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POLITICAL CULT (STUDIES ISSUES MOBILIZATION HERESY AND STATE FAILURE TO PREVENT CONFLICT IN THE NAME OF RELIGION IN PLIMBANG BIREUEN ACEH)

Nirzalin, M. Nazaruddin, Fakhurrazi

Sociology Departement Malikussaleh University Lhokseumawe Aceh
Email : nirzalinarmia@yahoo.co.id

ABSTRACT

Giving "misguided" label to a group whose different religious ideology from the mainstream ideology is not free from political interests, economic and cultural image of the competition. Based on the case in Gampoeng (village) Jambo Dalam Plimbang, Bireuen district, this study wanted to show the comprehensive reality behind the violence in the name of religion against the group that was labeled misled. This qualitative study found that mass anarchism reaction against Tengku Aiyub group that was labeled misguided in Jambo Dalam village, Bireuen district is not just motivated misguided issues alone. This reality is triggered by the conflict between Tengku Aiyub and some village apparatus leaders and the competition of building cultural image between Tengku Aiyub with local traditional martial arts. Critical attitudes of Tengku Aiyub toward financial management which is considered not transparent make some apparatus village leaders feel upset. Meanwhile, the image of Tengku Aiyub as a traditional martial arts master in Aceh had challenged other hero to increase number of students. The failure of local government in preventing and anticipating this case contributes to the birth of an unplanned collaboration between the parties whose their existence threatened because of Tengku Aiyub until finally the tragedy of mass anarchism happened which took the life of Tengku Aiyub and one of his followers.

Keywords: *Misguided, Cult Politics, Aceh, Conflict*

1. Introduction

Gampoeng (village) Jambo Dalam which locates in Plimbang, a sub-district in Bireuen district Aceh province is usually a calm and peaceful place in Bireuen. However, on 16 November 2012 the situation is changed become horrible. Shouts, cries and a massive anger broke the silence of the night. Apparently, it was a fateful night for a group of local residents who were accused of practicing and spreading misguided religious thought. They blindly attacked by groups of residents who feel disturbed by their ideology that is claimed different from the existing religious practices.

An attack that involves about 1500 citizens destroyed not only the infrastructure where the group usually conducted their religious studies but also claimed three lives and 10 others were injured. Even worse, what make people shock was that the two victims died because of being burnt alive. The victims were Tengku Aiyub Syakuban as the leader of that group and his loyal follower, Muntasir. Burning people alive is still new phenomenon in Aceh. Many Therefore, many argue that this tragedy is unbelievable.

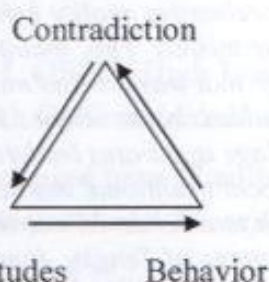
In fact, the tolerance towards diversity in religious beliefs was well practiced in Aceh in the past time accordingly to what Prophet says in the hadith that the diversity is a blessing. In Aceh, religious life is dynamics and dialectic in harmony (Nirzalin, 2012) until the accident happened. Moreover, the government such as military and police, as well as formal religious leader like MPU: Ulama (Islamic Scholars) Consultative Assembly in fact

could not able to anticipate such violation. Consequently, this tragedy has destroyed a harmonic and constructive norm of religious life in Aceh that cannot be restored in a short term period, yet need a long time to rebuild the unity of the people (Bowen, 1993). This paper explores the *what, why* and *how* the incident is taken place.

1.1 Theoretical Perspectives and Research Methods

One of the contributions of conflict sociology of Galtung (2003) showed various individuals, groups and organizations that bring their personal interests in social interaction. These interests, then, generate contradictions in social relationships that lead to conflict. Following chart shows the details:

Chart 1. Galtung Conflict Triangle



Source: Johan Galtung, *Studi Perdamaian, Perdamaian dan Konflik, Pembangunan dan Perdaban*, (Surabaya: Pustaka Ereka, 2003), p.. 161

This conflict triangle is an analysis of a causal relationship or interaction that allows the creation of social conflict. There are three dimensions in a triangular conflict of Galtung, are *Attitude, Behavior* and *Contradiction*. Attitude is perception of member of the ethnic about certain issues relating to the other groups. Behavior can be cooperation, competition or coercion; a hand and body movement that shows friendship or hostility. Contradiction is the emergence of a situation involving problems of attitudes and behaviors as a process, meaning that the contradictions is created by the elements of perception and action of ethnics who live in a social environment (Susan, 2010)

Dialectics of interest that generates tensions will, in turn, bring about violence. For Galtung, violence is everything that hinders people to actualize their potential naturally (Galtung in Mas'oeed, 2000). Galtung said that the violence is initiated from the cultural violence such as cultural aspects; a symbolic area of human existence which is represented symbolically by religion, ideology, language, art and science that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence (Galtung, 2002). Direct violence is a violence action that is directly undertaken by a person or group of people against another group. While structural violence is a seesaw inherent process in a temporary structure of cultural violence. It is an invariant that is something permanent as a foundation of violence.

