

## Violence in the Eradication of Violence in the Perspective of Islamic Religious Leaders in Maluku, Indonesia

La Jamaa<sup>1</sup>, Ahmad Lonthor<sup>2</sup>

### *Abstract*

*This paper aims to examine the perception of Islamic religious leaders in Maluku against acts of violence in eradicating apostasy in society. Data were collected through field research using observation and interview techniques. The data were analyzed qualitatively and descriptively interpretively. The results show that from the perspective of Islamic religious leaders in Maluku, acts of violence in da'wah to eradicate apostasy have three characteristics, namely destroying facilities that are considered as means of apostasy, easy accusing heresy and infidels against Muslims who are not in line with their group, and at a certain level kill the target through a suicide bombing. Therefore, acts of violence by Islamic Community Organizations to eradicate apostasy in society are illegal and can even damage the image of Islam and Muslims in Indonesia. This violates Islamic law. For this reason, a non-violent solution is needed to eradicate Munkar through enacting regional regulations by accommodating local wisdom and increasing understanding of Islamic teachings through intensifying da'wah based on Amar ma'ruf.*

*Keywords: violence, apostasy, Islamic law.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

In essence, munkar is an act that disturbs the community so that it is categorized as one of the actions that are prohibited in Islamic law. In this modern era, wrongdoing is often done openly and even considered as part of the lifestyle of modern society. Thus, munkar acts have been considered as normal acts, such as consuming liquor and drugs, adultery, gambling and other apostasy acts.

Specifically for drug abuse, based on data from the National Narcotics Agency, between 2021 and mid-2022, 55,392 drug cases have been revealed with 71,994 suspects.[1] This data does not include those

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<sup>1</sup> Faculty of Sharia and Islamic Economics, IAIN Ambon, Indonesia, lajamaa26@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup> Faculty of Sharia and Islamic Economics, IAIN Ambon, Indonesia, ahmadlonthor@iainambon.ac.id

that have not been disclosed by law enforcement officials. Likewise, cases of gambling, prostitution are rampant in society. Corruption by officials is also an act of munkar. According to Transparency International data, in 2022 that Indonesia ranks 3rd of the most corrupt countries in Asia.[2]

If the munkar acts in the form of corruption have been dealt with by law enforcement officers, then there are several munkar acts that are often raided by Islamic Community Organizations with the aim of preventing munkar, so that munkar does not run rampant in society. The raids were carried out, among others, in brothels (commercial sex workers), liquor stores, especially before or during the month of Ramadan. Especially in the month of Ramadan, raids on stalls or restaurants that are open during the day are carried out because it is said that consumers who eat lunch there are not people who get dispensation from Islamic law.

The problem that occurred was that the raids were carried out in an anarchic manner, using violence, and the stalls and restaurants were damaged. From the point of view of the members of the Ormas conducting the raids, they feel that they have done good (preventing apostasy) but do not consider that there are people who need to eat lunch because they have received dispensation according to the law. Sellers also need to open their wares to meet the needs of their families while still paying attention to the atmosphere of the month of Ramadan.

The problems above are interesting to study the use of violence that aims to prevent these apostasys from having a negative impact on the image of Islam and Muslims in Indonesia. Moreover, Muslims are often labeled as intolerant and radical people. In this regard, solutions from Islamic religious leaders are needed.

Research related to the use of violence in solving problems has been carried out, including the study of anarchists by Daniel Rothchild,[3] the study of anarchy and religion by Leticia A. Cortes Ortiz,[4] anarchism and religion by Erik Ringmar,[5] also by Alexandre Christie Yannopoulos, and Lara Apps,[6] a study of anarchism and feminism by Joachim Willems,[7] Steven Bartlett's analysis of anarchist actions as a solution to human apostasy behavior conducted by Marthin, Brian,[8] a study of Maluku local wisdom towards handling of domestic violence by Ahmad Lonthoir and La Jamaa.[9]

Some of the studies above have not comprehensively examined the problems in this paper. Daniel Rothchild's research only examines anarchists in general, not the use of anarchist actions in eradicating acts that are prohibited in Islam. Leticia A. Cortes Ortiz's research focuses on the relationship between anarchy and Catholics. Joachim Willems' research focuses more on the study of anarchists and

feminism. Martin's research, Brian examines Steven Bartlett's analysis of the use of anarchic actions as human apostasy behavior as well as a solution. Meanwhile, the research by Ahmad Lonhoir and La Jamaa relates to the prevention of domestic violence through the local wisdom of the Moluccan Muslim community.

