Mapping Cases and Actors in Violations of Religious Freedom in Contemporary Madura

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Abstract
This study examines the dynamics of violations of the freedom of religion in Madura, mapping cases, actors, and handling models. This study is field research that uses qualitative research with a phenomenological approach. Methodologically, the choice of the qualitative type is based on the research objectives that want to describe the research problem in depth and focus. The research problem is to examine the dynamics of violations of freedom of religion in Madura, mapping cases, actors, and handling models of religious sociology. After analyzing the field data based on the perspective of the sociology of religion, this study found that cases of violations of freedom of religion in Madura tend to occur in the internal scope of the Muslim community, which is generally triggered by the attitude of 'resistance' to the dimensions of freedom of religion or belief, both dimensions of forum internum and forum externum. Based on these actors, the practice of violating the freedom of religion in Madura often involves religious figures. In this context, kyai is the most influential figure as well as the highest religious authority in Madura. In addition, other actors also come from mass organizations or religious groups, which in fact have great power and influence to mobilize the masses, as in the violation of freedom of religion that befell Shia Sampang adherents and Wahabi Muslims in Pamekasan. Regarding handling, the model of handling violations of freedom of religion in Madura has so far been more exclusive. The settlement process tends to produce unbalanced decisions, often centered and in favor of the majority group or groups, especially the local elite circle such as Kyai. In many cases, the handling process is not fully aimed at building a truly accommodative and moderate agreement, but rather at maintaining the status quo, creating domination, intimidation, and even religious intervention against minority groups.

Keywords: Cases Mapping, Contemporary of Madura, Freedom of belief, Violation of Freedom of Religion.

Introduction
After the bloody conflict involving Sunni Muslims and Shia Muslims in Sampang in 2011 and 2012, a series of religious events in Madura continued to emerge occasionally. In 2023, there were at least three religiously motivated social events in Madura, whose emergence was enough to invite the attention of many parties, namely the hate speech committed by Wahabi Muslim leaders in Pamekasan against a major figure of Sunni clerics that triggered massive protests and

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demonstrations that led to the forced closure of the Wahabi Mosque, polemics over accusations of blasphemy against Kyai Fathorrahman, which triggered a mass movement called the Pamekasan Islamic Ummah Movement (GUIP), and rejection and dissolution of Ustadz Hanan Attaki's recitation activities carried out by certain Muslim groups in Pamekasan. Recently, hundreds of Muslims took to the streets to protest the burning of the Qur'an by Rasmus Paludan.

Apart from the three events above, a number of other religious issues have emerged in previous years. Some of them include the action to disperse the burning and destruction of tourist attractions in Pamekasan, which allegedly involved certain religious groups, and peaceful action to reject vacination interceptions involving a number of leaders of pesantren in Pamekasan, the mass rejection of religious sympathizers in Pamekasan against the examination of religious leaders at Polda Metro Jaya regarding alleged violations of health protocols (2020); the occupation of the residence of the parents of the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, Mahfud MD, which involved hundreds of sympathizers of religious figures or leaders in Pamekasan; and no less interesting was the interception or obstruction of hundreds of masses in Pamekasan against the arrival of KH. Makruf Amin, who was about to make a pilgrimage to the grave of his mother, Kyai Busro, in Jambringin Proppo Village, Pamekasan.

In the context of Madurese community life, the study of religious issues along with the dimensions of internal freedom violations in it so far is relatively important and interesting. It is important because in many cases, acts of religious violations in Madura are often followed by acts and behaviors of anarchism in the form of physical clashes, triggering social chaos on a broad and large enough scale so that it is not uncommon to cause casualties, such as the case of Sunni-Shiite in Sampang in 2012. It is interesting because, reflecting on previous cases, some social religious events in Madura tend to intersect with other elements or motives outside themselves, which tend to be charged with personal and even political interests. Related to this, a study conducted by Masdar Hilmy (2015) found interesting findings that the heated conflict between Sunni and Shia Muslims in Sampang Madura was actually caused by political and economic problems, namely, the struggle for influence and economic land in the circle of local religious leaders (read: kyai).

Meanwhile, studies on violations of religious freedom in Madura have been conducted at the academic level. However, based on a search for previous studies, the general trend of research has focused on three aspects. First, cases of social religious violations in Madura tend to be studied from a religious perspective from a single perspective. Issues of deviation and heretical claims

against the teachings of certain religious views are considered dominant factors. Second, the study of religious issues in Madura emphasizes a structural approach. Religious violations in Madura arise as a consequence of the weak role and presence of authorities, especially in guaranteeing rights and protection for minorities. Third, a number of researchers have conducted special studies on how to create and build local wisdom-based peace strategies, one of which is maximizing the role and influence of kyai. This study has the special purpose of addressing the various weaknesses and shortcomings of previous studies. Much different from all the previous studies above, this research takes its own point of view by concentrating the focus of study and analysis on efforts to conduct sociological mapping to explore and understand the dynamics of violations of freedom of religion in Madura. Sociological mapping includes three elements: case mapping, actors, and handling or settlement models that have been used in every case of violation of freedom of religion in Madura. These three elements of mitigation will be raised and constructed through scientific research activities conducted directly in the field in the form of observation and in-depth interviews by combining two approaches: the legal perspective of freedom of religion or belief (KBB) and the perspective of the sociology of religion.

