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Authors	Noor, Nina Mariani
DOI	10.58863/20.500.12424/167518
Publisher	Globethics.net
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Ahmadi Women Resisting Fundamentalist Persecution

A Case Study on Active Group Resistance in Indonesia

Nina Mariani Noor

Globethics.net

Ahmadi Women

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Nina Mariani Noor

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Nina Mariani Noor, *Ahmadi Women Resisting Fundamentalist Persecution: A Case Study on Active Group Resistance in Indonesia*
Geneva: Globethics.net, 2017
DOI: 10.58863/20.500.12424/167518
ISBN 978-2-88931-222-1 (online version)
ISBN 978-2-88931-223-8 (print version)
© 2017 Globethics.net

Assistant Editor: Samuel Davies

Globethics.net International Secretariat
150 route de Ferney
1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland
Website: *www.globethics.net/publications*
Email: *publications@globethics.net*

All web links in this text have been verified as of November 2017.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMSA : Ahmadiyya Muslim Student Association

Bakor PAKEM : Badan Koordinasi Pengawas Aliran Kepercayaan Masyarakat (Coordinating Board for Monitoring Mystical Beliefs in Society)

CRCS : Center of Religious and Cross Cultural Studies

DKM : Dewan Keluarga Masjid (Family Council of Mosques)

FMMC : Forum Masyarakat Muslim Ciputat, (Ciputat Muslim Community Forum)

FPI : Front Pembela Islam (Islam Defenders Front)

FUI : Forum Umat Islam (Islamic People's Forum)

GAI : Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia (Indonesia Ahmadiyya Movement)

Garis : Gerakan Reformasi Islam (Islamic Reformation Movement)

GERAH : Gerakan Anti Ahmadiyah (Anti Ahmadiyya Movement)

GIBAS : Gerakan Inisiatif Barisan Siliwangi (Initiative Movement of Barisan Siliwangi)

GUII : Gerakan Umat Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Muslims Movement)

HIMPAUDI : Himpunan Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini Indonesia

Hisab : Himpunan Santri Bersatu (the Unity of Santri)

HTI : Hizbuth Tahrir Indonesia

ICIP : International Center for Islam and Pluralism

ICMI : Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Scholar (Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals)

IDP : Internal Displaced Person

IGMA : Ikatan Generasi Muda Ahmadiyah (Ahmadiyya Young Generation Association)

IMM : Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah University Students Association)

JAI : Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia

Komnas HAM : Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (National Commission of Human Right)

Kontras : Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan

KUA : Kantor Urusan Agama (Religious Affairs Office)

KWT : Kelompok Wanita Tani (Female Farmer Group)

LBH : Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (Legal Aid Institution)

LI : Lajnah Imaillah

MKAI : Majelis Khuddamul Ahmadiyah Indonesia

MMI : Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (the Indonesian Mujahidin Council)

MUI : Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Ulema Council)

NA : Nasyiatul Aisyiyah (Women Organization in Muhammadiyah)

NU : Nahdhatul Ulama (One of biggest Muslims Organzation in Indonesia)

OSIS : Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah (Students Organization in School)

PAUD : Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini (Early Childhood Education)

PB JAI : Pengurus Besar Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (National Board of Jamaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia)

Persis : Persatuan Islam

PKK : Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Guidance)

PMII : Persatuan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Students Association)

Posyandu : Pos pelayanan terpadu (Integrated Service point)

PPLI : Pengurus Pusat Lajnah Imaillah (National Board of Lajnah Imaillah)

Pramuka : Praja Muda Karana (Boy scout)

RDPU : Rapat Dengar Pendapat Umum (Public Hearing)

RT : Rukun Tetangga (Neighborhood)

Rudal : Remaja al Huda (Youth of Al Huda Mosque)

RW : Rukun Warga (several neighborhoods)

SKB : Surat Keputusan Bersama (Joint decision letter, Joint Ministerial Decree)

UII : Umat Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Muslims)

YJP : Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (Women's Journal Foundation)

1

INTRODUCTION

"My family and I arrived at Kampus Mubarak, Parung Bogor West Java for the "National Jalsah Salanah" (the Ahmadiyya annual meeting) held at 08.00 AM on 7 July 2005. I saw some banners tied on the fence. I was shocked when I read the writing on one of the banners "Ahmadiyya bukan Islam, Nabinya Ghulam Ahmad, Kitab Sucinya Tadzkirah" (Ahmadiyya is not Islam, its prophet is Ghulam Ahmad, its scripture is Tadzkirah).[1] I had some questions in my mind about who put up those banners, and what was going on, but I could not get any answers at the time. We then came in and joined the Jalsah Salanah.[2] However, in the afternoon, while we were listening to a speech about religious teachings, I heard some men running in a rush and the situation became tense and frightening. Many women seated in the back of the building felt frightened and some of them were crying, it made the situation worse. We almost could not stay seated in although we were asked to do so. I did not have any idea about what was happening outside, except I saw some men had been hit on the head and were bleeding. We only knew that many people were trying to come into Kampus Mubarak to force us to stop our

[1] Tadzkirah's book consists of what to be considered revelations that had been received by Ghulam Ahmad, this book was composed after 27 years of his dismiss. Common Ahmadis do not read this book regularly, only *muballigh*s do.

[2] Annual gathering of Ahmadiyya community.

> religious service. Finally, we had to stop our Jalsah and we went home that afternoon because our leaders decided to finish our Jalsah earlier than originally planned."
>
> (Naura, Bogor June, 2005)

1.1 Background

The scenario quoted above is an account of the violence experienced by Ahmadi women from Ahmadiyya community in West Java when they were attacked by thousands of people while having their annual meeting in their headquarters in Parung, Bogor on 5 July 2005. Since the *Reformasi*[3] era started, there have been additional incidents of violence against Ahmadiyya in Indonesia from Sumatra all the way to Lombok, including the destroying of two mosques, namely Al Hidayah and At Takwa in Manislor on October 2004.[4] In South Sumatra, on September 2008 the acting Governor of South Sumatra issued a governor's decree banning Ahmadiyya after several conservative[5] groups under the umbrella organization Islamic People's Forum (Forum Umat Islam), including the Islam Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam) and the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia), along with Hizbuth Tahrir Indonesia, insisted on the dissolution of the Ahmadiyya.[6]

---

[3] *Reformasi* era in Indonesia started from the falling of New Order regime (1966-1998) in 1998 when President Suharto resigned after the long demonstration from people and students urged him to step down.

[4] http://majalah.tempointeraktif.com/id/arsip/2004/10/25/PST/mbm.20041025.PST92832.id.html (accessed May 29, 2011).

[5] holding to traditional attitudes and values and cautious about change or innovation, in relation to religion

[6] See International Religious Freedom Report 2009 from Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, in http://www.state.gov/documents/ organization/134449.pdf (retrieved September 2010).

