

THE LANGUAGE OF FATWA: UNDERSTANDING LINGUISTIC VIOLENCE IN THE INDONESIAN ULAMA COUNCIL'S FATWA ON AHMADIYAH

Fariz Alnizar, Amir Ma'ruf, Fadlil Munawwar Manshur

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan mengungkap kekerasan linguistik dalam teks fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) tentang Ahmadiyah. Dalam teks tersebut terdapat kata-kata yang mengandung unsur kekerasan linguistik seperti “sesat menyesatkan”, “berada di luar Islam” dan “bahaya bagi ketertiban dan keamanan negara.” Data dalam penelitian ini berupa kata, frasa, kalimat, dan wacana yang berasal dari teks fatwa MUI tahun 1980 dan 2005 tentang Ahmadiyah tersebut. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa terdapat dua bentuk kekerasan linguistik pada kedua fatwa tentang Ahmadiyah tersebut. Pertama, kekerasan linguistik bentuk halus (*subtle form*). Kedua, kekerasan linguistik bentuk kasar (*abusive form*). Pada kekerasan linguistik bentuk halus (*subtle form*), bahasa dioperasikan sebagai wahana untuk mendominasi pihak lain. Sementara pada kekerasan linguistik bentuk kasar (*abusive form*) bahasa digunakan sebagai ekspresi ofensif yang dilakukan secara sadar dalam sebuah wacana. Dalam kekerasan linguistik bentuk kasar, bahasa dimanfaatkan untuk menyerang pihak lain seperti memberi label sesat menyesatkan. Selain itu, bahasa juga digunakan sebagai sarana untuk menyakiti pihak lain.

Kata kunci: Fatwa; Majelis Ulama Indonesia; Ahmadiyah; Kekerasan Linguistik

Abstract: This study aims to reveal the linguistic violence in the Indonesian Ulama Council's fatwa texts on Ahmadiyah. The data in this study is in the form of words, phrases, sentences, and discourses from the MUI fatwa texts in 1980 and 2005 on Ahmadiyah. Some words contain linguistic violence such as "deviant", "infidel", and "a state threaten". This study concludes two forms of linguistic violence in those fatwas: the subtle and abusive forms of violence. In the subtle form, the language is operated to dominate other parties. In addition, the language is also used as an offensive and abusive expression carried out consciously in a discourse. This is used to attack other parties and as a tool to hurt others.

Keywords: Fatwa; Indonesian Ulama Council; Ahmadiyah; Linguistic Violence

Introduction

The Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) is a semi-state institution (Abdillah & Novianto, 2019: 138) whose one of its duties is to issue fatwas. Since it was first established in 1975, MUI has issued more than 200 fatwas, covering topics such as religious behavior and beliefs, socio-politics, sharia economics, and also halal products (Lindsey, 2012: 253; Sholeh, 2016: 115; Alnizar, 2019: 420). Among the fatwas issued, some caused reactions and debate in public, such as the fatwa on Ahmadiyah. The Ahmadiyah and Shia issue has become one of the main issues in the discourse map of intolerance and discrimination for the last ten years (Hasyim, 2015: 212; Putra, Holtz, & Rufaedah, 2018: 20-21; Azhari & Ghazali, 2019: 61). For Sirry (2013: 100), the debate that occurs because of the issuance of the MUI fatwa is a positive thing in the context of fostering religious discourse, but on the other hand, it cannot be denied that the attitude of intolerance and violent reactions caused by the fatwa is categorized as dangerous.

For George (2017: 162), widespread intolerance that afflicts minority groups such as the Ahmadiyah is the biggest problem for the Indonesian nation today. The Indonesian Government is considered incapable of protecting minorities. Although the facts show that the intolerance movement is not integrated, it cannot be seriously controlled and anticipated by the Government.

For example, in Cianjur, West Java, the Ahmadiyah Congregation Village in Sukadana, Cempaka District, was attacked by hundreds of mobs on 19 September 2005, about two weeks after the MUI fatwa on Ahmadiyah was issued. There were 70 houses and 6 mosques damaged and several cars burnt. On September 20, 2005, a mosque in Neglasari and Ciparay, Cianjur was attacked by an unknown mob. The escalation of conflict and attacks also occurred in Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara (NTB). Ahmadiyah members have isolated themselves due to threats and attacks (Detik News, 2005). Persecution also took place in Gereneng Village, Sakra Timur, East Lombok, in 2018. Twenty-six residents from 7 Ahmadiyah families fled to the East Lombok Police after their residence was attacked by about 50 unknown people (Tempo, 2018: 20).

It is interesting to note that it is almost certain that the perpetrators of the attack on Ahmadiyah based their movement on the text of the

MUI fatwa. The fatwa is used as the legitimacy of the action and acts of violence against the Ahmadiyah.

The text of the fatwa on Ahmadiyah is interesting to study for several reasons. First, it is different from the fatwas on other deviant sects. The difference is shown by the issuance of fatwas twice, including a lengthy explanation afterward. The decision to issue repeated fatwas on the same topic leaves a message that the Ahmadiyah issue is an important and unusual one.

Through the production and reproduction of fatwas, MUI tries to “renew the meaning” of the fatwas on Ahmadiyah. In Fiske's (1990: 164) view, this effort is a legitimate part of meaning production activities. Because meaning is not intrinsic in the text, it is produced through several active and dynamic processes from the side of the text producer and the consumer or the reader of the text.

Second, there are many violations and acts of violence experienced by the Ahmadiyah congregation. Third, there is a correlation between the issuance of the fatwa and the act of assault (Assyaukanie, 2009: 15; Burhani, 2014: 301; Hasyim, 2015: 5: 90). There is an assumption that the fatwa text is used as a basis for acts of attack, discriminatory treatment, and other violations. Fatwa texts have “power”, strength, and legitimacy that are persuasive and even tend to be interpreted as authoritative.

For Noor (2013: 17), the attacks that occurred Ahmadiyah cannot be separated from the fatwa issued by the MUI. Crouch (2011: 9) sees the intensity of violence in Ahmadiyah getting higher after the issuance of the MUI fatwa, both in 1980 and 2005. This is different from Noor's view (2017: 76), which states that conflict only increased after the 2005 MUI fatwa was issued. Previously, physical violence was never found, especially after the MUI fatwa was issued in 1980.