This paper needs to be done to examine the parts that have not been studied in several studies or writings above. Some of the articles above have not examined the problem of acts of violence in eradicating munkar, the views of Islam and Islamic religious leaders on acts of violence in eradicating munkar, as well as solutions for eradicating munkar without anarchy, violence. In line with this, this paper examines the issues carefully: (1) What are the characteristics of anarchist da'wah in eradicating apostasy in society? (2) How is the legality of violent acts of Islamic community organizations in eradicating apostasy; (3) What is the solution for the ulama in eradicating apostasy without violence?

There are three assumptions that are used as the basis for the discussion: (1) acts of violence carried out by CSOs are acts against state law even though they are aimed at eradicating munkar; (2) The use of anarchic actions in the eradication of apostasy will have a negative impact on Islam and Muslims in Indonesia, (3) In Islam it is believed that the eradication of apostasy is carried out without violence so that fostering the improvement of people's faith is the main focus of Islamic religious leaders.

## **METHODS**

The primary data used in writing this article were obtained through field research. Data were collected using observation and interview techniques to several informants consisting of Islamic religious leaders in Maluku, namely the leaders or administrators of Islamic Community Organizations and Muslim academics. While secondary data is obtained through library research conducted through a study of theories from the literature related to the problems discussed.

The informants in the research for writing this article were the leaders or administrators of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Ambon City, Muhammadiyah Maluku, Indonesian Dai Association (IKADI) Maluku, Islamic Association (Persis) Maluku, Wahdah Islamiyah Maluku, Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) Maluku and Ambon City MUI, leaders of the Ambon City Tablighi Jamaat and lecturers at IAIN Ambon.

The data obtained in the study will be analyzed qualitatively and interpretively, so as to produce conclusions.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 1. Characteristics of Anarchist Da'wah in the Eradication of apostasy

Da'wah is one of the efforts to eradicate apostasy that occurs in society. But what about da'wah carried out anarchically, such as suicide bombings carried out by terrorists, or anarchist raids carried out by Islamic Community Organizations? Related to this, according to Baco Sarluf, M.Fil.I that "in practice there are da'wah which are categorized as anarchic acts, such as killing those committed by suicide bombers or destroying places of immoral actors." [10] This model of da'wah is categorized as anarchist da'wah. Because it causes fatal consequences for the target of his da'wah, even taking the life of himself and others who become victims.

Likewise, according to Hatta Ingratubun, Lc Chairman of the Fatwa Commission of the Ambon City MUI, that radical da'wah is da'wah that is easy to disbelieve all Muslims in Indonesia. Also exaggerating the problem of khilafiyah, it is easy to accuse the worship of others as heresy in the aspect of branch problems in Islamic law. Likewise, da'wah which considers all people in Indonesia to be infidels. If based on the verse *waman lam yahkum bima anzalallahu fa ulaika humul kafirun*, then they disbelieve all Muslims in Indonesia, except their group. Anarchists also consider their group to be the best, not only on the main issues, but also on the branch issues. [11]

Based on the description above, anarchist da'wah in eradicating has the characteristics of destroying facilities that are considered as means of apostasy, such as restaurants serving consumers during the day of Ramadan, prostitution localization, killing other people through suicide bombings, easily accusing heretics and infidels to others. Muslims who are not in line with them.

So, an anarchist or radical da'wah is a da'wah that invites anarchist and radical actions that can result in victims of property and life, both aimed at fellow Muslims of different sects, sects and non-Muslims. Likewise, da'wah is easy to disbelieve in Muslims who are not in line with them. Schools of religious thought are used as benchmarks for beliefs and worship practices and only consider beliefs and worship practices as they believe and practice as the only true beliefs and worship practices.