These incidences and others like them suggest the importance of understanding the context of such discrimination and the ways individual Ahmadi women, like those mentioned above, take agency to challenge such oppression. Such an understanding is an important first step in creating a more equitable and peaceful Indonesia.

The root of conflict between the Ahmadiyya community and mainstream Muslims is on the difference interpretation on the finality of prophethood—*khataman nabiyyin* in Qur'an 33:40, which declares "Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but he is the Messenger of Allah, and the Seal of the Prophets". Mainstream Muslims believe that the Prophet Muhammad is *khataman nabiyyin*, meaning the "last prophet", while Ahmadiyya community considers Muhammad as the ultimate prophet, the seal of prophets, the last messenger who brings *shariah*/law. Therefore, according to Ahmadiyya there is a possibility of a coming prophet after him who does not bring new law (because he is from Muhammad's followers), but he is a Muslim who will continue teaching Islam.

The Ahmadiyya community is a Muslim minority group who believes Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, its founder, as the Messiah, *Mauud*, Mahdi for Muslims. This movement was founded in 1889 in Qadian Punjab India by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835─1908). Since 1914, Ahmadiyya has been split into two branches because of an internal dispute in interpreting the teaching of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and its prophetic status. Those are Jamaat Ahmadiyya or the Qadiani and *Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam* or the Lahores. The differences between these two communities are based on the belief in the position of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. The former group believes that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is a Promised Messiah and prophet who does not bring new laws whereas the latter considers him as a *mujaddid* (reformer) only, not a prophet. Since Muhammad is considered as the last prophet for most Muslims, this belief

of Ahmadiyya about the coming of a prophet after Muhammad is perceived by some as placing the followers of Ahmadiyya outside Islam.

In Indonesia, those two Ahmadiyya groups exist and the number of Jamaat Ahmadiyya is bigger than the Lahores. In this dissertation, Ahmadiyya refers to Jamaat Ahmadiyya or the Qadiani. I do not take up the situation of the Lahores because this research was only conducted on Ahmadiyya Qadiani, who frequently becomes a target for violence and hardships. Therefore, when I state Ahmadiyya it means Jamaat Ahmadiyya. Furthermore, in this dissertation I use Ahmadi to describe a person or people who join Ahmadiyya, while Ahmadiyya refers to the community as organization. These two terms, however, are sometimes used interchangeably in this dissertation.

The differences between mainstream Muslims and Ahmadis are based on the interpretations of the Qur'an on *khataman nabiyyin,* as I have been explained above. One of the major differences is the declaration of the Ahmadiyya's founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, as the "second coming" of Prophet Isa (Jesus Christ). Ahmadis believe that Prophet Isa did not die on the cross but escaped to Kashmir India and lived there until old age.[7] The other difference is that Ahmadiyya has a single worldwide leadership under a Caliph, *Khalifah,* as opposed to following the regional and local leaders of mainstream Muslims.

The headquarters used to be in Qadian until 1947 but when there was separation between India and Pakistan they were moved to Rabwah, Pakistan. Due to the persecution in Pakistan, the headquarters was moved to London UK when the fourth Caliph, MirzaTahir Ahmad (1928 -2003) made an exodus to UK in 1984. Now, it is still in London under the fifth Caliph, Mirza Masroor Ahmad.

---

[7] The detail story on Prophet Isa according to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad can be found in Syafi R. Batuah, *Nabi Isa dari Palestina ke Kashmir,* (Indonesia: Jema'at Ahmadiyah Indonesia), 1999.

Around the world, the Ahmadiyya community now has built over 10,000 mosques such as Fazl Mosque and Baitul Futuh in London (which is claimed by Ahmadi as the biggest mosque in Europe) and other mosques in United States, Asia and Africa. There are over 500 schools from elementary school until College and also *Jamiah*, a school for *muballigh* candidates, which has already been established in several countries where Ahmadiyya is present. In Indonesia there is a Senior High School named SMA Al Wahid in Wanasigra West Java. It has also built over 30 hospitals in African countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast. The community has also translated the Holy Qur'an into over 70 languages, for instance into English, Dutch, German, Danish, Indonesian, Malay, Tagalog, Russian, French, Swahili, Lugandi, Hindi, Urdu, Gurmukhi, and Sundanese. It also propagates the teachings of Islam and the message of peace and tolerance through several media. It has a twenty-four hour satellite television channel without commercial breaks called Muslim Television Ahmadiyya (MTA)[8] , several websites[9] and publications. It also has an independent charitable organization called Humanity First[10], which serves people in disaster areas.[11]

Ahmadiyya first came into Indonesia in 1925 when three young men named Abubakar Ayyub, Ahmad Nuruddin, and Zaini Dahlan from West Sumatra came home after their study in Qadian. Those students

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[8] This television is self- funded by Ahmadiyya community, from their members' contribution. It has several different languages programs, such as English, Urdu, Arabic and Indonesia. It broadcasts Jumat prayers from London where the *Khalifah* gives speech in Jumat prayers. This television can be watched through a parabola antenna and its frequency depends on where we live.

[9] International Ahmadiyya is in www.alislam.org and for Ahmadiyya Indonesia we can find it at www.ahmadiyah.id

[10] Humanity First is an aid organization which give help in disaster area and establish hospital and clinic for free in several countries. See more in www.humanityfirst.org.uk

[11] Further information can be seen from their website www.alislam.org, the official website of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community

were from Sumatra Thawalib School who went to Lahore to study Islam but then they moved to Qadian and joined Ahmadiyya by taking *baiat* (a pledge of allegiance) by the hand of the second *Khalifah* of Ahmadiyya (Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, 1889─1965). In August 1925, they invited an Ahmadiyya *muballigh* (preacher), Maulana Rahmat Ali HA OT to come for the first time in Tapak Tuan Aceh. Therefore, Ahmadiyya has existed in Indonesia for more than 90 years. It was legally registered in the Ministry of Law in 1953, as 13 March 1953 No. JA 5/23/13 and in Tambahan Berita Negara RI (Additional State News) no 26, March 1953. This additional state news then renewed into No. 3. 1989; and Additional State News No. 65 dated 15 August 1989.[12]

Currently, Indonesia Ahmadiyya's headquarters is in Parung Bogor, West Java. It is under leadership of an *Amir* (President) helped by National Majlis Amilah (*Pengurus Besar Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia*). Nowadays, this religious organization has more than 250 branches spread out across Indonesia, with about 600,000 members, with most of the branches in West Java (Zulkarnain 2005, 290).

