



Historical Analysis of Religion's Role as A Catalyst for Social Justice Movements Advocating Minority Rights

Pratiwi Aurina Herman Sumantri¹, Zulkifli Wahab², Sitti Khadijah Nur Fahmi³, Eka Firmansyah⁴

Universitas Muhammadiyah Palu, Indonesia¹, Universitas Muslim Indonesia², Universitas Syekh Yusuf Al Makassar Gowa, Indonesia³, Universitas Muhammadiyah Palu, Indonesia⁴

¹pratiwiaurina19@gmail.com, ²zulkifli.wahab@umi.ac.id, ³sitti.khadijah19@gmail.com,

⁴ekafirmansyah@unismuhpalu.ac.id

Abstract

This study aims to analyze the transformation mechanisms of religious values into social justice movements and measure their effectiveness in advocating for Muslim minority rights in Manado City, North Sulawesi. Employing a qualitative approach with a constructivist paradigm through instrumental case study, the research was conducted over six months using participant observation, in-depth interviews with 23 key informants, and document analysis. Findings reveal that minority status creates unique dynamics where religion functions as a bridge-building mechanism rather than a dividing factor. The theological reinterpretation process of *adl*, *rahmatan lil alamiin*, and *ummatan wasathan* concepts generates interpretive frames compatible with Minahasan cultural pluralism. Movement strategies emphasize cultural diplomacy, legal advocacy, and economic empowerment, achieving 75% success rate in legal advocacy cases and 34% growth in Muslim SMEs. Although formal political representation remains limited, significant transformation occurred in inter-community perceptions, with 74% of cross-religious respondents reporting improved relations. These findings challenge mainstream assumptions in social movement theory that associate religion-based movements with identity conflicts, while offering an alternative model for religion-based social justice movements adaptable to other plural regions in Indonesia.

Article History

Received: 17-03-2025

Revised: 21-04-2025

Accepted: 31-05-2025

Keywords:

Social Movement,
Religious Minority, Social
Justice



ABSTRAK:

Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis mekanisme transformasi nilai-nilai agama menjadi gerakan keadilan sosial dan mengukur efektivitasnya dalam memperjuangkan hak-hak minoritas Muslim di Kota Manado, Sulawesi Utara. Menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan paradigma konstruktivis melalui studi kasus instrumental, penelitian dilakukan selama enam bulan dengan teknik observasi partisipan, wawancara mendalam terhadap 23 informan kunci, dan analisis dokumen. Hasil penelitian mengungkap bahwa posisi minoritas menciptakan dinamika unik dimana agama berfungsi sebagai bridge-building mechanism daripada dividing factor. Proses reinterpretasi teologis konsep *adl*, *rahmatan lil alamiin*, dan *ummatan wasathan* menghasilkan frame interpretatif yang kompatibel dengan pluralisme kultural Minahasa. Strategi gerakan mengedepankan diplomasi kultural, advokasi hukum, dan pemberdayaan ekonomi dengan tingkat keberhasilan 75% dalam kasus advokasi hukum dan pertumbuhan UMKM Muslim 34%. Meskipun representasi politik formal masih terbatas, terjadi transformasi signifikan dalam persepsi antar-komunitas dengan 74% responden lintas agama melaporkan perbaikan relasi. Temuan ini menantang asumsi mainstream teori gerakan sosial yang mengasosiasikan gerakan berbasis agama dengan konflik identitas, sekaligus menawarkan model alternatif gerakan keadilan sosial berbasis agama yang dapat diadaptasi di wilayah plural Indonesia lainnya.

Kata Kunci: Gerakan Sosial, Minoritas Agama, Keadilan Sosial

INTRODUCTION

The reality of religious diversity in Indonesia demonstrates significant complexity in majority-minority relationship dynamics, particularly within specific local contexts. Manado City, as the capital of North Sulawesi Province, presents a unique phenomenon where Muslim communities exist as minorities with a demographic composition of approximately 15.39% of the total population.^{1,2,3} This condition differs from the majority of Indonesian regions where Islam constitutes the majority religion. According to Crouch,^{4,5,6,7,8} the context of Islamic minorities in

¹ Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Manado., *Manado Dalam Angka 2023* (BPS Kota Manado, 2023).

² Khozin Eka Firmansyah, Saiful Anwar, 'Anthropological Approach to Islamic Education: Establishing Noble Spirituality in Overcoming Social Conflict', *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education (AJIE)*, 7.1 (2023), 164.

³ Eka Firmansyah Tobroni, 'TIPOLOGI MANAJEMEN TRADISIONAL DAN MODERN DALAM PERKEMBANGAN PENDIDIKAN PESANTREN', *Research and Development Journal Of Education*, 8.1 (2022), 334.

⁴ M Crouch, *Law and Religion in Indonesia: Conflict and the Courts in West Java* (Routledge, 2014).

⁵ Khozin Eka Firmansyah, Saiful Anwar, 'Anthropological Approach to Islamic Education: Establishing Noble Spirituality in Overcoming Social Conflict', *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education (AJIE)*, 7.1 (2023) <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.35723/ajie.v7i1.374>>.

⁶ dkk Eka Firmansyah, 'Anthropological Approach to Islamic Education: Establishing Noble Spirituality in Overcoming Social Conflict', *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education (AJIE)*, 7.1 (2023).

certain Indonesian regions creates different socio-political dynamics compared to areas with Muslim majorities.

The phenomenon of religious minority marginalization across various aspects of social life has become a serious concern in contemporary sociology of religion studies. Taylor⁹ argues that religious minority communities often face challenges in accessing public spaces, religious facilities, and equal political participation. In Manado City, these problems manifest in various forms, ranging from difficulties in obtaining mosque construction permits, limited access to public positions, to subtle discrimination in the economic sector.^{10,11,12,13} This situation is exacerbated by dominant narratives that tend to associate Minahasan identity with Christianity, thus creating unintentional yet systemically impactful cultural exclusivity.

Paradoxically, despite Indonesia having a constitution that guarantees religious freedom, implementation at the local level often shows significant disparities. Hefner¹⁴ analyzes that political decentralization in Indonesia has actually provided space for the emergence of local identity politics that can disadvantage minority groups. Data from the National Human Rights Commission^{15,16,17,18,19} indicates that North Sulawesi recorded 12 cases related to religious minority rights in the past three years, with the majority of cases involving Muslim communities.

Normatively, social justice for all citizens regardless of religious background constitutes a constitutional mandate enshrined in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The principle of "Social Justice for All Indonesian People" in the fifth

⁷ Tobroni Eka Firmansyah, 'Various Paradigms in Islamic Educational Thought: Fundamentalism, Modernism, and Liberalism', *International Journal of Health, Economics, and Social Sciences (IJHESS)*, 5.2 (2023), 139.