### 2. Legality of Violent Actions by Islamic Community Organizations in the Eradication of Violence

At certain moments, certain mass organizations appear in Indonesia which prevent munkar with the strength of their masses. They even destroy the goods that are considered related to apostasy. In this connection the question arises; Is it legal for certain Islamic Community Organizations to use violent, anarchic actions in eradicating apostasy in Indonesia? The General Chairperson of the

Wahdah Islamiyah Regional Leadership of Maluku Province assessed that the closing of stalls or restaurants in the month of Ramadan was not entirely appropriate. According to him, that action was caused by a misperception of the hadith about preventing munkar. Actually, in the month of Ramadan, there is nothing wrong with selling rice as usual. Why are rice traders prohibited from selling in the morning? After all, it is his livelihood. There is no relationship between the prohibition of selling rice and fasting in Ramadan. Even if there is a relationship, it is only to honor the month of Ramadan.[12]

Whereas "Islamic Community Organizations cannot immediately act to eradicate apostasy with force, except communicating with the apparatus. If the munkar has been repeatedly carried out, there is also no response from the apparatus, then the mass organization can take action, as a form of appeal for the apparatus to carry out its functions. For example, the coordination carried out by the Ambon City Indonesian Ulema Council with the Ambon City Regional Government regarding the closure of the prostitution localization in Tanjung Batu Merah which has been operating for decades." [13]

Therefore the use of hands/force should only be carried out by the authorities/state and it becomes an instrument in law enforcement. This was stated by Dr. Hj. Rustina, M.Ag, that

"Those who use hands (al-yadu) in the sense of power or power are people who have authority, power. In this case the government or law enforcement. While the Social Organization does not have the authority or power. Thus, mass organizations do not yet have the right, the authority to use hand power in eradicating apostasy in society." [14]

From the textual side of hadith, the actions of mass organizations to prevent apostasy with the hand of power are in line with hadith but from the side of state life, the actions of mass organizations are not appropriate as explained by Muhammad Thaib Hunsouw, M.Ag that

"if mass organizations act on behalf of Muslims essentially want to enforce orders ma'ruf nahi munkar as mentioned in the hadith. In this case the actions of the Ormas can be considered right. But if it is related to the rules of our country as a state of law, then CSOs cannot immediately act alone in eradicating these apostasys. Because there are relevant agencies authorized to do that. Thus, mass organizations can be considered anarchists if they act without reporting, coordinating with security forces, especially those who commit excessive crimes." [15]

Actually, Islamic Community Organizations can make a positive contribution in eradicating apostasy by emphasizing their own members, as explained by one informant, that "Ormas have a system of solidarity among their members. Ormas can give emphasis to its

members. Thus, a certain mass organization is not authorized to use the power of its Organization to eradicate apostasy that occurs outside its (members) circle." [16]

Meanwhile, according to Ode Zaharuddin, S, Ag, a figure of Jamaah Tabligh City of Ambon, that "a social organization that has mass although it has power too but the Organization is in a country that has laws. In my opinion, da'wah with violence was never exemplified by the Prophet." [17]

Based on some of the data above, it can be revealed that Islamic Community Organizations are not authorized to eradicate apostasy with the power of their masses. Thus, acts of violence by Islamic Community Organizations in eradicating apostasy are contrary to Islamic law. It is based on the rule of Islamic law, that avoiding harm takes precedence over profit. [18] The dangers posed by violent acts of Islamic Community Organizations in eradicating apostasy, among others, are the destruction of unity among the people, the occurrence of unrest in society and persecution that threatens the safety of innocent human lives. Meanwhile, the expected benefit of such acts of violence is the prevention of Muslims from apostasy. However, there are other ways to prevent people from doing apostasy.

Relevant to this, Islamic Community Organizations can coordinate with the government and local security forces and put pressure on the government and the police to prevent such crimes. This has been exemplified by the Ambon City MUI, which coordinated and asked the Ambon City Government to close the localization of sex workers in Batu Merah Tanjung. Likewise, the coordination of religious leaders in Waiheru with the government and security forces which prohibits dancing and drinking in their area.