As the narrations with which this dissertation begins show, since its establishment in Indonesia in 1925, Ahmadiyya has faced some oppositions from other Muslim groups because of its distinctive beliefs. For example in 1926, Abdul Karim Amrullah did not allow Ahmadiyya teaching to be spread among Muhammadiyah members and he underscored this in his book "*Alqawloes shahih*" which discussed Ahmadiyya's heretical teachings (M. Ahmad 2013, 54). There was a debate between Ahmadiyya and Persis[13] in Bandung in April 1933 and this debate caught people's attention. There is even a book that resulted from this

[12] The full history about the coming of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia can be found in http://ahmadiyah.id/ahmadiyah/sejarah-ahmadiyah-indonesia

[13] Persatuan Islam is a Muslim organization which was established at 12 September 1923 in Bandung and it spread Islam using debate and discussion. For more information about Persis is in http://www.persatuanislam.or.id/home/front/detail/profile/sejarah-singkat, retrieved at 11 November 2015

debate, entitled: "Official Verslag Debate" (Ahmad 2013, 93–94). Moreover, conflicts and violence towards the Ahmadiyya community have been rising dramatically over the last few years, especially since the downfall of Soeharto's regime (1966–1998) in 1998, which is known as the *Reformasi* era.

Even though opportunities for religious expression seem to be more open since the *Reformasi* era, there have been rising numbers of open conflicts among Muslims, some involving violence. If in the past during New Order regime the government tended to harmonize people by suppressing the freedom of expressing their religious views, now after the *Reformasi* era, the government seems to give more freedom to express religious views. However, this freedom sometimes allows people to suppress other people's views, or in other words, this freedom allows people to express their own religious expression by suppressing others. In addition, there is weak law enforcement on the part of the government in dealing with those who commit violence towards others. Such weak law enforcement has not helped the situation. In sum, it can be said that political circumstances in Reformasi era on one hand give religious freedom for people, but on another hand these circumstances also suppress religious minority groups from observing their beliefs.

The Indonesian Ulama Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI), for example, has issued *fatwa*s against Ahmadiyya twice. The first *fatwa* was issued on 1 June 1980 pronouncing Jamaat Ahmadiyya as outside Islam and as a deviant sect. This *fatwa* was based on nine books talking about Ahmadiyya, but the MUI never identified and clarified those books in that *fatwa*. Then, in 1984 the MUI also warned that Ahmadiyya is harmful for the state's order and peacefulness.[14] This first *fatwa* did not get much attention from the central government and fortunately also did not result in bringing a significant number of violent incidents

[14] Himpunan *Fatwa* MUI (The Compilation of *fatwa* MUI)

against the Ahmadiyya community. Therefore, Ahmadiyya could still develop and practice their religious activities without any difficulties.

However the second *fatwa*, which was issued on 29 July 2005 during *Musyawarah Nasional*[15] *(Munas) VII*, did more damages. It reasserted the first MUI *fatwa* about placing Ahmadiyya as a heretic sect and said Muslims who join it should be considered infidels. For those who are already in Ahmadiyya, they are told to come back to the "true" Islam. It also states that the government has the obligation to ban Ahmadiyya.[16] In this *fatwa*, the MUI attempted to influence and persuade the government in making a public policy. In other words, the MUI utilized its influential position to interfere with the state.

In response to this *fatwa* and the urging from many Muslim organizations, finally the central government, through three ministries—the Ministry of Religion, the Attorney General, and the Ministry of Home Affairs—issued a Joint Ministerial Decree on the Ahmadiyya (Surat Keputusan Bersama, SKB), number 3; 2008, no: KEP-033/A/JA/6/2008. The SKB was a response to the calls to restrict the group's rights, and is aimed at both Ahmadiyya followers and the broader Indonesian society. As far as the Ahmadis, the SKB says they are not allowed to spread belief that is not in line with mainstream Muslim's interpretation in Indonesia. If they do so, they can be accused of disobeying blasphemy law number: 1/PNPS/1965.[17] Ahmadis are allowed to continue to wor-

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[15] National Meeting.

[16] Keputusan *Fatwa* (*Fatwa* Decision) Majelis Ulama Indonesia No. 11/ MUNAS VII/MUI/15/2005.

[17] Presidential Decree No. 1/PNPS/1965 on the Prevention of Blasphemy and Abuse of Religions. Article 1 of the decree prohibits the "deviant interpretation" of religious teachings, and mandates the President to dissolve any organization practicing deviant teachings. This decrees was issued by President Sukarno to accommodate requests from Islamic organizations to prohibit mystical indigenous beliefs then was implemented as Law (Law No. 5/1969) in 1969 during the following president, Soeharto. The blasphemy law covers two types of blas-

ship, but they are not free to proselytize or otherwise practice their faith publicly. As far as the larger Indonesian society, the SKB warns and commands everyone to keep a harmonious life among religious people and not to do any actions that are against the law toward Ahmadiyya and Ahmadis.[18]

However, even though one of purpose of issuing this SKB is to prevent attacks to Ahmadiyya communities, in fact there have still been a number of violent occurrences. In its annual report, the Center of Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), at Universitas Gadjah Mada reported that there were 20 violent incidents toward Ahmadiyya community in 2008 alone, which can be categorized into 4 types; destruction on mosques and *musholla*, destruction on non-worship place assets, sealing off mosques and *musholla* and sealing off non-worship place assets (CRCS 2008, 14). Furthermore, in Setara Institute's report, there were 193 violations against Ahmadiyya in 2008. There were 145 incidents before the issuing of SKB and 48 incidents after it (Hasani 2009).

As evidenced by the holding of dialogues and the issuing of SKB in 2008, there have been some efforts made to resolve the conflicts by the central government. Some local governments have also issued local decrees and regulations on banning Ahmadiyya— for example, in West Java, East Java and West Sumatra. Unfortunately, those decrees and regulations have not stopped violence done by the vigilante groups[19] such as the Defenders of Islam (FPI: Front Pembela Islam) toward the Ahmadiyya community. In fact in some cases, those decrees and regulations are used to actually justify attacking the Ahmadiyya community. In

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phemous acts: deviation (penyimpangan) from the six officially recognized religions and defamation of these religions as stipulated in Articles 1 and 4 respectively of Presidential Decree No. 1/PNPS/1965.

[18] Surat Keputusan Bersama (Joint Ministrial Decree) Nomor: 3 / 2008; Nomor: Kep-033/A/JA/6/2008; Nomor: 199 year 2008.

[19] Done violently and summarily, without recourse to lawful procedures.

February 2011, for example, there was a severe attack on Ahmadiyya community in Cikeusik Banten where three Ahmadis were killed.

Despite this oppressive violence, the Ahmadiyya community has shown its agency[20] in defending their religious practice. Reviewing the episodes of violence and the responses from the Ahmadiyya community, especially their participation in conflict resolution efforts, we can easily see Ahmadi men's participation in the dialogues; for example, in several dialogues initiated by Ministry of Religious affairs, there were several Ahmadi men involved, but the forum lacked the input of Ahmadi women. Given a lack of research on the subject, this dissertation focuses in particular on Ahmadi women's experiences in dealing with conflict and the ways they resist against conflict for the betterment of their lives as the government seeks to negotiate Ahmadiyya's position.