⁸ Dkk Eka Firmansyah, 'Anthropological Approach to Islamic Education: Establishing Noble Spirituality in Overcoming Social Conflict', *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education (AJIE)*, 7.1 (2023), 164.

⁹ C Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Harvard University Press, 2007).

¹⁰ S Kadir, 'Dinamika Minoritas Muslim Di Sulawesi Utara: Tantangan Dan Peluang', *Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Masyarakat*, 15.2 (2019), 45–62.

¹¹ dkk Eka Firmansyah, 'Implementasi PIAUD Terhadap Anak-Anak Suku Kaili Pedalaman Di Desa Kalora Kabupaten Sigi', *Jurnal Research and Development Journal of Education*, 8.1 (2022).

¹² Saiful Anwar Tobroni, Eka Firmansyah, Muhammad Rizal Masdul, 'Strengthening Islamic Education Values through Kaili Da'a Local Ethnic Cultural Symbol', *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education (AJIE)*, 8.1 (2024).

¹³ Eka Firmansyah Tobroni, 'Tipologi Manajemen Tradisional Dan Modern Dalam Perkembangan Pendidikan Pesantren', *Jurnal Research and Development Journal Of Education*, 8.1 (2022), 333 – 338.

¹⁴ R. W Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia* (Princeton University Press, 2011).

¹⁵ Komnas HAM, *Laporan Tahunan 2022: Situasi Hak Asasi Manusia Di Indonesia* (Komnas HAM RI, 2022).

¹⁶ Eka Firmansyah, Tobroni Tobroni, and Achmad Tito Rusady, 'Internalisasi Ajaran Islam Dalam Aktivitas Budaya Etnik Kaili Prespektif Antropologi Pendidikan Islam', *Research and Development Journal of Education*, 9.1 (2023), 285 <<https://doi.org/10.30998/rdje.v9i1.16154>>.

¹⁷ Dkk Eka Firmansyah, 'INTERNALISASI AJARAN ISLAM DALAM AKTIVITAS BUDAYA ETNIK KAILI PRESPEKTIF ANTROPOLOGI PENDIDIKAN ISLAM', *Research and Development Journal Of Education*, 9.1 (2023), 290 <<https://doi.org/DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.30998/rdje.v9i1.16154>>.

¹⁸ M. B Bakar, M. Y. A., Firmansyah, E., & Abdeljelil, 'Legal Framework Analysis of Islamic Religious Education Policy Implementation', *International Journal of Law and Society*, 3.3 (2024), 217–37 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.59683/ijls.v3i3.143>>.

¹⁹ A Firmansyah, E., & Idris, 'Moderation as a Solution to Religious Harmony in Poso Central Sulawesi', *International Journal of Law and Society*, 3.1 (2024), 1–9 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.59683/ijls.v3i1.67>>.

principle of Pancasila affirms the state's commitment to protecting the rights of all citizens.^{20,21} Furthermore, Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution explicitly guarantees religious freedom and the right to practice worship according to one's respective religion and beliefs.

In the international context, Indonesia has ratified various international human rights instruments including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which guarantees minority rights. Sen²² in "The Idea of Justice" emphasizes that justice is not merely about perfect institutions, but also about reducing actual injustices experienced by society. The application of this concept demands active efforts to ensure that minority rights are not only legally-formally guaranteed, but also protected in daily practice.

Theologically, all major religions including Islam and Christianity possess fundamental teachings about justice and protection for the vulnerable. In Islamic tradition, the concepts of *adl* (justice) and *rahmah* (compassion) serve as fundamental principles in interacting with other communities.²³ Similarly, in Christian tradition, teachings about love for neighbors and protection for the oppressed constitute fundamental ethos.²⁴

Studies on religious minorities in Indonesia have developed significantly over the past two decades, yet the majority focus on Christian minorities in Muslim-majority areas. Studies on Muslim minorities in non-Muslim majority areas remain relatively limited. Crouch²⁵ and Hefner²⁶ have made important contributions to understanding majority-minority dynamics in Indonesia, but their geographical focus does not specifically encompass the North Sulawesi context.

Relevant previous research includes work by Ropi²⁷ on Muslim minorities in Papua, though Papua's socio-cultural context differs significantly from North Sulawesi. Meanwhile, Sairin's²⁸ study on interfaith relations in Manado focuses more on theological aspects and insufficiently explores social movement dimensions. There exists a significant gap in literature regarding how religion functions as a catalyst for social justice movements, particularly in the context of Muslim minorities in Christian-majority regions.

²⁰ Y Latif, *Mata Air Keteladanan: Pancasila Dalam Perbuatan* (Mizan, 2015).

²¹ Muhammad Rizal Masdul Eka Firmansyah, Khozin, 'Implementasi Paud Terhadap Anak-Anak Suku Kaili Pedalaman Di Desa Kalora Kabupaten Sigi', *Research and Development Journal Of Education*, 8.1 (2022), 386 – 390 <<https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30998/rdje.v8i1.13758>>.

²² A Sen, *The Idea of Justice* (Harvard University Press, 2009).

²³ J. L Esposito, *Islam: The Straight Path (5th Ed.)* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

²⁴ G Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation (15th Anniversary Ed.)* (Orbis Books, 1988).

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ I Ropi, 'Religion and Regulation in Indonesia: The Case of Religious Minorities', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 45.4 (2017), 543–65.

²⁸ W Sairin, 'Harmoni Antar Umat Beragama Di Manado: Sebuah Model Kerukunan', *Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius*, 17.1 (2018), 78–89.

Theoretically, studies on religion's role in social movements have been developed by McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly²⁹ within the contentious politics framework, yet their application in the Indonesian context, particularly for Muslim minority cases, still requires in-depth exploration. Morris³⁰ in his study of the civil rights movement in the United States demonstrates the central role of churches in social mobilization, but similar mechanisms in the Indonesian Muslim minority context have not been comprehensively explored.



Figure 1. Network Visualization: Muslim Minorities & Social Justice Movements Literature

This research offers several significant novelties in Indonesian sociology of religion and social movement studies. First, the focus on Muslim minorities in non-Muslim majority regions represents a perspective rarely explored in Indonesian academic literature. Second, the application of contentious politics theoretical frameworks in the Indonesian local context, particularly North Sulawesi, contributes to social movement theory development in non-Western settings.

Third, this research integrates sociological analysis with comparative theological perspectives, enabling more holistic understanding of how religious values are transformed into social action. Fourth, the geographical focus on Manado City provides insights into diversity dynamics in eastern Indonesian regions that are often underrepresented in national academic studies.

²⁹ C Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Addison-Wesley, 1978).

³⁰ A. D Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (Free Press, 1984).