### 3. Solutions for the Eradication of Violence without Violence

#### a. Enforcement of Anti-Munkar Regional Regulations

Starting from concerns about the prevalence of munkar on the one hand and the use of violence in eradicating munkar on the other, the idea of a solution emerged as a middle way in eradicating munkar that was efficient and effective without violence. The solution is through local regulations against the eradication of munkar. The General Chairperson of the Wahdah Islamiyah Regional Leadership of Maluku Province, emphasized that:

Regional regulations are considered as one of the efforts to eradicate apostasy with force or power. In this regard, I strongly agree with the idea of a regional regulation to eradicate apostasy. Especially for Maluku, in general, people are more obedient to customary rules than regional regulations. Because the community views Regional Regulations as a form of political rhetoric, therefore the Regional

Regulations that are drawn up should be in synergy with local traditional leaders.[19]

If efforts to eradicate munkar are supported by a regional regulation, then the regional government has an apparatus tasked with preventing the munkar and even taking action against the perpetrators. The actions of local government officials in the form of the Civil Service Police Unit (Satpol PP) and supported by the Police, are not acts of violence. Because they act based on operational standards mandated in the laws and regulations. However, Regional Regulations need to accommodate the views of local traditional leaders before enacting the said Regional Regulations.

Explain, the existence of an anti-munkar Regional Regulation is a strategic policy. "If there is a region that initiates a regional regulation aimed at eradicating munkar, it is a good effort from the authorities who have the authority to change munkar with the hands of their power. This can be supported by oral proselytizing in the form of advice by religious leaders, mass organizations to the community." [20]

The existence of anti-apostasy Regional Regulations can legally bind the local community. Moreover, Regional Regulations have a much wider range of application than customary law.

Based on the data above, it can be revealed that anti-munkar regional regulations can bridge between efforts to eradicate apostasy and avoid the use of anarchic actions in eradicating apostasy. If the local government does not issue an anti-munkar regional regulation, it is possible that individuals or mass organizations will act on their own by using violence to eradicate munkar. On the other hand, if there is an anti-apostasy regional regulation, the Satpol PP apparatus and the formation of the police can prevent munkar and take action against the perpetrators according to the provisions. It can overcome munkar without causing friction, disputes between fellow citizens.

On the other hand, actions taken by mass organizations without the coordination of the government or security forces in eradicating munkar are prone to violence. This happens because Ormas do not have special procedures in carrying out their activities, so it is easy to fall into feelings of power. People or groups who feel in power will easily do violence to other parties. This action is relevant to the "power relation theory" initiated by Michel Foucault that people who feel they have power tend to oppress. Because "the truth is in circular relations with the power system that produces the truth and maintains the truth." [21] Because according to that person or group, that truth is not outside of power, but truth is within power. [22] Sometimes the truth even belongs to power. [23] In fact, the act of violence that he committed was considered as the truth, the right act. So it is impossible to feel guilty for self-introspection.

Based on the "power relation theory", certain people or groups tend to violence because they feel they have power and have the right to take anarchic actions against other parties. In this context, even though the government or security forces have the authority, they are limited by rules that become standard operating procedures (SOPs) in eradicating munkar so that it does not lead to acts of violence.

Likewise, mass organizations that often disband da'wah activities that are accused of being anarchist da'wah, they also commit acts of violence. Their actions are also fueled by a feeling of power. According to the theory of power relations, it is this feeling of power that drives them to feel right about their actions in disbanding the da'wah event.

Based on the description above, it can be stated that both the Ormas that carry out acts of violence in eradicating munkar and Ormas that carry out acts of violence in the disbandment of recitation or da'wah activities, both commit violence. The violence or anarchic actions they carry out in addition to their "feeling of power and power," are also triggered by an attitude of wanting to quickly reach their goals in their da'wah. Organizations that carry out acts of violence in eradicating munkar want to be able to quickly eradicate munkar, as well as mass organizations that carry out acts of violence in disbanding da'wah activities, want to quickly succeed in realizing da'wah in accordance with its flow. They both do not want to take persuasive methods and require a process.

According to these two groups, the use of violence can be the fastest solution in solving problems. In line with the description in sociological theory, violence or anarchist actions are caused by the same social conditions and processes that produce other social behaviors. In this case the factors that cause violence through several forms of processes, such as imitation, the implementation of social roles, differential associations, compensation, identification, personal self-concept and aggressive disappointment.[24] That means, violent or anarchic behavior is learned in interactions with other people and a group of people get violent behavior as a result of their interactions with people who behave against legal norms.[25]