In general, the urgency and significance of this research are based on several arguments. First, to date, there has been no field research that specifically examines efforts to map cases of violations of freedom of religion in Madura that are carried out as a whole and thoroughly. Sociologically, this study is important considering that Madura has a typology of conflict-prone areas, especially religiously motivated conflicts (Islam). This is also a new dimension of this research that has not been revealed or exposed in a number of previous studies. Second, so far, religious studies in Madura have predominantly focused on the conflict dimension, tending to dwell on efforts to reveal the motives at the internal level only, which is often biased in defense and in favor of certain dominant groups. Beyond that, there is another dimension that is no less important, namely the actor dimension and handling model. Reflecting on previous religious events, these two dimensions often escape public attention and spotlight and have not been touched properly, making the agenda or program for handling issues and cases of religious violations in Madura not running fully and optimally. Therefore, if this situation is not considered and anticipated, it certainly has great potential to trigger the recurrence of social unrest and chaos in the Madurese community, including unrest in religious life.

**Method**

This study is a field research that uses qualitative research with a phenomenological approach. Methodologically, the selection of the qualitative type is based on the research objectives that want to describe the research problem in depth and focus. The research problem in question is to examine the dynamics of violations of freedom of religion in Madura, mapping cases, and...
actors, and handling models of religious sociology. The nature of qualitative research, which emphasizes explorative and subjective interpretative ways of working, has strong relevance to the research questions posed in the research. The research questions revolve around three (3) problem formulations: How is the practice of religious freedom violations in Madura? What is the dimension of the violation of the freedom of religion in Madura based on this case? Who are the actors behind the practice of violating freedom of religion in Madura?

Based on the location, this research was conducted in Madura, in this case, the Sampang Regency and Pamekasan Regency of Madura. Location selection was based on the characteristics and typology of the Pamekasan Regency, which religiously ranges from experiencing religious conflict. The data used in this research come from two sources: primary and secondary. In this study, secondary data were obtained from research data or information obtained through observation and interviews. Observations were carried out by repeatedly visiting the research location where the visit was carried out. In addition, so that the process of extracting data in the field is more in-depth, observation is also carried out through a participatory process, namely by visiting and living in the research location for a certain period of time, observing, and interacting directly with a number of informants. In addition to observations, primary data in this research were also obtained through interviews. In this study, interviews were conducted using an unstructured interview method with informants who had previously been determined by the researcher. The selection of informants uses a purposive method that considers the expertise and capability of informants to answer research problems.

In this study, the conclusion contains new findings in the form of answers to research questions, especially regarding the dynamics of violations of the freedom of religion in Madura, case mapping, actors, and handling models.

Result and Discussion

Description of Typology and Religious Dynamics in Madura

In many literature sources, Madura is known as an archipelago synonymous with religious values. In general, the religiosity of Madurese people can be traced to their daily social attitudes.
and behaviors, which tend to show considerable respect and recognition of religious symbols.\textsuperscript{16} Some local religious symbols that have been synonymous with the religious system and structure of the local community, such as pesantren, kyai, and social religious organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), all three are part of popular religious symbols that have so far been quite close to the religious tradition in Madura.\textsuperscript{17} Regarding NU, so close is the religious tradition of the Madurese people to the teachings of NU Islam that there is a joke that when Madurese people are asked about their religion, they will answer 99 percent of the religion of people in Madura is NU and the remaining one percent is Muhammadiyah.

Interestingly, although the Madurese community is synonymous with the existence of the NU Islamic organization, it tends to be more culturally rather than structurally meaningful. At the cultural level, the religious paradigm of the Madurese community represents the values of NU Islamic traditionalism, both in terms of teaching and religious ritual practices.\textsuperscript{18} However, at the structural level, the face of a community’s Islamic reality has a general tendency to be plural and heterogeneous. Many Islamic groups or organizations are developing there, and both have strong structural buildings. In addition to NU as the majority Islamic organization, a number of major Islamic organizations in Indonesia, such as the Islamic Union (SI), Muhammadiyah, Islamic Unity (Persis), and even some transnational Islamic understandings or sects that have been known to have strong militancy, such as Shia Muslims and Wahabi, all of which are also developed and can be found in Madura.\textsuperscript{19} Perhaps this is the reason why on many occasions, the internal heterogeneity of Muslims in Madura often triggers friction, conflict, and a number of other religious conflicts that reflect the crisis of religious freedom among local communities.

Like the natural law of diversity, Islamic religious plurality in Madura is not always stable. The potential and threat of friction between organizations and groups remain unavoidable. Moreover, in terms of religious culture, the majority of Madurese Muslim communities have a conservative religious tradition, tending to understand and display religious behavior in the form of normative and rigid thinking.\textsuperscript{20} Referring to Ahmad Najib Burhani’s study (2020), the tradition of religious conservatism in Madura is quite strong, and its existence is spread in almost all religious enclaves in Madura, ranging from Islamic boarding schools to Islamic mass organizations, including NU.\textsuperscript{21} That is why, based on his findings, although the Madurese community is culturally identical to NU, NU in Madura has another characteristic: NU’s conservative flavor.

