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Towards Peaceful Islam: Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) as A New Social Movement¹

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Abstrak

Kelompok keagamaan Ahmadiyah telah masuk ke Indonesia sejak tahun 1920-an. Kelompok ini terbagi menjadi dua subkelompok yang berbeda, yaitu Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia (GAI) dan Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI). Setelah masa reformasi, komunitas JAI dihadapkan pada situasi yang kurang menguntungkan. Fatwa Kesykesatan yang dikeluarkan oleh Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) pada tahun 1980 membuat posisi kelompok ini semakin sulit. Pemerintah pascareformasi bahkan seakan memberikan ruang gerak yang lebih besar kepada kelompok-kelompok Islam dominan anti-Ahmadiyah untuk melakukan kekerasan terhadap kelompok ini. Komunitas-komunitas JAI di berbagai daerah di Indonesia mengalami diskriminasi dan kekerasan, seperti penutupan masjid, penyerangan, dan pengusiran. Menyikapi hal ini, JAI yang memiliki dasar ajaran Islam yang damai mengembangkan pendekatan-pendekatan kultural yang bersifat persuasif agar mereka dapat bertahan dan selanjutnya diterima oleh masyarakat luas. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis JAI sebagai gerakan sosial baru berdasarkan pendekatan kultural yang dikembangkannya untuk dapat mempertahankan eksistensinya di tengah masyarakat. Upaya ini selanjutnya mencerminkan terjadinya kebangkitan identitas kolektif yang juga menjadi ciri dari gerakan ini.

Abstract

The Ahmadiyya religious group has been present in Indonesia since the 1920s. The religious group is divided into two different subgroups, namely Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia (GAI) and Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI). In the reform era, the JAI community has to face a less favorable situation. The Heresy Fatwa issued by Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) in 1980 had put this group into an even more difficult position. The reform era government seemed to give a greater opportunity for anti-Ahmadiyya dominant Islamic groups to commit violence towards this group. JAI communities in various areas experienced various forms of discrimination and violence, such as the closure of mosques, assaults, and expulsions. Dealing with this situation, JAI, with their belief of peaceful Islam, tried to develop persuasive cultural approaches to survive and subsequently to be accepted by the society. This article aims to analyze JAI as a new social movement based on their cultural approaches to maintain their existence in the society. These efforts reflect the occurrence of the revival of collective identity, which also becomes the characteristic of this movement.

Keywords: Islam; minorities; new social movements; collective identity; Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia

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INTRODUCTION

Ahmadiyya is a religious group founded in 1889 in India by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Adherents of this group believe that the promised Messiah has arrived through the divine appointment of its founder as the Mahdi and Messiah (Suryawan 2005:1). The religious group believes that its existence has the goal of propagating Islam as a peace-loving religion, and thus it is strongly opposed to various forms of violence and terror (Suryawan 2005:2). In its development, the Ahmadis split into two sub-groups, due to different interpretations of the nature of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's prophethood. The two sub-groups are Qadian Ahmadiyya and Lahore Ahmadiyya. The Qadian community considers Ghulam Ahmad as a prophet, while the Lahore community positions him merely as a reformer (Lay 2009:6). The Qadian Ahmadis, due to their belief in Mirza's prophethood, are regarded as heretics by most Islamic groups who believe that no new prophets would be appointed after the death of Muhammad (Burhani 2014:135-136). As a result, in many Islamic countries, the Ahmadis often suffer from discrimination (Rahardjo in Suryawan 2005:vii).

Ahmadiyya entered Indonesia in the 1920s, and were grouped into two different sub-groups. The Lahore Ahmadis created a group called Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia (GAI, the "Indonesian Ahmadiyya Movement"), while the Qadian Ahmadis equivalent group was named Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI, the "Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation") (Bredlid 2013:166). In general, Ahmadis can conduct their religious activities without any interference from other groups (Burhani 2014:141). The two groups had become legal entities, in 1930 for GAI (*Ahmadiyah.org* 2016), and in 1953 for JAI (Maliki 2010:56).