MUI issued a fatwa a few days after Ahmadiyah was attacked while holding a formal gathering (*jalsah salanah*) attended by 10,000 Ahmadis, at the Al-Mubarak complex, Kemang, Bogor. The MUI fatwa number 11/MunasVII/ MUI/15/2005 was issued at the momentum of the VII MUI Congress, which was held in Jakarta on July, 26-29, 2005. In this congress, MUI issued a fatwa to reaffirm the deviance of the Ahmadiyah sect, which was declared heretical by the MUI fatwa in 1980. Uniquely, between 2005 and 1980, fatwas had quite fundamental differences; if the

1980 fatwa was directed at the Ahmadiyah Qadiyan, then the 2005 fatwa only mentions Ahmadiyah, without Qadiyan or Lahore. This means that all elements of Ahmadiyah were declared heretical and outside of Islam. Several months later, a number of residents expelled the Ahmadiyah congregation to leave their hometown at Bumi Asri Ketapang Housing in Ketapang Orong, Gegerung Village, Lingsar, West Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara (Pamungkas, 2017: 3; Alnizar, Ma'rif, & Manshur, 2019: 209-211).

Fatwas concerning the heresy of certain sects or creeds are considered to impact horizontal conflicts between residents. The choice of diction and sentence structure, such as “deviant”, “infidel”, “a state threaten”, “Muslim should alert about their doctrine” is essential to study from a linguistic point of view. An in-depth study is needed regarding the selection of the proper diction to avoid horizontal conflicts. As mentioned, the choice of diction has a relationship with Gay's (1999: 14) study of linguistic violence. In the matter of word choice and its relation to social reality, Burke (1966: 31) argues that word choice is not only able to attract and make audiences focus on certain things but can also limit perceptions as well as direct them to a certain point of view, way of thinking, and beliefs. Language and all its elements can act as a reflection of reality and even create reality.

This article attempts to expose the linguistic violence in the 1980 MUI fatwa concerning Ahmadiyah Qadiyan and 2005 on Ahmadiyah sect. The discussion of linguistic violence in this article refers to each of the data contained in the two fatwas. The concept of linguistic violence in research refers to the theory of Gay (1998; 1999; 2018), which is defined as the use of language that has a painful effect.

Language, Violence, and Linguistic Violence

Kurniasari (2012: 2) defines violence as a power to force. In a compulsion, humans are confirming their dominance. Meanwhile, for Arendt (1970: 35), violence “*is nothing more than the most flagrant manifestation of power*”. In this view, violence is always synonymous with power and power domination.

Coady (1986: 4) made three definitions that are closely related to violence. First, broad definition, which assumes that violence exists and manifests itself in an organization and community. Second, restricted

definitions place violence as something that always creates injury. If there are injuries, then violence occurs there. Third, legitimate definitions that place violence as a result caused by an illegal action. From the three definitions, the common thread that is obtained is the understanding that violence always has a subject as the perpetrator and an object as a victim. Violence, in this case, can be interpreted as a result of an abused relationship.

In his research, Galtung (1990: 291) stated that violence is all forms of repression and exploitation by an individual or group of people against others. The media that is used as a means to commit violence has a vast spectrum and coverage. Ideology, religion, culture, language, art, and empirical knowledge can be used as tools for waging violence. Violence is not only physical but also psychological.

Referring to Galtung's concept of violence, language is one of the tools often used as a medium to legitimize violence. This term is known as "linguistic violence". There are two terms used among experts: language violence and linguistic violence (Herlambang, 2013: 46-52). Structuralists define linguistic violence as the use of language in such a way that causes a certain quality of a text that is different from normal understanding to describe reality or an everyday event.

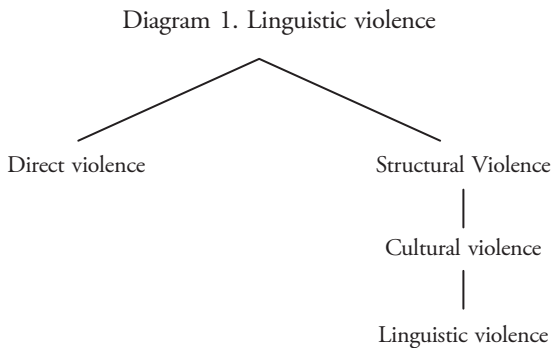
Meanwhile, sociolinguistic experts such as Gay (1998: 139), Corsevski (1998: 4), Lecerle (1990: 399), and Silva (2017: 23) say that linguistic violence is violence caused directly by a language. Corverski (1998: 4) argues that linguistic violence is an inseparable part of the language. He cites many research results that say that linguistic violence directly impacts the psychological and even physical disorders of the victim. Many people are depressed, tire easily, and quickly give up because of the trauma of linguistic violence. In this study, the linguistic violence theory used refers to the concept of Gay (1998: 139; 1999: 14; 2018: 36), which divides linguistic violence into three types: subtle, abusive, and grievous forms.

Five arguments make the study of linguistic violence closely related to the relationship between language and power. First, language is a social institution. Second, language is often used as a medium for distributing power. Third, language is often used as an instrument for institutional violence. Fourth, certain forms of language often influence human consciousness and behavior. Fifth, language is often used as a tool to represent violence that occurs in society (Gay, 2018: 40-41).

Besides, the concept of linguistic violence has strong roots from the theory of critical linguists, which states that because the language directly correlates with the audience or the communicant, language also directly impacts the interlocutor or listener. The offensive language and attacks the interlocutor tends to hurt (Ross, 1981: 194-195).

Linguistic violence also relates to the study of cultural violence, which is defined as "any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form. Symbolic violence built into a culture does not kill or maim like direct violence or the violence built into the structure" (Galtung, 1990: 291).

The theory of cultural violence departs from Galtung's (1969: 177) idea of structural violence. Structural violence is described as the polar opposite of direct violence. It is interpreted as a condition of culture, economy, politics, religion, etc., used as legitimacy to commit violence. According to this idea, an injustice that makes humans unable to fulfill their daily needs is the most visible structural violence practice (Alnizar, 2020: 87).