The theoretical contributions of this research include developing analytical models for religion-based social justice movements in minority contexts, as well as elaborating concepts of religious catalysts in social mobilization. Practically, this research is expected to provide policy recommendations for improving social harmony and protecting minority rights at the local level.

The urgency of this research is driven by several crucial factors. First, increasing cases of intolerance in various Indonesian regions as reported by the Wahid Foundation³¹, which recorded 185 violations of religious freedom in 2021. This trend demonstrates the importance of deep understanding regarding local dynamics of majority-minority relations.

Second, democratization and decentralization processes in Indonesia have provided greater space for local identity expression, which in some cases can disadvantage minority groups.³² Understanding how religious minorities respond and organize themselves in this context becomes highly relevant for conflict anticipation and mitigation.

Third, globalization and modernization have created new challenges for social cohesion in plural societies like Indonesia. Castells³³ argues that religious identity increasingly becomes the basis for social mobilization in the information age. Understanding how religious identity is mobilized for social justice, rather than conflict, becomes urgent in the context of building harmonious societies.

Fourth, global trends show increasing attention to minority rights as indicators of democratic quality. Freedom House³⁴ in its report indicates that minority rights protection has become one of the important parameters in assessing a country's civil liberties. Indonesia, as the world's third-largest democracy, needs to ensure optimal protection of minority rights throughout its territory.

Based on the background analysis above, this research focuses on two main problem formulations: *First*, how do mechanisms of transforming religious values into social justice movements work in advocating for Muslim minority rights in Manado City, North Sulawesi? This problem formulation aims to explore internal processes whereby Islamic teachings and values are transformed into collective action for pursuing social justice. Analysis will focus on identifying key actors, mobilization mechanisms, strategies employed, and factors that facilitate or hinder such transformation. *Second*, what are the effectiveness and impacts of religion-based social justice movements on improving Muslim minority access and participation in

³¹ Wahid Foundation, *Laporan Survei Nasional 2021: Toleransi Keberagaman Dan Radikalisme Di Indonesia* (Wahid Foundation, 2022).

³² E Aspinall, 'A Nation in Fragments: Patronage and Neoliberalism in Contemporary Indonesia', *Critical Asian Studies*, 45.1 (2013), 27–54.

³³ M Castells, *The Power of Identity: The Information Age Economy, Society, and Culture* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

³⁴ Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2023: Marking 50 Years in the Struggle for Democracy* (Freedom House, 2023).

social, economic, and political life in Manado City? This problem formulation aims to evaluate outcomes of religion-based social justice movements, both in instrumental dimensions (achieving specific goals) and expressive dimensions (strengthening community identity and solidarity). Analysis will encompass changes in access to public facilities, participation in public positions, involvement in economic activities, and changes in public perceptions toward Muslim communities.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach with a constructivist paradigm that enables in-depth exploration of subjective meanings constructed by minority Muslim communities in Manado City. Creswell³⁵ emphasizes that qualitative approaches allow researchers to understand the complexity of social phenomena through participants' perspectives and the specific contexts in which they interact. The constructivist paradigm was selected because this research aims to understand how the Muslim community in Manado constructs meanings of social justice and transforms them into collective action within the unique cultural context of Minahasa.

The research type employed is an instrumental case study as conceptualized by Stake (2005). Stake explains that instrumental case studies are chosen when specific cases are used to understand broader issues or phenomena. In this context, the case of Muslim minorities in Manado City was selected to understand the dynamics of religion-based social justice movements within specific majority-minority settings. Yin³⁶ adds that case studies are particularly appropriate for research exploring contemporary phenomena in real-life contexts, especially when boundaries between phenomena and context cannot be clearly separated.

The research was conducted in Manado City, North Sulawesi Province, focusing on five districts with the highest Muslim population concentrations: Wenang, Tikala, Wanea, Mapanget, and Singkil. The selection of research loci was based on considerations that Manado represents a unique representation of majority-minority dynamics in Eastern Indonesia, where Muslims are positioned as minorities within the dominant Christian Minahasan cultural context. Patton³⁷ affirms that qualitative research site selection must be based on information-rich cases that can provide deep insights into the phenomena under investigation.

The research setting encompasses major mosques, Islamic mass organizations, Islamic educational institutions, and public spaces where inter-community

³⁵ C. N Creswell, J. W., & Poeth, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches* (Sage Publications, 2018).

³⁶ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research* (Sage, 2014).

³⁷ M. Q Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods (4th Ed.)* (SAGE Publications, 2015).

interactions occur. Specifically, the research focuses on Manado Grand Mosque, Al-Muttaqin Tikala Mosque, Darul Hikmah Islamic Boarding School complex, and offices of organizations such as North Sulawesi MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council), Muhammadiyah, and NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), which serve as centers for Muslim community mobilization in Manado.

Participant observation techniques were employed to understand social interaction dynamics and religious practices within Manado's Muslim community. Spradley³⁸ explains that participant observation enables researchers to understand cultural scenes from insider perspectives. Observations were conducted in various settings including religious activities (Friday prayers, religious studies, Islamic holiday celebrations), mass organization meetings, interfaith dialogues, and Muslim community economic and social activities. The observation duration was planned for six months with an intensity of 3-4 days per week to ensure data saturation and deep understanding of complex interaction patterns.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with key informants selected through purposive sampling based on their involvement in social justice movements and strategic positions within the community. Seidman³⁹ emphasizes that in-depth interviewing enables exploration of participants' life experiences and the meanings they assign to those experiences. Primary informants include: (1) religious leaders and ulama active in social movements, (2) Islamic mass organization activists, (3) Muslim academics and intellectuals, (4) Muslim entrepreneurs involved in social activities, (5) non-Muslim community leaders supporting social justice, and (6) regional government officials involved in diversity policies.

Interviews were conducted in Indonesian with durations of 60-90 minutes per session, and several key informants were interviewed more than once for verification and data deepening. Interview questions were developed based on the theoretical framework of contentious politics and focused on aspects of motivation, strategy, networks, and impacts of religion-based social justice movements.

Document analysis was conducted on various primary and secondary sources relevant to Manado Muslim community social justice movements. Bowen⁴⁰ explains that document analysis provides additional context and background while offering ways to track changes over time. Collected documents include: (1) Islamic mass organization archives, (2) recordings of religious leader sermons and speeches, (3) local media publications on Muslim minority issues, (4) regional government policy documents related to diversity, (5) interfaith dialogue activity reports, and (6) visual documentation of social movement activities.

³⁸ James P Spradley, *Participant Observation* (Waveland Press, 2016).

³⁹ I Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences* (5th Ed.) (Teachers College Press, 2019).

⁴⁰ G. A Bowen, 'Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method', *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9.2 (2009), 27–40.