During the New Order era, the presence of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia experienced almost no disturbance (Burhani 2014:41), however, in 1980, the Indonesian Ulemas Council (MUI) directed a fatwa on the heresy of Qadian Ahmadiyya (Lay 2009:7). This is presumably due to Suharto's approaching ulemas and Islamic mass organizations during the latter part of his presidency, in order to gain support for his power (Hasyim 2015:488). However, the Heresy Fatwa did not significantly threaten the presence of Ahmadiyya in general. This is also influenced by the repressive government actions through the military arm against various societal groups considered to disturb the social and political order. This condition began to change after Suharto's downfall in 1998.

With the advent of the reform era, and the euphoria of freedom that followed, Islamic groups opposed to Ahmadiyya obtained the opportunity to direct their actions, which were previously restrained under the New Order. This can be seen from the rising number of protests by such groups against the presence of Ahmadiyya, which was considered to have diverged from the teachings of Islam they believe in (Burhani 2014:141). The impact of the protests was more significantly felt by the JAI, due to their belief in the prophethood of Mirza Ghulan Ahmad. As a result, the group suffers from discrimination and violence. In fact, the group is said to experience minoritization (Mudzakkir 2011:2), which includes among other things, discrimination (Preece in Mudzakkir 2011:2).

In general, JAI suffers from discrimination and violence at the state, semi-state and non-state levels. First, at the state level, the government, through the Minister of Religion, Attorney General and Minister of Interior, declared a joint circular in 2008, which gave warning to JAI to not proselytize (Joint Declaration of Three Ministers 2008:1;4). Second, at the semi-state level, the MUI (Indonesian Ulemas Council) pronounced a fatwa on the heresy of Qadian Ahmadiyya in 1980 (Lay 2009:7). Third, at the non-state level, Islamic groups opposed to Ahmadiyya in various regions have attacked the JAI. One of the attacks was made when JAI was holding its annual national meeting in Parung, West Java, in 2005 (*Detik.com* 2017). Although regarded as a minority group and subjected to discrimination and violence, JAI made attempts to survive, and then, to be accepted by the public. This is done so that they can deliver the message of peace in Islam, which is the core of their teaching.

Previous studies on how JAI reacts to the discrimination they receive are divided into two main themes: responses to discrimination (see Connley 2016; Del Re 2014; Noor 2015; Pamungkas 2015) and resistance to discrimination (see Abdillah 2014; Maliki 2010; Nurhikmah 2013). Some of the earlier studies on the theme of responses to discrimination have found that persistence in implementing their belief is one way that JAI relies on to respond to rejection to them (Connley 2016; Pamungkas 2015). Meanwhile, others found that JAI was trying to engage with the public to disarm the hostile attitude shown by outsiders (Del Re 2014; Noor 2015). Further, studies on the theme of resistance to discrimination found that JAI attempted to counter the misunderstanding against their group, either by clarifying through

writing (Nurhikmah 2013) or networking with those perceived as having influence (Abdillah 2014; Maliki 2010). However, the studies on responses and resistance to discrimination tend to observe JAI as a minority group that acts only in response to the rejection.

