Contentious *Da'wah*:
Response Towards the Spreading of Puritan Islamic Movement

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Abstract

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This articleexamines the development of the puritan Islamic movement at Surakarta mainly is Majelis Tafsir Al-Quran (MTA). MTA is one of religious movement in Indonesia that is developed at villages area. When this movement is developing into various regions, then there tends to be conflict. The first purpose of this research is how do Muslims respond to the expansion of MTA in various regions. Second, what are the efforts taken by its members to maintain their existence and continue their missions to be accepted by the community. Even though get refusing but this movement is still survive. There are four kinds of responds towards da'wah by MTA, mainly; accommodative, critical, resistant, and conflict. MTA as the minority movement doing effort, interaction andbuild up social relationship anddefend itself through many ways, such as; inside ideology strengthening, enlarging the link of majority movement leaders, doing social jobs, leading law enforcement in completing problem.The various ways taken by the puritan Islamic movement are still incomplete to build good relations, and are still considered to cause problems in the society. The spreading of puritan Islamic movement as a contentious da'wah.

1. INTRODUCTION

Surakarta (Solo) is well known as dynamic city for the place of new born of Islamic movement, both moderate or radical.[1] Many studies about Muslim groups' relation between radical and moderat have been done by researchers, namely Wildan (2013)[2] and Fananie (2002).[3] Part of them have made conclusion within high optimism, that many variant of Muslim communityby themselves have built their smart social relation in the frame of certain cultures area, so that, no needs to be worried of the lengthen conflict happend, as Beatty (2004)[4]and Nur Syam were mentioned.[5] While the other tend to see

that relation will be followed by the tiring conflict and threath for the variant future, as Khaled Abou el-Fadl (2007) worried that is stated "wrestling Islam from the extremists/rebel".[6] Though, this paper is almost similar with the last study finding, but not as pesimist as them. By research basis towards the development of Muslim puritan movement Majlis Tafsir Al-Quran (MTA) will be shown that there is still hope for intra muslim communityfor interaction each other.

The struggling of MTA's activist for taking care of purification Islamic principal caused this movement got many responses

from other muslim society, since the beginning up to now. Respons that is meant, in one side, can be positive and appreciative, so that, somebody interested in being loyal follower with high level militant. In the other side, the response is negative from muslim society itself towards the attitude followers and activity of *da'wah* model that is developed by MTA.[7] Negative response seem more dominant to color this movement journey for more or less 45 years. It means that the Movement development so far keep colored by the heat and conflict among the followers with Islamic society in general. The conflict is sometimes until physical contact and ask to go away towards MTA followers from their villages.The problem is how the patterns of Muslim society responses towards penetration of islamic puritant? This paper will trace back that problem further. Above all, it will be presented da'wah in islamic teaching, the short history of this movement, then continued by the variant conflicts that accompany it, relation pattern that is offered by MTA.

2. METHOD

This study will be closed with many notes of relation pattern that is contestative of this movement. This paper is the result of qualitative research with a sociological approach. Method of collecting data by means of documentation and observation.The researcher used induction analysis. This induction analysis starts from the hypothesis that has been held by the researcher before going down the field. After descending the field, the researcher checks whether the data obtained confirms or denies the hypothesis. If the field data finds a case that refutes the hypothesis, then the researcher moves on redefining his hypothesis to ignore the deviant case and draw conclusions.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION
THE OBLIGATION OF *DA'WAH* IN ISLAM TEACHING

Da'wah is an Arabic word which has the literal meaning of "issuing a summons," or "making an invitation." Da'wah (literally

means claim, prayer, invocation) refers to calling or inviting people to embrace Islam. This term is often used to describe how Muslims teach others about the beliefs and practices of their Islamic faith. In Islam, it is believed that the fate of each person is in Allah's hands, so it is not the responsibility or right of individual Muslims to attempt to convert others to the faith. The goal of *da'wah*, then, is merely to share information, to invite others towards a better understanding of the faith. It is, of course, up to the listener to make his or her own choice. In modern Islamic theology, *da'wah* serves to invite all people, both Muslims and non-Muslims, to understand how the worship of Allah (God) is described in the Quran and practiced in Islam. Da'wah is an individual and collective shar'i obligation. A muslim is expected to do his utmost in propagating his religion to his level best. There is no one recipe to do da'wah. A preacher of the truth should be careful only not to adopt any of those methode with any moral evil attached to the, and if he one fells compelled to use any such method, he must make sure to dissociate it from that evil before adopting it.

Islam is a missionary religion with universal claims, covering every aspect of human existence. Islam is also a political religion, teaching that both public and private space must be guided by the will of Allah, as revealed in the Quran and exemplified in the sunna (the sayings and traditions of Muhammad's life, which are considered normative). Muslims are obliged to call all humanity to submit to and acknowledge the total rule of Allah over the whole world. Although some Muslims do regard *da'wah* as an active missionary activity aimed at explaining the benefits of the Islamic faith to non-Muslims, most modern movements regard *da'wah* as a universal invitation within the faith, rather than a practice aimed at conversion of non-Muslims. Among like-minded Muslims, *da'wah* serves as a good-natured and healthy discussion over how to interpret the Quran and how to best practice the faith. When practiced with non-Muslims, *da'wah* usually involves explaining the meaning of the Quran and

demonstrating how Islam works for the believer. Vigorous efforts at convincing and converting non-believers are rare and frowned upon.

Some Muslims actively study and engage in *da'wah* as an ongoing practice, while others choose not to speak openly about their faith unless asked. Rarely, an over-eager Muslim may argue intensely over religious matters in an attempt to convince others to believe their "Truth." This is a fairly rare occurrence, however. Most non-Muslims find that although Muslims are willing to share information about their faith with anyone interested, they do not force the issue. Muslims may also engage other Muslims in *da'wah*, to give advice and guidance on making good choices and living an Islamic lifestyle.

