

Significant Others and Social Transformation: An Examination of the Ahmadiyah Conflict in Lombok

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Abstract

This research analyses the role of figures in the dynamics of internal Islamic conflict, particularly in the case of Ahmadiyah in Lombok. Using a qualitative method with a descriptive-analytical approach, data was collected through interviews with representatives of the Ahmadiyah congregation as well as secondary sources such as previous research, NGO reports, and mass media. The data obtained was categorised based on conflict patterns and mass psychology, then analysed using the framework of religious socialisation theory. The results show that important figures in both groups play a vital role as significant others in reducing conflict through three mechanisms: faith strengthening, internal Islamic dialogue, and faith modelling. This internal dialogue is key in finding common ground and managing differences in teachings within one religion. Thus, the presence of figures as mediators plays a strategic role in managing conflict, both in open form and at the doctrinal level.

Key Word: Religious Socialisation, Ahmadiyah, Significant Others, Conflict

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INTRODUCTION

In the post-New Order era, there has been intra-religious conflict between the congregation of Ahmadiyah Muslims and dominant Sunni Muslim in the island of Lombok (Medcom.id, 2019). There has been a struggle over Ahmadiyah in almost all of the regencies in Lombok, indicating that it is a multifaceted problem. The government action has been ineffective, such as in offering refuge centers to the Ahmadiyah without action to get to the root of the problem (Tirto, 2018). There has been no measurable and sustainable method of ending this conflict to this day.

On the other hand, various groups, for example, preachers and religious groups, have responded to this conflict in ways that sometimes aggravate it. Attempts to compel certain religious beliefs without a friendly platform of dialogue have even exacerbated the separation between Ahmadiyah and other groups of Muslims even more. Ahmadis also have close emotional and religiosity attachments, cemented through a collective suffering and discrimination background (Baihaqi, M., 2020).

Violence against the Ahmadiyah is not new; there have been cases of violence over time. One such incident is October 1, 1998, when there was a violent raid in Keranji Hamlet, Pemongkong Village, Keruak District, East Lombok. The same incident happened in Sambi Elen Hamlet, Loloan Village, Bayan District, West Lombok in 2001; in Pancor, East Lombok on September 11, 2002; and in Beremi Pancor on September 10, 2003 (Tirto, 2018). The repetition of such incidents indicates that the conflict of the Ahmadiyah in Lombok is dormant and is likely to continue if there is not a total effort to stop it.

Currently, many of the congregation of Ahmadiyah still reside in refugee camps, in

Transito Mataram City, and in refugee camps in East Lombok Regency (Kumparan, 2018). The government has tried to intervene in a short-term manner, attempts that, though having potential to temporarily suppress conflict, never eradicated the root of the problem. The society continued to harbor enmity and suspicion towards the congregation of Ahmadiyah. Therefore, a more constructive approach is needed in order to restrict enmity and prejudice that has been brought forth in society towards this group of people.

One of the key factors in this conflict is the role of religious leaders in both groups. These figures are often situational variables that amplify or dampen violence, in addition to the individual factors at play. By understanding who the key actors in this conflict are and how they play a role in religious socialisation, conflict mapping and anticipation can be more targeted.

There have been research that explained escalation of conflict experienced by congregation of Ahmadiyah, but none of it discussed in detail implications of conflict in terms of significant others and social change, such as evaluating Joint Decree on Ahmadiyah: a case of conflict of Ahmadiyah in Gereneng Village, East Lombok (Wahab & Fakhrudin, 2019), political struggle of a village that affect conflict of Ahmadiyah in Gegerung-West Lombok (Baihaqi, 2020), secularisation in symbolic struggles, a study of religious conflict of congregation of Ahmadiyah in Manislor, Kuningan (Budiman, A., 2019., 2020), analysis of conflict of Ahmadiyah in Sukabumi in media reports during period of 2008-2020 (Putri, A. T. et al., 2021), and Communication efforts of Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) in overcoming conflict of Ahmadiyah (Utami, N. W., 2016).

Most of the existing writings are generalised and tend to focus on the dynamics of the conflict without paying attention to post-conflict conditions. This paper aims to identify the central figures in both groups and analyse how they carry out religious socialisation in their respective communities. Religious socialisation has a major impact in shaping the attitudes and perspectives of individuals towards different religious teachings. Prejudice that leads to violence is often the result of exclusive and intolerant religious socialisation patterns (Neliti, 2017).