Moving further, this study refers to one of the themes in sociology, namely the new social movement, which is characterized by the use of cultural attributes in the execution of its movement, while reflecting the emergence of a collective identity awakening. Thus, the author argues that JAI is not merely a discriminated minority. JAI is a new social movement that takes persuasive cultural approaches in order to survive and be accepted in its existence, and further this group can disseminate their teachings about peaceful Islam. In a wider scope, their efforts reflect the emergence of a collective identity awakening that also characterizes such a movement.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article was written based on research using a qualitative approach to explore the issue of JAI as a new social movement. One reason for the selection for this approach is that it can help a researcher to present data in detail (Marvasti 2004:7). Based on this approach, a case study research strategy is selected, focusing on exploring the issue in a limited time and scope of activity (Stake in Creswell 2010:20). The data in this study were collected by conducting in-depth interviews with JAI board members and adherents. The purposive informant selection technique was used in this study. This is because the informants were selected using specific criteria. The informants were ten males and females, aged 16 and up. The informants came from JAI Center in Parung, JAI Branch in Lenteng Agung, and JAI Branch in Depok. JAI Center in Parung was chosen as the central location for all Qadian Ahmadiyya activities in Indonesia. Meanwhile, JAI Branch in Lenteng Agung and JAI Branch in Depok were chosen because despite the location of both being adjacent, the two JAI branches actually experience discrimination in different levels; with the Lenteng Agung branch experiencing less severe discrimination than the Depok branch. Furthermore, the categorization of informants was based on the position in the JAI hierarchical structure. *First*, from Parung, two informants were selected, namely the Secretary General of the JAI Executive Board and JAI Spokesman to obtain data on JAI dynamics in general. *Second*, from

each JAI branch four informants were selected. The first was the branch chairman to obtain data on JAI dynamics in each selected branch. The second was the branch mubaligh to get data about religious activities in each selected branch. The third was the secretary of the *kharijiah* to obtain data on JAI relationship with the surrounding community in each selected branch. The fourth was a member to obtain data about their experience as an Ahmadi. JAI relationship with the surrounding community in each selected branch. A weakness of this research is that there are several informants accompanied by fellow JAI members during the in-depth interview process. This affects the difficulties encountered in exploring information from individual informants.

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND THE REVIVAL OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

A social movement is a form of collective action with three main characteristics (Porta and Diani 2006:20-22). *First*, a conflictual relation with another party outside the movement. Each social movement is intended to change social conditions that are regarded to deviate from the expectations of the movement. This sometimes run at odds with the views of another party outside the movement, resulting in conflictual relations (Tilly 1978; Touraine in Porta and Diani 2006:21).

Second, an informal network involving many social actors. This network is unique to social movements, compared to other forms of collective action. The network allows interaction between individual actors and collective actors in order to achieve common goals. Besides, through the network, actors determine how the movement would be implemented, such as determining which strategy to be used (Porta and Diani 2006:21).

The third is the existence of collective identity. One of the deciding factors on whether a social movement can be created is collective identity. If collective identity could be developed, the movement could be created and developed (Porta dan Diani 2006:21). With collective identity, actors of the movement can determine a joint objective to reach and show their commitment to the movement (Touraine in Porta and Diani 2006:21).

Nowadays, movements oriented towards socio-economic interests are considered no longer particularly relevant, and replaced by numerous cultural movements (Touraine 2007:153). Melucci (in Jasper 2007:70)

called such movements 'new social movements'. Through these movements, realities are observed from the involved actors. Thus, the cultural approach becomes crucial to understand the cognitive, morality and emotional aspects of these actors (Melucci in Jasper 2007:70; Jasper 2007:60). Further, the cultural approach is considered to be capable of reinterpreting the phenomenon of social movement, which generally uses the conventional structural approach, and complement issues that cannot be explained using the approach (Jasper 2007:60).

Jasper (2007) describes three cultural attributes to understand the phenomenon of social movements. *First*, carriers of meaning are things that contain cultural meaning in the form of artifacts, metaphors, and rhetoric. Different carriers of meaning carry different messages and are addressed to different recipients, thus indicating the specificity of each social movement that uses it (Jasper 2007:72-78). *Second*, the kinds of emotions in the actors of the movement and their relation to the continuity of social movements. In relation to social movements, emotions can explain the process of encouraging actors to move. Emotions can work within the actor as a means to achieve as well as the expected ends of the movement (Jasper 2007:80-82). *Third*, morality is seen as an important aspect that encourages the occurrence of social movements. This is because moral considerations influence the actions of actors of social movements, whether they are good or bad for their movement (Jasper 2007:88).