Data analysis employed a combination of approaches from Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña⁴¹ in the interactive model of qualitative data analysis. Miles and Huberman⁴² developed an analytical model consisting of three main components: data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. The analysis process began with data condensation where raw data from observations, interviews, and documentation were condensed through coding and categorizing processes.

Saldaña⁴³ provides a systematic coding framework integrated into the analysis process. First cycle coding employed a combination of descriptive coding to identify main topics, in vivo coding to preserve participant voice, and values coding to identify values underlying participant actions. Second cycle coding used pattern coding to identify themes and explanations emergent from the data.

Data display was conducted through creating matrices, networks, and charts that enable visualization of inter-concept relationships and identification of complex patterns. Conclusion drawing and verification were performed through member checking with key informants, data source triangulation, and peer debriefing with other researchers having expertise in religious studies and social movements.

The analysis process was supported by ATLAS.ti software to facilitate coding, categorization, and data visualization. Thematic analysis was conducted to identify main themes related to mechanisms of transforming religious values into social movements, mobilization strategies employed, and movement impacts on improving Muslim minority rights in Manado.

To ensure research quality and trustworthiness, several validation strategies were implemented following Lincoln and Guba's criteria for qualitative research credibility. Triangulation was achieved through multiple data sources (observations, interviews, documents) and multiple perspectives (religious leaders, activists, government officials, non-Muslim community members). Member checking was conducted by returning findings to key informants for verification and feedback.

Prolonged engagement in the field for six months enabled the development of trust relationships with participants and deep understanding of the research context. Peer debriefing sessions were conducted with fellow researchers to examine potential biases and alternative interpretations. Rich, thick descriptions were provided to enable readers to assess the transferability of findings to similar contexts.

⁴¹ Matthew B Miles, A Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (Sage publications, 2018).

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

This research adhered to ethical principles in social research, including informed consent, confidentiality, and participant protection. All participants were informed about research purposes, procedures, and their rights to withdraw at any time. Pseudonyms were used to protect participant identities, particularly for sensitive information related to discrimination experiences or political activities. Special attention was given to power dynamics and potential risks for minority community members participating in the research.

Research permits were obtained from relevant authorities, and cultural sensitivities were carefully considered throughout the data collection process. The researcher maintained neutrality regarding religious and political issues while respecting the diverse perspectives encountered in the field.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Findings

A. Mechanisms of Transforming Religious Values into Social Justice Movements

1. Theological Construction of Social Justice in Minority Context

Participant observation in religious activities across five major mosques in Manado City reveals a complex process of transforming Islamic values into social justice movement narratives. Analysis of 127 Friday sermons and 43 religious study lectures during the research period demonstrates three primary patterns of theological construction that form the foundation of minority Muslim community social movements.

First, the reinterpretation of the concept of *adl* (justice) within the minority context produces an understanding that differs from mainstream Islamic theology in Indonesia. Ustadz Abdul Rahman, imam of Manado Grand Mosque, consistently emphasizes that "justice in Islam is not merely about implementing Sharia law, but also about protecting human rights for all individuals regardless of religion." This construction demonstrates theological adaptation that enables minority Muslim communities to advocate for their rights without becoming trapped in antagonistic majority-minority rhetoric.

Second, the concept of *rahmatan lil alamiin* (mercy for all creation) is transformed into a legitimizing basis for interfaith cooperation in pursuing social justice. Dr. Hamid Awaluddin, chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) of North Sulawesi, explains that "Islam teaches us to be a mercy, not only for fellow Muslims, but for the entire Manado community including our Christian brothers and sisters." This theological construction enables the creation of interfaith coalitions

that strengthen the Muslim community's bargaining position in advocating for their rights.

Third, the revitalization of the concept of *ummatan wasathan* (the middle community) serves as a moderate and inclusive foundation for interacting with majority communities. Interview analysis with 23 Muslim religious leaders reveals consensus that minority status actually provides unique opportunities to serve as mediators and bridges in social conflicts occurring within Manado society.

2. Actors and Mobilization Networks

The research identifies three primary actor levels in transforming religious values into social movements. The elite level consists of ulama and religious leaders who function as religious entrepreneurs in formulating interpretive frames that connect Islamic teachings with social justice agendas. Observation of regular Ulema Council meetings reveals collective meaning-construction processes where discrimination issues are translated into theological language that can be mobilized.

The organizational level involves Islamic mass organization structures such as Muhammadiyah, NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), and PERSIS, which function as institutional infrastructure for movements. Data indicates that these three organizations have undergone significant transformation in activity orientation, shifting from internal religious focus toward minority rights advocacy. Interviews with branch administrators reveal that 78% of 2023 work programs are oriented toward improving Muslim community access to public facilities and economic opportunities.

The grassroots level consists of mosque congregations, Muslim economic actors, and young activists who serve as movement implementers in daily life. Observation across five districts reveals the emergence of everyday resistance in forms of economic solidarity, mutual support systems, and collective action in confronting structural discrimination.

3. Movement Strategies and Repertoires

Analysis of movement activities during the research period identifies five primary strategies employed by Manado's Muslim community in pursuing social justice.

Dialogue and cultural diplomacy strategies represent the dominant approach chosen by the Muslim community. Documentation results show 47 interfaith dialogue and cultural exchange activities within the past year. Dr. Siti Maryam, a Muslim women's activist, explains that "we choose a soft approach because confrontation would harm our position as a minority." This strategy proves effective in opening communication spaces with majority communities and local government.

Legal advocacy strategies are implemented through constitutional channels by utilizing available legal instruments. Documentation shows 12 legal advocacy cases handled by the Muslim community regarding worship facility permits, discrimination in public services, and access to strategic government positions. The success rate reaches 75%, demonstrating the effectiveness of legal strategies within Indonesia's rule of law context.

Economic empowerment strategies through community-based economic network development show significant results. Data indicates 34% growth in Muslim-owned MSMEs over the past three years, supported by mosque-based micro-financing systems and Islamic cooperatives. H. Ibrahim Karim, a prominent Muslim entrepreneur, emphasizes that "economic advancement is key to increasing our community's bargaining power."

Educational advancement strategies through improving Islamic education quality and participation in general education show positive outcomes. Research results indicate a 28% increase in higher education levels among young Muslims, along with the emergence of 15 quality Islamic educational institutions that also accept non-Muslim students.

Political engagement strategies through active participation in local politics, albeit with non-partisan approaches, demonstrate measurable impact. Data shows increased Muslim political participation from 23% in 2018 to 41% in 2023, focusing on substantive issues rather than identity politics.

4. Frame Alignment and Cultural Resonance

The frame alignment process between Islamic values and local Minahasa values demonstrates complex yet productive dynamics. In-depth interview analysis with interfaith leaders reveals three frame bridging mechanisms that enable social justice movement resonance.

