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NON MAINSTREMING RESPONSES TO THE INDONESIA AHMADIYYA COMMUNITY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF INCLUSIVE INTERACTION

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Abstract

This article elaborates unusual responses indicated by the Indonesian Ahmadiyah community in the inclusive interaction structure based on different thoughts (madhhab). This reality was explored on the basis of interactions among Indonesian Ahmadiyah congregation (JAI), Muhammadiyah activists, and Nahdhotul Ulama in Bandung city. The choice of dialogue (tabayyun) was used in the case of dissent. Differences are not judged as a part of the conflict, because they are interpreted as part of reality or necessity (sunatullah). The intended action, thus, is tolerating and respecting one another as the manifestation of civilized characters. Based on the communal segmentation involved in the inclusive interaction structure, the interaction among these three groups run very effectively as long as it did not intersect with the aspects of fundamental beliefs (aqeedah), except in the communal segmentation of those having the "burhani" and "irfani" characters. The growth of inclusive interaction in conflicting communities needs to prioritize the aspects of fiqiyah and muamalah for those of "bayani" people, the limited aspects of aqeedah, fiqiyah, and muamalah for those of "burhani" people, and the intrinsic aspects of aqeedah, fiqiyah, and muamalah for those of "irfani" people.

Keywords: *Ahmadiyah, dialogue, civilized characters*

A. INTRODUCTION

The cultural studies on civil society of Indonesian Ahmadiyah Congregation (JAI)[*********] have been carried out, one of which indicates that "despite in marginalized circumstances, as the result of the MUI fatwa condemning the Ahmadiyah as misguided, the existence of this congregation apparently remains survived".

Such existence is evidenced by numerous realities: (1) the firm beliefs in marginalized circumstances does not jeopardize their existence; (2) surprisingly, the marginalization potentially intensifies their intrinsic spirit (*ghirah*) to reinforce the organization movement with or without any communal attributes; (3) the accommodative patters, that positively contribute to the national stability and humanity, become the best option to strengthen their very existence; and (4) both political and economic access upon JAI, in varied cases, is not considered the pinpoint mission; rather, they tends to prioritize the internal movement by gathering many marginalized Muslim communities through the mechanism of *enculturation* and *reinterpretation* of beliefs as to open the accommodative sphere.

Based on the background of the study elaborated above, this paper strived to formulate the inclusive interaction structure in the community context based on the different schools of thoughts (madzhab) in Indonesia.

B. METHODOLOGY

Methodologically, this study was designed by means of in-depth analysis on information that is derived from main informants: the activists of Indonesian Ahmadiyah Congregation (JAI), the activists of Muhammadiyah Mubaligh (religious experts), and the activists of Nahdhotul Ulama in Bandung City. Furthermore, this study also corresponded to several mainstream Muslim organizations, such as the Central Executives of Nahdhotul Ulama, the Central Board of Muhammadiyah, and the Central Executives of Indonesian Islamic Propagation Institute (LDII). As to the data triangulation, the main validity used in this study was obtained through the workshop involving many experts from different schools of thoughts (madzhab) and relevant study centers in Malang city. A Series of limited discussions with the activists of Indonesian Ahmadiyah Congregation (JAI) in Depok and Surabaya was also held to support the data validation.

The data analysis used was *literacy consistency* aiming to assess the consistency of stakeholders' arguments and informants' belief. Through the *content transparency analysis*, all information with high consistency were used as the basis of drawing conclusions. This study was carried out with a Grant from the Directorate of Research and Community Service under the

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[*********] Wahyudi, Catur, *Gerakan Civil Society Komunitas Islam Marjinal: Kasus Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia* (Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2014), p. 240-241

Directorate General of Research and Development, the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017 – 2018.

C. THE FACT OF NON MAINSTREMING RESPONSES AND THE SEGMENTATION OF INCLUSIVE INTERACTION

Indonesian Ahmadiyah Congregation (JAI) ideologically possesses a fundamental perspective that there is no pride in being 'rebels' against the country for "any rebels are judged as *bughat* (tyrannical perpetrators) who must be fought"[††††††††]. This was supported by the fact that JAI always consistently "obeys" the country or *Status Quo*, because they do not wish to be considered rebels (insurgents)[‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡].

By understanding varied sources of JAI beliefs and teachings, it appears that the strongest motivation encouraging the JAI existence in responding such problems comes from the strong personality of 'Ahmadi' within each member. It becomes the 'core belief' of the JAI movement. This personality, further, basically upholds both moral and spiritual values, which incorporate three aspects: (1) the aspect of principal faith in God Almighty along with all His Rights, as inspired in the treatise on "My Teachings" by Ghulam Mirza Ahmad; (2) the aspect of social which prioritizes the act of forgiving and tolerating; and (3) the aspect of citizenship as a part of the particular nation and country that is realized through the "obedience" (not being part of rebels) unless in the basis of legal mechanism[§§§§§§§§].