In addition to Jasper, Porta and Diani (2006) also attempt to explain social movements with the cultural approach, i.e. by explaining the linkage between values and social movements. The decision to engage in a movement is influenced by how a value is internalized by the actors involved. The value is concretized in terms of common goals and strategies to achieve that goal (Klandermans 1988; Melucci 1989, 1996; Gamson in Porta and Diani 2006:72). In the broader context, the relationship between the shared values of a society and social movement can be seen from two sides. First, the presence of social movements is a form of social disintegration due to the failure to reproduce shared values to the members of society. Second, the presence of social movements is seen as an attempt to restore social integration by introducing new common values to community members (Porta and Diani 2006:67-68).

The discussion of the phenomenon of social movements with a cultural approach also cannot be separated from the concept of collective identity whose role is strengthened. Castells (2010:7-8) divides collec-

tive identity into three types, based on the form and origins. *First*, legitimizing identity. This type of identity comes from the dominant institutions of society that seek to expand and rationalize their power (Castells 2010:8).

Second, resistance identity. This second type of identity comes from social actors who are oppressed by the dominant logic. In such a condition, these social actors subsequently develop resistance and different forms of self defense from the dominant institutions of society. There are two possible continuations of the formation of the resistance identity, i.e. initiating the formation of project identity, or when it has steadied, creating a legitimizing identity (Castells 2010:8). Castells sees this identity as the most important among various forms of identity, as it contributes to forming a collective resistance to oppression. The existence of background similarities, such as history, among the actors involved will determine the limits of resistance being made. This identity formation attempts to reverse the dominant value and strengthen the boundaries. This becomes a common discussion among fellows in the group categorized into this identity, which will then determine whether a society will remain intact or be split into groups (Castells 2010:9).

Third, project identity. This third type of identity comes from social actors who use their cultural attributes to form a new identity in order to gain a different position in society. This effort can be achieved if supported by the transformation of social structure (Castells 2010:8). The formation of this identity can be derived from a resistance identity that in the later stage transforms the society (Castells 2010:10).

JAI AS A NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT

JAI is the group of the Indonesian branch of Qadian Ahmadiyya. This group is considered to be deviant by dominant Islamic groups, due to different interpretations of Islamic teachings between the groups. Informant YB mentioned that the difference of interpretation is natural and will always exist. This refers to the words of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), who states that Islam in the end of time will be divided into 73 groups. Therefore, there will always be a debate about which group is considered the most correct among the 73 (Interview with YB, Chairman of JAI Branch in Depok, 20 November 2016). The different interpretations indicate a conflictual relationship between JAI and the dominant Islamic groups. As Porta and Diani explain (2006:21), the

conflictual relationship with others outside the movement is the first characteristic of a social movement.

While suffering from much discrimination, JAI never takes action on its own. Informant D explains that JAI is part of the International Ahmadiyya Congregation. Therefore, this group strongly based its attitude on the command of the caliph, who is the highest leader at the international level. For example, when JAI was attacked in Parung in 2005 and in Manis Lor in 2010, they were instructed by the caliph not to fight back (interview with D, General Secretary of National Board of JAI and YB, Spokesman of JAI, 10 December 2016). The relationship between JAI and the group at the international level indicates the network constructed by the association. The existence of this network affects the attitude that JAI takes on problems it face, in this case related to the discrimination experienced by the group. As Porta and Diani explain (2006:21), the network built by the actors involved is the second characteristic of a social movement.

Each group has distinctive values that it seeks to instill in its members. This also applies to JAI. There are two main values that this group seeks to cultivate to their members, namely obedience to leaders and making offerings. First, obedience to the leader. As explained by informant F, this value is the implementation of the value of obedience to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) as the messenger of Allah SWT (interview with F, Mubaligh of JAI Branch in Depok, 10 November 2016). Furthermore, informant E describes that JAI members are asked to always obey what their leaders command. This is because of the assumption that the leader is the key to the success of the group. There are several levels of leadership that must be adhered to by JAI members, namely the Caliph as the highest leader in the international level, the national amir as the highest leader at the national level, and the local amir as the highest leader at the regional level (interview with E (Chairman of JAI Branch in Lenteng Agung, 14 October 2016). Due to this hierarchy, JAI always presents one voice and is always united.