Departing from the structural violence theory, Galtung (1990: 291) developed a study that found a theory of cultural violence. This type of violence has a broad scope because the medium is culture. Culture, in this case, is empowered as a tool to legitimize violence. At this stage, Gay (1999: 16) proposes the term linguistic violence or language violence as an inseparable part of cultural violence. In a different language, Hanssen (2000: 159-160) says that linguistic violence exists on and from language.

In contrast to the theory of Gay (1998: 139; 1999: 14), Jackman (2002: 390) and Wang (2018: 2) include the terminology of linguistic violence in cultural violence as the third form of violence after direct violence and structural violence. Corverski (1998: 513-514) classifies linguistic violence as part of explicit violence. This is based on the argument that language which contains violence has a direct impact on the communicant. This argument refers to Gottman (1994: 41), which states a physiological impact experienced by a child who grows up in conflict from both parents who are full of negative words and facial expressions. However, this article uses the concept of linguistic violence formulated by Gay (1998: 139; 1999: 14). Because the idea offered by Corverski (1998: 513), which includes linguistic violence in the category of violence, is directly accommodated in the concept provided by Gay (1999: 1117). First, language that can hurt the communicant is called offensive language. Second, language that can harm communicants is known as oppressive language. This is also confirmed by Posselt (2017: 11):

“Thus, two forms of linguistic violence can be differentiated: 1. linguistic violence as a violating force directed against persons; 2. linguistic violence as a regulating, abstracting force, as a violent act of naming and predication, as an equation of the unequal”

Gay (2018: 41) divides linguistic violence into subtle, abusive, and grievous forms. In general, harsh conditions are more vicious than subtle forms of linguistic violence. On the other hand, grievous forms of linguistic violence are more violent than abusive forms. Linguistic violence also has a direct relationship with the structure of language and ideological capacities. In this case, language as a symbol system is inherent directly related to its meaning. This means that language has an ideological character that cannot be separated from its references or can be termed a form that is always attached to the content.

In general, language can be used to nurture oppression in an oppressive system, regardless of whether individuals are aware of the stress and torment directed against them. “Generally, what most scholars agree on is that linguistic violence is actually a form of violence as it hurts the victims even if it is not accompanied to, or followed by, physical, and overt forms of violence.” (Msuya, 2016: 196).

This study uses a qualitative approach. The method used in this research is to explain the data and interpret it descriptively. The data

were explored so that researchers can find all forms of changes in the object in this study. The type of data used in this study was comprised of words, phrases, sentences, and discourses that come from the MUI fatwa texts in 1980 and 2005 on Ahmadiyah. The collected data are numbered sequentially. The study of linguistic violence in the MUI fatwa on Ahmadiyah in this study uses an analysis of linguistic violence formulated by Gay (1998; 1999; 2018).

Linguistic Violence in the 1980 Indonesian Ulama Council's Fatwa on Ahmadiyah Qadiyan

This research examines each MUI fatwa text. The first part will discuss linguistic violence in the 1980 MUI fatwa on Ahmadiyah Qadiyan. Then it was continued with the discussion of linguistic violence in the 2005 MUI fatwa concerning the Ahmadiyah sect.

From the results of the study and data analysis on the MUI fatwa, there are two (2) vocabularies that contain a subtle form of linguistic violence, namely:

1. In dealing with the Ahmadiyah issue, the Indonesian Ulama Council should always keep in touch with the Government
2. It is a threat to the state security

This study focuses on revealing subtle forms of linguistic violence. In this form, language is used by certain individuals or groups to conquer other people or groups outside of themselves. Besides, language is operated as a tool to dominate the other party.

“The language of prestige is one of the ways this goal is achieved. In cases where authority is demanded rather than earned, powerholders typically” represent an institution through which they exercise power” and often rely on “outward, public manifestations of dominance through sumptuary regulations” (Gay, 1999:18)

In data 1 there is the sentence in dealing with the Ahmadiyah issue, the Indonesian Ulama Council should always be in touch with the Government. This sentence is classified as a subtle form of linguistic violence because it uses oppressive language that causes hurts or hurt targeted by the text. In unjust sentences, language is used as a tool to oppress or stereotype other groups, even though the target group does not immediately realize this. The sentence in data 1 uses the

imperative mode, namely for MUI and the Government, to build a coordinative relationship in dealing with the Ahmadiyah issue. By using the imperative mode, text producers emphasize the communicant to do something (job). On the other hand, they also use an intentional modality containing expectations that are marked with the word *should*. This sentence falls into the category of imperative sentences, which are not forceful but hopeful.

The sentence in data 1 implies that Ahmadiyah is an issue so that the MUI and the Government must coordinate when handling this issue. The impression is due to the absence of a deviant sect dictum in the MUI fatwa on the Qadiyan Ahmadiyah MUI fatwa since 1980. This shows that text producers give the main message that the Ahmadiyah Qadiyan issue is not sufficiently addressed by simply issuing a fatwa. However, other implications generated by the fatwa text must be anticipated so that the dictum on coordination with the Government is included in the fatwa decision. In this case, the sentence falls into the category of language that has an oppressive nature because it is used to give stereotypes to certain groups.

For Gay (1999: 117), language that does not have a direct harmful effect but has a dangerous impact and potential falls into the category of dangerous and is called a language with oppressive abilities. The sentence in the fatwa dictum can be hazardous for the groups targeted by two arguments: (1) the sentence explains that Ahmadiyah is a severe problem and must be taken seriously. Therefore, when handling it, there must be coordination with the Government. Although it is not clearly stated how the coordinative relationship is, at a certain point, it can be understood that there must be involvement of state officials — in this case, the apparatus — to deal with the Ahmadiyah issue. (2) The Government's involvement in dealing with Ahmadiyah raises an understanding that the Government supports those who produce fatwas, whereas the Government is not allowed to take sides in this context.

