



# Understanding The Radicalism Of Jamaah Ansharut Daulah In Bima City, Indonesia

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## ARTICLE INFO

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to explain the root causes of radicalism and the implementation of radical values by the Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) group using Berger and Luckman's social construction analysis through the internalization, objectivation, and externalization processes. This study was a case study approach with semi-structured interviews conducted with members of the JAD group. The result indicated that radicalism within this group arises from dissatisfaction with the government's inability to realize an equitable life for its people, leading its members to engage in extreme actions in the hope of replacing the liberal government system. They used methods like da'wah with religious propaganda to instill radical beliefs in their followers. The internalization process was marked by the implantation of radical values, where at this stage, they have an incomplete understanding of religious transcripts such as the Qur'an and Hadith, resulting in the interpretation of all radical actions as manifestations of faith. The objectivation process involves the group members positioning themselves as an institution with strict rules systematically and continuously engaging in activities to defend the faith, known as i'dad. Externalization was marked as the implementation of values through acts of terror, such as violence against infidels and bombing of places deemed contrary to religion. The researchers argued that the radicalism within this group was based on Islamic ideology, wherein they sought to change the existing government system to be based on Islam, essentially aiming to restore a caliphate system and bring Indonesia back to an era of enlightenment.

**Keywords:** Ideology; Radicalism; Religion; Power.

## Introduction

For the past few decades, the world has witnessed various human rights violations. This has emerged as an interpretation by certain groups who view their extreme actions as a form of resistance. These actions are often associated with groups, ethnicities, religions, politics, and social status. A topic that has garnered much attention is cases related to radicalism. Since the significant event of the 9/11 WTC bombings, the world has turned to a new point, particularly concerning Islam. This is due to the discovered link between that event and Islamic groups, which subsequently led to the existence of radicalism, causing its followers to take extreme actions that foster a negative perception that Islam is associated with terrorism. The 9/11 event has encouraged various parties, especially academics, to conduct research and studies on radicalism. This effort is undertaken as a preventive measure to avoid similar incidents. Many stakeholders question what radicalism truly is and why this ideology is so menacing. Perhaps the most easily understood statement is 'what goes on before the boom goes off,' suggesting that to understand it, one should look at what happens before a bombing (Neumaan, 2008). Referring to Neumaan's opinion, it is directly suggested to investigate the roots that drive individuals or specific groups to commit heinous acts that cause suffering to many parties. The association of religion with

the extremist actions initiated by these groups has had an impact on the hardening of the label of religious radicalism. The spirit of struggle is embraced as a justification for efforts to defend a religion, which fundamentally deviates from the teachings of Islam itself (Taşpınar, 2009).

The involvement of the Al-Qaeda group in the WTC 9/11 event globally fueled hatred towards followers of the Islamic faith. On the other hand, questions arise about the extent to which the existence of radicalism within this group has developed. Research conducted by (Azizian, R,2006) indicates that this radical Islamic group has obsessed with spreading its teachings to Asian regions, particularly Southeast Asia. This is because Central Asian countries have a majority Muslim population. Moreover, during economic and political crises, this region becomes more vulnerable, allowing them to propagate anti-government movements, claiming that the government has greatly disappointed by failing to address human rights issues (Habulan et al, 2018).

Indonesia is considered an ideal region for this group. Radicalism has existed in Indonesia for a long time, but through research (Lim, 2005; Rokhmad, 2012), it has been found that the collapse of the New Order regime in 1998 opened the way for radical Islamic groups to spread their ideology. Previously, the government had been very strict against religious organizations, but the reform era became an open road for diversity, freedom, tolerance, and human rights. Consequently, these groups built an image as saviors standing alongside those who were marginalized. The Al-Qaeda group's movement is suspected to have strengthened when they established the organization of Jamaah Islamiyah (JI), JI became the connecting link for the Al-Qaeda movement in Indonesia (Fealy and Borgu, 2005; Carnegie, 2015; Habulan et al, 2018). The expansion of this group is marked by the rise of terrorist acts in Indonesia, such as the bombings of Bali I and II. According to [cnnindonesia.com](http://cnnindonesia.com) in February 2023, in the article "Anatomy of Jamaah Islamiyah and its Breakaways," it was stated that the movement's chain was not only centered on JI. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir went on to establish Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT). Ba'asyir's leadership was marked by internal conflicts among group members, leading to a split when Ba'asyir's two sons formed separate groups, namely Jamaah Ansharut Syariah (JAS) and Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD). The difference between these groups lies in their ideologies in interpreting the practice of Islam itself. JAS describes itself as a group that practices religious activities through intense, systematic, and continuous preaching. Meanwhile, JAD describes itself as a group that practices religious activities through extreme actions.