The rootedness of religious conservatism in Madura is directly proportional to the massive emergence of right-wing Islamic mass organizations, such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Madurese Ulema Alliance (AUMA), Madurese Young Kyai Forum (FKM), Pamekasan Islamic

\textsuperscript{17} Lihat Kuntowijoyo, \textit{Perubahan Sosial dalam Masyarakat Agraris Madura 1850-1940}, ter. Mahmoed effendie (Jogjakarta: Mata Bangsa, 2002).
\textsuperscript{18} Lihat Hubb De Jonge, \textit{Agama, Kebudayaan, dan Ekonomi: Studi Interdisipliner tentang Masyarakat Madura} (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1989)
\textsuperscript{20} Abd Hannan, \textit{Fanatisme Komunitas Pesantren NU Miftahul Ulum dan Stigma Sosial pada Muhammadiyah di Kabupaten Pamekasan} (Surabaya: Universitas Airlangga, 2017), 135
Movement (GUIP), and many other religious mass organizations. At certain limits, the increasingly massive and heterogeneous presence of Islamic religious organizations in Madura is not without problems. There are concerns that the emergence of various Islamic mass organizations in Madura has great potential to trigger social turmoil in the community. Apart from the religious culture of the local community, which tends to be fanatical and militant, no less crucial factor is the strong attitude and behavior of self-religious sentiment towards Islamic religious groups outside them. This concern is quite reasonable considering that in the last two decades, there have been a number of cases of social conflict in the community using the motif of religious symbols, both as subjects and objects. Starting from inter-religious friction, conflict, persecution, intimidation, and various other conflicts lead to the attitude, actions, and behavior of violations of religious freedom in Madura.

**A Number of Violations of Religious Freedom in Madura-Indonesia**

Regarding the phenomenon of religious freedom crisis in Madura, data that can present detailed and measurable information on the extent to which Madurese people have resistant behavior towards religious freedom have not been found quantitatively. Because up until now, studies on cases of violations of freedom of religion in Madura are more in the form of qualitative studies in the form of certain events or cases. Even if there is information about it, it appears more sporadically through information or news in the mass media. It is only important to note, although quantitative information related to religious cases in Madura is relatively minimal and difficult to find, it does not mean that it can be concluded that the existence or situation of religion in Madura is normal. In fact, since the bloody incident between Sunni-Shiite Sampang exploded in 2012, a series of cases or social events involving religious elements continue to emerge from time to time.

Based on field data, there are at least five major religious cases in Madura that can be used as a general overview of the existence of practices violating religious freedom in Madura. Interestingly, these five cases occurred within the internal circle of Muslims, mostly involving Islamic organizations and the rest with sectarian motives. Some of them include the conflict between Shia and Sunni Muslims in Sampang (2012), the forced conversion of Shia Muslims in Sampang to Sunni Muslims (2021), accusations of blasphemy against Kyai Fathorrahman in Pamekasan, the forced dissolution of Ustaz Hanan Attaki's religious study sessions (2023), the forced closure of Wahhabi Muslim mosques in Pamekasan (2023), and the latest is the rejection by several local religious figures (kyai) of the presence of KH. H. Imamuddin Ustman al Bantani in Pamekasan (2023).

a) *The Sunni-Shia conflict in Sampang*

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The conflict between Sunni Muslims and Shia Muslims in Sampang, Madura occurred in 2012. This conflict was marked by local community rejection of the presence of Shia in Sampang, followed by acts of intimidation, terror, and vandalism. Based on its chronology, the bloody conflict between Sunni and Shia in Sampang had a rather long series of events. The symptoms leading toward it actually began to appear in 1998 when the preaching of Ustaz Tajul Muluk as the leader of the Shia gained a warm reception from the community, resulting in an increasing number of Shia followers in Sampang each year. According to an investigation conducted by the Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence (KONTRAS), the disharmonious relationship between Sunni and Shia in Sampang, Madura, escalated into physical and open conflict in 2004. At the time, it was marked by acts of terror and intimidation against Ustaz Tajul Muluk, the local Shia leader, Shia residents, Tajul Muluk's house, and his Misbahul Huda Islamic boarding school. The terror and intimidation continued in the years 2006, 2009, and 2011, and reached its peak in 2012.

The conflict between Sunni and Shia Muslims in Sampang-Madura may be considered an extremely bad precedent in the history of religious life in Madura, especially in the discourse on religious or belief freedom. This is because, in this event, various forms of mistreatment and negative actions were directed towards Shia Muslims in Madura, who are, in fact, a minority group in Madura. These negative actions include intimidation, terror, expulsion, and coercive actions, forcing them to abandon their Shia beliefs or teachings and convert them to followers of Sunni teachings, as is customary for Muslims in Madura.