Such research on women's agency is important because the violence faced by the Ahmadiyya community has an impact not only on Ahmadi men but also on Ahmadi women. When there is violence happening, the whole community has to cope with it. Everyone partakes in the response to the conflict. Furthermore, I chose Ahmadi women as the subject of my research, because, according to Golan Galia, a sociologist and peacemaker activist in the Palestine-Israeli conflict, in terms of conflict resolution, women may have a different perspective from that of men, one connected with individual well-being. Women may see "security" in terms of shelter, food and health, while men tend to perceive security in terms of weapons systems and arms (Galia 2004, 92). Galia further states that it is likely that "women would tend to approach peace from a human rights perspective, which would emphasize fairness, tolerance, respect for difference, for minorities, for "the other," because women live as "the other," as a minority—not in numbers but in the attitude toward them in society (Galia 2004, 94). Thus, the protection of person-

[20] Agency is understood as a philosophical concept that explain human's capacity to act based on his/her own choices instead of based on the existing constrain.

al rights, fairness and respect for difference may get a greater attention from women. Fortunately, those elements are the key elements to peacemaking and conflict resolution (Galia 2004, 94) making women's agency an important topic of study.

Furthermore, based on various research studies conducted on conflicts (Berg 1994), it has been found that women are often prepared to see conflict as an opportunity to build a relationships while men see conflict as an element of and a prospect for competition. Moreover, feminists from the nineteenth century on have asserted that when women accomplish full and equal participation in society they will be a distinctive and vital contribution to conflict resolution and a peaceful social order.

Therefore, in this research, the focus is on Indonesian Ahmadi women and their organization, Lajnah Imaillah (LI) Indonesia, which is the woman's wing of the Ahmadiyya, and compulsory for Ahmadi women. LI is Ahmadi women's place and space to do all their activities as part of Ahmadiyya community, including religious and social activities from reciting the Qur'an, to learning Islamic teaching, to making handicrafts and performing social services.

1.2 Research Questions

More specifically, in this ethnography, I explore the experience of Indonesian Ahmadi women facing conflict and violence through their narratives. To frame this study, I pose five major questions:

(1) How do Ahmadiyya exist and struggle in conflict circumstances in Indonesia?
(2) How do Ahmadi women exercise their agencies through their organization, Lajnah Imaillah?
(3) What are the roles, struggles and efforts of Ahmadi women in handling and resisting conflicts, violence and hardship they expe-

rience relating to their faith in their daily lives? What are the defense mechanisms they use?

(4) Why do Ahmadi women select certain types of social activities and how do they exercise their agency to promote better life programs based on their experience of hindrance (internally and externally)?

(5) And finally, what are their hopes and expectations for the future in the context of religious harmony in Indonesia?

1.3 Aims of Research

The main goal of this narrative inquiry is that through a close study of Ahmadi women's narratives about their experiences with conflict and violence faced by their communities, their experience and struggles in managing their circumstances will be brought to light. Furthermore, by looking more deeply at their narratives, I am able to intensively investigate Ahmadi women's defense mechanisms and their agency in resisting conflicts and violence toward them. Indeed, my research shows that in their circumstances as women and as members of a minority group, which is a frequent target of violence, Ahmadi women have opportunities to take part actively as agents, not as victims, in the process of resisting violent conflicts. Moreover, by looking from social work context, their choices to serve communities through humanity and social activities are likely to succeed in promoting better lives in Indonesia, both for themselves and society at large. In addition, by exploring their narratives, this research reveals their voices that until now have been unheard in contemporary Indonesian discourses on religious conflicts and peace building. By scrutinizing these women's narratives, I assure that their voices, as part of a religious minority group in Indonesia, can be heard and can give another point of view in our attempts to understand religious conflict in Indonesia.

1.4. Methods

Because of my longing to explore the experiences of Ahmadi women in Indonesia regarding how they deal with conflict and violence in their daily lives, to conduct my research I chose to employ a qualitative research method called narrative inquiry. Connelly and Clandinin (Clandinin and Connely, [1990] 2000) explain narrative inquiry as follows:

> "Narrative inquiry in the social sciences is a form of empirical narrative in which empirical data is central to the work. The inevitable interpretation that occurs, something which is embedded even in the data collection process, does not make narrative into fiction even though the language of narrative inquiry is heavily laced with terms derived from literary criticism of fiction."
>
> (Connelly and Clandinin 1990, 3)

In other words, narrative inquiry utilizes experimental narrative from participants as the main source of data, and of course those narrative are not free from interpretation, but still the data harvested can be considered reliable research. A number of different methods of data collection were used, for example field notes of the shared experience from different Ahmadi women, journal records, interview transcripts, observations to Ahmadi women daily lives and activities, storytelling, documents such as monthly and annual reports and the internal publications of Lajnah Imaillah and Ahmadiyya Muslim Community.

In addition, my own experience as an Ahmadi woman enriches the data. As a researcher, my position was as a participant researcher who acted as an insider while remaining at a respectable distance from the subject matter. However, my own narrative is only one among those of many other Ahmadi women. On one hand, my position as an insider researcher gave me some advantages like privileged access to some data which could only accessed by Ahmadi; therefore, the richness of the data supported my research well. On the other hand, sometimes it put

me in a difficult situation when I wanted to be more objective about my research subject, as in some situations where I had the same experiences as my research participants.

1.5 Participants

As mentioned briefly above, the participants in my study were Ahmadi women who are active in Lajnah Imaillah, the Ahmadi women's organization; they come from four areas of Indonesia: Bogor and Manislor Kuningan, West Java, Yogyakarta and Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. My reasons for choosing those four areas are that Bogor is where the National Board of Lajnah Imaillah office is located, where the policy and program of Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia are discussed and released, Kuningan and Lombok are the areas where the Ahmadi community has faced the most physical conflict violence, while Yogyakarta is an area where Ahmadi women rarely face physical conflict directly, and live in harmony with other Muslims. Yogyakarta is important as part of location of the research to see the variation of Ahmadi women in exercising their agencies in non-conflict situations.

I focused on the experiences of two women from each area whose ages ranged from 24–65 years old and who were active members of and held positions in Lajnah Imaillah board in their area. From the National Board of Lajnah Imaillah, they were the *Sadr* (President) of Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia and the former President of Lajnah. The Ahmadi women from Kuningan included a woman from the regional board of Cirebon and the leader of a local Lajnah. From Yogyakarta, participants included the Regional president of Lajnah and General Secretary of Lajnah Imaillah Yogyakarta, whereas from Lombok I interviewed two women who were active as board members of the local Lajnah Imaillah. Those eight women come from different social classes and backgrounds such as their education and jobs. For example, Sadr LII is a very well educated woman holding a doctoral degree and she is a lecturer, while

two participants from Lombok only graduated from Senior High School and they are housewives. The interviews were originally conducted in Indonesian language and I translated them into English.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

1.6.1 Agency

As indicated above, this dissertation tries to find out how Ahmadi women exercise their agency in conflict and violence circumstances and because there are several different ways of defining agency it is important to establish how I viewed agency in this particular study. From a philosophical viewpoint, agency is mostly defined as the synonym of free will through action theory. There is an attempt from philosophers to distinguish between "agency" and "event" in action theory (Ahearn 2001, 114). Agency appears in events but not in all events is there agency.