In 2011, the JAD group was involved in several incidents, including the stabbing of a police officer and the bombing of Umar Bin Khattab Islamic Boarding School in the Sanolo Village, Bima City (Accessed on [news.republika.co.id](http://news.republika.co.id), 2011). These two terror incidents serve as evidence of the extremism of the JAD radical Islamic group in Bima, NTB. The connection between Al-Qaeda and ISIS found in the JAD radical Islamic group became a reason for selecting this group as a research subject. The initial fact that they manifested their existence in the city of Bima, NTB raises questions about the extent to which their radicalism has developed and influenced many people to become members of the group. Radicalism can be considered the foundation of terrorist actions that generally aim to elaborate on the reasons their followers engage in such extreme acts.

When a group uses Islam as justification, it can lead to the creation of stereotypes that Islam promotes violence. However, this is fundamentally based on how individuals understand the teachings of the religion (Kundani, 2016). The elaboration of religious radicalism is widely claimed to be an incomplete understanding of Islamic teachings. The increasing influence of radicalism is largely caused by the vague interpretation of Quranic verses and distorted interpretations of Islamic history. This is further exacerbated by the intolerance faced by Muslims and the excessive reactions from adherents of certain ideologies, driving them to commit extreme acts claimed as a defense of rights (Azyudi Azra, 2002; Nur, 2021). JAD group is known for propagating various extreme actions, including the Sarinah Bombing in 2016, the Mako Brimob Depok Riot in 2018, the Surabaya Suicide Bombings in 2018, and the recent Church Bombing in Makassar in 2021. This series of events prompted researchers to address the research questions: Why did the JAD group become radical, and how did radicalism affect JAD group members? How was the concept of "*amaliyah*" carried out by JAD group members?

## Literature Review

### Genealogy of Religious Radicalism in Indonesia.

The term "radical" was first introduced by Charles James Fox in 1797 in England, referring to the parliamentary reform movement (Purwati et al, 2022). Etymologically, radicalism is derived from the Latin word 'Radix,' meaning 'root,' inspiring connotations of fundamental, comprehensive, drastic, and strict (Schuurman and Taylor, 2018). The use of the term radicalism is often associated with describing an individual's political stance. In a contextual sense, radicalism is often a marker of Enlightenment teachings, liberal political principles of the left wing, and groups opposing pro-political ideologies. Over time, radicalism has evolved into a political doctrine marked by groups carrying aspirations, often committing to the struggle for freedom or collective emancipation directed against monarchy and aristocracy post the implementation of the status quo in 1815. During that period, adherents of radicalism were often viewed as anti-government, anti-monarchy, and, of course, pro-democracy. Radicalism is often characterized as progressive and emancipatory (Botticher, 2017). The development of radicalism over centuries tends to advocate for achieving goals more profoundly, becoming a movement that advocates fundamental changes in a system. However, not necessarily done with violence or

the destruction of existing socio-political systems. Over time, radicalism has become associated with terrorism, leading to the formation of a negative image. This perception is part of the public response that views these groups as a threat to the state, often identifying those involved as 'enemies of the state' (Karakatsanis and Herzog, 2016). The shift in the meaning of radicalism occurred due to the intersection of the concepts of 'Radical' itself with 'Religion,' resulting in the constant association of religious radicalism with feelings of insecurity related to political, cultural, and economic conditions.

Religious radicalism in Indonesia is often associated with Islam, given various extreme actions like bombings and destruction orchestrated by groups carrying the name of Islam as a form of struggle. This became more severe when the 9/11 bombings were suspected to be carried out by the Al-Qaeda group, further extending the negative image of Islam itself. The phenomenon of radicalism is Western rhetoric and an image built to define Middle Eastern countries, which were in a crisis position in the 20th century. Islamic radicalism is considered a form of resistance to Western colonialism against the erosion of religious values damaging morality. There is a perspective that the restoration of the purity of Islamic teachings can be achieved through the establishment of a pure Islamic governance system (Abdullah, 2016).

Islamic radicalism in Indonesia was initially a form of 'political Islam,' where religion was used as a political doctrine motivating its followers in the defense of the nation. There were two major radical Islamic groups during the Dutch colonial era: the Al-Irshad group, initiated by the Sudanese scholar Ahmad Sukarti in 1915, aimed at reforming religious practices for the Arab Muslim community in Java by returning society to the Quran and Hadith. The second group was Persatuan Islam (Persis), founded in 1923 by a group of traders in Bandung under the leadership of Ahmad Hasan, the goal of this group was to correct traditional practices leading to *bid'ah* and *khurafat* (Soetomo, 2016).

During the Japanese occupation around 1942-1945, radical Islamic groups in Indonesia split into two factions: Darul Islam (DI) and Masyumi. Radicalism at that time focused on the politicization of Islam, using 'jihad' as the spirit of national liberation from colonial rulers. After Indonesia gained independence, these two groups focused on the form of the state. DI aimed to make Indonesia a republic based on Islam, while Masyumi became a pro-government group (Van Bruinessen, 2002). This conflict ended when the fighters and the founding fathers decided to unite Indonesia as a republic based on religion and morality, leading to the Jakarta Charter, allowing Muslims in Indonesia to live according to Islamic Sharia. The urgency to unite all factions was crucial, giving birth to the foundational guidelines of the state unified under 'Pancasila,' grounded in human values, a principle shared with Islamic religious principles (Fahmi, 2021).