Therefore, religious leaders in both groups have the potential to become bridges of peace if they can understand each other, accept differences, and commit to creating a harmonious life. An inclusive religious socialisation-based approach can be a more effective conflict resolution strategy than mediation without changing attitudes and mindsets in the community. These recurring conflicts are not only individually draining, but also have far-reaching social impacts on the community as a whole. Therefore, it is important to design a sustainable strategy to build peace based on religious dialogue that is more inclusive and solutive.

RESEARCH METHODS

This paper uses a qualitative method presented in an analytical-descriptive manner. Data collection in this research is done by interview technique. The interview technique was conducted freely with representatives of the Lombok Ahmadiyah congregation. The data in this paper also comes from various previous studies, NGO reports, mass media concerning the Ahmadiyah conflict in Lombok. Meanwhile, the literature references used come from books, journals and articles related to religious socialisation positioned as a strategy.

Once collected, the data was then selected and processed descriptively. The next process is information analysis by compiling data that is relevant to the topic of the paper so that it can be interpreted appropriately. Furthermore, the redacted data was categorised based on conflict patterns and mass psychology and analysed using the theoretical framework of religious socialisation. The next process is to collate and process the data using a descriptive-analytical approach..

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Religious Socialisation as A Strategy: Theoretical Framework

The theory of religious socialisation in the discipline of Psychology of Religion is closely linked in the context of cultivating religious spirit (Aryani, S. A., 2015). Bernard

Spilka defines religious socialisation as a mechanism that creates the acceptability of a system of meaning, where primary relationships play a major role in making it more effective. When society is traditional and a religion dominates, religion is identity. In societies where religion is integrated with culture and plays a central role, religion is alive and well (Spilka, 2009).

The concept of religion that is often used to understand rules about interaction with society is religiosity. The formation of religious values can be seen in various ways, the types of socialising religion are divided into three types: faith control; faith dialogue; and faith modelling. This study aims to test the structural equation model on religious socialisation in the formation of religiosity in adolescents (Rozi & Amir, 2018).

The concept of religion has never been separated from human life. Religion is recognised as having a strong role in influencing the lives of individuals, but psychology's attention to the psychological processes involved in religious behaviour was initially almost non-existent, with some even considering it a strange and embarrassing topic to study. In this context, the individuals of the Ahmadiyya Congregation, although studied after going through waves of conflict from year to year that continue to threaten them.

In this paper, religious socialisation is positioned as a strategy in minimising religious conflicts, especially between Ahmadiyah and Muslim communities in Lombok. Therefore, the psychology of the Lombok Ahmadiyya Congregation as a minority group in this paper will be studied through the cultivation of religious spirit among members. The subject actors of religious socialisation are carried out by actors who have a big role in the community (significant others). It is through this subject that religious people put the barometer of their religious life.

The actors who play a role in grafting their understanding to each individual on both sides are important to be re-examined to observe the pattern of religious socialisation of each individual. At this point, this paper will expose who plays the role of significant others in the Ahmadiyah community and the majority of Lombok Muslims. Secondly, how these significant others carry out religious socialisation so that they can influence individuals from both communities to understand each other between the two sides.

Religious Socialisation Among The Ahmadiyah Congregation

Ahmadiyah congregation as the victim of house demolition felt very deep trauma. This was caused by a number of violence that befell them. From violence to violence, it does not erode their spirit to hold on to the foundation of faith and teachings in the midst of the majority of other Muslims. Even the stigma against his group, which is considered infidel and heretical, is continuously campaigned by a number of religious leaders in NTB.

This condition causes Ahmadiyah congregations to be more enthusiastic in carrying out the teachings of Islam according to what they believe. On the other hand, the children who feel the impact of the violence feel inferior when entering public spaces such as university education. They are relatively closed to the teachings they believe in. This causes the social interaction of Ahmadiyah congregations outside their community to be very limited.

As a result of the violence, Ahmadiyah congregations not only experienced physical violence but also psychological violence. As a result, the trauma of Ahmadiyya is still lingering. Psychologically, it affects the way Ahmadiyah's religion must be carried out "closed" from the majority of orthodox Muslims. Until now, the Ahmadiyya congregation still lives in the Transito dormitory Mataram and in East Lombok. They avoided the violence by leaving all their property, including land and houses in their own villages.