As a result of this bloody incident, one Shia resident died on the spot after being struck by a sharp object; dozens of Shia Muslim homes in Sampang were burned down by the mob, as were their places of worship and Islamic boarding schools, which served as the center for their daily educational and religious activities. Since this conflict erupted in 2011, Shia Muslims from Sampang have had to leave their hometowns. They were forced to abandon their homes and belongings because of rejection and threats from surrounding residents. In 2013, after two years of living in the Sampang Sports Hall (GOR), Shia residents were relocated to Sidoarjo. In 2021, some Shia Muslims from Sampang were granted permission to return to their hometowns after expressing willingness to pledge allegiance, renounce Shia teachings, and embrace Sunni teachings.

b) Assimilation of Shia Muslims into Sunnis

On November 5, 2020, the handling of the Sampang Shia case entered a new phase, precisely after the willingness of several Shia groups to pledge themselves, abandoning their beliefs as Shia adherents and becoming Sunni Muslims. Based on field data, in this pledge process, more
than 270 Shia Sampang residents led by Tajul Muluk pledged their allegiance as Sunni followers. After almost ten years in refugee camps, there is no way for them to gain their rights and freedom of life. Becoming Sunni is the only way that their existence can be accepted by the surrounding community, living a normal life like the life of society in general.

Regarding allegiance, polemics have emerged in the community and in a number of social institutions. Some see the allegiance of Madurese Shia Muslims as a step forward in handling the Shia-Sunni Sampang case in Madura, which has been running in place for years. Moreover, as acknowledged by the Shia Sampang Madura delivered by its leader, Ustaz Tajul Muluk, the pledge to leave Shia teachings and enter Sunni understanding is a personal decision, a decision they take on the basis of self-awareness not because of coercion or pressure from other parties outside them. Beyond that, there is also a counter view that the allegiance to Sampang Shia Muslims in Madura is a form of violation of the right to freedom of religion.

The state seems weak in guarding the existence of Sampang Shia Muslims, thus making their fate and existence of Sampang Shia Muslims drag on and on. Therefore, in the view of this group, the pledge made by the Sampang Shia Muslim group is actually an attitude of their desperation to be able to access justice when the state tends to be handed off. Moreover, as we all understand, there is an impression that the allegiance of Sampang Shia Muslims in Madura tends to be forced, even has a series of systematic and structured events involving many parties and certain groups. Ironically, in one source, it is mentioned that this coercion practice involves state apparatus and local religious elites, in this case, the local government and clerics.

c) Kyai Fathorrahman and the Accusation of Blasphemy

Another religiously motivated case that attracted the attention of the people in Madura was the alleged blasphemy committed by one of the religious figures in Pamekasan, Kyai Fathor. This case occurred in 2022 and began with a complaint from the community that Kyai Fathor had embraced and taught an understanding or teaching of Islam that deviated from the teachings in general. Based on field data collection, six teachings of the Kyai Fathor are considered by the community to contain harassment and desecration of Islamic teachings. First, the Kiai Fathor alleged that Imam Mahdi had been blessed in the 2019 presidential election. Second, people who voted for Prabowo in the 2019 presidential election were sinful and had to repent and read istigfar, pray seven salams, and pay a fine equal to the size of an akikah goat. Third, menstruating women are obliged to pray and fast and do not need to make up for Ramadan fasting. Fourth, the position of Prophet Muhammad is equal to that of Allah. Fifth, there are currently no scholars. Ulama are teachings and not forms. Sixth, Dajal is an attribute and not a form.
In subsequent developments, the issues of blasphemy and blasphemy committed by the Kyai Fathor in turn invited strong reactions from the community. Tens of thousands of people who were members of the Pamekasan Islamic Movement (GUIP) took to the streets to demonstrate, demanding that the local police conduct legal proceedings and arrest Kyai Fathor because he was considered to have spread deviant teachings in Pamekasan, and Madura in particular.\(^{36}\) Mobilization and movement grew larger and more massive after a fatwa was issued by the local Indonesian Ulema Council. In its fatwa, MUI issued a fatwa if the teachings brought by the Kyai Fathor were classified as heretical and deviant out of true Islam. In its fatwa, MUI Pamekasan suggested that the Kyai Fathor immediately responded to Allah Swt., hoping that the Pamekasan Regency police would carry out legal proceedings through the stages as they should. Until this research is conducted, the legal process against the Kyai Fathor is still ongoing and a bright spot or clarity has not been foundity.

d) Enforced Dissolution of Hanan Attaki’s Recitation

Another case of religiously motivated violations in Madura is the forced dissolution of the recitation activities of the Ustadz Hanan Attaki in Pamekasan. The recitation event, which was originally held at the al-Muttaqin Mosque, Laden Village, Pamekasan, was rejected by a group of people and a number of local religious organizations. Some of the religious organizations that were resistant to the arrival of Ustaz Hanan Attaki were the branch leadership of NU Pamekasan and the Ansor Youth Movement as autonomous bodies.\(^{37}\) In addition, the same attitude was also shown by the local village head; he refused because it was feared that it would cause chaos and instability in his area. Interestingly, not all Islamic organizations in the local area refused; there were at least ten organizations supporting the activity, one of which was the Pamekasan Islamic Brotherhood Front (FPI) organization, even being the person in charge of ensuring security and conduciveness during the recitation event.\(^{38}\)