During the New Order era, there was religious marginalization, leading to the repression of Islamic organizations through Law No. 8/1985. The government, during the New Order, was restrictive, causing Islamic groups labeled as radical to go underground. It was only after the fall of the New Order that the space for the existence of Islamic groups reopened. (Riddell, 2002) categorized Islam into four groups: Modernist, Traditionalist, Neo-Modernist, and Islamist. In broad strokes, these groups are interpreted into two main categories: liberal-moderate and radical-fundamental (Ummah, 2012). The difference between these two groups is evident in the interpretation of Islamic teachings. Liberal-moderate groups are more open in interpreting Islamic teachings, while radical-fundamental groups adhere strictly to the purity of religious doctrine, making them more closed. Radical groups, including those influenced by Al-Qaeda and ISIS, have expanded, as seen in the existence of Jamaah Islamiyah (JI). After a split in JI, Abu Bakar Ba'syir founded Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT), led by his son. The split was due to differences in opinions about 'jihad' among the organization's leaders, leading to the formation of two groups: Jamaah Ansharut Syariah (JAS), viewing jihad through *da'wah*, and Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD), believing in realizing jihad through actions. JAD has been noted for its extreme activities, including the stabbing of a police officer and the bombing of the Ummar Bin Khattab Islamic boarding school in Sanolo Village, Bima. The fact that they were caught in Bima in 2014 indicates the existence and ongoing development of this group.

### **Social Construction by Berger and Luckmann**

The study of a phenomenon must be accompanied by a theory. In this research, the social construction theory by Berger and Luckmann serves as the primary foundation. It has been widely explained that social construction has what is referred to as the sociology of knowledge. The explanation is that the reality perceived and constructed by individuals is an understanding acquired socially. Reality and knowledge are two crucial concepts for understanding this process (Manuaba, 2008). Social construction builds the reality found in phenomena that are known to have their existence, independent of human will. Knowledge, on the other hand, is the belief that these phenomena are real and possess specific characteristics. Humans consider the reality of daily life to be the most important, and this reality results from human interpretation. Therefore, what is considered real is something valid (Berger and Luckmann, 1990). The focus of social construction is on how society forms reality. "Reality" and "knowledge" are two things that emerge from habitualization, greatly influenced by how individuals understand something based on habits (*habitus*) and their stored knowledge (stock of knowledge). This interpretation gives rise to the effect of social relativity, making something meaningful based on the definition of oneself regarding an object (Sulaiman, 2016).

Social reality has characteristics within phenomena that we recognize as existing independently of our desires. When this reality is present in social life, that social reality has objective and subjective dimensions (Berger and Luckman, 1991). The dialectical process occurs due to the interaction between the community's perspective

on "objective reality" and how individuals utilize "subjective reality" as a paradigm for identity in their lives. Social interaction is intended through three elements: objectivation, internalization, and externalization. Although these three processes are not always sequential, individuals or societies engaged in this interaction are marked by all three elements simultaneously. The simultaneous process involves externalization, pulling out (objectifying) so that it appears as if it is outside, and then internalization to pull back into oneself (subjective reality), making it seem as if it is within oneself or reality (Mawikere, 2022).

The process of externalization in understanding religious radicalism can be explained as follows: this process involves an understanding of the adaptive moments of radical Islamic groups. In other words, knowledge about religion is obtained from written texts, namely the Qur'an and Hadith. These texts then require interpretation and reinterpretation, and these results serve as references that justify their extreme actions, interpreted as expressions of faith. In other words, their violent actions must align with religious teachings; otherwise, the label of infidelity (*kafir*) is deemed appropriate. The process of objectification can be explained as follows: radical groups and the government are two distinct entities that undoubtedly understand the context of Islamic teachings in opposing ways. If radical Islamic groups aim to preserve the purity of Islamic teachings, the government tends to adopt a moderate stance in adjusting its interpretations according to the current societal conditions. This leads to the emergence of new meanings that attribute labels to each institution. Radical groups label others as "infidels" (*kafir*), while the other side labels them as "radical." Both institutionalizations are processes that drive each party to act, and the repetition of these actions is conceptualized as habituation or normalization to maintain the reality of each group. The process of internalization is a stage where individuals identify themselves within a social institution where they become members. This identification can be achieved through primary and secondary socialization. Primary socialization is carried out by leveraging one's closest networks, such as family, to become part of the group and avoid accusations of infidelity. Meanwhile, secondary socialization can be accomplished by forming religious cognitive patterns that portray the group as militant. The numerous destructive activities orchestrated by radical groups contribute to the formation of a negative identity. The process of internalization related to religion has something known as a pragmatic motive or motive of interest. This implies that individuals or groups are driven by the motivation to fulfill their interests, aiming to achieve originality by restoring Islam to its pure form, as seen in the Enlightenment era.