Thus, violence is not just a state of suffering or misery inflicted on a person. Violence can also be a barrier for a person to obtain goodness or happiness that the foundations exist in certain aspects of culture. Galtung classifies types of violence in based on the typology as shown in the chart below:

Table 1. Galtung Violence typology

	Survival Needs	Welfare Needs	Identity Needs	Independence Needs
Direct Violence	Murder	Siege, Blockade	Desocialization, Rationalization, Second Class Citizenship.	Repression, Detention, Expulsion.
Structural Violence	Exploitation A, Hunger, Ailing	Exploitation B	Penetration Segmentation	Marginalization, Fragmentation

Source: Johan Galtung, *Kekerasan Kultural*, (2002, p. 31)

Tabel 1. shows that both direct and structural violence occur in four types of basic human needs (survival needs the negation of death, welfare needs the negation of suffering, identity needs the negation of alienation and freedom needs the negation of repression) which then produces eight types of violence following their derivatives. Violence may be the result of actions taken by a state, businesses and communities (Mas'oed, et. al., 2000).

Religious violence may occur as a result of threat toward mass happiness because their cultural values as part of their identity are abused. While the state is acting as a referee in the social arena is seen too weak and less concern on such matter, even considered ignoring. The combination of cultural identity abuse and the absence of government encourage people become more violent. As a result, they react themselves as the effort to defend the purity of the identity.

This study employs qualitative approach which seeks to understand (*verstehen*) and find out the meaning of violence in the name of religion from abuser perspectives and appreciation. Therefore, phenomenological perspective is applied in this study in order to understand the detail phenomenon of the research. In this methodological perspective, objectivity is built on the formulation of specific situations as appreciated by an individual or a particular social group (Moleong, 2000). In this context, they are group of perpetrators of religious violence in Jambo Dalam Plimbang, Bireun District. Figuring out the process is important because what appears as human behavior represents what is in their mind (Faisal, 2003).

To obtain the data as the basis for interpretation in order to answer the research problem mentioned above, next presentation will discuss location of research, subjects of research, techniques of data collection and data analysis techniques respectively.

2. Material and Method

2.1 Research Location

Present study was conducted in Jambo Dalam, Plimbang Bireun District, Province of Aceh. The location was decided because of the fact that an extreme religious violence happened at the end of 2012. In fact the region is geographically categorized as central region of Islamic teaching: traditional Islamic boarding school (*dayah*) in Aceh. The existence of this religious atmosphere encourages people to build good relationship among

and inter-religion and appreciating each other, until the incident of mass violence happened against groups claimed as misguided on 16 November 2012.

2.2 Research Informant

The informants in this study is the people who commit involved in the religious violence including the main actors and all followers, the local Islamic leaders, formal Islamic scholars (MPU) and law enforcement (police).

2.3 Techniques of Data Collection

Several data collection techniques are used in this study, include:

a) In-depth Interviews

In addition to the observations, to obtain primary data, this study used in-depth interviews technique which was conducted to the perpetrators of violence, followers, local Islamic leader, formal Islamic scholars (MPU Aceh) and law enforcement (police). All the key interviewee was determined using purposive technique. In-depth interviews were conducted primarily to explore what is hidden in someone's deep hearts concerning about the past, present, and future (Faisal, 2003), as well as biographical background (Nugroho, 2001) and the living environment of the subject.

b) Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

Initial data obtained from observation and in-depth interviews were further confirmed through FGD (Focus Group Discussion). If the data from observation and in-depth interviews reflect personal data, the information obtained in the FGDs was obtained collectively. During FGD, crucial and sensitive data obtained from the interviews will be reconfirm through discussion forum participated by subjects whom previously interviewed.

c) Use of Documents.

As mentioned by Moleong (2000), this study also utilize both personal documents such as diaries, personal letters and autobiography, and official documents like memos, announcements, instructions, rules, minutes of meeting, the leader's decision, magazines, newspapers, newsletters and other relevant records incorporating to the research.

2.4 Technical Analysis and Data Interpretation

- a. The interpretation of the data obtained from in-depth interviews and secondary data as well as the documents will be analyzed in three stages:
- b. Firstly, data reduction stage that aims to do screening, sorting, sharpening, organizing the data into a certain formula, a certain category, or a specific theme. Second, the data display stage which is intended to present the data in the form of a sketch, synopsis and matrix which is necessary to facilitate the description and conclusion affirmation in the effort to verify the data as the third stage.
- c. The process of data analysis was not completed at one time simultaneously in a linear form, but the process follows an interactive and back and forward cycle which needs to be done starting from the data collection (Miles & Haberman,

1992). Then, the data was analyzed through interpretation techniques as suggested by Patton (2000) to provide a significant meaning to the analysis, explain description pattern and find out the relationship between the dimensions of the description.

