declaring that Shia is heresy, it's just that we hope Shia group is not heresy, " KH. Toha said in this discussion.

Meanwhile, the Shia Muslim group, represented Syahab Husain explained that Rausyan Fikr which has been accused of being a Shia organization is not a Shia organization. However, it does not deny that there are adherents of the Shia in Rausyan Fikr." Fikr Rausyan is not a Shia organization, but if there are adherents of the Shia in it are true, but not everyone in the Rausyan Fikr is Shia, there is also sunnah," said Husain Syahab. At the same time some of the organizations who attended the dialogue as FJI (Front Islamic Jihad) and MMI (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia) still insist that Shia is heresy and is not part of Islam. Also, MMI chairman Irfan S Awas, challenging Shia representatives to conduct scientific debate associated with Shia teachings. "We challenged the Shia to debate, if you lose, you should be repent," he challenged the Shia representatives were present. In response to this challenge, Husain Syahab said basically the Shia group is willing to debate and dialogue as far as scientific and there is no element of violence. "We are ready to debate, but the scientific dialogue without any violence. Please, if the Religion department wants to facilitate," said Husain.

b. Actively Socializing with the Society

As a research institute, Rausyan Fikr institute does not only focus on the study but also involves social interaction with society. They hold some religious discussion, *pengajian* in various themes, ranging from philosophy, *tasawwuf*, and other religious studies. Besides, this institution also socializes with the surrounding community, such as prepare an ambulance car, active in social helping, and working together with the community therein. Moreover, this institution actively in book publication that related to a lot of religious studies, especially Islamic studies.²⁸

In everyday life, its members also open up with the surrounding society, such as do the ritual prayer in the mosque and actively socializing with the community. However, other factors that may support why Shia in Yogyakarta are defendable is because of the attitude of openness residents of Yogyakarta, in general, cannot be separated from heterogeneous. Pluralities owned by the city of Yogyakarta into a sturdy foundation that makes Yogyakarta people receptive to new things. This societal stability, as well as civil society building, can be seen as Structural prevention that was long

²⁷ “The Idea and Practice of Conflict Prevention - Alice Ackermann, 2003,” 341, accessed March 30, 2020, <https://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.ugm.ac.id/doi/abs/10.1177/0022343303040003006>.

²⁸ The same case also happened among Sunni and Syi'ah at dukuh Candi, Banjaran village, Jepara where social and traditional values contributes to the harmony connection. See Ahmad Habiburrohman Aksa, “Harmoni Sosial Sunni Dan Syi'ah Di Dukuh Candi Desa Banjaran Jepara: Sebuah Pendekatan Fungsionalisme Struktural,” *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 12, no. 1 (December 6, 2018): 47–66, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2018.%x>.

term in nature and incorporates measures that facilitate governance, adherence to human rights, and economic, political, and social.²⁹

Besides, their participation in society, Shia in Yogyakarta also organizes free medical treatment and corpse management. Indeed, such activities have fostered in the heart of society in Yogyakarta that Shia is kind people. Another activity that holds by Shia adherent in Rausyan Fikr is by involving the youth generation around of Yogyakarta to study philosophy and Sufism. This event is conducted to get closer to society therein, especially, from the youth generation. Hence, this is proof that Shia in Yogyakarta tries to open up a dialogue by actively socializing with society.

D. Conclusion

Our discussions can be concluded as the following: There are reasons why Shia Community defendable in Yogyakarta. These reasons could be seen from the circumstance of the village and people around the Shia community in Yogyakarta. People in Yogyakarta respect each other with different communities. There is no refusal from the people in Yogyakarta of the Shia presence. It is proved with the 11 years existence of the Shia community in harmony. The tolerance between communities can be seen obviously in Yogyakarta. For instance: when intolerant people stick the pamphlets “Shia is not Islam” in the mosque the villagers take it off, because they think it was the act of provocation that can make a trigger of conflict and make the village insecure. Moreover, the Shia community in Yogyakarta also socializes with the society in Yogyakarta especially in the village surrounding it, such as prepare an ambulance car, active in social helping and also working together with the society. Also, Rausan Fikr opens to the people who want to study about religious studies, Philosophy. They allow interreligious people to study there.

In this case, there are responses of Shia in Yogyakarta about the threat of attack upon Shia: They feel such disappointed with intolerance people and also the police when they try to obey with their command to drop off the nameplate or to decrease the intensity of their activity, but they more and more be pressed by them. They feel that is unfair, the right to gather is protected by the state, why they who attack Shia do not stop. Shia wants to conduct a dialogue to clarify to the mistrustful people about the Shia community, especially in Yogyakarta. Nevertheless, the groups who disagree with them do not ready to dialogue with Shia, it seems they are anti-dialogue because before doing the dialogue they accuse Shia only with their assumption. Therefore, Rausyan Fikr acts obedient to the society, if the society would give a command to disperse the organization, they would do it. On the other hand, the principle of Rausyan Fikr is obeyed by the law and society but they don't think that they have to obey intolerance people. They don't have any right to prohibit Shia.

There are several things that Shia does after gaining threaten by others: Shia tries to obey what the intolerance people or police asked them. Police asked them to drop off the nameplate of Rausyan Fikr, they do and drop off the nameplate. Rausyan Fikr has to decrease the religious activity and forum for discussion, they always give in and try to minimize the intensity of their activity. Another thing that the Department of Religion Yogyakarta, together with MUI held a dialogue to bridge and solve this problem in the Department of Religion, Yogyakarta. The participants come from representatives of various Islamic organizations in Yogyakarta, including the representatives of the Shia in Yogyakarta.

²⁹ “The Idea and Practice of Conflict Prevention - Alice Ackermann, 2003,” 341.

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