Muslims are urged to be actively engaged in da'wah activities. The dai (caller to Islam) has to be equipped with the knowledge of the science of da'wah (*'ilm al- da'wah*) to be able to invite others to the way of Allah (SWT) with wisdom (hikmah) and good preaching as this was the method adopted by all massengers of Allah. Hikmah is skill of dai to choose and do technique of dakwah acording to objective condition of mad'u and explain Islamic doctrine and reality in logic argumentation and comunictaive language. Al-Hikmah as a system that unity theoritic and practice skill in da'wa. "Invite (all) to the Way of your Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious. For your Lord knows best who have strayed from His Path, and who receive guidance" (16:125). For this, the dai should be cognizant of the *hadits* (the sayings of Prophet Muhammad), *fiqh*(jurisprudence), *sirah* (life of Prophet Muhammad SAW), *'aqidah*(faith), history of the companions, as well as of the means and sources of da'wah that would help him understand the process through which the peaceful expansion of Islam took place over a large part of the world.[8]

The dai should possess noble traits like religious commitment, simplicity, discipline, patience, perseverance, and the spirit of cooperation. In addition dai should be aware of contemporay issues and problems. Intelellectualisme cannot be dispensed. Understanding the psychology of the audience in teh course of da'wah work is inevitable. This calls for a strategic and systematic approach to da'wah rather than strictly adhering to the traditional dogmatic approach. The practice of *da'wah* varies considerably from region to region and from group to group. For example, some more militant branches of Islam regard *da'wah* as primarily a means of convincing or forcing other Muslims to return to what they regard as a purer, more conservative form of the religion. In some established Islamic nations, *da'wah* is inherent in the practice of politics and serves as the basis for state promotion of social, economic, and cultural activities. *Da'wah* may even be a consideration in how foreign policy decisions are made. Da'wah is carried out by individuals and groups in the community. Unfortunately, often da'wah carried out by one group with others different methods and unfair competition.[9]

THE PURITAN MOVEMENT AND ITS CONTROVERSY

Puritanism is not represented by formal institutions. It is a theological orientation, not a structured school of thought. Therefore, one finds a broad range of ideological variations and tendencies within it. But the consistent characteristic of Puritanism is a supremacist ideology that compensates for feelings of defeatism, disempowerment, and alienation with add instinct sense of self-righteous arrogance vis-à-vis the nondescript "other" whether that "other" is the West, nonbelievers in general, so-called heretical Muslims, or even Muslim women. In this sense, it is accurate to describe the puritanical orientation within Islam as supremacist, for it sees the world from the perspective of stations of merit and extreme polarization. Instead of simple apologetics, the puritan orientation responds to feelings of powerlessness and defeat with uncompromising and arrogant symbolic displays of power, not only against non-

Muslims, but even more so against fellow Muslims, and women in particular.[10]

Not surprisingly, puritans exaggerate the role of the text and minimize the role of the human agent who interprets the religious text. The puritan orientation anchors itself in the confident security of texts. It uses religious texts like the Qur'an and books of Prophetic reports and traditions like a shield in order to avoid criticism or to escape challenges that mandate the use of reason and rationality. The puritan not only does the text regulate in the most aspects of human life, but also the Author of the text determines the meaning of the text, while the reader's job in engaging the text is simply to understand and implement, as if the meaning of the text is always clear. In the puritan paradigm, subjectivities of the interpreting agent are irrelevant to the realization and implementation of the Divine command, which is fully and comprehensively contained in the text. Therefore, the aesthetics and moral insights or experiences of the interpreting agent are considered irrelevant and superfluous.

It is prefered the label puritans to MTA, because the distinguishing characteristic of this group is the absolutist and uncompromising nature of its beliefs. In many ways, especially in cultural context, this orientation tends to be purist, in the sense that it is intolerant of competing points of view and considers pluralist realities to be a form of contamination of the unadulterated truth. Beginning from recitation that is followed by a few people at Semanggi, campoung at the south of Surakarta, Majlis Tafsir Al-Quran (MTA) grows up rapidly to be Islamic movement that continues to spread out to many areas of Indonesia.[11] Abdullah Thufail Saputro,[12] the founder and leader of recitation to lead Islamic muslim comeback to Al-Quran, by studying ang interpreting Al-Quran as the basic to carry out pure Islamic teaching in order not to mix with the outside elements of Islam. The struggling of MTA activists in taking care of Islamic *aqidah* purification principal invites attention and controversion from Islamic society in general, from beginning up to now. The development of MTA so far keep colored by the heat and conflict among the

followers with Islamic ummah in general. The conflict is sometimes until physical contact and ask to go away towards MTA followers from their villages.[13]

As religion purification movement, the existing and enlarging of Islamic purification movement and the other religion movements do not loose from three important elements, such as: The actors, concept and link of movement.[14] Those are as follows:**The First**, The main actor of the movement is the founder, Al-Ustadz Abdullah Thufail Saputro. He is popular as an excelent Dai or Ustadz, who is very smart to persuade and entertain the audience with loud and strong voice, clear and easy language to be understood by society, even the grass root society. His preaching was enriching with a wide view and experience from his da'wah and trade activity of diamonds to all over Indonesia regions.[15] Before founding MTA, he has wide link to many variant society and known as the activist of Islamic da'wah movement, together with many Ulemas, activists, and Islamic organizations. Among those Ulemas who are to be teachers and da'wah friends, such as: Habib Hud (Arabian Ulema), Kyai Ghazali (Al-Islam founder), Kyai Ali Darokah (The chief of MUI in Surakarta and The leader of Jamsaren Borading School). While da'wah friends, such as: Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir (The Founder of Al-Mukmin Borading School), Kyai Abdullah Marzuki (The Founder of Islamic Recitation Foundation) and (Businessman of Tiga Serangkai publishing). In the development, their job cooperation and *da'wah* links were disturbed by the different religion view and understanding, finally Abdullah Thufail Saputro to be controversial ulema and gave impact to the development of MTA with many hard resistence from Muslim society itself.

Controversiality of Abdullah Thufail has wide known by Muslimin society in Surakarta. One of the causes has link with regarded himself as *Imam* and should do baiat/loyal promise for his followers. For examples: the separating case of Abdullah Thufail with MPI. The management of MPI to withdraw from the faith and do not agree

with *imamah*doctrineof Abdullah Thufail. The other factor, there is general opinion that Abdullah Thufail to understand Al-Quran tend textually and ignored hadist. Among MTA understanding, the most general and controversial is their opinion about food (*halal* and *haram*), in which in Al-Quran that is forbidden/*haram*: remains, blood, pig, and slaying animal not because of Alloh SWT, so that dog does not include in haram. Moreover, that is not less controversial, when they delivered and gave their politic aspirationto Golkar while, in the same time Muslim society have been united and supported their politic aspiration through United Development Party (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan) on 1980s year.