### **Methodology**

This research uses a qualitative design with a case study approach. The choice is made based on the consideration that the researcher aims to understand the phenomenon in greater depth. Generally, a case study is used when addressing questions like "how" and "why" (Yin, 2009). This study focuses on the construction of radicalism, attempting to depict the phenomenon of how the JAD group becomes radical and to what extent this influences group members. This effort is identified as a social structure that can only be achieved through direct interaction with informants to obtain insights into the ongoing phenomenon (Merriam, 1998).

#### ***Informant Selection Procedure***

This research employed a technique known as purposive informant selective or judgment method (Etikan et al, 2015) for the selection of informants. The researchers utilized qualitative reasoning, asserting that research informants should be individuals with in-depth knowledge of the issue at hand. To initiate the informant selection, it is crucial to establish criteria that align with the researcher's capacity and ability to gather relevant information during the data collection process (Merriam, 2002). The informants for this study were classified based on their involvement, willingness, and openness. Broadly speaking, we included individuals who had been or are currently part of the JAD group, those who had interacted with and possess knowledge about the JAD group, were willing to participate in the research, and were open to providing information. Given that the topics explored in this research are sensitive, informants were expected to be open and receptive to the information shared.

#### ***Interview Process***

Data collection was conducted through semi-structured interviews utilizing open-ended questions. This method was deemed appropriate as the researchers aimed to capture the personal opinions of the informants without inducing any sense of pressure to express their views. Additionally, the semi-structured format allowed the researcher the flexibility to probe freely, avoiding tension during the interview process (Adams, 2015). The semi-structured interviews took place over varying periods for each informant, depending on their willingness to participate. Some interviews lasted for 1 hour, while the quickest session took only 35 minutes, interspersed with light conversation. The interviews occurred in unpredictable locations, sometimes in the informants' homes or family residences, and occasionally at their workplaces. The entire process unfolded in the Penatoi Subdistrict, City of Bima, NTB. Interviews were recorded using a tape recorder with the informants' consent, and the focus of questions aligned with those outlined in the research.

## **Data Analysis**

The research data were analyzed using the Reduction, Display, and Conclusion technique proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994). The researcher reduced the data by categorizing it according to the themes outlined in the interview guide. Once categorized, these data were then presented as interview excerpts, describing the essence of each research problem. Subsequently, conclusions were drawn based on the facts found in the field, and adjusted to the concepts and theories previously presented.

When presenting the data, the researcher translated the original Indonesian transcripts into English. To maintain research ethics, the identities of all informants in this study were anonymized using alphabetical codes to prevent any potential harm, considering that the research issue involves sensitive topics.

## **Findings**

### **Causes and Process of Radical Ideology Contamination**

Some informants participating in the study revealed that initially, they were completely unaware that they were involved with a radical group engaging in extreme actions as frequently reported in the news. They explained that their initial motive or reason for joining JAD was purely due to invitations from individuals who had been part of the group since its inception. Friendship or familial relationships were often claimed as the foundation of their involvement with the JAD group. Even though they did not initially have a deep understanding, the concepts of camaraderie and family ties eventually led them to be ensnared into assisting the group. One male informant, A, expressed surprise that someone he considered a friend was part of the JAD group:

At first, a friend asked me for help to buy chemicals that I did not know the purpose of. He said it was for something but did not explain the reason to me, so I helped him, thinking he was my friend (interview on August 16, 2023).

This statement indicates that the JAD group utilizes emotional approaches toward close individuals, be they friends or family. In addition to establishing personal closeness, this is also intended as a gateway to fulfill the group's needs that they cannot obtain directly. This sentiment is echoed by informant B, who stated:

I was invited by a friend to join him. At that time, I was already giving religious lectures (da'wah), but I did not know that it was leading to something else (interview on August 18, 2023).

Feelings of loyalty and sentiments could cloud their judgment regarding the sensitivity they should be aware of. Most people would not readily accept involvement without questioning the nature of their engagement. However, all of this is overlooked in the name of solidarity to help friends and those in need, considering it a primary concern without realizing that they were paving the way for the JAD group to expand its existence, one of which is by exploiting friendships. However, not all JAD members employ personal approaches; some also utilize social media platforms like application F, which was popular and easily accessible at that time. Another informant mentioned that the initial communication with the group was through application F. He was simply seeking information about humanitarian conditions, showing that some regions were experiencing oppression, such as the Poso region. This motivated him to find a way to help others, and unexpectedly, this became a turning point when he found an account with the initials 'BM' that messaged him and invited him to join the cause. Informant C revealed:

When I was searching for information about humanity, suddenly an account sent me a message asking about the desire to help our fellow human beings left behind. At that time, I replied that I was interested, and eventually, I was guided to come to Makassar City. There, I was picked up, and little did I know, I was taken to the mountains. It was only there that I found out it was a training location (interview on August 22, 2023).