The understanding that the Ahmadiyya congregation believes in is considered deviant from the understanding of other orthodox Muslims. Given that Lombok Island is known as a religious community, the enthusiasm of the community to build mosques is quite high. That is why this island is often referred to as the island of a thousand mosques. Therefore, any religious group that is considered to deviate from the teachings of Islam believed by the majority of the community will be considered heretical.

This also happened to the Ahmadiyah congregation in Lombok. Ahmadiyah congregations finally carry out religious teachings in their respective neighbourhoods. Ahmadiyah residents have their own mosque built in the transito dormitory area, although the conditions are not yet suitable. Every day the Ahmadiyah congregation performs five

daily prayers, Fridays, and holidays at the mosque. Relationships and relationships between religions also occur dynamically. Socially, Ahmadiyah congregations can mingle and are relatively accepted, but in the context of religion, Majeluk residents have not been able to accept the different beliefs of Ahmadiyah congregations.

This kind of difference in beliefs in the Ahmadiyah's hometown is suspected to be a trigger for conflict. Differences in teachings also cause social estrangement between the Ahmadiyya and other Muslims. The difference in beliefs causes prejudice of other groups against Ahmadiyya. One of them, a resident of Gegerung, West Lombok, said that Ahmadiyya considered Muslims outside Ahmadiyya to have impure bodies.

This is certainly denied by Ahmadiis themselves. Ahmadiyya teachings are always suspected by society in general. Therefore, the Ahmadiyya congregation tries to straighten out this misunderstanding through socialisation. That then caused the Ahmadiyya Congregation to be considered influencing the local people to embrace the Ahmadiyya sect.

Religious symbols are a representation of a society that is so thick with communal nature. It is through these symbols that religious communalism is often seen in religious relations. A group of people who live in a certain area or with a certain identity (ethnicity, religion, race, etc.) have strong emotional ties with one another. When their identity is disturbed or harassed by others, very quickly this spirit of communalism arises. Usually the one who plays an important role in it is Tuan Guru.

Meanwhile, in Majeluk, there are no Tuan Guru who play an important role in the religious life of the community. This is in contrast to other districts such as East Lombok, Central Lombok and West Lombok, which are the centre of the Nahdlatul Wathan organisation and are known for their respect for the Tuan Guru and even their strong organisational fanaticism. The existence of Tuan Guru in East Lombok is not only as a spiritual leader, but also other strategic roles in social life. Commemorating some of the Ahmadiyah congregations in Transito who initially came from Pancor, East Lombok were expelled then moved to Gegerung and finally evacuated to Transito (Wahab, A. J. et al., 2018).

Pre-school children attend SDN 42 Mataram. Local residents mingle with children from the Ahmadiyah congregation. Junior high school children go to SMPN 16 Mataram. At the high school level, Ahmadiyah children are sent to al-Wahid High School in Tasikmalaya and Arif Rahman Hakim High School in Tangerang. While in college, Ahmadiyah congregations choose to send their children to public universities such as Mataram University, IKIP (UNIKMA) Mataram. Some others continue to the Bogor Muballigh Jamiah Campus. There is no Ahmadiyya congregation studying at UIN Mataram.

At school, children from the Ahmadiyya congregation mingle with children from Majeluk. There is no difference in the school's attitude towards them. In addition, the social interaction of Ahmadiyah children takes place associatively with children from Majeluk neighbourhood of Mataram City. Even with children from other religions such as Hinduism. Children at the elementary, junior and senior high school levels get along with Ahmadiyya congregations as they get along with others.

Meanwhile, at the university level in Mataram City, Ahmadiyah followers tend to hide their sect identity from their friends. At the university level, students are already aware of the differences in beliefs between Ahmadiyah followers and Muslims in general so that students from Ahmadiyah followers close themselves but in class and organisations try to be equal to others.

Tracking Significant Others of Both Groups

Along with modernisation and globalisation, the pattern of division of labour in In the religious existence of the Ahmadiyah congregation and the majority of orthodox Muslims in Lombok, there are religious figures who play an important role in influencing individual religious believers. Above it has been explained how institutionally the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation (JAI) has a centralised religious figure who is in a special school for the Ahmadiyya Congregation in SMA al-Wahid Tasikmalaya and SMA Arif Rahman Hakim Tangerang.