Second, from the movement concept perspective, the backbone of MTA existence can be begun from aqidah *imamah* and baia'at (loyal promise). Many problems that are faced by followers is completed by the leader. The role of leader is not only as foundation management controler but also as *imam* for his follower. The *Imam* position is the only leader that should be obeyed, it did not find it in the other Islamic purification movement that is no differentiate betwee organization leader and spiritual leader. The leadership with *jamaah* pattern and *imamah* similar with what is mentioned by Weber as charismatic leader. *Imam* is different with organization or foundation leader. Imam is the leader that should be obeyed as long as not breaking the Islamic teaching. *Imam*(leader) is chosen through loyal promised *(bai'at)*by the members, While jamaah not more than merely members, but he/she should be loyal and obeyed totally to the*Imam*.[16]

Third, MTA chosing *jamaah* strengthen pattern as the establishing in organization, mainly through recitation management that is conducted by levelling, from specific and closed up to general and open recitation. This recitation model add the list of MTA uniques among the other Islamic movements in Surakarta. Special recitation, followed by members with the tight attendance list. The members of recitation is the certain followers who have done *baiat*/loyal promise to *Imam*/general leader. While the general recitation is opened for the public, no attendance list and tight, everybody can follow without any exception. Model and method of recitation is done through preaching and dialoque both orally or writtenly. The main equipment of recitation is pen, note book, Al-Quran and translation. Every recitation is conducted, there is brosur/pamplet that contains of Al-Quran verses and hadist with translation. General recitation is broadcasting lively through radio MTA-FM and can be access internasionally through internet.

TYPOLOGICAL RESPONSE

On September 1992 Ahmad Sukina replacing the previous leader Abdullah Thufail Saputro who has left him, both as the foundation leader or *imam* in *Al-Jamaah*. In the era of his leadership MTA grew up rapidly and signifacant enough to enlarge and spread out all over Indonesia area. Single leadership model, centralistic, and followers'obidience almost without *reserve aoutomatically made* MTA to be solid movement and reducing internal friction minimumly. Although the minimum friction it does not means that in the development history of MTAthere is no conflict. Internal friction ever happend in the period of the second leadership generation. While exsternal conflict that is involved society members and sincretist muslimhas often happend since the beginning of MTA founding.[17]

The transfer of leadership seemed to have effects on the ideological development of MTA which became more textual than ever, in the sense that it tries to understand Islam only in accordance with its primary sources, the Quran and the *sunnah* (the Muhammadan exemplary practices) without much reference to other Islamic sources. During the era of Saputra, it seemed that MTA very much influenced by modernist Muslim exegetes such as Muhammad Abduh and Rasyid Ridha (d. 1935). Later on, in the present era of Ahmad Sukino its strong hold the Quran and the *sunnah* has led to rarely or even never referring to other Islamic sources such as *fiqh* (Islamic law) or *sirah* (history of the prophet).MTA can be considered as a modernist movement in the sense that it has no ties with any *madhhab* (Islamic school of law). At the same time, it is *puritan*, since it

attempts at purification of Islam from in genuine and un-islamic elements.[18]

As a puritan movement, MTA is struggling against local customs added to and regarded as Islamic rituals and festivities. Such concepts as *syirik* (Ar. *shirk*), *bid'ah*, and (sometimes) *khurafat* are used to label such ritual activities. In this mind, can be identified MTA with Muhammadiyah which since its early operation aims to eliminate those un-Islamic elements by the concept of TBC *(Tachayul, Bid'ah, Churafat)*. Nevertheless, such a concept is followed by many modernist groups other than Muhammadiyah, such as al-Irsyad and Persis (Persatuan Islam). In my opinion, MTA is much closer to Persis (Persatuan Islam) in terms of their respective strict interpretation of Islam.

MTA, as a newly go-public organisation, has tried to build its religious identity acceptable to Muslims surrounding it. Compared to the two biggest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), MTA is a minority group. As a minority, it seems to follow what is so called *ghuraba* (*Ar.*, sing: *gharib*, meaning stranger) ideology. This ideology tries to emphasise that the genuine Islam is often considered strange just like when it came to the world at the first time. This ideology is common not among Salafi groups but also among Muslim minority groups such as MTA. The followers of this ideology believe that their Islamic interpretation is authentic since it is based on the primary sources of Islam, the Quran and hadist. They consider themselves strange because they hold the true Islam which is different from that hold by majority Muslims, which is deviated from the truth. The *ghuraba'* ideology is also used by MTA to respond to difficulties by its members in a number of regions for their *da'wah* activities.

TYPOLOGY RESPONSE OF MUSLIM SOCIETY TOWARDS PURITANS MOVEMENT
1. The Accomodative Respons

The existence of MTA as Islamic purification movement that developed rapidly got many variant responses from the other movements. The following are many responses from the Islamic organization as the representative of them. Such as: Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesia Council Ulama) Surakarta, Muhammadiyah, and NU. MUI Surakarta is in the front row to support purification movement. It had mentioned above that MUI had conducted intensive study towards the Movement and stated as true movement and away from Islamic based principals. Amidan gave full support to the movement (MTA) to be developed in East Java for supporting Islamic *da'wah* that is made by more educated and smatter followers.[19]

Positive respons from the owner religion authority such as: MUI efective enough for giving explanation to the other Muslim society which regarded and view MTA as lost Islamic movement and exclusive in society life. MUI legitimate is very needed by MTA and helpedto run well their da'wah mainly in villages. Because of that, MUI always involve in many variant activity that is conducted by this Movement, mainly in establishing the new branch of this Movement and district representative. At the local level, the chief of MUI Surakarta is the most often involved in MTA's Important moment. In the national level, Drs. H Amidan, KH Cholil Ridwan, and KH. Muhyidin Junaidi are the most prominent figures of MUI who were often invited to give Islamic lectures in MTA or attended the opening of its new branches. For MTA, MUI is the organisation which has gave much support to its *da'wah* activities.