When an open and accepting nature is applied without a selective process, what is often encountered is susceptibility to indoctrination. Although the intention behind the actions may be good, the losses are still felt by those who do not apply a critical attitude. Differences in opinions and attitudes are often evident when standing as a different party. If the three individuals mentioned earlier were outsiders, it was certainly different from someone who was already part of the group and heavily contaminated with the teachings. Informant D expressed:

Yes, I know that action. It was something we were taught where I teach. There, we have studied, and one of the books used was a series of materials on tauhid (interview on August 27, 2023).

Radical ideologies that lead to extreme actions by their followers did not grow and develop instantly. They go through a teaching process first, as mentioned above. Furthermore, Informant D stated that he was contaminated with these ideologies during his college days, and it continued, causing him to become more ensnared. If we observe from the statements above, the actions influencing these individuals can be considered a subtle movement. This means that they were not directly involved in actions but underwent a training process. Through this process, radical values were incorporated to build knowledge and justify that what they would do later was in line with religious teachings.

So, indeed, we were indoctrinated with teachings like that (radical). For example, we were taught about *syirik* (equating something other than Allah). There was a *syirik* of democracy, *syirik* of the law, so initially, we were taught the knowledge without moving on to action. Back then, we used the book *Ahkamudimah*, which

discusses the 'law of blood.' It covers the law of democracy and prohibits anything other than Islamic law (interview on August 27, 2023)

This statement was also supported by Informant B, who confirmed that there was teaching from a book before they were involved in actions. He said:

We studied a book called *Ahkamudimah*. This book discusses the law concerning blood, so the issue of taking someone's life, what was its legal status? Apostasy, what was its legal status? Everything in the group was discussed there (interview on August 18, 2023)

After going through the process of understanding these values, the members are directed to the next process called *i'dad*, which is the preparation stage. Here, they undergo physical training to later engage in radical actions such as attacks against the government, acts of terror in places of worship, and even bombings, as widely reported. These activities were usually carried out and supervised by a leader or those with a field commander rank. The goal of these activities was to shape the physical and mental fearlessness. Informant E, who is also a coordinator, stated:

[...] *i'dad* is the preparation for war, so we prepare the youth to be ready for battle. The goal is for these young people to be ready to fight until the end and effectively uphold Islamic law. So, it is indeed a preparatory stage for when we are needed, we are ready to fight (interview on October 12, 2023)

The term "war" here did not only refer to physical violence. In the perception of this group, the preparation for war (*i'dad*) was broadly divided into two aspects. Firstly, there is *i'dad immani*, where they strengthen their religious knowledge by studying the Quran, Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and the interpretation of hadith. The goal of *i'dad immani* is to enable them to debate religious knowledge with those who seek to challenge religious arguments. Secondly, there is *i'dad ikhuwah*, a process known as the stage of mental and physical strengthening. They are encouraged to advance to fight against unbelievers, even if statistically, they are a small group and lack sophisticated equipment. Informant E further explained:

At first, there was *i'dad immani*, meaning they were imbued with knowledge first, and then there was *i'dad ikhuwah*, where they were trained to strengthen their mental and physical aspects. So, they can fight through verbal communication by conveying religious knowledge or through harsh actions. They were trained systematically, their knowledge was elevated, and then their mental and physical aspects were shaped, so in the end, they fear nothing (interview on October 12, 2023)

Cultivating radical beliefs like this certainly involves careful planning. The leaders of the group undoubtedly think about a systematic plan. Within the JAD group, everything is directed systematically to build order. Each party moves according to orders and their respective roles. Repeated actions become a distinctive characteristic, and from all the media coverage, it is evident that this network is considered one of the frightening and highly organized groups. It requires extra effort from law enforcement to hunt them down because their movements follow strict patterns, and the obedience of their followers makes them unstoppable. Informant D affirmed the highly structured implementation of radical values and stated:

When we join, everyone has their part. So, in the initial process, we were taught the knowledge first. The feeling of hatred was nurtured because, in that book, we were guided to hate those who committed *syirik*. Through us, we were then directed to eliminate that evil. After the intention was there, we were pointed to participate in *i'dad*. Once deemed sufficient, our leader would direct us to join certain approved actions (interview on August 27, 2023)

The process of transforming values is usually accompanied by selectivity for those who are critical. However, this was not found in this group; they were actively accepting but less critical in examining the religious knowledge they received. As a result, they moved as hardline pawns with the ego that they stood for absolute righteousness because they defended the oppressed weak, even though the reality showed that what they did brought a lot of harm not only to security but also to humanity. Respect for human rights was seemingly neglected, as they did not care about the victims and only focused on the perception that what they did was the implementation of faith. Radicalism was interpreted as the realization of faith to justify the violent activities they undertook, without awareness that their actions tarnish the image of Islam.