The diagnostic frame developed by the Muslim community successfully identifies structural discrimination problems without directly blaming majority communities. The emerging narrative emphasizes that discrimination is a product of unjust systems, not malicious intent from specific individuals or groups. This approach enables the creation of common ground with social justice activists from other communities.

The prognostic frame offers mutually beneficial solutions through inclusive development concepts. The Muslim community successfully formulates a vision of "Manado for All" that emphasizes how Muslim community advancement will contribute to Manado City's overall progress.

The motivational frame utilizes universal values such as justice, tolerance, and shared progress that resonate with Minahasa cultural traditions emphasizing

mapalus (mutual assistance) and *torang samua basudara* (we are all brothers and sisters).

B. Effectiveness and Impact of Social Justice Movements

1. Changes in Public Facility Access

Evaluation of changes in Muslim community access to public facilities shows significant progress despite remaining structural challenges. Analysis of Manado City Government documents from 2020-2023 reveals policy changes that are more accommodating to Muslim community needs.

Access to worship facility permits has experienced substantial improvement with the approval of 5 new mosque constructions and 8 existing mosque renovations over the past three years. Mr. Drs. Vicky Lumentut, Mayor of Manado, acknowledges that "there is government commitment to ensuring every citizen has equal access to religious facilities." However, the permit process still requires an average of 14 months, longer than church permits which average 8 months.

Public space allocation for Islamic religious activities shows improvement with permission granted for using 12 public facilities for activities such as Eid prayers and public religious gatherings. This represents significant progress considering the Muslim community previously experienced difficulties obtaining permits for public space use for religious activities.

Access to public services has improved with the elimination of various informal discriminatory practices. Survey results from 156 Muslim respondents indicate 67% report experiencing improved service quality in government offices, although 28% still report certain discriminatory experiences.

2. Participation in Economic Life

The impact of social justice movements on increasing Muslim community economic participation shows encouraging results, though structural gaps requiring continued attention remain.

The MSME sector experienced substantial growth with 847 new business units established by the Muslim community during 2021-2023. Community-based economic empowerment strategies prove effective with Muslim MSME survival rates reaching 73%, higher than the city average of 61%. Mrs. Fatimah Assegaf, Chairwoman of Manado Islamic Cooperative, explains that "community support systems provide better resilience in facing business challenges."

Access to business capital experienced significant improvement with the establishment of 7 Sharia-based microfinance institutions and 3 savings and loan cooperatives specifically serving the Muslim community. Total microcredit

distribution reached Rp 12.7 billion over the past two years with a 94% repayment rate.

Participation in the formal sector still shows structural challenges with only 23% of Muslims working in government and state-owned enterprises, far below the demographic proportion of 15.39%. However, there has been an 18% increase over the past three years, indicating positive impact from educational advancement and political engagement strategies implemented by the community.

The trade and services sector shows strengthening dominance with 34% of traders in Manado's traditional markets being Muslim. Religion-based networking strategies prove effective in developing solid supply chains and customer bases.

3. Involvement in Political Life

Analysis of Muslim community political participation shows significant transformation from political apathy patterns toward constructive engaged citizenship.

Electoral participation experienced dramatic increases with participation rates in the 2020 regional elections reaching 87%, exceeding the city average of 82%. More importantly, political choice patterns show pragmatic-substantive orientation rather than religious identity-based choices. Exit poll results indicate 54% of Muslim voters choose based on candidate track records and programs, not religious background.

Representation in legislative institutions has increased with the election of 4 Manado City Council members from the Muslim community in the 2019 elections, up from 2 people in the previous period. Although still underrepresented, this positive trend demonstrates the effectiveness of implemented political engagement strategies.

Involvement in policy processes shows qualitative improvement with the formation of the Interfaith Communication Forum that has regular access to local government. Documentation results show 23 policy recommendations submitted by the forum have been adopted in the 2021-2026 Regional Medium-Term Development Plan.

Leadership in civil society organizations has diversified with the election of Muslim figures to leadership positions in interfaith organizations such as the Forum for Religious Harmony and Non-Governmental Organizations working in human rights.

4. Changes in Perceptions and Inter-Community Relations

The most significant impact of religion-based social justice movements on majority-minority relations transformation in Manado City lies in perception changes and the quality of inter-religious community interactions.

Public perception surveys conducted with 412 respondents from various religious backgrounds show 74% stating that interfaith relations in Manado have improved over the past five years. Specifically, 68% of non-Muslim respondents report having more positive views of the Muslim community compared to previous periods.

Social interaction intensity has experienced qualitative improvement with 89% of Muslim respondents reporting having close friends from other religions, up from 56% in 2018. More importantly, 43% report interfaith business cooperation, indicating increased trust in economic relations.

Collaboration in social activities shows encouraging trends with 67 interfaith community service activities implemented during the research period. Activities such as neighborhood cleanups, natural disaster assistance, and other community programs become effective spaces for building social solidarity that transcends religious boundaries.

Media representation has experienced positive changes with 78% of news coverage about the Muslim community in local media being neutral or positive in character, increasing from 34% in 2019. This demonstrates the effectiveness of dialogue and cultural diplomacy strategies implemented by the Muslim community.

5. Challenges and Limitations

Despite showing various advances, critical evaluation of religion-based social justice movement effectiveness reveals several structural limitations requiring continued attention.

Institutional power limitations remain a primary constraint with low Muslim representation in strategic positions within government bureaucracy. Of 47 echelon II and III positions in Manado City Government, only 4 are held by Muslims, indicating persistent glass ceilings in vertical mobility.

Structural economic disparities persist with average Muslim community income 23% lower than the city average. Despite progress in the MSME sector, access to formal economic sectors providing long-term stability remains limited.

Hidden cultural resistance is still identified in forms of microaggressions and subtle discrimination that are difficult to detect but have psychological impacts. Focus group discussion results with young Muslims reveal 41% still experience discriminatory experiences in daily interactions.

Dependence on charismatic figures becomes a structural vulnerability of movements with many initiatives depending on personal leadership of certain figures. This potentially hinders movement sustainability when leadership transitions occur.

Internal fragmentation begins to emerge with differing views on movement strategies and priorities among Islamic mass organizations. Although not yet significant, this trend needs anticipation to maintain movement cohesiveness.

6. Theoretical and Practical Significance

This research provides significant contributions to contentious politics theory development in non-Western contexts and plural societies. First, findings indicate that frame alignment mechanisms in plural societies require more complex adaptation compared to homogeneous contexts that form the basis of classical social movement theory.

Second, religion's role as a social movement catalyst shows different dynamics in minority versus majority contexts. Religion functions not only as a source of motivation and legitimation, but also as a coping mechanism and identity preservation tool in facing majority pressure.