The task of the State, which in this case must be carried out by the Government, is to protect its citizens from all potential discrimination and harm (Cheetham, 2017: 29; Suryana, 2018: 159; D. M. Bouchier, 2019: 714). In the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, n.d.), it is stated that *it is to form an Indonesian State Government that protects the entire Indonesian nation*

and the entire homeland of Indonesia and promotes public welfare. Article 28G year 1945 states (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, n.d.); *Everyone has the right to protect himself, his family, honor, dignity, the property he has and has the right to a sense of security and protection from the threat of fear to do or not do something that is part of basic rights.* Then, article 28L of the 1945 Constitution states (Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, n.d.), *“Everyone has the right to be free from discrimination on any basis and has the right to protection against such discriminatory treatment.”*

Based on these arguments, the sentence structure in the fatwa dictum above is included in a subtle form of linguistic violence because it can harm certain groups. The sentence has oppressive power, which can turn into a threat to the communicant or the target group.

In data 2 the clause *it is a threat to state security* is classified in subtle form linguistic violence. The word *threat* means “*something that (may) lead to an accident: disaster, misery, loss and so on*” (Pusat Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2008: 120), as stated in the clause implies an understanding that the Ahmadiyah congregation is dangerous for state order and security. Thus, the narrative built from this clause is cognition, understanding, and a description that Ahmadi is a threat to the State.

This narrative can be used as legitimacy for the consequences that must be accepted by those considered to have disturbed state order and security. Subtly, the text producers stated that because the existence of Ahmadiyah threatens state order and security, they must accept the consequences imposed on the destroyer of state order and security, including one of which is the dissolution of their organization.

The subtle form of linguistic violence in the 1980 MUI fatwa on Ahmadiyah Qadiyan serves as legitimacy for structural violence. Structural hardness has a significant impact because it relates to a structural system that is not directly visible at a certain position. This violence can destroy the joints of the basic structure of a society. In specific contexts, this type of violence can harm the future of a social group due to discrimination, so that the group cannot fulfill its ideals and life expectations (Haryatmoko, 2014: 52).

Furthermore, a subtle form of linguistic violence in the 1980 MUI fatwa can be interpreted as a means of structural violence to discriminate

against certain groups. This violence works to dominate, discriminate, even get rid of certain social groups. This structural violence is called institutionalized violence (Haryatmoko, 2014: 54-55). This type of violence usually occurs and is practiced by third world countries to get rid of opposition, minority groups, and groups that are considered to be hindering the agenda and ideology of the rulers.

The narrative was created by saying that the existence of Ahmadiyah is dangerous for state order and security is an institutionalized form of structural violence. In this case, Ahmadiyah was positioned as a group that could hinder the political agenda and ideology of the rulers (New Order). Two keywords that emphasize and describe Government ideology are order and security (Kusman, 2019: 62; Mudhoffir, 2015: 3; Bouchier & Hadiz, 2003: 220). In this case, Dhakidae (2003: 373-374) sees that the New Order worked through the ideologization of security. Even on a larger scale, the politics of stability and safety carried out by the New Order was a manifestation of security as a doctrine. In this position, the ideology of security and order works to formulate actions in the form of prohibitions and formulate state policy rules that regulate and control officials and citizens' behavior. The New Order Government translated the politics of stability into two words, namely order and security. The New Order paid great attention to political stability, which contained guaranteeing public order and state security. Therefore, all forms of threats that are considered to be disturbing must be addressed.

The clause *It is a threat for the state security* is a reflection of the political language used by the rulers at that time (New Order). Through the politics of the chosen language, a regime moves symbolic interactions that aim to construct a certain reality that reflects the ideology of the ruler. In this case, language has an essential role in building social reality (Gergen, 1985: 255-267; Gergen, Gergen, & Ness, 2019: 2688). Language becomes a medium for conveying ideology produced by the ruling elite and disseminated to the public. Thus, this clause is a social construction that arises from the translation of the ideology held by the authorities. This clause was a form of political stability which became the ideology of the New Order Government. Order and security are technical keywords to translate the doctrine run by the Government, namely stability (McCoy, 2013: 280). For the New Order, national peace and development could only be achieved if there were order and security.

The roots of the political ideology of stability came from cultural values that the rulers had long practiced in the archipelago, even before the era of colonialism. For adherents of this view, diversity is seen as something that has the potential to be destructive. Therefore, to reduce the potential damage, diversity must be controlled. The success in suppressing diversity is believed to produce social stability and harmony (Lev, 1985: 69; Anderson, 2006: 72; Suryana, 2018: 150). In this position, the clause *It is a threat for the state security* can be seen as a form of suppressing diversity as intended. The existence of alternative values, views, and discourses, including non-mainstream groups, as happened to Ahmadiyah, is considered a diversity that can destroy the established social order.

On the other hand, the clause embodies the ideology of corporatism (Schmitter, 1974: 93-94) which the New Order embraced since its inception. Corporatism, one of which works by aligning a society with bodily idioms that are in tune and harmony (McCoy, 2013: 277). By using this bodily concept, all forms that are considered disturbing and become a threat to the health of the body must be resisted. The ideology of corporatism has a role in narrating hatred for different minority groups. Parties that differ in the ideology of corporatism are portrayed as those who pose a dangerous threat to the country's stability. With such a narrative, the social cognition built is the legitimacy of hatred for elements that threaten the strength of the State.

In an abusive form of linguistic violence, language is used as an offensive expression carried out consciously in a discourse. In this type of linguistic violence, language is used to attack other parties. Besides, language is used as a means of hurting other parties. *“Abusive forms rely on offensive terms and frequently aim to hurt the individuals to whom they are directed”* (Gay, 1998: 142).

From the results of the study and data analysis on the 1980 MUI fatwa on Ahmadiyah Qadiyan, it was obtained three (3) vocabulary data containing abusive form linguistic violence:

3. In accordance with the data and facts found in nine books about Ahmadiyah, the Indonesian Ulama Council stated that Ahmadiyah is a congregation outside of Islam, heretical.
4. So that the Indonesian Ulama Council, the Regional Ulama

Council for the Level one, the Second Level Regions, the scholars, and preachers throughout Indonesia explain to the public about the deviance of the Ahmadiyah Qadiyah congregation that is outside of Islam.