Another approach to agency is from feminists' point of view, where they see agency as a synonym of resistance. Ahearn, for example, argues that "agency refers to the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn 2001, 112). Indeed according to many feminist theorists, a person must resist the patriarchal status quo to show agency (Goddard 2000, 3).

Goddard's research implies that women's agency is a way of resistance toward patriarchal structure. However, MacLeod (MacLeod 1992) challenges Goddard's idea that women's agency only comes in the form of resistance by asserting that it can also take the form of acceptance, accommodation, ignorance and protest:

> "Even as subordinate players, [women] always play an active part that goes beyond the dichotomy of victimization/acceptance, a dichotomy that flattens out a complex and ambiguous agency in

> which women accept, accommodate, ignore, resist or protest-sometimes all at the same time (p. 534)."

In other words, to understand women's agency, it is important to look outside of the victim/oppressor binary and to acknowledge that even acceptance and accommodation to patriarchal norms can at times be a form of agency.

To expand on this notion, Saba Mahmood, through her research on women's piety movement in the mosques in Cairo Egypt, relates agency to the notion of freedom. She distinguishes it into negative and positive freedom. Positive freedom is defined as the realization of an autonomous will, whereas negative freedom is considered the absence of external fetters of action (Mahmood 2004, 11). Therefore, the form of agency from one person or group is different from others.

Similar to Mahmood's (2004) and Macleod's argument that agency can differ from one group to another depending on the situation, Sherry Ortner, a feminist anthropologist, explains agency within practice theory through the idea of the 'serious game'. "Players are "agents", skilled and intense strategizers who constantly stretch the game even they enact it, and simultaneously players are defined and constructed (though never wholly contained) by the game" (Ortner 1996, 20). In other words, "games" are patterned, intentional activities that are partly scripted by culture and are pursued by individuals in purposeful ways. The culture may prescribe what an individual should do, but the acting subject decides how and whether to do it. An agent playing serious games is not a free agent, but rather someone who picks up a cultural script and then decides how to play it. This agent is neither a passive recipient of a predetermined role nor a mirror of societal rules. This agent is a strategic participant in social life (Ortner 1996, 21).

According to Ortner, many people play several serious "games" at the same time and these games may be in conflict with others in creating the social order (p. 21). Since there is limited space to play, they fight to

win the games and use the game to get more space to act in the future. They determine activities that are usually commended by the culture and outline the workings of social orders that they often (re)produce through such aggressive games. Therefore, her approach to agency does not reduce it to simple acts of resistance; it is a pursuit of goals inside of a world constraints. It is an exercise of strategic power in everyday life full of calculated moves that try to fit the person to the culture and free the person from it at the same time (Ortner 1996).

Having discussed those theories on agency, in this research I use Sherry Ortner's version of practice theory to understand agency. As discussed previously, there are several elements in this theory, which are: games, players/actors, cultural script, space, competition and goals. In this research, Ahmadi women and Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia are seen as players in the context of contemporary Indonesia with all its conflicts and violence as the serious game. As agents playing serious games, Ahmadi women are not free agents, but rather they pick up a cultural script and then decide how to play it. Therefore, they are neither passive recipients of a predetermined role nor a mirror for societal rules. These women are playing as strategic participants in social life. The way they exercise their agency is determined from their activities and actions in handling their circumstances, both individually and organizationally. By using this theory of agency, this research explores how Ahmadi women deal with conflict, exercise their agency and negotiate their identity in order to create more space for them.

1.6.2 Conflict and Violence

Like agency, conflict can also be defined in several different ways. Christopher Mitchell defines it as "a relationship between two or more parties (individuals or groups) who have, or think they have, incompatible goals" (Mitchell 1981), whereas Quincy Wright defines it as opposition among social entities directed against one another" (Wright 1990,

19). Similarly, Laue, based on his research, empirically defines conflict as "escalated natural competition of two or more parties who believe they have incompatible goals and whose aim is to neutralize, injure, or gain advantage over the other party or parties" (Laue 1991, 301). In this dissertation, I define conflict as opposition and competition happening among social entities because of their different interpretation, causing them to counteract, harm or benefit over the other party or parties.

Conflict has its functions in human life, both positive and negative. For example, Deutsch (in Uyangoda 2005, 5), argues from a functionalist perspective that conflict can be destructive and constructive. Destructive consequences of a conflict occur if its participants feel dissatisfied with the outcomes and feel that they have lost in the conflict's result. Constructive consequences, on the other hand, occur when all the participants feel satisfied and they think that they won as result of the conflict.

Similar to Deutsch, other influential social theorists have seen conflict as having a positive and constructive role in social change. George Simmel, a German sociologist in his book, *Social Conflict*, argues that conflict has many positive functions, like preventing social stagnation by acting as a medium in which problems can be opened and solutions found. He further argues that conflict is the root of personal and social change. Conflict also helps differentiate between one group and another and accordingly it helps establishing group and personal identities. External conflict also promotes cohesiveness among members within a group (Uyangoda 2005, 4). Indeed, when there is a conflict that occurs in the society, particularly a non-violent conflict, people who are involved in the conflict often argue with each other, trying to persuade others to agree with their argument. They sit together and try to find out the solution that is in compatible with their needs and goals. As a result, a better solution that fits both conflicting parties creates better conditions and situations in the society.

Physically violent conflicts, on the other hand, often bring many disadvantages. Not only is property lost but people also die. For example, as the narratives with which this chapter begins show, in some conflicts involving the Ahmadiyya community, people have destroyed mosques, houses and even murdered people. Although conflict may help define social identity in a positive way, these kinds of conflicts with violence are really harmful to Indonesian society.

Because conflict involving the Ahmadiyya community in Indonesia is related to religious issues, besides seeing conflict as an opposition between the Ahmadiyya community with other Muslims, in this research conflict can also be seen as "opposition among social entities directed against one another that relate to values, claims and identities which involve religious issues or issues which are wrapped in religious slogan and expressions" (Panggabean 2010, 240).

1.6.3 Resistance

Being a religious minority in Indonesia makes Ahmadiyya community face discrimination, hardships, conflict and even violence in their everyday lives. In response to those circumstances, the community and Ahmadi perform acts of resistance. Therefore in this dissertation I looked closely at their activities in resisting those adversities.