3. Result and Discussions

3.1 Demographics and Interior Construct of Socio-Religious of Jambo Dalam People

Jambo Dalam village is located in Plimbang Bireun district, province of Aceh. The village is adjacent with Cot Geulumpang village from the north, with Paloh Pupu village from the South, with Bugeng Krueng Peudada village from the east and bordering with Uteun Rungkom village from the west. Overall land settlement is 122 hectares, 88 hectares are rice farm and 389 hectares are plantation area. Jambo Dalam is domiciled by 121 heads of families. The number of men is 212 and number of women is 242 people. The total population number is 454 people, 98 of them had not completed primary school education. Only 6 person who finished undergraduate study and the rest completed junior high school (Monographic Data, 2009). Jambo Dalam people are rural communities. Their central earn for their live is from agricultural products. The main agricultural products of the village are Rice, Soybean, Corn, Chillies, Long Beans, Cucumbers, palm, cotton, rubber, coconut and palm oil. Rice farming area is 10.5 hectares, 20 hectares is for Corn, 100 hectares for Soybean, 5 hectares for Long Bean, 5 hectares of Cucumber, 10 hectares of chilly, 30 hectares of rubber, 40 hectares of coconut and 60 hectares is for oil palm (Monographic Data, 2009). Rice farming is more subsistence than the industry. Generally, rice farming is aimed to meet their own consumption needs, only when the harvest reaches maximum production, some of the products will be for sale. Agricultural orientation is derived from the concept of their ideology that "*Pang Ule Ibadat Seumbahyang, Pang Uleu Hareukat Meugoe* (the central of worship is the prayer and the main earning job is farming) (Nek Chiek, 2014).

The slogan is the basic view of the people of Jambo Dalam to the world, so that farming is not interpreted only as a livelihood, but as an identity for life and survival. Thus, although one is a farmer, he/she will keep planting rice in his/her land. Agricultural business which shows potential economic activity is rubber plantations, nut and palm oil. However, most people become workers of the agricultural products. Farms are mostly owned by rich people outside of the village. Only a minority of people have their own garden. Livelihoods activities which focus on agriculture shape people in Jambo Dalam as farmer communities. Togetherness is created due to the similarities of geography, food, social interaction, livelihood and interaction intensity has created a social norm which is shared together. This situation, then, also create high reciprocity of problems faced in the community. As a result, the social interaction builds a warm emotional relationship. Cooperativeness becomes the main characteristic of the people. This reality binds emotional ties that unite the diversity. The unity of emotional relationship creates a principal belief that "one for all and all for one". This behavior is reflected in their daily practical activities by which they always see one's problem as all's problem. This fact encourages people in Jambo Dalam always participate in facing and solving problems together.

Characteristics of solidarity formed in the community in Jambo Dalam demonstrate what Emile Durkheim called *mechanical solidarity*. In mechanical solidarity, the main bond of the unity is mutual trust, shared dreams and moral commitment. Collective consciousness, thus, appears through the same norm where individuality is pressed and homogeneity is highlighted (Johnson, 1994). As an organic community, people in Jambo Dalam always respect group expectation in their personal behavior. Social pressure is highly emphasized on individual who behave threatening the existence of shared norms. Individuals who are "brave" to create different behavior and understanding will require extra caution in order that the individual able to coexist. Otherwise, a hard social sanction will be punished to individual who against the norm. The diversity is appreciated to the extent of not threaten the main norm (mainstream) of the community. The sanction of violators will be "isolation" or exclusion from the community. So the moral commitment to maintain norms and group solidarity is highly emphasized. Every people in Jambo Dalam are Muslims (Monographic Data, 2009). They are religious and fanatical people Muslims. Here, people practice Islam Ahlusunnah wal Jamaah. In Fiqh practice, they follow Imam Shafi'i and Al-Ash'ari theology. *Strong engagement of people Jambo Dalam and Islam* became the cornerstone for the people to place Islam (especially the teachings of Imam Shafi'i) not only as a religion but also as a system of life and worldview. Islam then becomes a source of reference in dealing with all the problems, attitudes and decision, as well as Islam is considered as part of the identity.

Islam as a system of ideology and way of view (worldview) is reflected in a traditional expression of the people of Aceh (*Hadith Maja*), namely, "Hukom ngon adat han jeeut cree, lagee zat ngon sifeut". (The law/Shari'a law and the social life should not be separated like substance and its nature (Zainuddin in Sunny, et.al, 1980). While as the identity, Islam is reflected in the fact that Jambo Dalam people will be harassed and angry if they are accused as non-Muslims, even though in they do not practice Islamic teaching well in their daily lives such as prayer and fasting. The close relationship between Islam and Jambo Dalam people is reflected in the philosophical phrase, *Ta Peutenteu Udep Lam Islam Sampo An matee*" (We make sure that our life in Islam until die) (Ismuha, 1983). Respecting Islam as a worldview and identity system results the community of Jambo Dalam in strongly respecting the Islamic teaching. However, lack of knowledge on Islam is considered as justification of the importance on the Islamic teacher. In Jambo Dalam, Islamic teacher is called *Teungku*. There are five categories of *Teungku* known, are *Teungku Dayah*, *Teungku Bale*, *Teungku Rangkang*, *Teungku Imeum Meunasah* and *Pak Teungku*. *Teungku dayah* is a leader of a *dayah* (boarding school); *Tengku Bale* is who became the vice of *teungku dayah* in a *dayah*. Sometimes, they are called as the chairman of *dayah*. It refers to his position as the principal of a *dayah*. *Teungku rangkang* is who serves as medium-grade teacher at the Islamic boarding school. *Teungku Imeum meunasah* is a leader in *meunasah* (praying house) in a village, and *Pak Teungku* is designated for one who graduated from State Islamic Institute College (IAIN) (Nirzalin, 2012).