Second, making offering. According to informant F, the sacrifices made by JAI members show their willingness to prioritize religious interests above other interests. Informant S further explained that one of the main offerings that JAI members must make is the offering of property in the form of monthly routine payments for *candah* and *jalsa salanah*. *Candah* is 1/16 of the monthly income, while *jalsa salanah* is 1/120 of the monthly income (Interview with S, Mubaligh of JAI Branch in Len-

teng Agung, 20 October 2016). The offering of property in particular shows the economic independence of this group, because one of the rules imposed by this group is the prohibition of requesting funds from other parties outside the group, as explained by informant YB.

Both values are implanted to JAI members since childhood, through coaching, which is separated by gender and age group. Informant S described that among males, the age of 0-7 years is called *abna*, the age of 7-15 years *adfal*, the age of 15-41 years *khudam*, and the age of 41 years and above *anshor*. Meanwhile, among females, the age of 0-7 years is called *banath*, 7-15 years *nasirath*, and 15 years and above *lajnahimaillah*. This has two purposes, namely to facilitate internal coaching according to the ability based on the age group and provide lessons on organization and obedience to leaders in a small scope. By doing internal coaching, there will be uniformity of understanding the group values among members.

Informant R, who is a member of JAI, explained that he got a cultivation of *Ahmadiyya* values since childhood, among others through his congregational activities, namely *pre-madrasah*. Until now he has always tried to follow every congregation activity, unless there are school activities that cannot be skipped. This is because he understands very well that religious affairs must take precedence (interview with R, member of JAI Branch in Lenteng Agung, 4 November 2016).

The task to instill JAI values to members is one of the obligations of a *mubaligh*. Informant S explained that the *mubaligh* is seen as the caliph's mouthpiece in charge of delivering his commands to the members. This is because everything that the caliph conveys must be known by the members.

The existence of these two values and the effort to internalize them to members begin to show the characteristics of JAI as a new social movement that has a cultural approach. The decision to engage in the movement is influenced by how values are internalized to the actors involved (Klandermans 1988; Melucci 1989, 1996; Gamson in Porta and Diani 2006:72). In this case, the internalization of the value of obedience to leaders and making offerings greatly determines the extent to which JAI members are willing to fight for the interests of their group. On a wider level, Porta and Diani (2006:67-68) see social movements as a means of social re-integration. This is reflected in JAI's actions. The presence of this group as a new social movement is an attempt to re-integrate values that had previously begun to disappear from the

understanding of Muslims. The values in question are obedience to the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) through obedience to the leader and the willingness to prioritize the interests of religion through making offerings.

The strong internalization of the two values has implications for the building of collective identity among JAI members. The collective identity in question is an identity as an Ahmadi. According to informant S, this identity binds members of JAI emotionally. Furthermore, informant YB explained that JAI felt necessary to establish a collective identity so as to concretize their existence, so that they would be able to spread the teachings of Islam as they interpreted, despite opposition. This is reinforced by the statement of informant YL (interview with YL, member of JAI Branch in Depok, on 20 November 2016), "Every Ahmadi, I think, each has his world or experience, although the atmosphere is different, but the spirit is the same. The love, the belief." As Porta and Diani explain (2006:21), the existence of collective identity is the third characteristic of social movement.

While upholding the value of obedience to leaders, according to informant YL, JAI also adheres to the understanding that there is no compulsion in religion. Therefore, this group emphasizes to its members to find out more about the teachings they receive. The critical attitude to doctrines is seen as important in order that JAI members not only understand their doctrine dogmatically, as informant YB explains.

The understanding of the lack of coercion in religion further reinforces JAI as a new social movement. This is because a new social movement that has a cultural approach seeks to understand reality through the actors involved. Therefore, an understanding of the aspects of cognition, morality, and emotion of the actors become important (Melucci in Jasper 2007:70; Jasper 2007:60).