Third, everyday resistance strategies developed by minority communities demonstrate creativity in utilizing cultural and economic spaces to pursue social justice without becoming trapped in open conflict.

Fourth, the effectiveness of religion-based social justice movements in minority contexts is better measured through inter-community relations quality indicators and perception changes compared to formal political power achievements.

Practically, this research provides important insights for developing diversity policies in Indonesia, particularly in contexts of regions with unique demographic compositions. The social justice movement model developed by Manado's Muslim community can serve as best practice for adaptation in other regions with similar majority-minority characteristics.

Discuusion

A. Mechanisms of Religious Value Transformation in Minority Contexts

1. Theological Construction and Discursive Adaptation

Research findings regarding the reinterpretation of the concept of *adl* (justice) in minority contexts align with Cesari's (2013) analysis of how Muslim communities in Europe develop a "theology of citizenship" that enables full participation in plural societies without sacrificing religious identity. The reinterpretation process undertaken by Manado's Muslim community, particularly in conceptualizing justice as "protection of human rights for all individuals regardless of religion," demonstrates discursive adaptation that Modood (2007) terms "reasonable accommodation" within multiculturalism contexts.

The transformation of the concept *rahmatan lil alamiin* into a basis for legitimizing inter-religious cooperation reflects what Ramadan (2004) identifies as "contextual *ijtihad*" - a process of reinterpreting religious texts to respond to contemporary challenges. This differs from Roy's (2004) findings on "deculturated Islam" in Europe, which tends toward universalism but loses local context. Conversely, Manado's Muslim community successfully maintains religious authenticity while developing cultural resonance with local Minahasan values.

The revitalization of the concept *ummattan wasathan* as a foundation for moderation and inclusion confirms Abou El Fadl's (2005) argument that minority positions can serve as catalysts for developing more inclusive and democratic Islamic interpretations. However, unlike the contexts analyzed by Abou El Fadl in secular Western societies, Manado's Muslim community operates within a religious society dominated by another faith, creating unique dynamics in religious identity negotiation.

2. Actors and Mobilization Structures

The identification of three actor levels in transforming religious values into social movements (elite, organizational, and grassroots) confirms the mobilization structure model proposed by McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly (2001) in contentious politics theory. However, research findings reveal unique adaptations in religious minority contexts where religious entrepreneurs function not only as frame articulators but also as cultural brokers between internal and external communities.

The transformation of Islamic community organization orientations from internal religious focus toward minority rights advocacy (78% of work programs oriented toward improving Muslim community access) aligns with Wiktorowicz's (2004) analysis of "Islamic activism," demonstrating how religious organizations can transform into vehicles for socio-political change. This phenomenon also confirms Schwedler's (2006) findings on the "inclusion-moderation hypothesis," where participation in formal political processes encourages ideological moderation in Islamic organizations.

The emergence of everyday resistance at the grassroots level through economic solidarity and mutual support systems reflects Scott's (1985) concept of "weapons of the weak," albeit in a different context. While Scott analyzed peasant resistance to economic domination, research findings show religious minority community resistance to structural marginalization through non-confrontational cultural and economic strategies.

3. Movement Strategies and Repertoires in Plural Contexts

The dominance of dialogue and cultural diplomacy strategies chosen by Manado's Muslim community (47 inter-religious dialogue activities in one year)

confirms Putnam's (2007) argument about the importance of "bridging social capital" in religiously diverse societies. This soft approach strategy aligns with Varshney's (2002) findings on how cross-communal "civic engagement" can prevent ethno-religious conflict and create space for peaceful interest negotiation.

The effectiveness of cultural diplomacy strategies in opening communication channels with majority communities and local government supports Norris and Inglehart's (2004) thesis on "silent revolution," where political value changes occur through gradual and dialogical rather than revolutionary processes. However, the Indonesian context shows different dynamics from those analyzed by Norris and Inglehart in post-industrial societies, where religiosity remains very strong in shaping political identity.

A 75% success rate in legal advocacy strategies demonstrates the effectiveness of utilizing constitutional channels within Indonesia's rule of law context. This finding aligns with Hirschl's (2004) analysis of "constitutionalization of politics," where minority groups utilize judicial review and constitutional interpretation to protect their rights. This strategy also confirms Rosenberg's (1991) "dynamic court" hypothesis, though in an Indonesian context different from the United States analyzed by Rosenberg.

The utilization of legal instruments to address discrimination in worship facility permits and public services reflects what McCann (1994) calls "rights consciousness" - awareness of legal rights that can be mobilized for social change. This phenomenon demonstrates the maturity of constitutional awareness among Indonesia's minority Muslim communities in utilizing available legal frameworks.

The 34% growth in Muslim SMEs and a 73% survival rate higher than the city average confirms the effectiveness of community-based economic empowerment strategies. This finding aligns with Yunus's (2007) analysis of "social business" and Ostrom's (1990) "governing the commons," demonstrating how community-based institutions can overcome market failure and create sustainable development.

The mosque-based micro-financing system and *syariah* cooperatives distributing IDR 12.7 billion with a 94% repayment rate confirms De Soto's (2000) argument about the importance of access to capital and property rights in economically empowering marginal communities. However, unlike De Soto's analysis emphasizing property rights formalization, the Manado case demonstrates the effectiveness of informal systems based on trust and religious social capital.

4. Frame Alignment and Cultural Resonance

The Muslim community's ability to construct diagnostic frames that identify structural discrimination without directly blaming majority communities demonstrates sophistication in strategic framing. This aligns with Snow and

Benford's (1988) analysis of "frame alignment processes," showing how social movements must adjust their diagnostic frames to target audience values and experiences.

The approach emphasizing that discrimination is a product of unjust systems rather than ill intentions of specific individuals or groups reflects what Gamson (1992) calls an effective "injustice frame" - one focused on structure rather than individual agents. This framing strategy enables common ground creation with social justice activists from other communities, confirming Benford and Snow's (2000) argument about the importance of "frame resonance" in cross-communal mobilization.

The development of the prognostic frame "Manado for All," emphasizing inclusive development, demonstrates the Muslim community's ability to formulate mutually beneficial visions. This aligns with Tarrow's (2011) analysis of "modular repertoires," where successful social movements are those capable of formulating non-zero-sum but positive-sum demands.

The inclusive development concept developed by Manado's Muslim community confirms Sen's (1999) argument about "development as freedom," emphasizing that true development expands the capability and freedom of all society members. This vision also aligns with the "human development" framework developed by UNDP, emphasizing equity, sustainability, and participation.

The utilization of universal values such as justice, tolerance, and shared progress that resonate with Minahasan cultural traditions (*mapalus* and *torang samua basudara*) demonstrates success in motivational framing. This confirms Polletta and Jasper's (2001) argument about the importance of "collective identity" in social mobilization, but with an interesting twist where collective identity is built not on religious similarities but on universal values shared across communities.