2. The Critical Response by Modern Islamic Movement

The critical resoponse came from the other puritan muslim group, namely Muhammadiyah. Muhammadiyah is an [Islamic] organization in [Indonesia]. The organization was founded in 1912 by [Ahmad Dahlan] in the city of [Yogyakarta] as a reformist socioreligious movement, advocating [ijtihad] - individual interpretation of Qur'an and sunnah, as opposed to [taqlid] - the acceptance of the traditional interpretations propounded by the ulama. Since its establishment, Muhammadiyah adopted some elements of modernis

movement, primarily as a way to prevent syncretism in the implementation of Islam for its members. It continues to promote religious tolerance in Indonesia and a few of its higher education institutions are attended mostly by non-muslims, especially in East Nusa Tenggara and Papua provinces. At the moment, Muhammadiyah is the largest modernist Islamic organization in Indonesia with 29 million members. Although Muhammadiyah leaders and members are often actively involved in shaping the politics in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah is not a political party. Muhammadiyah runs mosques, prayer houses, clinics, orphanages, poorhouses, schools, public libraries, and universities.

The Muhammadiyah followers told their previous experience in the beginning of MTA founded by many *santri* (followers) from variant groups that followed the recitation, but after developed and to be foundation there is exclusive impression. Students who followed recitation should be folloed it diciplinly and can not follow recitation in another Islamic organization. From here, then rise up dislike view towards MTA, and judged it as deviance group from the Islamic society movement in general. Right now, MTA grows up very rapidly, mainly in villages area, so that, the orientation and contains of MTA da'wah is about tradition that is familiar conducted by the villages society.

At the research field is found that many ex activists Muhammadiyah who moved to be MTA activists. According to Muhammad Baridin' observation, an activist of Muhammadiyah at the district level, who has done conversion to other organization because he has lost the role as an activist in Muhammadiyah, because there are more young activist who have well educated and qualified in science and knowledge.The other reasons of their moving is because they want and need continues recitation and da'wah preaching as Muhammadiyah activists but they did not get it. And MTA gave the alternative answered for that emptiness, eventhough only for temporary.

It is important to say that Muhammadiyah members at the grass root show that there is internal anxiety eventhough not doing reactive action that create conflict, except in the beginning of MTA spreading. Unconvenience is showed merely just questions that is proposed to the leader about da'wah model and report that a part of members interested in following MTA movement. Beside that, Muhammadiyah Education Institution that is leaded in villages area is quite often get threat from the Muslim group because spreading radical puritan ism. Because of that to response this phenomena, in many recitation is inserted material about the need of strengthen religion understanding Muhammadiyah's ideology for the members in order still keep strong commitment for developing the members' da'wah and reducing the moving and migrate of the members to the other da'wah movement.[20]

3. The Resistenced Response

Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) has their own way in giving comment towards massivefication of gerakan purifikasi MTA.[21] When the puritans movenet was leaded until the development of the end of seventies/1970-an many ulemas NU mainly in Solo gave wisely responsesimilar with the other Islamic ummah in general, though has noted many differentiate in understanding Islam. This such response happend because there is still relationship among NU ulemas with Thufail family who has the same believers of Tharikat Naqshabandiyah and that has learned at Popongan Dlanggu Klaten. For NU ulemas in Solo *da'wah* character and Islamic understandinglike that is convinced by MTA is not the new thing, even the differentiate like that has happend since long time ago, therefore, is well known as four fiqih mazhab.

But the wisdom attitude like that is not always easy for grass root people who do not understand the previous relation among intra ulemas, so in its development, mainly for Nahdhiyin society at the grass root level to response puritans movement is rather harder, even until the real conflict happened. The Respons from Nahdhiyin towards penetration of MTA movement can also be seen in internet that is often happened polemik among them.[22]In general, the response can be said NU has refused puritan propaganda strategy that is often

raised the question of worship that is traditionally done by members of NU. As an example, PCNU Purworejo has issued attitudes toward the existence of which was allegedly started pilgrim MTA missionary expansion to Purworejo city. NU has rejected the penetration of the MTA because the materials and methods of preaching assessed provocative and disturbing. In a statement it has been confirmed that kyai objected to the material and the approach taken in conducting propaganda MTA. The reason is, MTA has no respect for differences *(khilafiyah)* and tend to harass the teachings of other groups, provocative, inciting hatred and hostility among Muslims, thus disturbing the peace and religious harmony in Purworejo.[23]

The most provocative respons came from the chief of NU (Central Board of Nahdhatul Ulama) Prof. Dr. Said Aqiel Siradj that is published in national daily *Jawa Pos* entitled "To face the wilderness of puritanism/*Menyikapi Kegarangan Puritanisme"*. Siradj said, MTA as puritan movement that has entered to many villages area by lifting their "*jihad*" spirit to delete and destroy all practical religion such as: *tahlilan, yasinan, haul* and *istighasah*. Puritan Islamic movementtends to be selfish and regarded the other groups is wrong, critical towards settled ulemas.[24]Respons from NU is similar with what have been stated by Lidle about the future of Islamic radical in the era of opening. Lidle stated that the advance movement of radical group (islamism) will be defenced by three barrier that strong enough, those are: *abangan* community, though not so much but vital enough and can not be erased; traditionalist *santri* (NU) who never make it true absolute attitude for their own group; and moderate modernist group.[25]

The worried of NU towards penetration of muslim puritant is reasonable enough. Because purification Islamic movement in Indonesia gives significant influenced in reducing Ulemas authority. Individual freedom for making *ijtihad* cause the lose of psychology and theology barrier to dig up freely Islamic teaching sources.The decreasing of ulemas authority can be seen from the phenomena as the following:

First,eventhough still growing up the scientist in many fields of study, including religion, there is impression that ulama in traditional understanding puritan environment movement to be more rarely. If there is complaint about the rarely of kyai at puritan environment movement, actually, it is as consequently from the individual freedom that is mentioned above. It seem that puritan society too expensive for giving kyai status to religion scientist in their own environmenti; Second, the linkamong intra religion leaders and society looser and nore impersonally -rationally.[26]In the other words, the relation among them more contractually and democratically. In Indonesia relevanceeffort of Islamic teaching purificationlinked with the level society development. In simple way Indonesia society can be divided into two level, those are; city society that is usually has got influenced of modernization and villages society that is still traditional.[27]

4. Conflict: The Village Society Respons

The Islamic purification movement is still strange for the villages' society, mainly for labours, farmers, and fishermen. This strange is shaper when pure Islamic teaching is conducted based on the base doctrineof syariah fundamentalistic. If purification Islamic movementspreading to many villages can be said that modification or erasingso that more tolerant towards Islamic tradition in villages, such as: *slametan, tahlilan, sedekahan, kenduren*, and amount of society art.[28]While Hassan found that the successful of education modernizationorpurification Islam in education that is built make them weak for bargaining power when they entered villges area. Education modernization that is reducing syariah experts' role in purification Islamic elite position, because it was changed by intectual membersl. While, intelektual attitude has replaced at purification Islamic elite position tend to behave accomodative towards the life society willing in villages.