The cultural approach is not only applied by JAI in building itself, but it is further applied as an effort to survive and be accepted by the wider community. This effort is made to enable the group to convey a message of peaceful Islam as the core of its teachings, which will be further seen through the experience of JAI Branches in Lenteng Agung and Depok.

First, promoting non-violence in the face of the discrimination received. There have been several forms of discrimination experienced by the JAI Branch in Lenteng Agung, according to informants E, R, and RAA. The first were 2 or 3 rallies (demonstrations) held by dominant

anti-Ahmadiyya Islamic group, following the attack on JAI Center in Parung in 2005. *Second*, two mass rally (tabligh akbar) events in the 2005-2008 period held at the mosque opposite the JAI mosque location provoked attacks on JAI, but failed to materialize. *Third*, the prohibition of conducting Koran studies by dominant anti-Ahmadiyya Islamic groups after the issuance of SKB of 2008 (Interview with RAA, Kharijiah Secretary of JAI Branch in Lenteng Agung, 24 October 2016). Meanwhile, one of the worst forms of discrimination received by JAI Branch in Depok is the prohibition to carry out religious activities by the Depok city government, as explained by informants F, Y, and YB, in the form of forced closure of their mosque. This incident occurred six times between April 2011 and December 2014. Before the mosque was closed, dominant anti-Ahmadiyya Islamic groups and the community also conducted demonstrations against the JAI (Interview with M (Kharijiah Secretary of JAI Branch in Depok, 10 November 2016).

In response, the JAI Branch in Lenteng Agung chose to hold discussions with the other parties, as explained by informant E, "Yes, we resolved the issue. We hold discussions. Shouldn't we met them? It's called *ishlah*, making peace." Meanwhile, according to informants F, M, and YB, JAI Branch in Depok chose to cooperate with NGOs and the Legal Aid Foundation. The actions of both JAI branches reflect the importance of the role of value of the new social movement as described by Porta and Diani (2006). In this case, the value referred to is obedience to the leader. The prohibition of the use of violence by their caliphs is well understood by both JAI branches, so they chose to pursue other avenues in solving the problem. This shows the success of internalization of value in the internal environment of both JAI branches.

Second, consistently conducting humanitarian action. This action is done because JAI always puts forward the motto "love for all, hatred for none". Informants E and RAA explained that the JAI Branch in Lenteng Agung conducted humanitarian action in the form of giving away free groceries, giving *korbanmeat* on the Day of Sacrifice (Eid al-Adha), and conducting health education for people around the mosque location. Meanwhile, according to informant YB, the JAI Branch in Depok made humanitarian action in the form of eye donor, mass treatment, and sponsorship of the poor and the elderly.

As explained by Jasper (2007:88), morality is one aspect of the social movements with a cultural approach. This aspect also works on the actions of JAI Branches in Lenteng Agung and Depok. This can be

seen from their liveliness to keep doing humanitarian activities despite receiving various forms of discrimination.

Third, establishing relationship with non-Ahmadis. This is done in an attempt to show the true face of JAI as a friendly group. This is important because in the context of Indonesia relationship is considered effective to eliminate gaps, either between individuals with individuals, individuals with groups, and groups with groups. In particular, according to informant YB, relationship, especially with informal religious leaders, is considered crucial to do because these people have an important role in leading public opinion (statement of informant YB in interview with D, General Secretary of National Board of JAI, and YB, Spokesman of JAI, 10 December 2016).