The attitude against legal norms occurred as a response to the slow attitude of the government or security forces and even seemed to allow various apostasies in society, so that a group of mass organizations without coordination with the government or local security forces acted alone in eradicating munkar that led to anarchic actions. Moreover, under certain conditions, the preaching of the eradication of apostasy orally which is more persuasive is considered unsuccessful in preventing the rise of apostasy, so that anarchist action is considered the fastest option in providing a deterrent effect to the perpetrators of apostasy in society. Even though the deterrent



effect it produces is not effective, it is even possible that the perpetrators of apostasy will commit apostasy in other places.

b. Improving the Quality of Understanding of Islamic Teachings

It is undeniable that the quality of a person's understanding of Islamic teachings greatly influences their relationships with fellow Muslims and adherents of other religions. The wider and more comprehensive his understanding of Islamic teachings, the more flexible he will be with fellow Muslims who have different sects with him. On the other hand, the lower and narrower the understanding of Islamic teachings, the easier it will be to impose their preferred trend.

This last group is vulnerable to acts of violence as a method of eradicating apostasy. Because his way of thinking is narrow, and it is easy to claim the truth only belongs to his group, and other groups are wrong. The said truth claim also includes methods of eradicating munkar through anarchist actions. According to Khaled el-Fadl, Muslim groups like this are infected with the authoritarian hermeneutics, are exclusive, and judge themselves or their own groups as correct due to narrow views and using textual normative methods.[26] So it does not accept the method of eradicating apostasy in a persuasive manner that requires a process. Because according to this group, the use of violence is a faster and more effective method of eradicating apostasy in society. Likewise, a group of mass organizations that use violence in disbanding recitation or da'wah activities in essence also considers their group to be the most correct and that the da'wah activities of other Muslims that are forcibly disbanded are wrong and must be eradicated. Groups that consider themselves to be moderate groups easily accuse groups that are not of the same line as radicals, thus reflecting that moderate groups have also been exclusive. Claims of truth at this level highlight the differences [27] rather than similarities.

In addition to the influence of the authoritarian hermeneutics above, the emergence of the use of violent acts in eradicating munkar is caused by the aggressive potential in the human psyche. According to Erich Fromm, that in humans there are two different types of aggression, namely: (1) defensive aggression which is intended to maintain life, is biologically adaptive and only appears when there is a threat; and (2) apostasy aggression, violence and destruction, is a hallmark of the human species. This aggression is not phylogenetically and not biologically adaptive. This aggression has no purpose and arises out of purely lustful impulses. Therefore, under certain conditions, humans act rudely to each other.[28]

The potential for violence is a power that is stored latent, while the tendency for violence is its actualization which is manifested in certain behaviors. In general, aggressive action is a form of venting the

instinctive impulse to control the other party who is the target. The success of the action naturally results in a reduction in the impetus. Relevant to this comes the frustration-aggression theory which explains the direct relationship between a certain degree of frustration experienced by a person and the emergence of a tendency to behave aggressively.[29]

This aggressive frustration emerges from the rise of massive munkar on the one hand and is difficult to prevent let alone eradicated on the other hand, resulting in an attitude of frustration in dealing with munkar in society. As a result, the idea emerged to use anarchist measures to eradicate apostasy. Likewise, the frustrated attitude of CSOs facing other mass organizations' da'wah methods that are not in line with their groups, so that anarchist actions are also used to stop their da'wah activities.

The antithesis of frustration in eradicating munkar can be achieved through intensification of amar ma'ruf da'wah, because if someone has obeyed doing good deeds then he has automatically prevented himself from doing apostasy. Even the use of hand strength can be interpreted as support to help and deliver the perpetrators of apostasy to the environment and good deeds (good deeds). This was stated by Ode Zaharuddin, SHI that "there are also scholars who have a more subtle opinion; does not mean this hand with power, but can hold his hand to keep him away from apostasy to good." [30] Obviously, if ma'ruf have been implemented and the goal of da'wah is to apply them in life, then automatically the nahi munkar has been realized. People who like to do good deeds will in turn avoid apostasy.

Likewise, the antithesis of acts of violence in the disbandment of da'wah activities that are accused of being anarchists can be done through dialogue so that the disbanding of da'wah activities is not only based on suspicion, let alone just because they are not of the same line or political choice. If dialogue is pursued, then there is no need for the dissolution of da'wah activities, especially with anarchic actions.