The big question that remains is, 'Why did they engage in radical actions such as bombings, killings, and kidnappings?' What is the motive behind the actions of the JAD members? Informant B stated:

What we want to change here is the system. It means we believe there will not be prosperity if the existing government system is always liberal. So, we want to strive to establish Islam as the primary governing system (interview on August 18, 2023)

This statement was in line with Informant C's statement, which also expressed:

[...] Throughout, we often hear injustice everywhere, there are issues of unfair laws, poverty, and politics with unclear directions. Therefore, this group emphasizes the struggle to build a government system based on Islam because, according to us, Islam is the truest doctrine. We believe that as long as the prevailing government system remains liberal, there will be no peace." (Interview on August 22, 2023)

Their main target is the government system, and this radicalism grows from ideological differences. For the group members, the existing government has failed to provide the prosperity that should be evenly distributed among all citizens. Therefore, changing the government system to an Islamic one, as it existed in the early days of prophecy, is seen as the most effective solution to address various economic, social, political, cultural, and

legal issues. Their perception is shaped based on the portrayal of prosperous life during the time of the caliphate, where the leaders of that era exhibited the image of clean leaders who cared deeply for the people. If the country returns to using an Islamic government system, a just and prosperous life may be formed. As Indonesia is known to be a country with the majority of people are Muslims, the group members feel that the establishment of an Islamic state is not impossible, and their radical actions are considered a struggle to change the existing government system, believing that it won't happen without extreme measures. Informant E said: The current government has failed. We see unemployment everywhere, economic problems, and biased laws, so why maintain such a system? Just imagine, if this country were governed by an Islamic system, surely the country would prosper because Islam is just in leading. For example, during the caliphate, people of all religions lived in harmony, with fair income, honest governance with no corruption, collusion, and nepotism. Criminals were punished justly according to their crimes. Imagine if such a government were in place in our country, wouldn't it be prosperous? (Interview on October 12, 2023)

The dream of realizing a prosperous life like the Islamic caliphate era drives the members of the JAD group to take extreme measures. This path was further complemented by a process known as *takfiri* or the concept of declaring those who oppose the group's direction or views as infidels. Regularly, they attempted to persuade people to believe in the path they had chosen to build an Islamic government. If people opposed and stood against them, they were not hesitant to label them as infidels, meaning that these people are the ones who must be fought against. Informant B said:

When my friend invited me to join, I said that if the goal was to establish a new form of state, I would join but later there was a lot of resistance from the government, so those who opposed us also fought against us, and we call them '*togut*' (infidels). (Interview on August 18, 2023)

The effort to build a new government system did not always proceed smoothly; there would be resistance from those in power, in this case, the government. When there is a clash of interests, there will be resistance, as each party strives to pursue its own goals. Hence, they have labels for their opponents. The government sees JAD as a terrorist group, while JAD sees the government as infidels, and these infidels are the ones who must be fought against. The concept of *takfiri* defines those who stand against or differ; it is a categorization given by the JAD group to explain their position as believers and those who are not. Thus, all groups standing on the opposing side are considered equal to infidels, and shedding their blood is permissible. This understanding makes the JAD group fearless and uncompromising in carrying out acts of terror such as bombings and destruction because, in their perception, they are fighting to build an Islamic government system that will eventually provide just and equitable prosperity for the entire Indonesian society.

### The '*Amaliyah*' Process of Value Actualization

The process of '*amaliyah*' is the actualization of values. Some informants stated that after going through the process of instilling radical values in their followers, members of the group who were deemed mature would engage in the implementation of values known as *amaliyah*. This concept refers to attitudes, actions, or behaviors carried out by the group that are oriented toward honoring and defending what they consider sacred. In broad terms, they take actions they perceive as right as a form of defense and a fight against religious disbelief by those they see as different and dissenting. The JAD group carries out *amaliyah* through two methods: first, through *da'wah*. This activity involves delivering speeches with a propaganda theme that is misleading and encourages people to follow their beliefs about Islam. Informant A said:

[...] not all members engage in violent activities; only those with strong mental fortitude. Some engage in *da'wah* to teach and encourage others to defend the religion. This *da'wah* explains and encourages them to defend the religion (Interview on August 16, 2023)

This statement is consistent with the information provided by informant B:

In the past, we reached a point where we excessively practiced those teachings. So, those who disagreed or held opposing views were considered infidels because there were differences in understanding religious teachings (Interview on August 18, 2023)

Further explanation reveals that those who were extreme even took bolder actions, such as participating in activities that lead to terrorism, like bombings. These destructive activities were only carried out by group members whose level of understanding has reached '*tabbluh*,' meaning they believe that religion must be defended even at the cost of their lives. In other words, they excessively practice the teachings, and in their minds, those on the opposing side must be eliminated because they have damaged the moral fabric of the religion.