Everyday resistance is about how people act in their everyday lives in ways that challenge power. Everyday resistance proposes that resistance is integrated to social life and a part of normality (Vinthagen and Johansson 2013, 3). Everyday resistance was first introduced by James Scott in his book "Weapons of the Weak" (Scott 1985). In categorizing resistance, Scotts proposes two forms of resistance, which are public and hidden resistance. These two resistance are against three forms of domination in terms of material, status and ideological. Publicly declared resistance take the form of petitions, revolts, demonstrations, land invasions against material domination; assertion of worth or discre-

tion of symbols against status domination; and counter-ideologies against ideological domination. Whereas resistance in disguised form (undisclosed or infra-politics) exists, everyday resistance also includes direct resistance against material domination; hidden transcripts of anger or disguised discourses of dignity against status domination or; dissident subcultures like millennial religion, and class heroes against ideological domination (Scott 1985, Table 6.1). Moreover, according to Scott, the form of resistance depends on the form of power. Power relations have a vital role in influencing forms of resistance (Scott 1989, 51).

Everyday resistance covers different kinds of resistance that are not as dramatic and visible as demonstration, rebellions, and other actions that organized, collective and confrontational. Scott argues that everyday resistance is quiet, dispersed, disguised and seemingly invisible. Certain behavior of subaltern groups like foot-dragging, escape, sarcasm, passivity, laziness, misunderstandings, and avoidance can be considered kinds of resistance. Scott further argues that these activities are tactics used by oppressed people to survive and weaken domination. These activities are not mere survival tactics but acts of political agency and thus resistance.

The advantage of hidden resistance is that it "require[s] little or no coordination or planning; they often represent a form of individual self-help; and they typically avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority or with elite norms" (Scott 1985, 29). In veiled resistance, there is a constant sizing up between classes, the conflict is to some extent limited. Scott points out that peasants only employ a quite encroachment, not a massive land occupation. His research points to the way that peasants did a labor boycott, a kind of veiled strike, as an attempt to cleverly block the introduction of combine harvesters (Scott 1985, 32).

In Scott's opinion, peasants' everyday resistance are "nearly permanent, continuous, daily strategies of subordinate rural classes under

difficult conditions"(Scott 1985, 273) to successfully make the rich find themselves in an ideological vacuum (p. 184). When the rich lost their social standing and social control over their poorer neighbors, in other words, their hegemony fell apart (p.345). I use Scott's theory of resistance to examine Ahmadi women's ways in resisting conflicts, violence and discrimination in this dissertation. This theoretical framework allowed me to comprehensively analyze their activities in responding to their circumstances.

1.6.4 Defense Mechanism

Since this research is trying to see how Ahmadi women resist to conflicts and violence that they face in their daily lives, and from social work context, it is important to understand their reaction towards those hardships as related to their defense mechanisms. A defense mechanism is a coping technique that reduces anxiety arising from unacceptable or potentially harmful impulses (Schacter 2011).

Defense mechanism as a theoretical framework was initially introduced by Sigmun Freud and then developed by Anna Freud. Defense mechanism is a process of human reaction toward stress, a way of doing adaptation. A defense mechanism is differentiated from coping mechanism in several characteristics. Critical differences, for example, take place in terms of its consciousness; coping is a conscious processes while a defense mechanism is considered as unconscious processes. Furthermore, coping is an intentional act whereas a defense mechanism involves unintentional actions (Cramer and College 2000, 638).

George Eman Vaillant (1977) categorizes defenses on a continuum regarding to their psychoanalytical developmental level. There are four levels, I to IV. Level I is psychotic defenses, which include psychotic denial, delusional projection. Level II is immature defenses which involve fantasy, projection, passive aggression, and acting out. Level III is neurotic defenses which consist of intellectualization, reaction for-

mation, dissociation, displacement, and repression. The last one, level IV, is mature defenses, for example acceptance, courage, humour, sublimation, suppression, altruism, and anticipation. Those levels of defense mechanism develop relative to the age of a person.

Furthermore, Cramer argues that defense mechanisms are cognitive processes that function to protect the individual from excessive anxiety or other negative emotions. Defense mechanism also protect the person from loss of self-esteem and, in the extreme, the loss of self-integration. According to Cramer, there are seven basic tenets regarding defenses. These seven basic tenets include: "(1) defenses function outside of awareness; (2) there is a chronology of defense development; (3) defenses are present in the normal personality; (4) defense use increases under conditions of stress; (5) defense use reduces the conscious experience of negative emotions; (6) defense function is connected to the autonomic nervous system; (7) excessive use of defenses is associated with psychopathology" (Cramer 2009).

Therefore, in this dissertation I used Vaillant's defense mechanism categories in examining activities done by Ahmadi women in responding to conflict and violence against them, both individually and organizationally through Lajnah Imaillah, and determined what kind of defense mechanism they use from their activities.

1.7 Literature Review: Indonesian Ahmadiyya

The study of religious conflict and transformation in Indonesia is indeed necessary. In the past, prior to the 2000s, there have only been a limited number of research works and books published about Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. However, with the rising attacks and violence toward Ahmadiyya in Indonesia, many scholars have begun to pay attention to Ahmadiyya, though not from the perspective present in this dissertation.

There are historical studies on Indonesian Ahmadiyya such as Iskandar Zulkarnaen's book, *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia* (Ahmadiyya

Movememt in Indonesia) (2005), which points out historical data on the Ahmadiyya movement in Indonesia pertaining to both the Ahmadiyya Lahore and Ahmadiyya Qadian (Zulkarnain 2005). Using a similar historical lens, Beck's "The Rupture between the Muhammadiyah and the Ahmadiyya" (2005) describes the relationship between Ahmadiyya and Muhammadiyah in the first era of the development of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia when there was a good relationship between those two communities. He shows how this relationship was broken in Muktamar Muhammadiyah[21] 1924 due to many Muhammadiyah elites who were interested in Ahmadiyya teaching such as HOS Tjokroaminoto and Joyosugito (Beck 2005). These historical studies add valuable context for my own contemporary study.

In addition, Ahmadiyya have been seen from freedom and human rights perspectives at the systemic level. Reni Susanti (Susanti 2008, 38–40), for example, discusses the relation between Indonesia State and Islamic institutions on the protection of the Ahmadiyya community. She argues that the government's attitude toward Ahmadiyya's case is not clear. On one hand, the government's decisions are influenced by the urgings of some Islamic groups to ban Ahmadiyya so that the state can preserve power and secure political legitimacy. On the other hand, she shows how the state, which already ratified the International Covenant of Human Rights, also wants to respect, protect and fulfill the freedom of religion. Her study adds a more current political perspective to the historical perspectives outlined above.

Similar to Susanti's systemic lens, other researchers focus on the legal system as their site of study. In terms of legal status, Bernhard Platzdasch explains the controversy over the legal status of the Islamic Ahmadiyya sect in the question over religious freedom and tolerance in today's Indonesia (Platzdasch 2011), while Saru Arifin (2007), uses a

[21] Is a national meeting held by Muhammadiyah to discuss issues and concerns in the organization.

normative-juridical research to examine the laws and regulations on heretical sects including Ahmadiyya.