Teungku dayah is the main figure in the village. He is very influential *teungku* in Jambo Dalam society and generally in Aceh both in religious learning and teaching and social and political issue. Charismatic appeal of a *Teungku Dayah* is reflected in people belief that he is a "sacred" person as the successor of the prophet"; as a "*Keuramat*"

(miracles) person; he is "never wrong" (cannot do any mistakes) and as the "mother" who always struggle for the best interest of the society. The respect (*takzim*) of Jambo Dalam people toward *teungku dayah* make their religious characteristics are closely associated with the characteristics taught by the *teungku* and his followers. In general, *teungku dayah* is professing Shafi'i teaching very well, so Islamic character of Jambo Dalam community is not separable from the teachings of Imam Shafi'i. The central references of Islamic teaching of the people in Jambo Dalam are derived from three scholars from the East Coast of Aceh, which is geographically close to the village, they are Abu Tumien Blang Blahdeh, Bireun, Waled Mudi MESRA Samalanga, Bireuen, and Abu Kuta Krueng Ulee Glee, Pidie.

3.2 *Tengku Aiyub and His Interaction with Gampoeng's Elite*

Tengku Aiyub was born in Jambo Dalam village on July 1, 1965. His father is Syahkubat, a carpenter and diligent farmer. Not having other jobs makes him unable to afford his own land for farming. This situation makes his family live economically unstable. Although living in poverty, Syahkubat tries hard to send his children to school. Syahkubat send his kid, Aiyub, to dayah of Abu Isa M. Nalan. After completing his two years studying there, Aiyub is moved to dayah Tengku Arongan in Samalanga, Bireuen. In addition to learning Islamic teaching, he also learned *Acehnese silat* (martial art) in both dayah. His talent makes Aiyub could rapidly learn this skill, even faster than he learns Islamic knowledge itself. Nevertheless, Lung disease that Aiyub suffered prevents him to work normally as others. So his daily activity what he can do is to teach Quran to his children. The lessons taught by Tengku Aiyub to his son are Islamic teaching which is based on written in the book *Masailal*. This book is predominantly discusses about the basic laws in Islam such as *Tauheed*, *Thaharah* and so on. Once a time, his friend Bukhari, a Civil Servant at Pandrah District Office visited his house and found Aiyub was teaching the Quran to his son. The way Tengku Aiyub taught his son, using contextual teaching and reasoning to strengthen the argument based on Qur'an and Hadith, attracted Bukhari's attention who graduated from Dayah Mudi Mesra Samalanga. As a results, what he saw and heard from Tengku Aiyub gave him extra understanding particularly on the correct procedures of praying and performing ablution.

Furthermore, as the news about the way Teungku Aiyub teach Islam spread out through Bukhari, many people from around the village came to his house to learn about the basics understanding of Islam. In addition to teaching religion, Tengku Aiyub is also respected as a physician. His house is visited by many people seeking medical treatment every day. Even, his patients came not only from surrounding but also from outside of the village (Nek Chiek, 2014). Through medical treatment activity, Tengku Aiyub spread the influence of Islamic teaching to his patients, especially to patients staying at his house. His medical treatment skills, even for some chronic diseases speed up his popularity and name. People see that Teungku Aiyub has extraordinary abilities. Islamic scholarship, expertise in medicine (physician) and martial arts *sileuk* raised him become a great and charismatic leader among his group. In social concept, the term charisma was firstly used by Weber (1964). Weber defined charisma as a particular trait of a personality of an individual based on where the person was considered extraordinary and treated as a person who has

supernatural superior characteristics or at least by the forces of distinctive and exceptional. Therefore, a charismatic person is a person whom the people believe that he has an impressive strange ability which is considered invisible and sets him apart from the ordinary. "The term charisma will be applied to a quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities (Weber, 1964).

Whether someone "really" has any or all special characteristics which are considered as the perfection by his followers it does not matter, the important thing is remarkable properties that are considered by others as an attribute of the person. The validity statement on the authority of charisma, in any context, is always based upon trust from both the leader and the followers towards the authenticity of task of the leader. The charismatic character usually gives "evidence" of its authenticity by doing magical act or by stating the divinity revelations (Giddens,). The obvious evidence of charismatic leadership of Tengku Aiyub is demonstrated by the attitudes of his followers by being subservient, obedient and ready to do whatever he says. Even, his followers are ready to defend on any confrontation against Teungku Aiyub. One of his followers, Sulaiman Badai, said that: "*Adak Neukoh Taku Han Yang Loen Loen Suroet Leu Jak Bak Tengku Aiyub*" (Although you slaughter my head I will never stop coming to see Tengku Aiyub) (Badai, 2011). The attitudes of his students indicate that Tengku Aiyub is a highly respected figure in the community. His action and suggestions on something always brings compliance and immediate response from his followers.