As a result, many members were suspected to have engaged in terrorist actions such as bombing public facilities, suicide bombings, killing police officers, and kidnapping police officers. Those who choose to take extreme actions like these respond excessively to religious teachings, believing that the defense of the religion must be done through jihad. The concept of jihad in this case refers to a sincere effort to defend the religion by sacrificing everything one possesses, including material wealth, life, and physical well-being. Public understanding of jihad is often equated with bomb explosions, thus obscuring the true meaning of jihad itself. JAD group interprets jihad in two contexts: First, jihad *tamkin*, which refers to efforts to replace a state system deemed to have failed in providing a good standard of living to its citizens. Second, jihad *nikayah* refers to a retaliatory process carried out as an act of revenge against those who harbor hatred towards government

officials. Therefore, the actions undertaken by this group fall into the category of jihad tamkin because they believe their actions are an effort to awaken the government, which they see as having failed to provide a decent life for its citizens. JAD perceived the government administration as benefiting only those from the high social class, disregarding equality for those in the middle to lower class. This, in turn, leads to the identification of the government as a group of infidels. Informant B stated:

There are two types of jihad, namely jihad tamkin and nikayah, that have different goals. Jihad Tamkin aims to establish a new government system that aligns with and is based on Islamic teachings. On the other hand, jihad nikayah takes the form of revenge. What JAD aims to do is tamkin, to ensure that citizens experience equal prosperity (interview on August 18, 2023).

Informant B explained that not all members participate at the forefront of the struggle. There are executors or implementers, and there are technical teams. The executors carry out actions such as bombings, while the technical team is responsible for preparing war equipment such as bombs, weapons, and communication tools. In the previous process of values understanding, those who were knowledgeable were taught how to assemble bombs, use weapons, and interrupt communication. They disguised themselves during the training process by working in the public sector. This was done to secure operational funds and acquire the necessary tools for bomb-making or weapons. Informant B said:

Some members learn how to assemble bombs or weapons from the internet. These individuals were positioned at the forefront but also held regular jobs like normal people. Their earnings were then channeled to the group, while their regular jobs served to facilitate their access to information and purchase the needed tools (interview on August 18, 2023).

The process of carrying out extreme violent actions was not done haphazardly; it involved careful planning and division of responsibilities according to each member's role. Those acting as executors were prepared mentally, while the technical team was responsible for preparing weapons and coordinating communication. Informant E explains:

The executors must be mentally prepared because they cannot turn back halfway. They must be truly ready, even understanding all the risks, including if they are captured or killed. The technical team manages the location, communication, and transportation, so all plans were well thought out (interview on October 12, 2023).

Some members express their lack of readiness to participate at the forefront. For example, informant A stated: I was not ready because it was heavy. We really could not turn back, so we had to bear all the consequences, including if we were going to be arrested later (interview on August 16, 2023).

JAD especially those who had undergone extensive training or were considered senior members, believed that the struggle could not rely solely on words or dawah methods. They perceived weaknesses in these methods because the audience still held control and could reject their ideology. Therefore, the leaders of the group felt the need to adopt a more forceful approach, believing that there should be coercion to ensure acceptance and justification of their actions.

According to JAD, the government or the "*kafir*" group should not be given free rein. They viewed these entities as untrustworthy in carrying out their duties as representatives of the people, accusing them of seeking personal gain. This, they argue, has led to various ongoing social, economic, cultural, and political problems. Government programs were seen as controversial by JAD because they were perceived as short-term solutions that only provided temporary relief. In the eyes of the JAD, society needs long-term solutions that can lead to lasting prosperity. They believed that implementing Islamic teachings would offer a better solution for Indonesia.

## Discussion

The Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) group indicates that the cause of their radicalization is the desire to change the existing governmental order. There is an ideological difference regarding the process of running a good government. Their perception is based on governance grounded in Islam or the establishment of an Islamic state as a solution to all current issues. To achieve their goal of changing the governance system, they tend to use aggressive methods to impose their vision on others about the importance of the position of Islam in running a good government (Hassan, 2016). The desire to establish a new governance system by the JAD group is always related to an ideology in which they consistently engage in radical movements that harm society. Their goal is to attract attention, seek support, and serve as a form of manipulation for their followers (Farasin et al, 2017).

The reasons for the JAD group becoming radical can be seen as a concept of "future imagination" that envisions a return to a model of life consistent with the early and middle Arab life where Islam made rapid progress in various fields. This process is referred to as "restoration" or a return to "originality," where they believe that the only way to achieve a just humanity is through resistance or what is known as jihad. This path is chosen because, according to them, Islam is the solution to all existing problems (Richards, 2003).