Days before Hanan Attaki’s recitation began, symptoms of rejection from the community and Islamic organizations in Pamekasan appeared, both culturally and structurally, through complaints to the police institution. However, for reasons of human rights (HAM), the police at that time could not prevent it and obstruct it. That is why, despite the rejection from several Islamic organizations, recitation activities were still held as scheduled, although in the end it had to stop halfway because at the same time, there were direct actions and protests in the field that had great potential to trigger social chaos on a large scale. In their view, if recitation is still held, it has the potential to cause more harm than good does.\(^{39}\) According to them, Ustaz Hanan Attaki is


considered to have an understanding of religious teachings that tend to conflict with the local community’s religious culture. In addition to his alleged involvement in the management of the extreme transnational organization Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Hanan Attaki is also considered to have a lecture style that tends to be offensive and controversial, calling the Prophet Moses a thug and wrestler, and is related to Siti Aisyah.

e) **Ustaz Yassir and the Enforced Closure of the Mosque**

A month after the forced dissolution of Hanan Attaki’s recitation in Pamekasan, a case with a similar motive occurred again in Pamekasan. The only difference is that this time it is more about the forced closure of a place of public worship, namely, the Wahabi Muslim mosque in Pamekasan. Based on field data, this case began with the alleged defamation of the great figure and founder of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Kyai H. Hasyim Asy’ari, by a salafi religious figure, Ustaz Yasir Hasan. In a religious assembly activity at a mosque that was broadcast live via the Internet network (streaming) on the social media channel YouTube. In his presentation, Ustaz Yasir stated that the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's Maulid, as commonly practiced by some Muslims in Pamekasan, was heresy, and the founder of the Islamic organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) KH Hasyim Asy’ari, according to the Ustaz, did not allow this activity. The religious stamen went viral and invited pros and cons in the community, not only protests, but also mass actions.

The culmination was a massive mobilization and mass movement, especially from the Nahdiyin community (a term for NU followers) of Pamekasan. They demanded that Ustaz Yasir apologize publicly and encouraged the police to immediately process the law because they believed that the perpetrator had committed hatred and desecration. Not enough to stop there, along with the action, the community also forcibly closed the salafi mosque, which was the place for their daily religious activities. Interestingly, the village head also participated in the mosque closure action, and a few hours before the action, local village officials went to the field first, ordering the mosque to be sterilized from all forms of religious activities. To ensure this, local village officials disarmed all facilities, such as electricity and loudspeakers, and blocked all entrances to the mosque so that religious activities could no longer function and run as usual. Although Ustaz Yasir finally clarified and apologized publicly, until this article was written the legal process against him was still ongoing.

f) **Rejection of Church in Sampang**

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In addition to violations of freedom of religion in the internal circle of Islam, as described in the previous sub-sub-discussion, cases of constriction of freedom of religion or belief in Madura also occur at the interfaith level. One of the cases that was successfully revealed to the surface of the public and the media is the violation of freedom of religion against Christians; in this case, the rejection of houses of worship belonging to the Church of the Indonesian Gospel Association (GPII), in Ketapang Dejeh village, Sampang Regency, Madura. This incident occurred in 2012, but according to chronology, the symptoms began to appear in 2008. It began when a pastor named Buas Sadono initiated the construction of a church, which at the time was intended to facilitate local Christians, who numbered at least 30 people.

At the beginning, the surrounding community did not question the establishment; it was just that after tracing the church construction activities that it had not been officially registered with the Ministry of Religion. Knowing this problem, the community, through the organization of the Coordinating Body for Community Beliefs (Bakorpakem), took action, refused, and threatened to burn it down. In subsequent developments, the masses demanded that unlicensed places of worship be frozen by the government. In addition to disturbing the surrounding community, the majority of whom were Muslims, because of its increasingly large and magnificent physical construction, and the establishment of the place of worship did not go through the notification and licensing of the local ministry of religion, namely the Ministry of Religion of Sampang Regency. Related to this, based on a field data search in the Sampang Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), there is no single name of Christian church in the list of public places of worship in Sampang Regency, either Protestant or Catholic, including in Ketapang Sub-district.

**Dimensions of Religious Freedom Violations in Madura; from Internum to Externum**

Reflecting on the many cases of violations of freedom of religion or belief that have occurred in the last decade throughout Indonesia, it is almost certain that every case of religious violation has complex dimensions and problems, ranging from actors, triggers, and handling. Unfortunately, so far, the general view prevailing in society has often reduced the dimension of religious violations as a simple or even minor problem. According to their understanding, an action can be categorized as violating the freedom of religion when there is a practice of self-imposition in the area of belief. In fact, at the normative level, the dimensions of violations of freedom of religion actually contain quite broad dimensions, ranging from internal ones such as beliefs, rituals such as worship, and external ones in the form of various religious expressions that relate to or come into contact with the public sphere.