#### c. Intensification of Amar Ma'ruf

Based on the description above, it can be understood that in addition to the enactment of Regional Regulations as a middle way for the use of violent acts in eradicating increasingly massive munkar in society, intensification of Amar Ma'ruf's da'wah activities can be a solution in avoiding the use of such anarchic acts.

People who are diligent in doing good will automatically avoid apostasy deeds, as indicated in the QS al-Ankabut: 45: "Verily prayer prevents (deeds) from vile and apostasy. And (know) the remembrance of Allah (prayer) is greater (its virtue than other worship). Allah knows what you are doing." [31]

According to one of the leaders of the Tablighi Jamaat in Ambon City, that "The prayer that he does diligently will prevent him from doing apostasy. So, the implementation of amar ma'ruf automatically results in the prevention of apostasy (nahi munkar)."[32] Thus the da'wah method that prioritizes amar ma'ruf needs to be improved without neglecting the preaching nahi munkar. It cannot be denied that the reality is that the da'wah carried out by the Tablighi Jamaat has succeeded in awakening and preventing many people from doing apostasy, and eventually becoming devout Muslims.

In essence, humans are more sympathetic to people who are able to show appreciation for themselves even though they are people who are wallowing in sin and apostasy. On the other hand, a less sympathetic attitude and even antipathy are carried out against people who are rude to him. The sympathetic form in question can be in the form of dakwah bil hal through the provision of assistance to the difficulties of life he is experiencing, construction of worship facilities and infrastructure, as well as other public facilities.

Therefore it is necessary to do a paradigm shift (shifting paradigm)[33] in da'wah, from the da'wah method that uses violence which departs from the exclusive paradigm of promoting nahi munkar to a polite da'wah method that departs from the inclusive paradigm that puts forward the da'wah amar ma'ruf in changing wrong behavior of Muslims.

Intensification of proselytizing recommendations, invitations to do good deeds, good deeds are essentially linear as well as efforts to prevent apostasy. Indeed nahi munkar is important because it is an integral part of da'wah, but nahi munkar repressive. This is a "preemptive" action in crime prevention, because most of the apostasies in Islamic terminology are criminal acts, such as adultery, gambling, murder, rape, homosexuality, lesbianism, and so on. "Pre-Emtif" actions are in the form of efforts to prevent apostasy by providing guidance to Muslims on the values and deeds of goodness so that they become a character in a person's personality. The result, is that the person will avoid and have no intention of doing apostasy even though he has the opportunity, the opportunity to do it. This is supported by Preventive actions which are a follow-up to Pre-Emtif efforts by eliminating the opportunity to commit munkar.[34]

Based on the description above, the intensification of amar ma'ruf correlates with efforts to eradicate apostasy because amar ma'ruf has taken two actions at once, namely preemptive and preventive. Preemptive action by providing enlightenment on various kinds of good values and pious deeds as well as efforts so that the values of goodness and pious deeds are internalized in people's lives. Whereas preventive actions through recommendations to implement Islamic teachings that are correlated with preventive efforts against apostasy,

for example covering the genitals for Muslim women to prevent rape, adultery, paying zakat, infaq and alms to the poor, suggestions to work to collect Allah's sustenance so as to prevent them from stealing, , prostitution, begging, and so on.

This thought is of course diametrical with the group's thinking that is more concerned with eradicating apostasy. According to this last group, Munkar is wider than ma'ruf. Unlawful acts are not private matters but have a wide reach and influence on the social life of the community.[35] Because of this, this group is more intensive in its efforts to nahi Munkar through concrete actions in eradicating apostasy that occurs in society.

## **CONCLUSION**

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that Islamic religious leaders in Ambon City view that:

1. Characteristics of anarchist proselytizing in rebellion, among others, destroying apostasy facilities, easily accusing heresy and infidels against Muslims who are not of the same line as them, and killing other people through suicide bombings against outside their group.
2. Violent acts of Islamic community organizations in eradicating Munkar lead to illegal actions (violating state law) and violating Islamic law. Because the act of eradicating Munkar using force is the authority of the government (security forces). Islamic Community Organizations can only coordinate with the security forces to take action to eradicate Munkar with force, or power.
3. The solution for eradicating Munkar without violence can be done by enacting Anti-apostasy Regional Regulations, as well as efforts to improve the quality of understanding Islamic teachings, which are supported by the intensification of da'wah Amar ma'ruf to Muslims.

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