From the explanation of informants E and RAA, the JAI Branch in Lenteng Agung emphasizes establishing relationship with other religious institutions and formal institutions in the area. This is because their relationship with people in the neighborhood, especially in non-religious affairs, has been well established. This is because some members of JAI live in the neighborhood around the location of the mosque, which has been standing for a long time. Therefore, the interaction between JAI members and non-Ahmadi citizens has become a daily habit. Furthermore, the branch chairman hails from the area, which further facilitates the establishment of the relationship. This good relationship means that local non-Ahmadis did not participate in the attacks against the JAI. Meanwhile, from the explanation of informants F, M, and YB, the JAI Branch in Depok emphasized the importance of relationships with informal religious leaders in the area. This is primarily the focus of activity after the closing of their mosque in 2011. After the event, the effort to establish a relationship is more difficult to do, so the intensity is increased. Parties considered to “dislike” JAI, the cultural figures who allegedly were the actors of the closing, became the main targets. This was done to dilute the tension between the two sides. After repeated attempts, the effort began to bear fruit. Beginning from the rejection experienced by the JAI in the early days of the attempt, later on they managed to talk and discuss. In fact, they found the reason why the leaders were involved in the event. Differences in interpretation of Islamic teachings between the two were the main reasons for their involvement. However, they later regretted the event and became more open to establish relationships with the JAI branch.

This indicates that the carriers of meaning in the form of a tradition of friendship is used by JAI in its movement. As Jasper (2007:72-78) explains, each carrier of meaning carries its own message and which type chosen is largely determined by which party the message is targeted. In this case, the tradition of friendship is considered able to convey the message of JAI friendliness. Social gathering is also seen as the proper carrier of meaning, because the targets are Indonesians who are generally familiar with this tradition and still continue to practice it.

Fourth, conveying the teachings without coercion. This is done in several ways, namely by establishing social relationships, providing an understanding that the teachings of Ahmadiyya is the teachings of Islam, and provide explanations through morals. The first way is to start with a social relationship. Informants E and M explained that the expected relationship will raise the curiosity of the other party about Ahmadiyya. Informant E further explained that if the party then started to question certain matters relating to the Ahmadiyya, then the JAI would try to explain their beliefs. It is also expected that there would be discussion on Islamic matters between the two sides. If the other party ultimately wanted to deepen their belief in Ahmadiyya, then the JAI would help further. Meanwhile, if it turns out that the other side is just curious and remains to what has been their belief from the beginning, the relationship already established will still continue.

Such a method emphasizes emotion as one aspect to convey the teachings (emotions as means). As Jasper explains (2007:80-82), emotions show one's position and response to reality. This is what the JAI uses, by allowing the person to decide for himself whether he has an interest in Ahmadiyah teachings and has a desire to know more or not.

The second way is to provide an understanding that the teachings of Ahmadiyya are the teachings of Islam. According to informants YB and S, this is done because for JAI, there is no such thing like "Ahmadiyya teaching". What they believe is the same as what a Muslim believes, although there are different interpretations with dominant Islamic groups (Statement of informant YB in interview with D, General Secretary of National Board of JAI, and YB, Spokesman of JAI, 10 December 2016). This is what the JAI is trying to impart, emphasizing the similarities that exist in their belief with dominant Islamic groups.

This means that JAI uses carriers of meaning as described by Jasper (2007:72-78). The emphasis of the similarity signifies the use of the carriers of meaning in the form of symbols by this group. The similar-

ity of teaching is used as a symbol so that what JAI believes becomes acceptable. Symbols are seen as the proper carriers of meaning because the recipients of the message are people who do not share their beliefs.

The third way is through morals. According to informant F, through good morals an Ahmadi can convey his beliefs, not only in words, but also in real deeds. This means that JAI also uses the carriers of meaning as described by Jasper (2007:72-78). In this case, the carriers of meaning used is in the form of action in conveying a message about their teachings. Good morals are seen as acts that signify the nobility of Ahmadiyya teachings. The carriers of meaning can be seen appropriate to be applied to the message recipients in the form of people who do not directly want to know about Ahmadiyya teachings.

These three ways are applied by JAI Branches in Lenteng Agung and Depok in delivering Ahmadiyya teachings. However, because of the different social contexts between the two branches, one or two particular ways are considered more likely to be applied. First, in JAI Branch in Lenteng Agung, the more widely applied way is by establishing social relationships. This method is used by referring to the context of a society that is open to the existence of JAI, because good social relationships are already established between JAI and non-Ahmadis in the local environment. Secondly, in the JAI Branch in Depok, the use of morals is more likely. This method is used, considering it is still difficult for them to rebuild social relations after the closure of the mosque. Meanwhile, the second way, namely to provide an understanding that the teachings of Ahmadiyah are seen in Islamic teachings, can be applied to both branches of the JAI. This is because a person has a tendency to more easily accept the similarity of views between himself and others, including in terms of belief in religious teachings.