Those is the case for religious violations in Madura. Reflecting on many religious events that have occurred in the last two decades, especially since the explosion of the terror tragedy against Shia Muslims in Sampang in 2011 and 2012, the row of religious violation practices in Madura actually has varied dimensions. It is just that the problem is, as described above, the
construction of public understanding of the dynamics of violations of religious freedom in Madura thus far tends to be flat, even limited to stopping at what appears on the surface. Consequently, the absence of comprehensive understanding has major implications for poor governance. The process of handling and resolving runs halfway or even fails, because it does not fully reflect a truly universal mitigation step and is not oriented towards objectivity and justice. In contrast, existing efforts have tended to be biased in favor of the (political) interests of certain groups, which are powerfully positioned as the dominant or majority group.

Referring to the concept of freedom of religion or belief contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1938, in this case, Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1966, theoretically, the practice of violations of freedom of religion has seven dimensions: 1) freedom to choose or change beliefs; 2) freedom to manifest religious teachings or rituals; 3) freedom from coercion; 4) protection from discrimination on the basis of religion or belief; 5) rights for parents and children regarding beliefs; 6) right of conscientious objection; and 7) under what circumstances the above rights can be restricted. In progress, these seven rights are then simplified into two dimensions of freedom of religion or belief, the internal dimension and the external dimension.

The big question now is at what dimension level has the practice of violation of freedom of religion in Madura so far? Before answering this question, the definitions of the rights internum and ham externum will first be elaborated from the perspective of freedom of religion or belief.

In the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the right internum is defined as the most fundamental religious right that is inherent in and possessed by every individual. This right includes the freedom to embrace a particular religion, convert, and even choose to be an atheist by not embracing any type of religion. Internal rights are absolute; they cannot be contested, restricted, or interfered with even by the state. The state is obliged to respect and protect the personal religious rights of each of its citizens in all conditions, whether stable or not. In addition, the right internum also has a natural nature, meaning that it is not given by anyone, including the state, but has been inherent and embedded naturally in every individual since he was born on earth. Therefore, from the perspective of politics and international human rights freedom law, any attempt to coerce or limit the right to belief or religion of a person to embrace, leave, switch, or even not embrace religion at all is considered a violation of human rights and, at the same time, injures the value of human dignity.

In the context of freedom of religion in Madura, looking at a number of cases of religious violations, as described above, elements of denial of internal religious rights can be found in several cases, for example, in the conflict between Sunni Muslims and Shia Muslims in Sampang. At this

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50 Keith, “The United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: Does It Make a Difference in Human Rights Behavior?”
limit, Shia Muslims in Sampang, as a minority group in Madura, experienced a series of negative treatments that led to the confinement of their right to freedom of religion at the internal level. This negative treatment they receive in the form of intimidation, intervention, and coercion to abandon their religious beliefs as adherents of Shia teachings ultimately leads to Sunni attribution. This is similar to the case of blasphemy accusations against the Kyai Fathor in Pamekasan. Although the polemics and cases are not as horrendous as the Sunni-Shiite conflict in Sampang, the claim of heresy against the Kyai Fathor because of his religious thoughts that are considered deviant and heretical, to a certain extent, is sufficient to illustrate the practice of violating freedom of religion at the internal level.

The next dimension of violation of freedom of religion is the externum dimension, which means the right to express or manifest religious teachings or values in the form of rituals, worship, and thought. Article 18, paragraph (3) of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states that everyone has freedom, either alone or together with others, in public or private, to practice his religion and belief in teaching, practicing, worshiping, and regulating activities. Specifically, this right includes religious activities carried out and practiced in public spaces, including worships/prayers, performing religious ceremonies both privately and collectively, the right to use ritual objects and religious symbols, the right to disseminate religious teachings, and the right to ensure religious education for children in accordance with their religion or beliefs.

According to the description above, if we connect it with the context of this study, namely the dynamics of violations of freedom of religion in Madura, almost all religious cases in Madura that occurred in the last two decades clearly illustrate the practice of violations of freedom of religion at the external level. For example, in Sampang, there was a community rejection of the establishment of a Christian church in the Ketapang Sampang District. The most public attention is the act of intimidation, prohibition, terror, persecution, and even discrimination against Shia Muslims in Sampang, such as burning places of worship, dissolving ritual activities or religious events, and prohibiting Ustaz Tajul Mulak as the leader of Shia Sampang from carrying out his preaching activities. Similar cases also emerged in Pamekasan: the forced dissolution of Ustadz Hanan Attaki's recitation because it was considered to adhere to right-wing views and affiliated with a banned organization called HTI, the forced closure of the Wahabi Muslim mosque in Pamekasan, the latest, namely the rejection of KH. H. Imamuddin al-Bantani’s religious recitation activities because it was considered to spread liberal Islamic teachings or thoughts.