Based on the determination to obey the above values, the sociological explanation of the existence of JAI in Indonesia can be described in the theoretical framework of structural functionalism of Talcot Parsons[**********], prioritizing four salient functions in constructing an action system (behavior) as to maintain (or survive) its existence, by managing both suppressing situational conditions and the actualization of Ahmadi's personality in civilized social relations. The JAI's social attitudes appear as the basic principle of Islam based on the Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's teachings. Nevertheless, due to the emergence of various pressures from radical and mainstream Muslim communities, JAI hopes for a new leadership in the mainstream Muslim communities that

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[††††††††] Wahyudi, Catur, *Gerakan Civil Society Komunitas Islam Marjinal: Kasus Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia* (Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2014), p. 240-241

[‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡] Interview results with Mahmud Mubarik Ahmad, the representative of JAI Central Executives, on July 24, 2017 in Bandung.

[§§§§§§§§] Interview results with Mahmud Mubarik Ahmad, the representative of JAI Central Executives, on July 24, 2017 in Bandung.

[**********] For further details, see the implementation of AGIL theory by Talcot Parsons (Adaptation, Goal attainment, Integration dan Latency) in Ritzer, G. & Goodman, D. J., *Teori Sosiologi Modern* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2008, 5th ed.), pp. 121-136.

embraces a new perspective (*ijtihad*) on modernity and human rights[†††††††††]. The underlying factors of the JAI existence might be enforced by their firm beliefs along with the accommodation as well as the tolerance of the *Status Quo* and the majority of people who tend to be more rational[‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡]. In regards to this, Habermas (German philosopher)[§§§§§§§§§], has warned of the importance of consensus in society. He believes that in modern society, "the authority of the divine is gradually replaced by the authority of rational consensus". A modern society consists of many compromises among different groups that mutually agree to build norms and laws. The most important thing is that the marginalized group should get a proper institution as to reduce (even prevent) any social conflicts[**********]. The accommodative patterns between the State and the society, as well as those of among the more accommodating communities, in an Islamic perspective is considered a mutual system that benefits everyone, even for those non-Muslims. This is what Islam calls as the character of inclusiveness[†††††††††††].

By observing the accommodative patterns indicated by activists of Ahmadiyah, Nahdhotul Ulama, and Muhammadiyah in Bandung, it presumably seems that "a set of basic principles and universal values has strong motivational power to overcome the clash among different schools of thoughts (madzhab)" [‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡]. The basic principles and universal values, in this case, include beliefs, love and affection, equity, and tolerance in the frame of social interaction. The results of the discussion with Muslim organizations (the Central Executive of Nahdhotul Ulama, the Central Board of Muhammadiyah, and the Central Executive of Indonesian Islamic Propagation Institute) about the JAI existence conclude the following things[§§§§§§§§§§§]:

Firstly, the shared values that are accommodated between JAI and mainstream Muslim organizations comprise helping each other in humanity, mutual cooperation in all aspects of life,

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[†††††††††] Interview results with Mahmud Mubarik Ahmad, the representative of JAI Central Executives, on July 24, 2017 in Bandung.

[‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡] Cited from various sources: Syarifudin, A., *Agama Di Dunia*, 2nd Ed. (Jakarta: Kencana, 2006), pp. 165-166; and Rasjid, S., *Islam di Benua Biru* (Jakarta: Gesindo, 2004), p. 374.

[§§§§§§§§§] Habermas, J., *Between Facts and Norm: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1996), pp. 145-146.

[**********] Al Makin, *Jejaring Sutra: Putusnya Satu Benang, Hancurlah Seluruh Sistem*, the documentation of dialogue on "Resolving the Ahmadiyah problems in Indonesia", the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, Maret 23, 2011, p. 10.

[†††††††††††] Madjid, N., *Cendekiawan & Religiusitas Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2009), p. 15.

[‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡] Interview results with K.H. Hidayat Saeful Abdulah (Muhammadiyah mubaligh in Bandung), H. Kiagus Zaenal Mubarok (the Regional Administrator of Nahdhotul Ulama in West Java), dan Mahmud Mubarik Ahmad (the Regional Administrator of JAI in Bandung), dated on July 23-24, 2017.

[§§§§§§§§§§§] Muslim organizations that have reponsed to this include: the Central Executive of Nahdhotul Ulama, the Central Board of Muhammadiyah, the Central Executive of Indonesian Islamic Propagation Insitute (LDII), and the Regional Executive of JAI in Bandung. These data were analysed in August, 2017.

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binding family relationships and worship activities under the mutual trust and respect, and joint activities in business investment and politic collaboration.

Secondly, in regards to the different schools of thoughts (madzhab), the inclusive interaction structure has strong power to reduce any horizontal conflicts through interactional catalysts that strengthen humanity values (*ukhuwah insaniyah*). Such catalysts also improve mutual trust and open a joint interaction sphere in an interfaith institution.

Thirdly, in the case of dissent, the preferable action is dialogue (tabayyun). It is not considered a part of conflict as the differences are interpreted as part of reality or necessity (sunatullah). Thus, if there is any dissent in terms of madhzab, the wiseful option to choose is improving tolerance, mutual trust and respect in order to prevent any conflicts.