It is interesting to say that MTA spreading case at villages has the variant characteristic if we saw from the speed up of its development. Tit seem that the condition of demografis influenced enough the spreading in each district. In city area, MTA can develop rapidly with resistence from the society relative small. Labour mentalitythat is technically

influenced the way of religion view of puritan Islamic. Here rasionalisationas Weber found significantly relevance. In cities that has melted the social relation make it possible for people to seek the link civilian that is relieved and convinience. Tthere is no weaken attitudes from Muslim puritan for doing their movement. There is no reducing tension for understanding puritan that has been conviced by Islam puritan group. This is because the leadership form that is centralistic from elite and their vices. Offensive da'wah is also to be the choice of purification Islamic activists.[29]

While in villages that is based on santri the development is slower, though slow development did not make the activists doing many manuver to speed up the addition of followers. The activists still doing their duty and function as manager and teacher as elite determination. The MTA members are also move as in line with right and obligation as the members.. By the other words, the slow down of purification Islamic development in here, it does not mean that opened to make modification with sacrified their puritan ethic. MTA becoming weaken because the strength of the other religion tradition that has come before and to root or memorize in society.

While in villages that is not based on santri get the most hardest challenged from sincretist Islam.Conflict that is accompanied by physical contact and cast away members moreover made strong the position of puritan for doing their movement for getting simpati from sincretist Islam. The struggling to fight the hardness action do not give an oppurtunity for doing modification effort or to erase their puritan aqidah. Beside that, the strong resistence from society, even make simpaty from the other society/civilian. While, the attention from the center manager of MTA is also very big in doing supervision and guiding for the members every times the heat happened.

SOCIAL INTERACTION PATTERN

How does MTA reduce conflict in the society, so that, it will be able to integrate itself with the society. How are the relation of MTA members with the other muslim society and how is the adjusting mechanism is done. So far, dealing with MTA reaction with outside community, there is interaction that influenced each other. The struggling of holding puritan doctrine, especially in aqidah affairs to allow MTA to seek a new way craetively for the

sake of their existence in the middle of society. Generally, MTA choose defensife pattern in making communication through integritas internal strengthening for keeping the ethict purity. The adaptation efforts that have been done are: (1) to build up recitation building; (2) to conduct the relationship by using elite figures approach; (3) to communicate through social activity and games analogy.

First, The defensive interaction by setting the recitation building. MTA made recitation building as the center of da'wah activity in society. The priority to set up meeting building than build up Masjid/Mosque is interesting to be explained further. It was usual to be known that Masjid as the center of ummah/society activities for developing da'wah Islam. More often the conflict happened with the Muslim society for Masjid usage to push MTA doing the activities in their own members' place. When the recitation members/jamaah are overloaded then they built up their own recitation building as the center of activities and guidance. The MTA members more built up recitation building than Masjid or mushala. It was argument why this policy was taken, such as: Masjid and mushala have been built up a lot, so that, the needed was how to make it prosperity, useful and meaningful. Then, to behave doing jamaah at the existing Masjid it means to mix and to build up the society interaction with the members of MTA. More than that, the strong fact showed that everytimes the MTA members building up or doing prosperity at Masjid always get negative respond from the other jamaah.

The policy to make priority to build up recitation building than Masjid for MTA members sociologically has double functions. The Recitation building has integrative function. It means that to build up building has goal to unite the MTA members and the society mainly in doing religion activities, such as: teaching learning process, discussion and the other activitity. They were asked to pray together/berjamaah at the closest Masjid in order to keep solid in the marching of da'wah and ibadah activity. It was very important to reduce the impression from outside that the attitude of

MTA members tend to separate from the society. The next integrative function is to keep the society unity as the solitare *al-jamaah* outside from the general jamaah. The recitation building as the center of guidance for practicing Islamic teaching and and the function as a means of ideologis reproduction. This function is keep important because the religion activity should exist in the strong marching for conducting their da'wah. The MTA members have been spreading out to many regions that made possible mobilization happend intra regions. The building can be used as the place to take a rest or spent the night for the members who covered the far distance. The building can be used as the first destination in travelling, besides to make silaturrahim/brotherhood also can do budget efisience. The Recitation building as a administrative function. Its means that as the activity center of MTA in making planning Islamic da'wah and the movement organization. Including in this function is coordination and guidance among members and the management that is carried out every saturday.

Second, the interaction through the elite figures muslim networking, The MTA members interaction with the other society can be seen on the ability to build up the link with the figures of religion elite and government. The exsternal cooperation to be unavoiding choice as the part of must of the religion movement. MTA make relation, coordination and cooperation with government and the other Islamic organization. The relation or cooperation that was on with the other outsiders was as a means of making coordination for strengthening ukhuwah Islamiyah, *though* there was differentiation in understanding and believing in practicing Al-Quran and Sunnah. Because in Islam it was explained that muslim is brother each other. The effort to make good relation and to increase ukhuwah Islamiyah, MTA foundation did not restricte with the specific organization, it cooperated with all of organization.

As the part of adaptation effort for building dynamic interaction, so MTA always make a good relation with many figures from others sides/institutions. Almost with all Islamic elements in Solo MTA has good relation such as: NU, Muhammadiyah, MUI, soldiers of jihad, LDII, MMI, pondok Al-Mukmin Ngruki, MPI, Al-Islam schools, even with Pondok Assalaam, MTA was asked to fullfill the recitation once in a month. Besides, the things that had mentioned above, the effort to cooperate with exsternal MTA is also done by invited the top figures from the other elements for fullfilling the general recitation on Sunday morning. The attendance of the other top figires was very interesting to study futher. The attendance of top figures or MUI ulemas in tablig akbar activities or as the preacher/khatib for Holy day (Idul Fitri or Idul Adha) will give positive implication on the charisma/citra da'wah or da'wah effectivity. Their attendance meant as the legitimation religion-cultural for MTA existence at the society, because MUI as one of the legitimate authority owners of Islamic movement validity in Indonesia. The accussations that this movement is as the deviant sect and troubling society sooner or later will disappear by MUI advices that were delivered to society about the movement mission. It seem that the religion legitimation that is involved MUI will be maintained for saving bargaining power and fastening the positive interaction process with the wide general society.