Another thing that raises the authority of Tengku Aiyub in his followers' eyes lies in personality. Tengku Aiyub is a straightforward person and stick to the principles of Islam. Anything that is against his view will be complained. In addition, he is known as a critical person towards the problems in the village. For instance, in case of aid to the village, he is very critical on the use of the budget. If he senses any budget abuse, he will not feel hesitate to complain even using inappropriate words although it is directly confronted with village officers like Geuchiek, village secretary, and *Tuha Peut* (Council of Elders in a village). As a result, his attitude makes some village apparatus dislike him. Tengku Aiyub's attitude inconvenience their existing peaceful way of governing. If this situation is not anticipated, their power is possible to be at stake. In the same manner, in the case of religious aspect, Tengku Aiyub will not hesitate to criticize something he sees inappropriate with Islamic view. For example: the case of mosque which is not closed. In his view, leaving the mosque opened is danger as many animals can go back and forth into and make hadaths carelessly. His attack is also offending Teungku Imuem at the mosque. Tengku Aiyub's attitude generates disharmonious relationship between him and village officials as well as Teungku Imuem at the mosque.

3.3 Spreading News of Misguided

Islamic teachings delivered by Tengku Aiyub, except writing phrase of *tauheed* in the body of death, is categorized as regular teaching taught by all Teungku in Aceh. The teachings that he interprets from the book he learned is seen as usual things and debatable. However, in the end of 2010, there was news reporting that Tengku Aiyub taught different

and misguided Islamic teaching to his followers. This news is unstopably spreading out because the source of information is not only from ordinary people but also from the people who is respected in Jamboe Dalam village, such as *Tengku Imeum Chiek*, *Geuchiek*(head of village), *Sekdes*(village secretary) and *Tuha Peut*. However, the first source of information about this issue was still vague. There was no one who earnestly tries to find out clarification. This issue is seen very sensitive because it relates to the matter of *Aqidah Islamiyah*so people are more focus on spreading the news rather than finding out the truth.

Table 2. Accusation of Misguided Issues against Teungku Aiyub

No	Accusation of Misguided Issues	Informant
1	Verse of <i>Kursi</i> in the Qur'an is wrong. The right one is the verse that he has (Teungku Aiyub).	Tgk.H. Usman Pandrah
2	Teungku Aiyub argues that he can take some one's life.	Tgk. Samsul Blang Kuta
3	Teungku Aiyub argues that his piety is as high as Imam Ghazali	Tgk. Samsul Kuta
4	The meaning of <i>Alhamdulillah</i> is that everything in this world is belong to Allah thus we can take other's belongings.	Tgk. Samsul Kuta
5	When getting married, husband should declare by saying: " <i>Ka Hamba Teurimoeng</i> " (I (servant) have accepted).	Fadhli Ismail (Geuchiek Jambo Dalam) Tgk. Royani (Imeum Gampoeng Jambo Dalam) Syarifuddin Saleh (Keurani/Sekretaris Desa Jambo Dalam)
6	Teungku Aiyub believe that Quran has more than 6666 (six thousand six hundred and sixty six) verses.	M. Kasem (Tuha Peut Jambo Dalam) Tgk. Jailani Padang Kasab (Pimpinan dayah/Imeum syiek Mesjid Teungku Dikupula) Tgk. Abdul Manaf (Bilal Mesjid Tgk. Dikupula)
7	On the forehead of the death body, it should be written down <i>syahadat</i> sentence using water. <i>Tauheed</i> sentence should be written on the right side and <i>syahadat rasul</i> is written on the left side. If these sentences had been written down, he says " <i>Alhamdulillah Hanna Tameudoa Lee Pih Jeut</i> " (if we do not pray for the death is fine) because <i>syahadat</i> sentences are the best prayer for the death.	M. Kasem (Tuha Peut Jambo Dalam) Tgk. Jailani Padang Kasab (Pimpinan dayah/Imeum syiek Mesjid Teungku Dikupula) Tgk. Abdul Manaf (Bilal Mesjid Tgk. Dikupula)
8	Revelation is directly revealed from Allah to Teungku Aiyub and the soul of Prophet Muhammad exists in his body.	M. Kasem (Tuha Peut Jambo Dalam)
9	He is able to see what happen (punishment) in the grave.	M. Kasem (Tuha Peut Jambo Dalam) Tgk. Abdul Manaf (Bilal Mesjid Tgk. Dikupula)
10	Teungku Aiyub knows when dooms day comes and he knows that the greatest disaster will come more than tsunami in 2004).	M. Kasem (Tuha Peut Jambo Dalam) Tgk. Abdul Manaf (Bilal Mesjid Tgk. Dikupula)
11	Teungku Aiyub perform Jum'at prayer directly in	M. Kasem (Tuha Peut Jambo Dalam)