5. To all Muslims to increase their vigilance, so that they will not be affected by this heretical understanding.

In data 3 there, the word *heretical* is defined as “not going through the right path, taking the wrong way, doing indecent acts and deviating from the truth (about religion, etc.)” (KBBI, 2008, 1337-1338).

The heretical attribute in the sentence has a direct impact on the intended party. In this case, this sentence falls into offensive language, namely language that can be used to attack other parties. The attributes of heretical have two understanding implications at once. First, the Ahmadiyah congregation is the one whose teachings and values are heretical. Second, the Ahmadiyah congregation is also hereticated, which means that they spread their misguided beliefs to Muslims to have actively misled others outside their congregation.

In data 4 and 5 there is a sentence *So that the Indonesian Ulama Council, the Regional Ulama Council for the Level I, the Second Level Regions, the scholars, and preachers throughout Indonesia explain to the public about the deviance of the Ahmadiyah Qadiyah congregation that is outside of Islam.* and *To all Muslims to increase their vigilance, so that they will not be affected by this heretical understanding.* In data 3 the word “heretical” for the Ahmadiyah congregation is the focus that must be conveyed to the public. The proof is that the MUI has assigned duties at all levels, from central to city districts as well as preachers and scholars to explain Ahmadiyah's deviance, both in its status and in its teachings. This sentence structure directly has the potential to injure the attributed group. This is in line with Gay (1998b: 144) who classifies that giving attributes as part of abusive form linguistic violence. In this case, the language used is offensive because it is used as a tool to attack and hurt. Offensiveness in the sentence is done by giving labels to the other party.

Text producers in data 3 also use offensive language. It stated that Muslims are more aware of Ahmadiyah's understanding. The label of heresy is pinned as a characteristic of Ahmadiyah. Besides, this sentence implies that apart from being heretical, Ahmadiyah must also be alerted.

The use of “increasing awareness” means an understanding that the Ahmadiyah group has a high level of danger so that people need to increase awareness of the group.

The phenomenon of deviation in religion has always existed since ancient times. However, humans do not have the right to determine whether a person's belief is heretical or not (Mas'udi, 2015: 100-101). The concept of “heretical” as labeled on Ahmadiyah and included in the MUI fatwa can potentially destroy social life. In the context of ethics and social norms, the use of these labels does not have a solid foundation. As stated in the fatwa, which is consumed by a broad audience, the labeling of heresy has the potential to generate more and more violence.

Linguistic Violence in the 2005 Indonesian Ulama Council's Fatwa on Ahmadiyah

As in the 1980 MUI fatwa on Ahmadiyah Qadiyan, the 2005 MUI fatwa regarding the Ahmadiyah sect also has two forms of linguistic violence which will be described as follows.

From the results of the study and data analysis on the 2005 MUI fatwa on Ahmadiyah Schools, it was obtained two (2) vocabulary data containing subtle form linguistic violence:

6. That the efforts to develop the Ahmadiyah ideology have caused public unrest
7. The Government is obliged to prohibit the spread of Ahmadiyah beliefs throughout Indonesia, freeze the organization, and close all places of its activities

In data 6 there is a sentence that the effort to develop Ahmadiyah ideology has caused public unrest). By using this sentence, the text producer is conquering a group, in this case, the Ahmadiyah congregation. The sentence above is a subtle attempt by text producers to conquer the Ahmadiyah congregation.

The diction of *unrest* comes from the word *resah* (restless), which means *restless, unsettled, nervous, and troubled* (Pusat Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2008: 1021). This sentence belongs to a language that has the potential to harm because it is oppressive. Oppressive sentences can be used as legitimacy to commit direct and structural violence. A subtle form of linguistic violence with an unjust sentence

can lead to discrimination and social exclusion. As Gay (1999a) stated, sentences that are dangerous and oppressive do not directly impact the target group, but the language contains potentially dangerous characteristics.

Furthermore, arguments about the potential dangers that can be born from subtle-form linguistic violence, as contained in the sentence above, can be seen in terms of the use of sentence modalities. The verdict in the data (6) is expressed using an epistemic modality that expresses certainty. In this sentence, the text producer conveys a message that the unrest in the community due to spreading the Ahmadiyah ideology happens. Thus, text producers want to understand to text consumers about the unrest in society about Ahmadiyah activities.

In data 7, there is the sentence *The Government is obliged to prohibit the spread of Ahmadiyah beliefs throughout Indonesia, freeze the organization, and close all places of its activities*. The sentence falls into the category of subtle-form linguistic violence. This sentence is used to show the domination of text producers towards the Ahmadiyah congregation. With this sentence, the text producer wants to convey that the Government has three obligations at once in responding to Ahmadiyah. First, the obligation to prohibit the spread of Ahmadiyah beliefs. Second, the obligation to freeze the organization. Third, the obligation to close all Ahmadiyah activity places.

Inserting the Government's obligation in the 2005 MUI fatwa on Ahmadiyah Schools is a signal sent by text producers to the Government to deal with the Ahmadiyah issue. It can be read chronologically that this fatwa is a form of affirmation of the 1980 MUI fatwa. As an affirmation, it has the character of emphasizing, especially on parts of the fatwa studied and evaluated as having flaws. One way is by emphasizing certain aspects done by bold the question words. The sentence *The Government is obliged to prohibit the spread of Ahmadiyah beliefs throughout Indonesia, freeze the organization and close all places of its activities*. The existence and development of Ahmadiyah ideology is evidence of the weakness of the implementation of the previous MUI fatwa, so that text producers emphasize the Government to carry out its three obligations, namely prohibiting the spread of Ahmadiyah beliefs, freezing the organization and closing all Ahmadiyah activity places at once.

The sentence in the dictum of the 1980 MUI fatwa decision was written *in dealing with the Ahmadiyah issue, the Indonesian Ulama Council should always coordinate with the Government*. The sentence uses oppressive language because it has the potential to be harmful to certain groups. This potential can be identified because the sentence has negative implications and can be used to excuse the community to view and act in addressing the Ahmadiyah issue. However, the text producer considers this sentence has shortcomings because it is not operational, only limited to suggesting a coordinative relationship between MUI and the Government. The verb in the clause *“always coordinates to the Government”* has transitivity in material processes. The meaning to be conveyed is that in dealing with the Ahmadiyah issue, MUI is expected to always coordinate and build intensive relations with the Government. There is no explanation regarding the form of the coordinating relationship in question. The writing of the text uses a more functional language related to the Ahmadiyah sect in the 2005 MUI fatwa.