**Actors Identification in Religious Freedom Violation Cases in Madura-Indonesia**

Reflecting on the experiences of previous cases, almost all practices of violation of freedom of religion in Madura are accompanied by social conflicts, ranging from horizontal to vertical conflicts. Interestingly, based on the mode of operation, the majority of religious conflicts have the same instruments and patterns, both of which rely on and utilize religious elements at the discursive

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56 Sobibatu Rohmah, “Identity Politics and National Integration; A Case Study of the Sunni-Shia Conflict in Sampang, 2012.”

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and structural or institutional levels. At the discursive level, certain parties build religious conflicts by creating negative narratives that lead to claims of heresy and deviation.\(^{57}\) Meanwhile, at the institutional level, conflict or opposition in cases of violation of freedom of religion in Madura usually involves community organizations and local religious leaders. The big question now, are those instruments and patterns also found in cases of violation of religious freedom in contemporary Madura? If so, who are the parties or actors who are often involved in the practice of violating the right to freedom of religion in Madura?

To answer the above questions, there is one interesting and relevant theory cited in this study, namely Freeman's grand conception of stakeholders. In particular, this theory does not present theoretical reviews that specifically examine the dynamics of religious freedom violations or conflicts. However, Freeman's formulations and thoughts related to the interactive relationship between groups, individuals, and interests with organizational goals in the structure or social institutions of society at a certain level have a strong connection with this study.\(^{58}\) Moreover, as explained by Hiener Bielefeldt, the practice or act of violating religious freedom, whatever motive, absolutely requires the existence of interests and the presence of certain parties as intellectual actors behind it. As in conflict, the terminology of interest here contains a dynamic meaning, but it is not far from the element of self-subjective desires or desires that must be fulfilled, both in material form, such as natural resources, and immaterial, such as self-esteem and thinking. Included in the category of immaterial interests is power; arguably, this aspect is the most dominant variable that triggers conflict and the practice of violations of religious freedom.\(^{59}\)

Another key word in Freeman's stakeholder theory is the concept of an actor. Etymologically, in the popular sense, actors are synonymous with people or parties who play an active role in an important event, but they can also be understood as the brains behind various acts of deviance, such as riots, arson, and murder.\(^{60}\) Based on their level of importance, Freeman divides actors into three groups: main, supporting, and key actors. The main actor is a party with a direct relationship with the source of interest. Usually, the main actor plays a dominant role as the subject that produces and controls every dynamic occurring in the field. Because of this central role and position, the existence and movements of the main actor are difficult to detect; he rarely comes to the surface, except in certain situations and conditions.\(^{61}\) Adopting Adam Smith's terminology, the main actors are the invisible hands that have the power to produce and reproduce and control the situation.

How can understand the existence and role of the main actors in the context of cases of violation of freedom of religion in Madura be understood? It is quite easy to answer because, reflecting on many religious cases in Madura, groups or parties that often come to the surface are often religious parties or groups that have considerable influence on social capital, both in terms of political power and mass. Based on field data searches, there are at least two local religious

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59 Novri Susan, Sosiologi konflik dan Isu-isu konflik kontemporer (Jakarta: Kencana, 2010).
structures that are clearly identified as playing the role of the main actors in cases of violations of freedom of religion in Madura: religious organizations and the presence of kyai as influential local religious figures in Madura.\(^6^2\) At the practical level, at the level of religious organizations, the concrete manifestation of the role and involvement of religious organizations as the main actors in cases of violations of religious freedom in Madura can be traced to the role and involvement of the Pamekasan Islamic Movement (GUIP) organization in the case of the alleged blasphemy committed by Kyai Fathor in Pamekasan. Even so, in the case of violations of religious freedom against Shia Muslims in Sampang, the role and involvement of religious organizations are clearly identified through the involvement of the Indonesian Ulema Council in Sampang, which at that time issued a legal fatwa of heresy and deviation against Shia Sampang adherents. In addition to the MUI, there is also an association between the Sampang Ulama Consultative Forum (FMU), the Madura Pesantren Ulama Gathering Agency (BASRA), and a number of other local Islamic religious organizations.\(^6^5\)

Interestingly, based on the findings of field data, the majority of religious organizations above stand and operate under the leadership and control of local religious figures in Madura, ranging from kyai to lora (a special designation for young kyai in Madura).\(^6^4\) These findings simultaneously become an explanatory variable for the involvement of the kyai as one of the main actors behind the practice of violating the right to freedom of religion or belief in Madura. This thesis is also reinforced by a number of previous studies that specifically examine the correlation between the role of kyai and religious issues or conflicts in Madura that led to the practice of narrowing public rights at the religious level, one of which is the research conducted by Abd A'la (2018), Islamism in Madura: From Religious Symbolism to Authoritarianism. In this study, A'la explains that the massive development of Islamic organizations among clerics, especially those with right-wing views, such as the Madura Young Clerics Forum (FKM) and the Madura Ulema Alliance (AUMA) organizations, to a certain extent has triggered an increase in the religious constellation within Muslims in Madura.\(^6^5\) Starting from the constellation at the level of interests (political), the struggle for influence, social movements, and the constellation of religious thought that leads to claims of misdirection and deviation against other religious groups or organizations outside it.