In contrast to these systemic studies, other studies have approached the conflict from a qualitative perspective to better understand the persecution and conflict that have been faced by this community—for example, Ali Amin's "Intra-religious Persecution in West Java: A Case Study of Ahmadiyah Community in Manislor Kuningan" (2005) and Erni Budiwanti's "Pluralism Collapses: A Study of Jama'ah Ahmadiyah Indonesia and its Persecution" (2009). Doing research in an Ahmadiyya community in Manislor Kuningan West Java, Ali Amin (2005) explores how the state exercises hegemony over society using the instruments of religion. Religion, he argues, has become another tool of government to strengthen its position over the society through regulation, education and media, while Erni Budiwanti (Budiwanti 2009, 3) highlights the government's interference on Ahmadiyya's case which only worsened the conflicts. A bit different from the two former works, Syaiful Anam's thesis, "Reproduksi Kekerasan Kolektif: Studi Kasus Konflik Ahmadiyah di Lombok NTB tahun 1998–2006 uses a case study perspective to investigate the causes of the collective violence experienced by Jemaat Ahmadiyya in Lombok from 1998 to 2006 (Anam 2011).

As for qualitative studies on Ahmadiyya related specifically to conflict resolution, there are two theses from the Conflict Resolution Department in the Graduate School of Universitas Gadjah Mada which look at the role of state apparatus. Agus Pujianto (2007) conducted research on the role of Sat Brimob district police West Timor (NTB) in executing intervention on the conflicts, whereas R Barata Indrajaya studied the conflict management applied by Polres Mataram in relation to the conflict between Ahmadiyya and non Ahmadiyya in Mataram (2007). Both studies, however, only see conflict resolution from the efforts of apparatus not from the Ahmadis themselves.

In contrast to my own study, the studies above also tend to focus on the Indonesian Ahmadi community in general; research focused specifically on Ahmadi women is still rare, particularly in the Indonesian context. Although globally researchers such as Gosh (2006, 50), has studied Pakistani Ahmadi women in California, USA, and Gualtieri (2004) has studied the social lives of Ahmadi women within Pakistan, there are only two studies published when it comes to Indonesian Ahmadiyya women. Most studies conducted nowadays in Indonesia have overlooked the existence of Ahmadi women and this circumstance makes Ahmadi women invisible and unheard.

The first study of Indonesian Ahmadi women was conducted by Dyana Savina Hutadjulu (2009) in which she explores the intersectional experiences of different Ahmadiyya women residing in Bogor, Manislor and Padang (Indonesia). She concludes that Ahmadi women from those different areas face different situations in terms of discrimination and protection—a central reason for why I chose to study several different Ahmadi communities myself. The second is by Winy Trianita (2009) who explored Ahmadi women's agency. Conducting research in Bogor and Yogyakarta, she found that Ahmadi women independently choose their own religious beliefs and resist discrimination by others which would potentially threaten their faith as religious minorities in Indonesia. In keeping with my own research lens, she found that Indonesian Ahmadi women, as part of a minority group, have actually become agents who clarify common misconceptions outsiders have towards the Ahmadiyya community. For example, they challenge the mistaken idea that they are "exclusive" by being active in their social activities outside of their Ahmadiyya community both organizationally and individually. Such research shows that there is an active participation of Ahmadi women in dealing with the resistance that the Ahmadiyya community faces, and these projects thus serve as valuable starting points for my

own study.[22] Indeed, my dissertation contributes further research on how Ahmadi women deal with violent religious conflicts, particularly in relation to their defense mechanisms and the way they exercise agency to resist conflict; however, unlike the studies highlighted above, my research is based on their own narratives.

In other words, I confirm that my own research is a continuation of Trianita's, which started from Ahmadi women's agency, but this research is focused more on how Ahmadi women resist conflict in violent circumstances using defense mechanisms in their daily lives. Moreover, this research scrutinizes the reason behind their choice of different social activities in resisting the conflicts. In addition, this research explores activities taken by Ahmadi women to promote better life for the community in the future.

1.8 Significance of this Study

Although religious conflict and violence involving Ahmadiyya, particularly after the *Reformasi* era in Indonesia, has attracted the attention of many researchers, my research adds a new dimension. As the literature review above indicates, there have been many recent studies which look at the topic from different points of view. However, what is missing from research done on Indonesian Ahmadiyya is the perspective from the Ahmadiyya community itself in relation to conflict and gender. By emphasizing this aspect, it is my hope that this study will contribute another perspective, especially a minority's perspective and a women's perspective, to the process of understanding recent intra-religious conflicts.

[22] Apart from these two studies, my own initial research on Ahmadi women focuses on the perception of Ahmadi women on domestic violence (2010). My second investigation considered the ways in which Ahmadi women negotiate their identity in contemporary Indonesia (2011).

As the following chapters will show, this dissertation reveals the voice of Ahmadi women who sometimes seem voiceless in facing the violence that they experience. This study provides narratives from women in a minority group to give another discourse in Indonesian women's grand narrative. Hopefully, as women's voices are given attention, they also will be given more influence in making decisions related to women. Furthermore, in terms of conflict studies and interreligious studies, this dissertation adds a new way to deal with conflicts with religious nuances, especially in relation to informal techniques that could be practiced in contemporary Indonesia, such as in the conflict between the Sunnis and Shiites or between other religions in Indonesia. These techniques might help give new perspectives on maintaining a harmonious relationship among religious groups, whether they experience inter or intra-religious conflict. In addition, this dissertation gives input on ways to take care of religious conflicts and their impact toward minority groups for experts in social work. By not blaming the victims, and further, not placing minorities as mere victims in conflict, my research shows ways social workers can involve minority groups to actively participate in coping with conflict's impact on their community.

Finally, this dissertation is very important for the Ahmadiyya community in Indonesia itself, in two ways. First is for the Jamaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia at large; and second is for Lajnah Imaillah as the organization of Ahmadi women. For Jemaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia, this study will give more information and inputs with regard to steps and strategies that they can use to cope with the conflicts that they face, and for Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia, hopefully this dissertation can be encouragement for them to be more active in the society to ensure a better life and more actively participate in promoting peace and justice.

1.9 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation comprises five chapters. Chapter One is the introduction, which consists of background information, research questions, goals and significance of the research, theoretical framework, methods of research, and literature review. Chapter Two discusses the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia: it outlines the existence of Ahmadiyya and the differences between the two Ahmadiyya, while also providing an overview of the history of Ahmadiyya Qadian (Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia) in Indonesia, their struggle for existence, and the conflict experiences of the community.