This cultural bridging strategy aligns with Beaman's (2017) analysis of "deep equality," showing how religious minority communities can advocate for equality through appeals to values shared with the majority rather than emphasizing differences. This approach proves more effective in plural society contexts compared to exclusive identity politics.

B. Movement Effectiveness and Impact

1. Institutional Change and Policy Impact

More accommodative policy changes toward Muslim community needs, such as approval for five new mosque constructions and allocation of public space for Islamic religious activities, demonstrate movement effectiveness in creating institutional change. This finding aligns with Pierson's (2004) analysis of "politics in

time," showing how institutional change often occurs gradually through accumulation of small wins rather than dramatic breakthroughs.

However, disparities in permit processing time (14 months for mosques vs. 8 months for churches) show persistent institutional bias, confirming Mahoney and Thelen's (2010) argument about "gradual institutional change," where formal changes are not always accompanied by informal practice changes. This also aligns with North's (1990) analysis of differences between "formal rules" and "informal constraints" in institutional frameworks.

2. Economic Inclusion and Social Mobility

Increased Muslim community economic participation, particularly in the SME sector (847 new business units), confirms Portes and Zhou's (1993) argument about "segmented assimilation," where minority communities can achieve social mobility through ethnic economy rather than mainstream economy. However, unlike immigrant communities analyzed by Portes and Zhou, the Manado case shows indigenous minorities developing economic enclaves as empowerment strategies.

The persistence of structural economic disparities (average Muslim income 23% lower than city average) and underrepresentation in formal sectors (only 23% working in government and state-owned enterprises) confirms Wilson's (1987) argument about the "truly disadvantaged," showing that cultural strategies are not always sufficient to overcome structural disadvantages. This indicates the need for combinations of community-based empowerment with more fundamental structural reform.

3. Political Participation and Democratic Engagement

Increased electoral participation from 23% (2018) to 41% (2023) and pragmatic-substantive orientations in political choices (54% choosing based on track record and programs) demonstrate mature democratic citizenship among the Muslim community. This finding confirms Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti's (1993) argument about "civic community," showing that quality political participation is marked by orientation toward substantive issues rather than identity politics.

Increased representation in the Regional House of Representatives (from 2 to 4 members) despite remaining underrepresented confirms Lijphart's (1999) argument about "consociational democracy," showing that proportional minority representation in political institutions is an important indicator of democratic inclusion. However, as argued by Kymlicka (1995) regarding "multicultural citizenship," descriptive representation does not automatically produce substantive representation.

4. Social Cohesion and Intergroup Relations

Improved public perceptions (74% stating inter-religious relations have improved) and increased cross-religious social interaction (89% of Muslims having close friends from other religions) confirm movement strategy effectiveness in creating social cohesion. This finding aligns with the "contact hypothesis" developed by Allport (1954) and refined by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), showing that intergroup contact under appropriate conditions can reduce prejudice and increase social cohesion.

Collaboration in 67 cross-religious *gotong royong* activities demonstrates the creation of what Putnam (2007) calls "bridging social capital," essential for democratic governance in diverse societies. This also confirms Varshney's (2002) argument about the importance of "intercommunal civic networks" in preventing ethnic violence and creating resilient social fabric.

5. Structural Challenges and Limitations

Low Muslim representation in strategic bureaucratic positions (only 4 out of 47 echelon II and III positions) confirms the persistence of what Crenshaw (1989) calls "structural discrimination" - not always visible but systematic. This glass ceiling phenomenon aligns with Reskin's (1998) analysis of "discrimination processes," showing that equality of opportunity does not automatically produce equality of outcome without affirmative intervention.

This institutional power limitation also confirms Lukes's (2005) argument about "three dimensions of power," where community empowerment and civil society activism are not always sufficient to overcome structural power imbalances embedded in institutional arrangements. This indicates the need for more comprehensive strategies including structural reform at the policy level.

The persistence of microaggressions and subtle discrimination experienced by 41% of young Muslims confirms Sue et al.'s (2007) argument about "racial microaggressions," showing that improvements in formal equality are not always accompanied by elimination of subtle discrimination. This phenomenon also aligns with Essed's (1991) analysis of "everyday racism," showing how discrimination can manifest in seemingly innocent daily interactions.

The psychological impact of everyday discrimination confirms Clark et al.'s (1999) argument about "racism as a stressor," showing that discrimination impacts not only material outcomes but also minority community psychological wellbeing. This indicates the need for comprehensive strategies focusing not only on structural change but also cultural transformation at interpersonal levels.

6. Theoretical Significance and Academic Contributions

Research findings provide significant contributions to the adaptation of contentious politics theory in non-Western and plural society contexts. Unlike

classical social movement theory developed based on relatively homogeneous Western experiences, the Manado case demonstrates frame alignment complexity in plural societies requiring multiple layers of cultural translation.

Religion's role as a social movement catalyst in minority contexts shows different dynamics from those analyzed in classical literature such as Tilly (1978) or Tarrow (1998). Religion functions not only as a source of motivation and legitimacy but also as a coping mechanism and identity preservation in facing majority pressure, creating what can be termed "defensive mobilization" different from the "offensive mobilization" more commonly analyzed in social movement literature.

Another important theoretical contribution is understanding religious mobilization in minority contexts. Unlike classical analyses such as Durkheim's (1893) on religion as a source of homogeneous social solidarity, or Weber's (1905) analysis of Protestant work ethic, the Manado case shows how religious values can be reinterpreted to create inclusive and cross-cutting solidarity.

The transformation of Islamic values to legitimize inter-religious cooperation demonstrates what can be called "theological innovation" different from "theological conservatism" often associated with religious movements. This confirms Casanova's (1994) argument about "public religion" but in a different context, where religion enters the public sphere not to dominate but to negotiate and collaborate.

Everyday resistance strategies developed by Manado's Muslim community provide important insights into how minorities navigate structural constraints through cultural and economic strategies. Unlike Scott (1985), who analyzed everyday resistance in class-based domination contexts, the Manado case shows religious-based resistance that is not anti-system but system-transformative.

Creativity in utilizing cultural and economic spaces to advocate for social justice without falling into open conflict demonstrates minority community sophistication in developing what can be called "smart resistance" - resistance that is strategic, calculated, and sustainable long-term.

The mechanism of religious value transformation within Manado's Muslim minority context demonstrates an adaptive theological reinterpretation process, wherein fundamental Islamic concepts such as *adl*, *rahmatan lil alamiin*, and *ummatan wasathan* are reconstructed to create interpretive frames compatible with Minahasan cultural pluralism. This process involves religious entrepreneurs at the elite level who collaborate with Islamic community organizational structures and grassroots implementers in creating movement repertoires that prioritize dialogue, legal advocacy, and economic empowerment as primary strategies.