Once the children of the Ahmadiyya community finish junior high school, they

continue their education in schools that are truly educated with Ahmadiyya methods and materials. This education forms the Ahmadiyya congregation to have high militancy in addition to organisationally establishing relationships with JAI central administrators in other regions in Indonesia.

However, JAI in Lombok only has a board coordinated by Jauzi and a spokesperson currently held by Ahmad Soleh. However, they did not mention who is the head of JAI in Indonesia. The Ahmadiyah congregation positions religious figures in the Ahmadiyah network as playing an important role in influencing individual religious beliefs, especially in situations of psychological trauma. The motivation for Ahmadiyah congregations to survive by continuing to hold the teachings they believe in is the religious teachings that become the foundation of their lives.

Meanwhile, the majority Muslim group in Lombok also has religious leaders in their respective regions. In Lombok, the religious figure is called Tuan Guru. This title is given by the community when a figure has a social and intellectual role in the Lombok community in particular. However, so far these figures are generally contradictory and prejudiced against the existence of Ahmadiyah congregations.

This, for example, can be seen from the conflicts that occurred, which were more dominated by the mass groups that attacked Ahmadiyah congregations influenced by Tuan Guru. Considering that the Tuan Guru has quite a lot of congregation from Gegerung Village. Not only that, Tuan Guru in Gegerung Village went directly from dusun to dusun to convey the misguided teachings of Ahmadiyah.

Religious figures in general have long been seen as the triggers of conflict and violence against Ahmadis. One of them is Tuan Guru Amin Djamiluddin, who aggressively attacks Ahmadiyah through various media, one of which is through the book "Ahmadiyah Hijacking the Qur'an" distributed by MUI NTB to a number of Islamic boarding schools. Moreover, Amin is actively campaigning for the anti-Ahmadiyya movement in Lombok.

Significant Others as Conflict Mediators

The influence of actors on both sides plays an important role in influencing the character of each individual (Aryani, S. A., 2015). Mobilisation encourages and takes other forms according to the networks of certain actors to express and build personal interests and group claims. Fear and potential violence are built up as a result of the political system.

Meanwhile, in the midst of individual Ahmadiyya congregations there are figures who influence the way of religion that is related organisationally. Ahmadiyah congregations have figures who mobilise as well as become a kind of significant other in carrying out religious life in one of the regions in Lombok. These figures are influential in religious life.

Meanwhile, the majority of mUslims in Lombok have Tuan Guru whose every utterance will be obeyed by individuals. Tuan Guru, which is scattered in various regions in Lombok, has its own congregation. It is not uncommon for Tuan Guru to establish a boarding school to conduct religious socialisation in addition to the majelis taklim held in the mosque or in the Tuan Guru's house. Every individual action in the context of religion is driven by the advice of the Tuan Guru. Even political matters. So the level of influence of Tuan Guru on individual religious believers is very high.

Various factors that need to be carefully examined are communalism, nationalism based on ethnicity, indigenous people, the paradigm of truth claims in missionary activities and religious preaching (Tockary, R, 2003). Meanwhile, Franz Magnis Suseno said that ethnic and religious conflicts in Indonesia are caused by complex backgrounds. One of these factors is the accumulation of hatred in society. Various stigmas against other groups that have only been rolling as a hiddent transcript strengthen at the right momentum (Suparto, 2013).

This can be seen, for example, from the conflicts that occurred between Ahmadiyah and the Muslim majority in Lombok. Many of the conflicts were triggered by the provocative lectures of Tuan Guru in mosques. In addition, one of the teachers who aggressively provoked published a book saying that Ahmadiyah is a heretical group. As soon as the Tuan Guru behaved in this way, individual religious people followed what the Tuan Guru believed.

But behind the influence of the figures in both groups, they can be used as mediators in realising peace between the two sides. What Bernard Spilka calls a mechanism that creates the acceptability of a system of meaning, where primary relationships play a major role in making it more effective. The mechanism is acceptable to Spilka, one of which is due to the role of significant Others.

Therefore, the concept of religion that is often used to understand the rules of interaction with society is religiosity. The formation of personal religious values in both the Ahmadiyah group and Muslim society in general can be seen in various ways. The type depends on how the role of the figure in socialising religion. The role is divided into three types: faith control; faith dialogue; and faith modelling (Rozi, F. et al, 2018).