No	Accusation of Misguided Issues	Informant
	Arab because has extra power called "LADUNI" given by Allah SWT.	
12	Nasrani can enter to paradise.	Tgk. M. Ali Ismail Blang Panyang Ti Aisyah Lhok Manee Rukaiyah Lhok Manee
13	Reciting surah Alfatihah " <i>IYA KANAK BUDU WAIYA KANAS TAIN</i> " and when doing ablution we have to intend saying in our heart that "this is Allah's hand".	Nurmalawati Kuta Rusep Nuraskiyah Kuta Rusep Erlinawati Pandrah Janeng Badriah Pandrah Janeng Abdul Gani Geuchiek Pandrah Janeng
14	There is a hole in his house where he keeps rice, clothing and books. He considers that after the doom day we will reborn and will use that cloth, eat the rice and reads those books.	M. Jafar Calok
15	Coming to the mosque is not an obligation because we can do it by saying in our heart silently.	Maksal Bin Bukhari (Murid Dayah Abon Hafana) Fadlina Binti Amiruddin (Murid Dayah Abon Hafana)
16	Dajjal is already in this earth but still unknown where about.	Maksal Bin Bukhari (Murid Dayah Abon Hafana) Fadlina Binti Amiruddin (Murid Dayah Abon Hafana)
17	Imam Mahdi has born but still a kid.	Maksal Bin Bukhari (Murid Dayah Abon Hafana) Fadlina Binti Amiruddin (Murid Dayah Abon Hafana) (MPU, 2011)

Such misguided issues are quickly spread out within the community. On the other hand, Tengku Aiyub and his followers were not aware yet, so they still maintain performing their usual ritual activities as usual. It is sensitive because it relates to the issue *Aqidah* that makes people of Jambo Dalam disturbed. The people are worry about the widespread of this misguided concept of Islam day by day which in turn could increase the number of the followers even it could also happen to anyone's family member. This situation and concern from parents and youths in the village remains an endless topic among the community.

3.4 Statement of MPU

People concern of misguided issues of Tengku Aiyub finally attracts the attention of Scholars Consultative Assembly (MPU) in Bireun. Evidence of misguided practiced by Tengku Aiyub is presented by community to MPU in an appropriate moment because such issue is considered as serious concern by MPU Aceh. At the same time, in fact, missionary activities and effort of misguiding the *aqidah Islamiyah* is found widely spread in Aceh. In West Aceh, it is found that a large number of bibles are delivered under the guise of NGO donation. Another case, Gayo residents are taken to Medan and forced to convert to Christianity. Also, the same thing happens with some residents in Ujong Batee Aceh Besar. Then, based on the reports submitted by people from Jambo Dalam village and

surrounding communities, MPU call Tengku Aiyub and his followers to meet MPU for clarification. In the early stages, Tengku Aiyub is reluctant to answer the invitation because he argues that no clarification needed. However, based on some considerations and his wife finally he came to meet MPU (Wardiyah, 2014). On April 5th, 2011 his followers came to see MPU, while Tengku Aiyub came a day later on 6 of April 2011 (MPU, 2011).

Interestingly, after two days plenary session held by MPU, it results a sharp disagreement between the testimony given by the community and the clarification from Tengku Aiyub and his followers. Tengku Aiyub and his followers are able to refute all the accusations addressed to them. Instead, the accusers consisting of several leaders of the village, religious leaders and community members are unable to prove each of their allegations. Tengku Aiyub repeatedly argued that all accusations are slanderous. All Islamic religious thought that he taught to his children and followers were written in the books that he learned from the Islamic boarding school where he was studying, except the idea of writing *syahadat* sentences on the death body which is initiated by Tengku Aiyub (MPU, 2011). He argued that if he practices misguided concept, his wife will be the first individual who fight against him (Wardiyah, 2014) because, in fact, his wife is a graduate of the famous Islamic boarding school in Aceh, it is dayah Abu Seulimeum, Great Aceh.

Surprisingly for Tengku Aiyub and his followers that the results of the session which is in the form of the Decree/statement of MPU Kab. Bireuen precisely won the complainants allegations. After conducting a series of plenary session on Teungku Aiyub Syahkubat and his followers, Scholars Consultative Council in Bireuen finally issued a decision (*fatwa*). The fatwa is based on the results of the plenary session which says:

First, the group of Tengku Aiyub Syahkubat is an exclusive group / taqiyah or group of people who tend to hide their teachings from public access which, then, causing anxiety, suspicion, slander and other negative impacts within the society. Secondly, Scholars Consultative Assembly (MPU) in Bireun stated that all activities performed by Tengku Aiyub Syahkubat and his followers should be stopped throughout Bireun district because:

First, Tengku Aiyub Syahkubat does not have scientific capacity to give lectures and teaching. Secondly, activities practiced so far lead to misguided teachings as it is not in line with regular teachings and with what are practiced by other scholars currently in Aceh, particularly practiced by local communities. Thirdly, the activities practiced cause anxiety and slander of the community which may lead to mass anarchism (MPU, 2011).