Furthermore, the results of focus group discussion with the Inter-Religious Harmony Forum and JAI activists in Malang on September 6, 2017 and of limited discussions with JAI activists in Depok and Surabaya (May – July, 2018) pinpoint that the model of inclusive interaction to prevent any horizontal conflicts requires a community segmentation approach with this following mapping :

Table : The Segmentation of Communities Involved in the Model of Inclusive Interaction to Prevent Horizontal Conflicts of Different Schools of Thoughts

No.	Different Concept Areas	Segmentation of Communities Involved in the Interaction		
		"Bayani"[************]	*"Burhani"*[††††††††††††]	*"Irfani"*[‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡]
1.	The aspect of *Aqeedah* (fundamental beliefs)	Intolerant, tend to reject any interaction	Tolerant, as far as it does not concern with fundamental beliefs	Tolerant, even in worship activities, despite not being openly supported
2.	The aspect of *Fiqiyah* (religious laws)	Tolerant, as far as the worship activities do not potentially involve other mainstream Muslim communities	Tolerant, do not bother with any worship activities	Tolerant, be able to get involved in worship activities

[************] Muslim community which tends to regard their religion "absolute" (dogmatic) and should be obeyed, followed, and carried out strictly. It cannot be argued, let alone be rejected or neglected. They tend to have a deductive (theological) mindset.

[††††††††††††] Muslim community which tends to regard their religion "adjustable or measureable" based on human's natural capability, i.e. experiences and rationale without holy scriptures. They believe that the religious teachings can accommodate reality and empirical-based sciences related to the nature, social, and humanity through the scientific researches and experiments. They tend to have an inductive (philosophical) mindset.

[‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡] Muslim community which tends to regard their religion based on "inner" experiences, i.e. *qalbu*, *basirah*, and intuition. They believe that such "inner" experiences can be gained from the process of contemplation (*riyadah*) and self purification (*mujahadah*), and thus can reveal the true essence of sciences through analogies. They tend to have a sufistic (tasawuf) mindset.

No.	Different Concept Areas	Segmentation of Communities Involved in the Interaction		
		"Bayani"************	*"Burhani"*††††††††††††	*"Irfani"*‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡
3.	The aspect of *Muamalat* (social, political, and economic interaction)	Tolerant, be able to get involved actively in any mutual interaction	Tolerant, be able to get involved actively in any mutual interaction. Even in the particular cases, they get involved in a mutual collaboration, especially in the context of human rights	Tolerant, be able to get involved actively in any mutual interaction. Even in the particular cases, they get involved in a mutual collaboration to resolve conflicts through social and humanity movement

Source:

The results of focus group discussion and limited discussion with main informants and the Inter-Religious Harmony Forum in Malang during 2017 - 2018

Based on the segmentation described in the table above, the inclusive interaction structure will run effectively as far as it does not intersect the aspect of fundamental beliefs (*aqeedah*), unless in the case of "*burhani*" and "*irfani*" communities.

Thus, the growth of inclusive interaction in conflicting communities needs to prioritize the aspects of fiqiyah and muamalah for those of "bayani" people, the limited aspects of aqeedah, fiqiyah, and muamalah for those of "burhani" people, and the intrinsic aspects of aqeedah, fiqiyah, and muamalah for those of "irfani" people.

D. CONCLUSION

The strongest motivation encouraging the JAI existence in responding such problems comes from the strong personality of 'Ahmadi' within each member. It becomes the 'core belief' of the JAI movement. This personality, further, basically upholds both moral and spiritual values, which incorporate three aspects: (1) the aspect of principal faith in God Almighty along with all His Rights, as inspired in the treatise on "My Teachings" by Ghulam Mirza Ahmad; (2) the aspect of social which prioritizes the act of forgiving and tolerating; and (3) the aspect of citizenship as a part of the particular nation and country that is realized through the "obedience" (not being part of rebels) unless in the basis of legal mechanism.

The accommodative power, which is actualized by the Indonesian Ahmadiyah Congregation (JAI) and responded by activists of Muhammadiyah and Nahdhotul Ulama in Bandung, reflects the model of inclusive interaction structure that is built naturally. The atypical responses indicated by

the Indonesian Ahmadiyah community in the inclusive interaction structure based on different thoughts (madhhab) include:

Firstly, the shared values that are accommodated between JAI and mainstream Muslim organizations comprise helping each other in humanity, mutual cooperation in all aspects of life, binding family relationships and worship activities under the mutual trust and respect, and joint activities in business investment and politic collaboration.

Secondly, in regards to the different schools of thoughts (madzhab), the inclusive interaction structure has strong power to reduce any horizontal conflicts through interactional catalysts that strengthen humanity values (*ukhuwah insaniyah*). Such catalysts also improve mutual trust and open a joint interaction sphere in an interfaith institution.

Thirdly, in the case of dissent, the preferable action is dialogue (*tabayyun*). It is not considered a part of conflict as the differences are interpreted as part of reality or necessity (*sunatullah*). Thus, if there is any dissent in terms of *madhzab*, the wiseful option to choose is improving tolerance, mutual trust and respect in order to prevent any conflicts.

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