Despite suffering from various forms of discrimination, JAI still shows itself as a group that consistently strives to convey their belief that Islam is a religion that loves peace. In fact, the group considers that the various discriminations they suffer from emphasize their belief that what they believe is correct. This view refers to the experience of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and the previous prophets who also received various opposition. The experience of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) especially made JAI believe that one day their existence will be accepted, and further their beliefs followed, as explained by informants E, S, RAA, and YL. Therefore, JAI seeks to understand the social and cultural context of Indonesian society and subsequently carries out cultural approaches

that are persuasive in order that they can survive and be accepted by the wider community. The cultural approach is appropriate because it will enable others to reflect on what JAI has to say critically, and not forcefully convert them. This makes JAI as a new social movement, which uses cultural attributes in order to see reality through a person. Furthermore, the cultural approach used by JAI reflects the rise of collective identity as will be explained in the next section.

JAI AND THE RISE OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

Referring to the Castells' (2010) identity construction, JAI's actions do not merely reflect a form of resistance identity. According to Castells (2010:8), resistance identity comes from social actors who are in a position of being oppressed by the dominant logic that seeks to build resistance in a different form compared to the dominant institutions. This group's beliefs are different from the dominant Islamic groups and resulting in discrimination. Nevertheless, this group not only strives to survive and be accepted by the community, but further attempts to convey their beliefs. The peaceful teachings of Islam are shown through cultural approaches.

Furthermore, Castells (2010) also explains that the resistance identity can initiate the formation of project identity. Project identity itself comes from social actors who use their cultural attributes to form a new identity in order to gain a different position in society (Castells 2010:8). In the context of JAI, their actions can be said to lead to the formation of this project identity. This is because JAI, unlike the dominant Islamic groups, uses cultural approaches, seeking to show the peace within Islam that is central to their teachings. This effort is done consistently despite much opposition and suffering from various forms of discrimination.

As also explained by Castells (2010:8), efforts to form project identity can be achieved if supported by the transformation of social structure. JAI's actions also reflect efforts to change the dominant structure of violence prevailing in Indonesia into a non-violent structure. This is important because if a non-violent structure can be enforced, the existence of JAI will be widely accepted. Therefore, JAI can be seen more than a resistance identity, but as a further effort to form project identity.

CONCLUSION

JAI has been viewed more as a discriminated minority group. This is because their beliefs are considered different by dominant Islamic groups. Nevertheless, beyond the label, JAI is actually trying to survive, accept, and convey its teachings, by adopting cultural approaches. These approaches make JAI categorized as a new social movement. The new social movement emphasizes the use of cultural attributes in its implementation. Cultural attributes are seen as capable of touching one's self and seeing reality through it (Touraine 2007; Melucci in Jasper 2007; Jasper 2007). In relation to JAI, cultural attributes are used to establish the collective identity of the group and further to convey the message of its teaching. Therefore, the concept of cultural attributes in viewing social movements developed by Jasper (2007) and Porta and Diani (2006) can be said to find relevance to the context of JAI.

JAI's cultural approaches also reflect the rise of collective identity. JAI's actions that do not only strive for survival and acceptance suggest that this group is not just a resistance identity. Furthermore, JAI's actions can be seen as efforts to form a project identity. This is because JAI, in contrast to dominant Islamic groups, seeks to display the face of Islam as a religion full of peace values.

The critical note of this study relates to the importance of transforming social structures to support the process of project identity formation (Castells 2010:8). JAI's actions show that they also have an awareness of the importance of creating non-violent structures so that their existence can be widely accepted. However, this should be further pursued as it clashed with the prevailing dominant structure of violence in Indonesia today.

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