Several popular people/top figures that were invited in recitation that was conducted by MTA, at one side, showed the needed of cultural legitimation in positioning the movement in the middle of the other movements. The Legitimation internally will give influence on the followers, so that, it will be built up citra/charisma of the wideness and strength of the movement elite link for struggling and maintaining their tradisional charisma. In the other word, the link pattern can strengthening the elite bargaining power in front of the followers in transaction or the changing between the charisma and loyality. The Elite-charismatic need people supporting by changing the charismatic wealty in many variant forms of rewards and guidance for strengthening their status. While the followers more depend on the elite-kharismatik who developed their own religion competence, though, the real saving

target is opened and known by the other people/every person.[30] In the other side, of course, it will generate bargaining power and politic transaction and economy towards the groups or the other politic strength. In that situation MTA politic attitude tends to be pragmatic as it had mentioned at the previous chapter.

Third, The symbolic interation through social activity and sport. The Interaction symbolic as the programed activity from this activity which directly or undirectly can strengthen relation with the other side. Besides, to build up the building and doing religion elite approach, the interaction of MTA members with society is done by social activity approach and sport. The living together that is arranged by MTA not only useful for the MTA members, but also for the society in general. With the strong togetherness, many social activities can be done. The activities such as: blood donor, social job together with local government and Indonesian Army, giving charity: *sembako*/the basic food, clothes, and drug /medicine for Islamic ummah especially and society in general, especially who got the problems, such as: to be the victims of flood, fired, earthquake disaster and etc. While for the sport activity as one of important patterns in effort to arrange interaction with the society in general. There are many variant in sport activity, such as football, futsal, table tenis, badminton, and self defence. The integration in this sport competition has target for socializing that MTA has good relation with the society in many ways including sport. This sport also has da'wah function for the society in general, mainly to attract the youth interest in order to know and to study Islam by doing recitation. Society mobilization is often done for sport activities, it was done for adding spirit togetherness in their group.

The Fourth, MTA minority group was covered under the law enforcement. Many variants cases that refused MTA were completed with the law approach. Such as, involving police institution, to propose comparing towards district regulation that is limited MTA Da'wah. This way was valued by many sides more elegantlyand obyectively in completing the problem that

is made barrier for the movement of minority group because of the law protection.

TOWARD CONTENTIOUS MUSLIM

The conflict among the MTA's followers with the other muslim in villages is caused by religious practical not because of other factors non religious as mentioned by Geertz, that the relation and conflict of religion typology, those are: Java *santri, abangan* and *priyayi* is often caused by non-religious factors, such as: politic succession and business competition. In the relation case among MTA with muslim in villages area is almost similar with Woodward explanation that Islamic variant in Java can not be more based on intensity of Javanese, but Islamic variants and the heat among them more colored by practical, intepreting Islam that has syariah color and mistical.[31] Woodward separated Islam to be "Islam normatif" (They who have practiced Islamic teaching selectively and go away from popular Ibadah patterns or tradition (TBC) and "Islam Java" (Those who has done Islamic teaching but accompanied by doing popular ibadah patterns). Two variants are based on Islamic teaching, similar Islam, so that Islam is the main strength of javanese iman and influence the character of daily social life interactionof javanese.

The MTA purification movement can develop rapidly in villages showed that theory implication is very important. The relation between puritant Muslim and nominal Muslim in villages is not sincretically, it means that the cultures elements absorbed puritant Islamic tradition, so that, sooner or later to be the new color that is based on locality. But not also aculturative, in understanding there is a process absorbed each other between two sides. The fact of MTA development as part of pure Islam in villages area do not accompanied by the colaboration form. Each entities doing construction or social reality based on their own view but there is no meeting elements between them. The Islamic togetherness that appears as the result of construction result from elite local agents without adopted local elements that against and controversial to legitimate each

other.[32]What had happened there was actually cultural negation, because two entities that met have no process usage each other both teologically or moreover culturally. Even, what had happened conflictual relation that erased each other, so that both of them still standing tall based on their own existence. Their implication is very absolut, the puritan members are impossible to be sincretist *(abangan)*. While enlarging fact showed that there is controversial process muslim sincretis absolutely can be muslim puritan through conversion process. In the next process the relation of MTA with the other entities (muslim sincretist and local culture) contestancely because they go their own way paralelly in competition condition.[33]

The tendency of conflict pattern and contestance in enlarging MTA its true similiar with Riaz Hassan's opinion, in the other hand made correction of weakness hipotesis and modification of the Islamic purification at villages. In this case, Riaz Hassan more clearly to replace purification diametrally in facing Islam with the other elements. In general meaning religion purification is contradictory with sincretism, mainly to freed religion elements (belief, ceremony, structure) that came from religion tradition besides Islamic tradition itself. The Purification means differentiate religion tradition at personal level, so that, someone' religion life style reflected single one tradition. The origin Islamic teaching, it means to understand deeply about their own structure religion and go away from the other religion tradition. In specific meaning, purification means cleaning and moving or separating religion teaching with local tradition (society religion).[34]Most of muslim puritan is the product from the cities environment and not less to link cultural communication of nominal muslim society (muslim observer tradition and local behavior), so that refusal towards the practical that regarded not Islamic in society that can be created conflict.