The oppressive language ability in data 7 can be seen from the potential harm that the sentence can create. In the above sentence, the potential dangers of the sentence *The Government is obliged to prohibit the spread of Ahmadiyah beliefs throughout Indonesia, freeze the organization, and close all places of its activities* that arise from oppressive language can be proven by reason (1). The sentence raises an understanding that the Ahmadiyah issue is a problem that has a wide scale so that the Government must participate in dealing with it. Oppressive sentences, as in data 2, have never been found in other fatwa decisions related to sects that are considered deviant. This means that Ahmadiyah is a crucial issue that must get a firm stance from the Government. (2) the inclusion of three tasks according to the text producer is the Government's obligation. This is an effort to reinforce the dominance of text producers. In this case, the meaning sought to emerge from this sentence is understanding the relationship built between the Government and the text producer. This message is essential to show that the State stands in the same position as text producers in addressing the Ahmadiyah issue. The state approved the decision contained in the fatwa. (3) Even though the word chosen in the sentence is Government, the State is meant in this case. Thus, efforts to create domination through oppressive language can be built, and the meaning that the text producer wants to convey to the

target group can arrive. The oppressive sentence structure that has the potential to harm certain groups is evidence that text producers commit subtle-form linguistic violence.

In terms of the context when the 2005 fatwa was issued, the Government led by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono had a strong desire to increase the bargaining position and institutional authority of the MUI by making fatwas a “legislative court”. In the opening speech of the MUI VII Munas in 2005 where the fatwa on Ahmadiyah was decided, Yudhoyono, emphasized the importance of strengthening the position and authority of the MUI to support the Government's agenda in responding to the growth of deviant sects (D. M. Bourchier, 2019: 720; Saat, 2018: 132-133; Rahman, 2014: 420; Lindsey, 2012: 258).

Meanwhile, in the 2005 MUI fatwa concerning the Ahmadiyah sect, there is one (1) data that contains subtle form linguistic violence:

8. Reaffirming the MUI fatwa in National Conference II in 1980, which stipulates that the Ahmadiyah sect is outside of Islam, is heretical, and Muslims who follow it are apostates.

The sentence is classified into the abusive form of linguistic violence since there are two words used to attack and have the potential to hurt the target party. First the words *heretical* and secondly, the word *apostate*. The words *heretical* are a label given by the text producer to describe the character of the Ahmadiyah sect. The word *heretical* means deviating from the truth (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa Kemdikbud, 2018). Meanwhile, the word (hereticate) is a transitive verb that comes from the root word *heretical* with a combination of the affix *meN--kan*, which has a causative function or makes it so (Kridalaksana, 2009: 54). So, the meaning of the word heretical making or leading astray and leading to the wrong path. As stated in the MUI fatwa in 1980 and 2005, heretical and hereticate originated from a concept taken from the Arabic language *dhallun mudillun* (Rahmat, 2007: 15). The labeling can be interpreted as an attempt to attack the Ahmadiyah sect so that it creates a message that apart from having heretical teachings, it is also active and has the potential to mislead those who have not joined Ahmadiyah. Third, the word *apostate* is a label attached to people who have joined Ahmadiyah. the word *apostate* is defined in KBBI as *turning back; turning disbelievers; throw away faith; changed to renegade* (KBBI, 2018). This label of apostasy falls into the

category of offensive language because it is empowered to attack other parties. By labeling apostasy, it means that text producers convey that Muslims who follow Ahmadiyah are people who abandon their faith, renounce, and turn back to be infidels.

Related *heretical* vocabularies, it is interesting to note Mas'udi's view (2015: 98) that labeling using the words *heretical* is an inappropriate step. The pure religious approach used in the MUI fatwa related to deviant sects such as in *heretical* concepts will further damage the social order of society. Because fatwas in a broader context can be used as guidelines and social norms, the approach used in making decisions, including choosing vocabulary, uses a non-confrontational approach.

Mas'udi takes the example that NU has never officially and institutionally called Ahmadiyah as heretical. That's mean that in the context of social life, it is required to use a peaceful approach to deal with deviant sects instead of using abusive language.

“This departs from the concept of *da'wah* in Islam which consists of three gradations. First, by giving wisdom, secondly, by giving good guidance to good deeds, and thirdly, with discussions and arguments that pay attention to courtesy. By adhering to these three principles, the potential to open up confrontations that lead to social chaos will be avoided (Interview with Masdar Farid Mas'udi, 2020)“

Mas'udi's opinion has weaknesses at the implementation level. This is because, as stated in the NU decision on Ahmadiyah in September 2005, the dictum stated that the status of the Ahmadiyah congregation is heretical. The document was formulated by NU leaders including Ma'ruf Amin, Said Aqil Siroj, Rozy Munir, and Masdar F. Mas'udi (NU Online). However, Mas'udi argued that the decision was as widespread and published is only limited to a draft that has not received approval from the majority of the formulating members. This opinion is supported by Siroj, who is also a member of the committee.

“In a plenary session of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board (PBNU) in Bogor, September 2005, there was a suggestion to discuss the Ahmadiyah issue. At that time, the Ahmadiyah issue was heating up. It became a controversial issue when MUI issued a fatwa regarding the deviance of the religious community in July 2005. It had emerged since the beginning of the 20th century in Indonesia. Several members join MUI, hoping that the PBNU will issue a similar attitude to the fatwa. However, the plenary decided differently. With the support of

Rois Am KH. Sahal Mahfudh and the General Chairperson of KH. Hasyim Muzadi, the plenary session, decided not to label Ahmadiyah as “heretical” (Siroj, 2012: 400)

As a genuine product, fatwa must consider various aspects, including language. Linguistic violence in both subtle and abusive forms affects text consumers. Therefore, fatwas must be produced in polite language using diction that does not have oppressive and offensive power. This type of diction is prone to be used by certain groups as an excuse to carry out prohibited acts, even though those actions are completely not intended and desired by the text producers. This can be seen from the statements of the 2015-2020 MUI Chairperson KH. Ma'ruf Amin repeatedly denied that acts of violence against minority groups, including Ahmadiyah, were not caused by fatwas. For him, a fatwa is a form of guidance to the people (*himāyatul ummah*) to live according to the direction taught by religion. According to him, if the violence still occurs, it is due to the failure to properly understand the fatwa and the fatwa's abuse (Amin, 2019).