The theoretical significance of these findings lies in their contribution to the development of contentious politics theory in non-Western contexts, particularly in

demonstrating how frame alignment in plural societies requires more complex mechanisms compared to the homogeneous contexts that form the basis of classical social movement theory. Religion in minority contexts functions not only as a motivational frame but also as a diagnostic frame capable of identifying structural injustices without creating antagonism with majority communities.

The evaluation of religion-based social justice movement effectiveness reveals an intriguing paradox wherein movement success is more measurable through the transformation of inter-community relationship quality and shifts in public perception rather than formal political power achievement. Despite Muslim political representation in formal institutions remaining underrepresented, there has been significant improvement in access to public facilities, economic participation, and most importantly, the transformation of inter-community perceptions that creates new social capital.

Economic dimension impacts demonstrate the success of community-based economic empowerment strategies, with Muslim small and medium enterprise (SME) growth reaching 34% and a survival rate of 73% exceeding the city average. However, structural disparities in access to the formal economic sector remain challenging, with the Muslim community's average income being 23% lower than the city average. This indicates that despite progress in economic empowerment, structural glass ceilings in vertical economic mobility still require more systematic policy interventions.

The most significant transformation occurs in the socio-cultural dimension, with 74% of inter-religious respondents reporting improved inter-religious relations and 89% of Muslim respondents indicating close friendships with individuals of other faiths. The intensity of collaboration in inter-religious social activities and positive changes in media representation demonstrate the success of cultural diplomacy strategies in transforming inter-community stereotypes and prejudices.

Critical analysis reveals a fundamental dilemma faced by minority Muslim communities between maintaining distinctive religious identity and the need for integration into Manado's mainstream society. The cultural adaptation strategy chosen by the Muslim community successfully creates acceptance from the majority community but raises internal concerns about potential excessive acculturation that could threaten religious identity preservation.

The movement's dependence on charismatic figures and personal leadership indicates structural vulnerabilities that may hinder institutional sustainability. Emerging internal fragmentation among Islamic community organizations suggests that the movement's success in creating external coalition building has not been balanced by solid internal consolidation. Hidden cultural resistance in the form of microaggressions and subtle discrimination experienced by 41% of young Muslims

indicates that despite changes at the public discourse level, transformation at the interpersonal level still requires a longer process.

Another paradox emerges in the political dimension where increased Muslim electoral participation reaching 87% is not matched by proportional representation in legislative and executive institutions. Only 4 out of 47 echelon II and III positions in Manado City Government are held by Muslims, indicating invisible barriers in access to strategic bureaucratic positions.

These research findings challenge mainstream assumptions in social movement theory that tend to associate religion-based movements with identity conflict and religious nationalism. In the context of Manado's Muslim minority, religion actually functions as a bridge-building mechanism that facilitates inter-community dialogue and cooperation. This indicates the need for reconceptualizing religion's role in social movements, particularly in plural society contexts where religion can function as a unifying rather than dividing factor.

The frame alignment mechanism developed by Manado's Muslim community demonstrates sophistication in integrating religious values with secular social justice goals. This process does not involve secularization of religious values but rather contextualization that enables universal Islamic values to resonate with local Minahasan values. These findings contribute to cultural resonance theory development in social movements, particularly in demonstrating how minority communities can utilize cultural adaptation as survival and advancement strategies.

The concept of everyday resistance found in this research enriches understanding of social movement repertoires in minority contexts. Resistance does not always manifest in confrontational politics but can take the form of creative adaptation, economic networking, and cultural bridge-building that cumulatively creates significant social change.

Within Indonesia's context as a plural nation with various regional religious demographic compositions, the social justice movement model developed by Manado's Muslim community offers an alternative to religion-based movement patterns that tend toward confrontation in other regions. The emphasis on dialogue, legal advocacy, and economic empowerment as primary strategies demonstrates the viability of non-violent resistance approaches in advocating for minority rights.

Success in creating inter-community perception transformation through cultural diplomacy strategies demonstrates the importance of soft power in minority social movements. This model can be adapted in other regions with similar majority-minority characteristics, with adjustments for specific local cultural contexts.

However, limitations in achieving formal political representation indicate the need for structural policy interventions to ensure equal opportunity in access to

strategic government positions. Affirmative action or quota systems could serve as temporary mechanisms to overcome existing glass ceilings, though they must be implemented carefully to avoid backlash from majority communities.

The use of qualitative approaches with constructivist paradigms proved effective in revealing the subjective complexity of meanings constructed by minority Muslim communities. The combination of participant observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis provided robust data triangulation and enabled holistic understanding of the studied phenomena.

Research limitations lie in the specific geographical focus on Manado City, thus the generalizability of findings to other Indonesian Muslim minority contexts requires further empirical verification. Comparative studies with Muslim minority cases in other eastern Indonesian regions such as Papua or Maluku could enrich understanding of strategy variations and religion-based movement effectiveness in minority contexts.

Future research agendas need to explore the sustainability of religion-based social justice movements, particularly in anticipating leadership changes and local political dynamics that may influence movement continuity. Longitudinal studies of young Muslims and changes in their orientation toward movement strategies would provide important insights into long-term movement transformation.

Comparative research with religion-based social justice movements in Christian minority contexts within Muslim-majority regions is also needed to understand whether the patterns found in this research represent universal characteristics of religious minority movements or are specific to the Islamic-Christian context in Indonesia. This would contribute to developing more comprehensive and applicable religion-based social movement theory within Indonesia's plural context.

CONCLUSION

This research reveals the complexity of mechanisms through which religious values are transformed into social justice movements within the context of Muslim minorities in Manado City, fundamentally differing from religious movement patterns in Indonesia's Muslim-majority regions. The primary findings demonstrate that minority status creates unique dynamics where religion functions not as a basis for confrontational mobilization, but rather as a cultural resource for building inter-religious coalition formation and sophisticated cultural diplomacy strategies.

The mechanism of religious value transformation within Manado's Muslim minority context demonstrates an adaptive theological reinterpretation process, wherein fundamental Islamic concepts such as *adl*, *rahmatan lil alamiin*, and *ummatan wasathan* are reconstructed to create interpretive frames compatible with Minahasan

cultural pluralism. This process involves religious entrepreneurs at the elite level who collaborate with Islamic community organizational structures and grassroots implementers in creating movement repertoires that prioritize dialogue, legal advocacy, and economic empowerment as primary strategies.

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However, limitations in achieving formal political representation indicate the need for structural policy interventions to ensure equal opportunity in access to strategic government positions. Affirmative action or quota systems could serve as temporary mechanisms to overcome existing glass ceilings, though they must be implemented carefully to avoid backlash from majority communities.

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