The Significant Others can perform all three types. For example, the role of the character mobilises faith control for both groups so that they do not always clash with each other. Secondly, there is a dialogue between faiths, in this case faith in a more internal sense because it involves one religion that has different teachings. After that, the role of the character can do faith modelling by looking at the individual tendencies of the two groups.

Of the three types above, an internal Islamic dialogue of faith can be conducted to strengthen common ground and tolerate the gaps between the two groups of Muslims who both acknowledge Islam as their religion. That way the role of significant others becomes a kind of mediator both in open conflict and closed conflict in the sense of conflict at the doctrinal level.

Regarding doctrinal differences, for example, Mirza is the 'Messiah', the second coming of the prophet Isa promised by Islam and Christianity. Mirza also not only claims to be Isa, but also Imam Mahdi. The prophetic testimony was delivered openly by Mirza to the wider community after receiving a 'revelation' from God. According to Mirza, Isa and Mahdi are the same figure acting as 'Messiah' to bring peace and uphold the purity of Islamic teachings. He understands the coming of Isa and Mahdi not in a physical context, but rather as symbols of the prophetic spirit. It is impossible for people who have died to wake up again on earth because it contradicts the principles of Islamic teachings which do not recognise the term reincarnation. Ahmadiyya believes that the role of 'Messiah' is also found in other religions that promise the arrival of their figures, such as in Hinduism where Krisna will come and in Buddhism where Buddha will come (Nurhikmah 2015).

This kind of difference can be tolerated by the majority of other Muslims if religious leaders are able to explain effectively the background of the different sects in Islam. As long as religious leaders between the two groups are able to meet and position themselves as mediators, closed conflicts can be minimised. If closed conflicts are handled effectively then open conflicts can also be avoided.

Although the current pattern, for example, religious figures are generally considered as the triggers of conflict and violence against Ahmadiyah congregations by conducting attacks on Ahmadiyah through various media, one of which is through the book "Ahmadiyah Hijacking the Qur'an" distributed by MUI NTB to a number of Islamic boarding schools. Moreover, Amin actively campaigned for the anti-Ahmadiyya movement in Lombok. The importance of a third party that brings these two figures together can be done structurally bureaucratically by moving across institutions to conduct dialogue between groups (Zulkarnaen, 2005).

Because we can see how the concept of religion works dominantly in the lives of every religious believer. Religion plays a strong role in influencing individual lives. Religious socialisation as a scientific family born from psychology can model religious behaviour. In this context, the individuals of Ahmadiyah congregations can be accepted by the wider community and can mingle ritually and socially with other Muslims. Of course, it cannot be separated from how the two figures in each group work and can first mingle with other communities.

Similarly, the presence of Ahmadiyah congregations can open up by, for example, enrolling their children in public schools, not even having to send their children, for example, to SMA al-Wahid Tasikmalaya and SMA Arif Rahman Hakim Tangerang. Some others continue to the Bogor Muballigh Jamiah Campus. Likewise, in higher education, Ahmadiyah congregations can choose to enrol their children in public universities.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

Coastal communities generally have a distinctive social and economic system. That is the influence of significant others on both sides plays a vital role in influencing the character of each individual in practising the teachings of Islam. These Significant Others can perform all three types. For example, the role of the figure mobilises faith control for both groups so that they do not always clash with each other. Secondly, there is a dialogue between faiths, in this case faith in a more internal sense because it involves one religion that has different teachings. After that, the role of the character can do faith modelling by looking at the individual tendencies of the two groups.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

To optimise the role of significant others in maintaining internal harmony among Muslims, it is necessary to strengthen the capacity of figures as mediators through training in intra-religious dialogue and conflict resolution based on Islamic values. In addition, it is necessary to establish a sustainable dialogue space that brings together various Muslim groups to build a common understanding and reduce the potential for conflict due to differences in teachings. A contextualised approach to faith also needs to be developed so that da'wah strategies and religious guidance can be tailored to the individual characters and tendencies of both groups. Collaboration with religious institutions is a strategic step in instilling the value of tolerance and Islamic moderation, while preventing excessive polarisation. In addition, the use of media, both digital and conventional, can be an effective means of spreading an inclusive understanding of Islam and strengthening the role of leaders in conveying brotherly values, so that they can function as mediators in open and hidden conflicts at the doctrinal level.

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