Conclusion

In the 1980 MUI fatwa regarding the Ahmadiyah Qadiyan, there are disguised forms of linguistic violence: (1) sentences about MUI and the Government need to build coordination in dealing with Ahmadiyah problems (2) oppressive sentences that describe the position of Ahmadiyah as threatening and dangerous. The abusive form of linguistic violence is carried out by labeling it as heretical. Labeling that is heretical is a form of language used to attack other parties. As for the 2005 MUI fatwa regarding the Ahmadiyah sect, there are subtle forms of linguistic violence, including: (1) An oppressive sentence that describes the Ahmadiyah's position as a threat and endangers orders. (2) A sentence containing a warning from the Government about the prohibition of socialization activities, freezing of organizations, and the closure of all houses of worship for Ahmadiyah congregation. Then the abusive form of linguistic violence in this fatwa is carried out by using language to attack other parties by labeling it as heretical.

Furthermore, in subtle form linguistic violence, language is operated as a tool to dominate other parties. Meanwhile, in linguistic violence, abusive language is used as an offensive expression that is carried out consciously in a discourse. In this severe form of linguistic violence,

language is used to attack other parties. Besides that, language is also used as a means of hurting other parties.

In terms of social ethics, a mufti must avoid delivering fatwas that have the potential to cause bloodshed. This is emphasized as a form of social responsibility so that the mufti, both individually and institutionally, do not issue fatwas without heeding these principles and social ethics.

References

- Abdillah, A., & Novianto, R. (2019). Lembaga Quasi Non Governmental Organization (Quango) dalam Sistem Ketatanegaraan Indonesia: Majelis Ulama Indonesia. *Jurnal Hukum dan Pembangunan*, 49(1), 1689–1699. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.21143/jhp.vol49.no1.1913>
- Alnizar, F. (2019). Pretext for Religious Violence in Indonesia: An Anthropolinguistic Analysis of Fatwas on Ahmadiyya. *Studia Islamika*, 26(3), 417–444. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.36712/sdi.v26i3.8719>
- Alnizar, F. (2020). Bahasa Kekerasan Kuliner. *Majalah Tempo*, 87. Retrieved from <https://majalah.tempo.co/read/bahasa/160605/kolom-bahasa-bahasa-kekerasan-kuliner>
- Alnizar, F., Ma'ruf, A., & Manshur, F. M. (2019). Perceptions and Reactions of Ahmadiyya to Fatwa Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI): An anthropological linguistics approach. *Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage*, 9(2), 208–242.
- Amin, M. (2019). Politik Sarung Ma'ruf Amin: Ma'ruf Amin Boleh Ucapkan Selamat Natal. Retrieved July 26, 2020, from Mata Najwa website: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ppve8AFzL8w>
- Anderson, B. R. O. (2006). *Language and power : Exploring political cultures in indonesia*. Kuala Lumpur: Equinox.
- Arendt, H. (1970). *On violence*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
- Assyaukanie, L. (2009). Fatwa and Violence in Indonesia. *Journal of Religion and Society*, 11(J. Relig. Soc.), 1–21.
- Azhari, M. S., & Ghazali, M. H. (2019). *Peta kuasa intoleransi dan radikalisme di indonesia*. Depok: Inklusif.
- Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa Kemdikbud. (2018). *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Daring*.
- Bourchier, D., & Hadiz, V. (2003). *Indonesian politics and society: A reader*. London: Routledge.
- Bourchier, D. M. (2019). Two Decades of Ideological Contestation in Indonesia: From Democratic Cosmopolitanism to Religious Nationalism. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 49(5), 713–733. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2019.1590620>

- Burhani, A. N. (2014). Treating Minorities with Fatwas : A Study of the Ahmadiyah Community in Indonesia. *Contemporary Islam*, (10), 285–301. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-013-0278-3>
- Burke, K. (1966). *Language as symbolic action*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cheetham, J. (2017). *The Role of morality in religious persecution in indonesia during yudhoyono's presidency (2004-2014)*. The University of Sydney.
- Coady, C. A. J. (1986). The Idea of Violence. *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 3(1), 3–19.
- Corsevski, E. W. (1998). The Physical Side of Linguistic Violence. *Peace Review*, 10(4), 513–516. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659808426195>
- Crouch, M. (2011). Asia-Pacific: Ahmadiyah in Indonesia: A History of Religious Tolerance under Threat? *Alternative Law Journal*, 36 (1), 56–57.
- Dakhidae, D. (2003). *Cendekiawan dan kekuasaan dalam negara orde baru*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Detik News. (2005). Masjid Ahmadiyah Kembali Diserang. Retrieved March 30, 2018, from Detik website: <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-444758/masjid-ahmadiyah-kembali-diserang>
- Fiske, J. (1990). *Introduction to communication studies*. Routledge: Methuen & Co.Ltd.
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167–191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336900600301>
- Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3), 291–305.
- Galtung, J., & Galtung, J. (2008). *Cultural Violence* . 27(3), 291–305.
- Gay, W. C. (1998). Exposing and Overcoming Linguistic Alienation and Linguistic Violence. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, Vol. 24, pp. 137–156. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019145379802400210>
- Litke, R. & Curtin, D. (Eds.), *Institutional violence* (pp. 13–35). Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Gay, W. C. (2018). The Role of language in justifying and eliminating cultural violence. In F. Gursozlu (Ed.), *Peace, Culture, and violence* (pp. 31–36). Leiden: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004361911>
- George, C. (2017). *Pelitiran kebencian: Rekayasa ketersinggungan agama dan anacamannya bagi demokrasi*. Jakarta: Pusat Studi Agama dan Demokrasi (PUSAD).
- Gergen, K. J. (1985). The Social Constructionist Movement in Modern Psychology. *American Psychologist*, 40 (March 1985), 266–275. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.40.3.266>
- Gergen, K. J., Gergen, M., & Ness, O. (2019). Social Construction And Therapeutic Practices. In *Encyclopedia of Couple and Family Therapy* (p. 2688). Philadelphia: Springer International Publishing.
- Gottman, J. M. (1994). *What predicts divorce: The relationship between marital processes and marital outcomes*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Gregg.