The friction and conflict is dynamic, up and down because the existence of cultures area that can be accessed for both community, puritan and sincretist. This kind area is called "religious free zone" mainly

activity together that is directly or indirectly, no relation with the religion convince, such as; working together to improve the road and social submission activity.[35]Conflictual relation will be melt or at least not until physical contac/hardeness, if there is serious effortof the law enforcement and giving civilian right. The cases at MTA in conflict completing there is always outside people who try to make a peace for them because religion elites can not do compromise and dialogue.The relation between pure Islam and Islam sincretist not automatically stop until at conflict stage, their relation still go on dynamic in paralelity competively. This pattern similar with what we called as contentious politics. Acording to Dan Slater, this concept is more well known in sociology study as social movement that give more explanation about relation intra groups, both etnis, religion, or racial, in which each groups show their identity to compete each other.[36]In the case of religious movements, contentious politics can occur secretly and openly. Sometimes feuds reach a very alarming level, namely physical conflict and cause followers of a group to be killed.Contentious politics, or political feud, is a concept that is often associated with social movements. Contentious politics is not a social movement but a number of literatures on feud politics write that this politics can be said as an initial stage of the emergence of a movement.[37]

Contentious politics or political enmity is specifically interpreted by socio-political academics. Charles Tilly defines the concept of contentious politics as "interactions in which actors make claims on someone else's interest, which governments appear either as targets, initiators of claims, or third parties" (Goodin and Tilly, 2006).[38] This definition is in line with the way Sydney Tarrow explains this conception. According to Tarrow (1998: 2), "contentious politics occurs when ordinary people, often in league with more influential citizens, join forces in confrontations with elites, autorities, and opponents".[39]

In the villages society with the strong sincretist tradition, usually there is very attach and tight relation among the society members, and this case then to form

integrationstrong social culture as well. The strong building of sincretist culture is often make difficulty for puritan islamic movement to penetrate villages society areas, because what have been done by muslim puritan for enter there through radical ways. In the sama time sincretist members should choose one from two options with the same difficulties. The first, following new tradition that is puritan by leaving old tradition at all or second choosing constant as sincretist followers who is loyal to refuse puritan ideas. It seem in this research case, the first choice more dominant, therefore to be MTA's members means to lay down all sincretist faith concepts and change to be new puritan.

4. CONLUCION

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that this purification movement got a lot of responses in many variant forms and types. In general, Majelis Ulama Indonesia appreciated the *da'wah*purification followers, though in the level of districts tends to be very critical refusal. From the Islamic moderate we can see MTA as the positive competitor for the development of Islamic *da'wah* in Indonesia. NU tends to refuse the existence and *da'wah* pattern purification systematically because it is often deliver *da'wah* with hate speech that hurt the NU followers.

While at the society in general, the response types are variant depend on the level of society in the villages or urban. In urban society the resistance is very low and tends to let Puritan da'wah. In the villages areas that based on santri, there is resistence from society, because they can control themselves, so that there is no physical conflict happened. While at the areas of villages that are far away from santri tradition, the society response shows high resistance, even until physical conflict happened with the Puritan Muslim group. In generally, minority puritant movement choose defensife pattern in making communication through integritas internal strengthening for keeping the ethict purity. The adaptation efforts that have been done

are: (1) to build up recitation building; (2) to conduct the relationship by using elite figures approach; (3) to communicate through social activity and games analogy.

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[1]Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion*: *Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

[2]Muhammad Wildan, "The Nature of Radical Islamic Group in Solo", *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Volume 07, Number 01, June, 2013.

[3]Zainudin Fananie, *Radikalisme Keagamaan dan Perubahan Sosial*, (Surakarta: Muhammadiyah University Press, 2002).Headley, Stephen C., *Durga`s Mosque: Cosmology, Conversion, and Community in Central Javanese Islam*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005).

[4]Andrew Beatty, *Variasi Agama Jawa, SuatuPendekatanAntropologis*, (Jakarta: MuriaKencana, 2001), p. 286.

[5]Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005).

[6]Khaled Abou el-Fadl, *The Great Theft: Wrestling Islam from the Extremists*, (New York: Harper Collins, 2007). The book is one of the most important works for understanding the current predicament of modern Muslims. The first book that is defines and delineates the difference between "moderate" and "puritan" Muslims on key points of faith and practice. Part I discusses the history and rise of puritanism in Islam. Part II compares and contrasts moderate vs. puritan positions on key areas of belief and practice.

[7]Sunarwoto, "Gerakan Religio-Kultural MTA: Dakwah, Mobilisasi dan Tafsir Tanding." *Afkaruna Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, Vol. 1. 2012,p. 107.

[8]Sohirin M. Solihin,*Islamic Da'wah: Theory and Practice*(Kuala Lumpur: IIUM Press, 2008), p. 98.

[9]Ma'rifah, Indiryani dan Muhammad Ansori. "Berebut Ladang Dakwah Pada Masyarakat Muslim Jawa (Studi Kasus terhadap Konflik Majelis Tafsir Alquran (MTA) dan Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) di Kabupaten Purworejo." *Jurnal Dakwah*, Vol. 14(2) 2013.

[10]Khalid Abou el-Fadl, *The Great Theft*, p. 95.

[11]This movementwas established on 19 September 1972 in Semanggi Pasar Kliwon Surakarta. at 23 Januari 1974 MTA to be a*Yayasan,*by Notaris Soegondo Notodiroerjo. Office addressof MTA at Jl. Serayu No. 12 Semanggi, Pasar Kliwon, Surakarta 17117, telp. 0271-643288. http://www.mta.or.id/sekilas-profil, accessed on June 12, 2016.

[12]Discussion about Abdullah Thufail Saputro can be seen at Mutohharun Jinan, "Melacak Akar Ideologi Puritanisme Islam, Survei Biografi Tiga Abdullah", *Jurnal Walisongo*, Volume 02, Number 02, November 2014, pp. 381-412.

[13]Sunawoto, "Islamic *Tanya Jawab* Programmes on *Radio Da'wah*", *Al-Jami'ah*, Vol. 50, No. 02, 2012, p.239-278.This article examined the role of *radio da'wah* in the development of *ifta Tanya Jawab*) programme called *Jihad Pagi* broadcast on Radio MTA FM MTA), a Muslim organisation in Surakarta which has recently attracted Muslims to or from the city and throughout the country due to its success in taking advantage of modern technology in its *da'wah* activities.

[14]Sunyoto Usman, *Sosiologi: Sejarah, Teori, dan Metodologi*, (Yogyakarta: Cired, 2004), p. 185.

[15]Sekretariat MTA, *MengenalYayasanMajlisTafsir Al-Quran*, (Surakarta: Sekretariat MTA, 1992), p. 4.