The decree (*fatwa*) stipulated by Scholars Consultative Assembly (MPU) in Bireuen was issued on April 7, 2011. The fatwa was accepted as a strange decision by some followers of Tengku Aiyub Syahkubat. According to Ummi Wardiyah, Tengku Aiyub's wife, during the meeting session between Teungku Aiyub and MPU chairman, TGK. Hanifah Hamzah, it is said that Tengku Aiyub teachings is not misguided. He adds, the main problem lies on power and economical problem (Wardiyah, 2014). So, this decision confirms his followers that the MPU is not fair in making decision on this issue. Subjectivity due to the massive pressure from community who dislike Teungku Aiyub seemed more dominant than running Islamic laws.

3.5 State Intervention Failure and Massive Reaction

Position of MPU, as representative of the government and other related apparatus are considered weak in dealing with Tengku Aiyub which, then, make people pessimistic and trustless that they could resolve this issue. This fact makes people feel that the problem of Tengku Aiyub is not government's problem any longer, but it is their problem now. As their problem, then they have to solve it. People think that MPU and police can no longer be expected to solve this issue, and failed addressing this problem. As a result, people do not comply with any announcement from MPU and police that warn the people to not act anarchically against Tengku Aiyub and his followers. When some apparatus of Jambo Dalam village and communities desperate with the failure of MPU and the police solving this problem, the people feel increasingly disturbed by the another issue saying that Tengku Aiyub insulting against village leaders and some *Teungkudayah* that they respect. Even though the source of the issue is still unclear, but people believe that the information is true. Tengku Aiyub and his followers intentionally convey those insulting statements. However, there is no single person who admits that he/she hears the words directly from Tengku Aiyub and his followers.

Wild issues that rapidly spread out among the people and offend them are:

Table 3. Insulting issues from Teungku Aiyub and his followers to the communities

No	Deliverer of the Issues	Issues	Sources
1	Tgk. Mawardi Imeum Gampoeng Lhok Manee	<i>Meuyoe Tapakek Ridak Adak Bak Asei Pih Teungku</i> (if it is worn the scarf, even the dog can be considered as a <i>Teungku</i>)	It is said that the words come directly from Teungku Aiyub
2	Syarifuddin Sekretaris Desa Gampoeng Jambo Dalam M. Kasem Tuha Peut Gampoeng Jamboe Dalam	The people of Jambo Dalam are " <i>Kafe Seumah Tika</i> " (disbelievers who worship to praying mat)	Directly from Teungku Aiyub
3	Syaifuddin Masyarakat Jeunib	Abi Nas from Jeunib dan Abi Hafana from Padang Kasab are <i>Leumo Meuserban</i> (cows wearing turban)	Directly from Teungku Aiyub
4	Tgk. Husaini Sekretaris Desa Gampoeng Seuneubok Seumawae	In his point of view, students from dayah are dog.	Directly from Teungku Aiyub
5	Tgk. Sulaiman Pimpinan Dayah Manarul Huda	In his view, all community members are pig	It is said from his follower, Nabhani
6	Abon Sudirman Pimpinan Dayah Cot Geuleungku	Teungku Aiyub believe that he is more pious than Abu Mudi and MPU officers are dog	It is said from his follower, Bukhari
7	Muhammad Is Warga Masyarakat Nasee Mee	Abu Pulo Iboh is called a goat by Teungku Aiyub (MPU, 2011).	From Bukhari

Those various issues are quickly spread out make people have mix feeling: upset, disappointed, offended and angry. People begin to losing their patience. Moreover, the confirmation letter from head of sub district to the Regent of North Aceh stating that the

teaching activities of Tengku Aiyub are normally run again and requested the district government to intervene and to stop those activities within Bireuen district. This situation provokes the people to confront and solve the problem on their own. The problem is that the issue of misguided of Tengku Aiyub has existed for years and remained unsolved by the government.

Misguiding *Aqidah* and insulting the existing religious norms are seen as intolerable phenomenon. They think that the people have to perform re-purification movement. Thus, on November 17, 2012, people massively move to Jambo Dalam to meet Teungku Aiyub for clarification about the activities and teachings he develops so far (Tribun News, 2012). Apparently, the police have been informed about the mass protest at that bad lucky night of Tengku Aiyub. It was indicated from the communication between the head of police officer with Syarifuddin, the secretary of Jambo Dalam village. Syarifuddin said:

"The incident took place in a sudden time, the situation is still normal until before sunset/Magrib. During the sunset, I was called by Kapospol (police) asking about the situation in Jambo Dalam village. I said that everything is normal. Kapospol ensure whether or not the situation is under fire, then, I said yes because I was setting fire for my goats" (Syarifuddin, 2014).