The JAD group does not immediately engage in extreme actions; there is a process they go through. In this study, the process is identified through internalization, objectivation, and externalization. The illustration

within this radical group begins with the internalization process, meaning the instillation of radical values into the followers. They are taught that the group is fighting for the defense of human rights by advocating Islam as the only appropriate foundation for governance. This is taught by the group's leaders to provide an understanding that what they are doing is a struggle against infidelity. As explained by the informants above, they are taught the Qur'an and Hadith as the primary foundation repeatedly and systematically, they are indoctrinated with a book called "Ahkammudimah," which discusses the law of blood. Through this book, they understand that fighting against opposing groups is obligatory for the group's struggle, building a justification that legitimizes the teachings they receive as a representation of faith.

The next process involves reaffirming oneself as part of the group by following the stages of war preparation called '*i'dad*.' In this stage, they prepare themselves by enhancing their knowledge and physical abilities to directly engage in actions of defense and struggle to realize the vision of establishing a state based on Islam. The group members reaffirm themselves by declaring their willingness to join the struggle. *I'dad* involves a process of taking an oath called *bai'at*, where they pledge loyalty to fight until the end for their faith in line with the vision and mission of JAD. This process is identified as the objectivation process. The final step is the implementation of the radical values they have been taught. The group chooses to take the path of extreme actions as a way to unfold their faith. The JAD group believes that they must fight against injustice, which they see as achieved by combating those they categorize as infidels. Unknowingly, they sacrifice innocent parties. The group's actions, termed *amaliyah*, involve planning acts of terror such as bombings of government institutions, places of worship, and even entertainment venues symbolizing debauchery. Engaging in actual actions based on what they understand is a form of externalization (Berger and Luckmann, 1991).

On a broader level, the conditions within the JAD group reflect a real consistency with the exposition (Azizian, 2006), which states that radicalism in Central Asia has developed as a part of the desire to establish a caliphate system or a Muslim state. This emerges as part of the desire to obtain a just and decent life. Therefore, the JAD group carries out propaganda about resisting infidel groups or those who oppose their struggle. The ideology of establishing an Islamic state traces its roots back to the idea of the Islamic revival movement that occurred in the 1970s in various Muslim-majority countries such as Egypt. Sayyid Qutb, an Islamic theorist and a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, argued that the majority of Muslim populations had entered the era of *Jahiliyyah* (ignorance) and felt that the entire system had failed to bring prosperity. The only way forward, according to Qutb, was Islam. Young people were used as catalysts to bring about change. This perspective aligns with the conditions of the JAD group, where the movement's *jihad* aims to achieve the revival of Islam or the establishment of a caliphate, intending to establish a governance system based on Islam to return life's guidance to the Qur'an and Hadith (Mansbach, 2006).

## Conclusion

The Jamaah Ansharut Daulah (JAD) group emerged as an outcome of the fragmentation within the Jamaah Islamiyah (JI) organization, founded by Abu Bakar Baasyir. JI later became affiliated with ISIS. The group's extremist nature is evident through various acts of terrorism, including the killing of police officers in Kota Bima in 2014, the Sarinah bombing in 2016, the riot at Mako Brimob Depok in 2018, and many others.

The radicalization of this group stems from the desire to replace the existing governmental system or establish a state based on Islam. They perceive the current government as having failed to provide a decent and just life for its people. Issues such as poverty, unemployment, corruption, and dirty politics are seen as inadequately addressed by the government. Consequently, they believe that reverting to a governance system based on Islamic values is the best solution. This statement reflects their aspiration to live a life reminiscent of the Islamic golden age or the era of the Islamic caliphate, where leaders demonstrated justice and goodness.

To achieve this goal, the followers undergo a process called *i'dad*, or war preparation, where they take an oath to fight to realize the group's vision and mission. The *i'dad* process is divided into two phases: *i'dad imaniyah* meaning religious preparation, involves teaching religious values, particularly Islamic teachings, including the interpretation of the book *Ahkammudimah*, which discusses the laws related to fighting against those who are considered infidels. The next phase is *i'dad ikhuwah*, meaning physical and mental strengthening. During this stage, they enhance their physical condition through regular exercise. Additionally, they are taught to strengthen their mental resilience, enabling them to overcome fear and not retreat in the face of adversaries.

Upon completion of these two processes, they proceed to the actualization of values, known as *amaliyah*. The JAD group acknowledges that they choose an extreme path, engaging in acts such as terrorizing government facilities, bombings, and even not hesitating to kill government officials. An example of this occurred in 2014 when group members killed police officers in Kota Bima and detonated an Islamic boarding school dormitory. They believe that these actions constitute a struggle or *jihad* to defend their religion and dismantle rampant polytheism. The group perceives engaging in *jihad* as a manifestation of faith necessary to avoid sin.

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### Compliance With Ethical Standards

This research adheres to the ethical standards of research in Indonesia, with the entire process obtaining approval from relevant authorities. Interview consent has been directly obtained from the informants. The researchers have no conflicts of interest concerning the overall subject of the study.

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