[16]Abdullah ThufailSaputro, *NaskahPengajianKhususi*, (Surakarta: MTA, 1984), p. 25.

[17]MTA is part of islamic activism in the approach toward understanding sharia. There are two-dimensional typology that accounts for the nature of Islamic activism discourse and the outlook of its programmatic action. Specifically, the terrain of Islamic activism is mapped out by intersecting two orientations: the approach toward understanding sharia (Islam's socio-religious teachings) and the form of activism. As for sharia approaches, three modes of thinking occupy Islamic activism: a didactic mode, a literalist mode, and an eclectic mode. On the other hand, three forms of activism divide the field of action: a local social movement of a limited scope of concerns, a global social movement of expansive social and political themes, and an individualistic type of activism. The interaction of these types of activism with the modes of sharia understanding produces the ecology of contemporary Islamic activism. Maze Hashem, "Contemporary Islamic Activism, The Shades of Praxis", *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 67, number 1, 2006, pp. 23-41.

[18]Sunarwoto, *RADIO FATWA:* Islamic *Tanya-Jawab* Programmes on *Radio Da'wah Al-Jami'ah*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 2012 M/1434 H, pp. 254-255.

[19]*Al-Mar'ah,* Augustus 2008.

[20]Mustolehudin showed that relation between Muhammadiyah and MTA is tend to bepersonal relation. The similarity of relationship between them is theological-ideological relationship, which is Islamic purification credo. In axiological term both refuse the practice of *takhayul, bid'ah* and *khurafat* (TBC). Basic differences between these two different institutions are; first, Muhammadiyah is more open (inclusive), whereas MTA is more closed (exclusive). Second, learning method which Muhammadiyah applies is indoctrination, MTA is more doctrination. Third, the leadership sector in Muhammadiyah is organizational, while MTA is *imamah* model. Fourth, the conflict between both of them is happens because of migration of Muhammadiyah pilgrims to MTA, however this conflict does not reach the level of mass conflict, because hey carry the same vision, Islamic purification movement. See Mustolehudin, "Ideological and theological views of Muhammadiyah and Majlis Tafsir Al-Qur'an (A Study of Purification Movement in Surakarta)", Jurnal *Analisa*Volume 21 Number 01 June 2014, pp. 39-50.

[21]Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the largest "traditionalist" organisation, focuses on many of the activities such as social, religious and education and indirectly operates a majority of the country's Islamic boarding schools. Claiming approximately 40 million followers, NU is the country's largest organisation and perhaps the world's largest Islamic group. Founded in 1926, NU has a nationwide presence but remains strongest in rural Java. It follow ideology of *Ahle Sunnah wal Jamaah* with Ghazali's Sufism. Many NU followers give great deference to the views, interpretations, and instructions of senior NU religious figures, alternately called "Kyais" or "Ulama." The organisation has long advocated religious moderation and communal harmony.

[22]http.://pustakamawar.wordpress.com

[23]http://suaramerdeka.com/v1/index.php/read/cetak/2019/04/01/141905/PCNU-Tolak-Majelis-Tafsir-Alquran-. Diakestanggal 1 April 2019.

[24]Said AqielSiradj, "MenyikapiKegaranganPuritanisme", *JawaPos*, 4 April 2011. Siradj noted, Muslimscan drawWahabimovementinIndonesiathathavecrepti nto theareaof educationby injectingideologyof radicalpuritanism, such asapostasyagainstanother groupsimplybecausea matter ofdifferenceof worshipandotherproblems. InvariousareasevenbrawlduedWahabI's propagandamodelsthatdo notappreciatethe differencebetweena Muslimperspective. This

kindof propagandamodelscouldpotentially be a "forerunner"radicalism.

[25]R. William Lidle, "Skripturalisme Media Da'wah: SebuahBentukPemikirandanAksiPolitik Islam Indonesia MasaOrdeBaru", dalam Mark R. Woodward (ed.), *MemetakanParadigmaMutakhir Islam Indonesia*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1998), p. 311.

[26]Azyumardi Azra, *Reposisi Hubungan Agama dan Negara*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2002), p. 56.

[27]Furthermore, about NU's refusal of MTA preaching, see Ma'rifah et. all's research. They mention that the theology of MTA can be referred to as "theology of conflict". The reason is, the theology of MTA adopting salafi theology is known not to compromise with religious traditions practiced by traditional Muslim groups. As a result, many conflicts involving MTA residents with NU in several regions were no exception in Purworejo District. In general, the theological conflicts between MTA and NU residents in Purworejo (and also in other regions) are motivated by theological differences *(khilafiyyah)* concerning religious practices.Ma'rifah, Indiryani dan Muhammad Ansori. "Berebut Ladang Dakwah Pada Masyarakat Muslim Jawa, p. 222.

[28]Munir Mulkhan, *Islam Murni dalam Masyarakat Petani*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2000), p. 97.

[29]Max Weber, "BeberapaPokokMengenai Agama Dunia", dalam Roland Robertson (ed.), *Agama dalamAnalisadanInterpretasiSosiologis*, terj.AFediyaniSaefudin, (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1995), p. 31.

[30]Karl D. Jackson, *Kewibawaan Tradisional, Islam dan Pemberontakan: Kasus Darul Islam di Jawa Barat*,(Jakarta: Grafiti, 1990), pp. 138-139.

[31]Mark Woodward, *Islam ini Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta,*(University of Arizona Press, Tucson: Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies, 1999), p. 35.

[32]Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005), p. 295.

[33]Merle Calvin Ricklefs, *Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java: A Political, Social, and Religious History, c. 1930 to the Present,* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2012).

[34]Riaz Hassan. *Faithlines: Muslim Coceptions of Islam and Society*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Riaz Hassan, *Islam: Dari Konservatisme sampai Fundamentalisme*, (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 1985), p. 108.

[35]Nur Syam, *Islam Pesisir*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2008), p. 145.

[36]Dan Slater, *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics, State-Building, and Authoritarian Durability in Southeast Asia*, dissertation thesis at Department of Political Science, Emory University 2005, p.3.

[37]Mark J. Lichbach, "Contending Theories of Contentious Politics and the Structure-Action Problem of Social Order." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1 (June), 1998, p. 406.

[38]Robert E. Goodin dan Charles Tilly, *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 204.

[39]Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. 2nd Ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 2.