According to Freeman, the second actor cluster is a support group, which helps or encourages the process of handling and resolving cases. According to Freeman, key actors, groups, or individuals who carry out the role of supporting actors do not have a direct relationship with interests, only that they are bound by a sense of concern and concern so that they speak out.\(^6^6\) What needs to be emphasized here is that supporting actors can emerge from two different directions simultaneously representing the camps of interest that are in the middle of a polemic or conflict. Like the two sides of a knife, at certain limits, as long as they can present objective and professional views, the

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existence of supporting actors may have a positive impact on clarifying and handling cases. Even vice versa, if supporting actors are not clear about the situation or conspire with the main actors, their role and existence have great potential to make the practice or case of violations even worse and difficult to control.

Related to this study, who are the parties or groups of supporting actors in cases of violations of the freedom of religion in Madura? Based on field data collection and paying attention to the roles and functions of various parties who took part in the dynamics of cases of violations of religious freedom in Madura, the role and existence of supporting actors are often dominated by several non-governmental organizations, which institutionally focus on following and guarding issues of freedom and human rights (HAM). In the case of the Sunni-Shiite conflict, for example, the role of supporting groups in this event was shown by the Commission for the Disappeared and Victims of Violence (KONTRAS) and the Surabaya Legal Aid Institute (LBH) foundation. This refers to their active role in the protection and legal defense of the Shia Muslims of Sampang in Madura as the object or victim of confinement of the right to freedom of religion or belief in Madura. In addition to non-governmental organizations, the regional people's representative council is included in this group of supporting actors. DPR, through its function and authority in some related commissions, has the ability to control. It is just that in many cases of violations in Madura, they often do not make much noise and even tend to be silent. This is because most practices and actions of violations of freedom of religion in Madura often intersect with the political interests of the majority group.

The last cluster of actors handling religious cases, according to Freeman's stakeholder theory, is the key group. Based on a review of its popular meaning, the term key is synonymous with a door opener, the main determinant of whether something functions. As for normatively, Freeman defines the term key actor as a party or group that has the authority to make decisions in certain cases according to their level. In this sense, it is clear that the existence of key actors plays a central and vital role in the handling and resolution of certain problems, not least in cases of violation of religious freedom. Because of this vital role and position, the role of key actors cannot be operated by anyone but is limited to certain groups or groups that have institutional legality and authority.

Even so in other cases, the closure of the Wahabi mosque in Pamekasan, the forced dissolution of Hanan Attaki’s recitation, the accusation of blasphemy against Kyai Fathor in Pamekasan, the rejection of the construction of the Christian Church in Ketapang Sampang, the burning of the MWCNU Lenteng Office in Sumenep, the rejection of KH.H. Imamuddin al-Bantani in Pamekasan, all the series of practices of violating religious freedom presuppose the weakness of key actors (the state) carrying out their responsibilities in society. Ironically, in the case of the closure of Wahabi mosque in Pamekasan, the state apparatus that should play the main role as the key actor to carry out the function of supervision, handling, providing a sense of security and comfort for its citizens to carry out the teachings and rituals of worship according to their beliefs and religion, the facts on the ground in fact show the reality that is still far from the fire. In many cases, the state, through some of its apparatus, is clearly known to be involved in violating the freedom of religion for its citizens, as shown by the village head (Kades) Nyalabuh Laok

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Pamekasan when sealing the mosque in Madura. A thesis on state involvement in cases of violations of freedom of religion or belief in Madura resonates with the findings of the Setara Institute, where of the total 422 cases of violations of freedom of religion in 2020, 238 actions (56.4%) were committed by state actors. The state actors who committed the most violations of religious freedom were local governments and police, each with 42 actions. The Attorney General's Office has recorded 14 violations of religious freedom.

Conclusion
Based on the above, several important points are the conclusions of this research. First, the issue of violations of freedom of religion or belief in Madura has increased from year to year, with the same tendency as the increase in religiously motivated conflicts in Madura that occurred in the last two decades, especially since the explosion of the conflict between Sunni and Shia Muslims in Sampang. The majority of cases of violations of the right to freedom of religion or belief in Madura occur among local Muslim interns, and very few involve or relate to adherents of other religions outside it (Islam). The only case of violation of the right to freedom of religion in Madura that involves Muslims with other religious groups outside it is the rejection of a number of Sampang Muslims against the construction of a Christian Church in Sampang in 2012. Second, based on this dimension, the mapping of cases of violations of freedom of religion or belief in Madura occurs in two dimensions at once, namely the internal and external dimensions. Third, related to actor mapping, some parties who play a special role in the cases of violations of freedom of religion or belief in Madura consist of three groups: 1) The main group actor, the party who has a direct relationship with the case or interest, usually comes from the majority of religious groups, groups, and organizations in Madura. 2) Supporting group actors, this group does not have a direct interest, but has concerns, so they also speak out. Generally, NGOs specialize in human rights issues. 3) Key group actors who have legal authority in decision making according to their level and field. Included in this category are elements of the Forkopimda in Madura, such as the regional head and chairman of the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD).

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