- Hanssen, B. (2000). *Critique of violence: Between poststructuralism and critical theory*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Haryatmoko. (2014). *Etika politik dan kekuasaan*. Jakarta: Kompas.
- Hasyim, S. (2015). Fatwa Aliran Sesat dan Politik Hukum Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI). *Al-Ahkam*, 25(2), 241–266.
- Herlambang, W. (2013). *Kekerasan budaya pasca 1965*. Jakarta: Marjin Kiri.
- Jackman, M. R. (2002). Violence in Social Life. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28, 387–415. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.28.110601.140936>
- Kurniasari, N. D. (2012). Kekerasan dalam Media (Tinjauan Teori Kultivasi): Studi Kasus pada Peristiwa Kekerasan terhadap Anak. *Jurnal Paramator Vol.*, 5(1), 2012.
- Kusman, A. P. (2019). *The vortex of power: Intellectuals and politics in indonesia's post- authoritarian era*. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lecerle, J.-J. (1990). *The violence of language*. New York: Routledge.
- Lev, D. S. (1985). Colonial Law and the Genesis of the Indonesian State. *Indonesia*, 40, 57–74.
- Lindsey, T. (2012). Monopolizing Islam: The Indonesian Ulama Council and State Regulation of the Islamic Economy. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies ISSN::48(2)*, 253–274. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2012.694157>
- Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia. *Undang-undang dasar negara republik indonesia Tahun 1945*. Indonesia: <https://www.mkri.id/public/content/infoumum/regulation/pdf/UUD45%20ASLI.pdf>.
- Bakir, M. & Ubaid, A. (Eds.), (2015). *Nasionalisme islam nusantara*. Jakarta: Kompas.
- McCoy, M. E. (2013). Purifying Islam in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: Corporatist Metaphors and the Rise of Religious Intolerance. *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, 16(2), 275–316
- Mas'udi, Masdar Farid. (2020) personal interview.
- Msuya, E. A. (2016). Magnitude and Forms of Linguistic Violence against Teachers in Dar es Salaam Schools: A Gender Comparison. *International Journal of Social Science Research* 4(1), 195–213.
- Mudhoffir, A. M. (2015). Political Islam and Religious Violence in Post-New Order Indonesia. *Masyarakat*, 20(80), 1–22.
- Mudzhar, M. A. (1993). *Fatwas of the council of indonesian ulama: A study of islamic legal thought in indonesia 1975-1988*. Jakarta: INIS.
- Noor, N. M. (2013). Ahmadiyah, Conflicts, and Violence in Contemporary Indonesia. *Indonesia Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 3(1), 1–30.
- Noor, N. M. (2017). *Ahmadi Women Resisting Fundamentalist Persecution: A Case Study on Active Group Resistance in Indonesia*. Geneva: Globalethics.net.
- NU Online. (2008). Sikap PBNU tentang Ahmadiyah. Retrieved May 27, 2020, from NU Online website: <https://islam.nu.or.id/post/read/12315/sikap-pbnu-tentang-ahmadiyah>

- Pamungkas, C. (2017). *Mereka yang terusir*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.
- Posselt, G. (2017). Can Hatred Speak? On the Linguistic Dimensions of Hate Crime. *Linguistik Online*, 3(March).
- Pusat Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan Nasional. (2008). *Kamus besar bahasa indonesia* (IV). Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan Nasional.
- Putra, I. E., Holtz, P., & Rufaedah, A. (2018). Who is to Blame, the Victims or the Perpetrators? A Study to Understand A Series of Violence Targeting the Accused Heretic Group Ahmadiyah. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*, 10(2), 166–173. <https://doi.org/10.1037/rel0000186>
- Rahman, F. Z. (2014). State Restrictions on the Ahmadiyah Sect in Indonesia and Pakistan: Islam or Political Survival? *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 49(3), 408–422. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2014.934656>
- Rahmat, A. (2007). *Kesesatan dalam prespektif al-qur'an: Kajian tematik terhadap istilah "dalal" dalam al-qur'an*. Jogjakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Vetterling-Bruggin, M. (Ed.), *Sexist language: A modern philosophical analysis* (pp. 194–2015). Littlefield: Admas and Co.
- Saat, N. (2018). *The State, Ulama, and Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Schmitter, P. C. (1974). Still the Century of Corporatism? *The Review of Politics*, 36(1), 85–131.
- Sholeh, A. N. (2016). *Metodologi penetapan fatwa majelis ulama indonesia*. Jakarta: Erlangga.
- Silva, D. (2017). *Language and Violence: Pragmatic Perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.279.01sil>
- Siroj, S. A. (2012). *Tasawuf sebagai kritik sosial*. Jakarta: SAS Foundation dan LTN NU.
- Sirry, M. (2013). Fatwas and Their Controversy: The Case of the Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI). *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 44(1), 100–117. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463412000641>
- Suryana, A. (2018). Indonesian Presidents and Communal Violence against Non-mainstream Faiths. *Southeast Asia Research ISSN: 26*(2), 147–160. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967828X18769393>
- Tempo. (2018). Persekusi Ahmadiyah Kembali Terjadi. *Majalah Tempo*, 20.
- Wang, Q. (2018). Linguistic Violence and Online Political Communications in China: The Example of 鸡的屁 (Ji De Pi) as An Ironic Spoof of Gross Domestic Product in Online Debates around Environmental Issues. *Global Media and China*, 1(14), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2059436418775532>

Fariz Alnizar¹, Amir Ma'ruf², Fadlil Munawwar Manshur³

¹Universitas Nahdlatul Ulama Indonesia (UNUSIA) Jakarta

^{2,3}Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

E-mail: ¹fariz@unusia.ac.id, ²amir_maruf@ugm.ac.id, ³fadlil@ugm.ac.id