However, there were no police attempting to block the arrival of mass or any other preventive action, neither the government nor MPU from Bireuen. According to Tengku Aiyub's wife, Wardiyah Ummi, the public come to teungku Aiyub's house at around 20:30 pm after *Isyaprayar*. "I heard that there was someone throwing the stone onto my house, calling for Tengku Aiyub to step out by saying inappropriate and cursing words. Then, I saw the front part of my house which is wooden made was burnt. There were some policemen trying to calm down the people. At the time, only me, children, Tengku Aiyub and his nephew, Muntasir, were at home. There was no one from Tengku Aiyub's followers. Because of fire, the electricity was off at home. Also, because we had new baby and other little kids, Tengku Aiyub asked me to go to my parents' house which is near to our house (Wardiyah, 2014). In the black out, suddenly at 23:00 pm an issue came up saying that Mansuri, a man from Lancok Bungon, Plimbang killed by Tengku Aiyub and his followers using machete weapon. This news made the people ran away for survival. Few minutes later, thousands of people came back and massively attacked house of Teungku Aiyub angrily. People used anything to attack and destroy Teungku Aiyub. They used rocks, machetes and swords attacking Tengku Aiyub's house. Among the people, there were police and army who keep trying to stop actions of the people. Warning shot repeatedly released by the army to warn the people. However, the people became more barbarous and none of security forces were able to control that massive incident.

This sadistic incident is out of humanity. House and study hall of Teungku Aiyub were burned. While the body of Tengku Aiyub was dragged away, both of his thighs were cut, and then put over a few strands of wood, then his body and his nephew's body, Muntasir were splashed with gasoline and *subhanallah* they are burnt out alive. Being still alive, someone in the crowd said "He's not dead yet, because he is a big *syaitan*". Then, a man came with his sword, *Mashallah* he cut Aiyub's head off his body (see video on *Plimbang Tragedy*). This incident, where the victims were burnt alive and slaughtered is the first case happened in Aceh. This inhumanity incident was irrational and difficult to

believe. Series of well systematic and structured events indicate this mass action is based on plan. Actors who mobilized the movement remain unknown. External actors utilized disadvantages situation between Tengku Aiyub and village apparatus. The triangular relationship between Tengku Aiyub, village apparatus and local Islamic leaders which are less harmonious seemed to be the beginning of this incident. Tengku Aiyub was critical towards *Sekdes* and *Tuha Peut* of the village whom he considered lack of transparency in managing the funding for village development became the basic reason make them dislike Teungku Aiyub (Wardiyah, 2014).

Village apparatus see Tengku Aiyub as a thorn in the flesh. He is not cooperative and difficult for compromise. He also like to say bad words which attack and hurt them. *Dayah* leaders who also an *Imeum* of the mosque feel offended by Tengku Aiyub because he less appreciate the mosque as he said that the mosque is less sacred. Moreover, the public is also less respect to Tengku Aiyub because he had bad interaction with them. Tengku Aiyub almost never attended community events. His exclusivity makes people feel that he is not part of them. Therefore, this incident can be described as an influence competition event on economic and religious influence between Tengku Aiyub, village apparatus and local Islamic religious leaders rather than "misguided" issue. The people of Jambo Dalam itself were manipulated by misguided provocation raised by the opponents of Tengku Aiyub. Thus, when large number of public from outside of the village came attacking Tengku Aiyub at Jambo Dalam they gave no defend or prevention. The "ignorance" of Jambo Dalam community onwards this incident is reflecting their execration to Tengku Aiyub whom they claimed out of their group. It also indicates the application of social sanction in an organic society system.

4. Conclusion

Mass anarchism which resulted in the death of Tengku Aiyub Syahkubat and some of his followers by group of people starts from the widespread of "misguided" news against them. The issue of misguided teaching from Tengku Aiyub stems from a series of critical attitude of Tengku Aiyub towards the village leaders. On the village management level, Tengku Aiyub questioned the transparency of budget usage. While, on the local *Imeum*, Teungku Aiyub criticized his less attention to the piety of worship (mosque) palce during the process of construction. For Tengku Aiyub, in order that the mosques to keep piety and clean, the mosque should be closed during the construction works. Leaving the mosque opened while construction work is not good. This fact makes Teungku Aiyub being hesitate to perform the prayer in the Mosque which then raises a question from the society and *Teungku Imeum*.

At the same time, Teungku Aiyub who is well known as an expert in playing sword challenges the local martial arts champ to prove his capabilities. The phenomenon provides cultural barriers and minimalist imago to the process of the development of martial art followers. Therefore, Tengku Aiyub became the enemy of three dimensions in the same time, they are village government apparatus, religion leaders and martial arts masters. Then, the issue of misguided against him is rapidly spread out from mouth to mouth. The attitude of the government in handling this case was not seriously resolved. Even, particular parties seem to "ignore" this problem. Reaching the peak, thousands of provoked

mass from surrounding area came and deadly attack Tengku Aiyub. It is tragic that the cases resulting from the disruption of political and cultural capital issue should be ended with a mass anarchism.

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