Chapter Three examines Indonesian Ahmadi women and the significance of the Lajnah Imaillah. First, it discusses Lajnah Imaillah's history, both from its first establishment in Qadian and the development in Indonesia. Second is the discussion of its organizational structure and its position inside Jemaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia. And finally, it discusses Lajnah Imaillah's activities and its significance in Ahmadi women's life and the conflict experienced by Ahmadi women, specifically in the three areas where this research done, Manislor, Yogyakarta and Lombok.

Chapter Four draws from my qualitative research to highlight defense mechanisms utilized by Ahmadi women in resisting conflicts and violence towards them and the creativity of Ahmadi women in exercising their agencies in times of rising conflicts in Indonesia. To frame this analysis, I use Vaillant's defense mechanism categories, Ortner's theory of agency, and Scott's theory of everyday resistance of Scott. This chapter outlines three processes and stages of defense mechanism and resistance done by the Ahmadi women of Lajnah Imaillah when responding to conflicts they face. My research shows that they started by admitting that the conflicts and persecution was a consequence of their faith and thus did nothing to defend their properties and even their wealth in the first stage (from 2000─2005). The second stage happened from around 2005–2011 in which they gave a reactive response by clarifying

their faith through media and an NGO which helped them. The last stage started in 2012, when Lajnah Imaillah as an organization for Ahmadi women promoted and supported their members through a programmed *rabtah* in an active play to try getting equal position with other Muslims in order to diminish violent conflict.

This dissertation closes with Chapter Four, which explores the hope and courage of Ahmadi women amidst the uncertain status of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. This part reveals unheard voices of Ahmadi woman about their hope on harmony and a peaceful life in a pluralist Indonesia. They push the government to be just to them and other minorities—to treat them as equal with other citizens regardless of their faith. In addition, they also promote have programmes for better life, both for their own community and Indonesian society. And finally, Chapter Five concludes this dissertation by arguing for further research relating to this topic.

2

AHMADIYYA IN INDONESIA: HISTORY, EXISTENCE AND STRUGGLES

> "I am Ahmadi because my father was Ahmadi. He was one of direct students of Muballigh Rahmat Ali (the first muballigh coming to Indonesia). He took a pledge of allegiance and then all his children becoming Ahmadi. All my siblings are Ahmadi. But, although I am Ahmadi because of my father, I know more about Ahmadiyya by learning by myself. As we know that in Ahmadiyya we have education program for its members, so I joined those education programs and my closeness to Ahmadiyya started when I was in senior high school." (Siti, interview May 2013)

2.1 Introduction

Ahmadiyya as a religious organization exists in more than 200 countries around the world. There are two kinds of Ahmadiyya. This chapter discusses Ahmadiyya, particularly Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. This part involves historical overview of Ahmadiyya, both from its first founding and in Indonesia, the existence of Ahmadiyya and its difference between two Ahmadiyyas, overview history of Ahmadiyya Muslim Community (Jamaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia) in Indonesia, the struggle of existence, and conflict experiences.

2.2 Ahmadiyya: Historical Overview

Ahmadiyya was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in India, when he took pledge of allegiance (*baiat*) from his followers in Ludhiana in 11 March 1889. He declared himself to be the Promised Messiah, Imam Mahdi and Masih Mauud in 1891. After he passed away on 26 May 1908, he was succeeded by one of his supporters, Nuruddin, who was called "Successor of the Messiah" (*Khalīfat al-Masīḥ*). Then this community split into two: Ahmadiyya Jamaat (the Qadian) and 'Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement for the Propagation of Islam' (Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-e-Islam Lahore). This split happened after the death of Khalifatul Masih 1, Nuruddin in 1914.

The first group voted Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, who was the son of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, as Khalifatul Masih II with the title "Hazrat Muslih Mauud", -The Promised Reformer. Whereas the second group did not agree on that election and they argued that after the death of Ghulam Ahmad it should be not on one person, *Khalifah*, but on the *Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyyah* (A collective body of senior members of the movement). Therefore they left Qadian then declared a new group namely *Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-e-Islam* Lahore led by Maulvi Muhammad Ali (the former editors of Review of Religions) and Khawaja Kamal ul-Din with their motto "Allah is with us".[23]

Both Ahmadiyya exist and develop in Indonesia. Lahore Ahmadiyya is known as Gerakan Ahmadiyya Indonesia with its headquarter in Yogyakarta, while Qadiani Ahmadiyya is known as Jamaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia with its headquarter in Parung, Bogor West Java.

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[23]There are two books about this split from two sides. From Ahmadiyya Qadian, the book was written by Mirza Bashir-ud-din Mahmud Ahmad, entitled *Truth about The Split*, 2007. Present. United Kingdom: Islam International Publications. Whereas from the Lahore, was written by Muhammad Ali in 1918, title *The Spli*t. Lahore: Coloured Printing Press.

2.3 Ahmadiyya: The Difference between the Qadiani and the Lahore

About Ahmadiyya, many people usually have difficulties to differentiate between Ahmadiyya Qadiani (Jamaat Ahmadiyya) and The Lahore. Even in Indonesia, people still misunderstand or cannot distinguish between Muhammadiyah and Ahmadiyya. This part will elaborate more about the differences between the two Ahmadiyya.

Based on the history of the split of this movement, there are two main different arguments from both sides. Those are (1) the continuation of *Khalifah*, and (2) the nature of Ghulam Ahmad. On the continuation of *Khalifah,* Ahmadiyya Lahore through Muhammad Ali in his book "*The Split*" argues about the leadership, that it should be under the group the "Supreme Council of the Aḥmadiyya" (*Ṣadr Anjuman-i Aḥmadiyya*) rather than to one *Khalīfat al-Masīḥ* (Ali 1918, 9). While the Qadiani held the need of *khilafah,*[24] therefore they appointed Bashirudin Mahmud Ahmad *Khalifah*, the second *Khalifah* al Masih at that time.

On the nature of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, Ahmadiyya Qadiani and Lahore agree that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was a *mujaddid*[25] and the Promised Messiah and Mahdi, but Ahmadiyya Lahore see him not as a prophet, Maulvi Muhammad Ali argued that Ghulam Ahmad never claimed to be a prophet, he was a *muhaddast*, a *mujaddid* in 14th century (Zirvi 2002, 308). Ahmadiyya Qadian claim that besides Ghulam Ahmad is the Promised Messiah, Mahdi and he is also a prophet, but only a *dzilli* prophet (*nabi ummati*) who did not bring any new law (*shariah*) but only following the prophet Muhammad (Suryawan 2005, 26).

In terms of its organizational structure, Qadiani is better organized than Lahore. Since rejecting the *Khalifah*, Lahore has *Amir* or President elected for a life to lead their organization as spiritual and administrative

[24] Leadership under one *Khalifah*

[25] reformer

leader. However, the ultimate authority lays on *Majlis-i-Moatemideen*, the General council of Trustees. This body consists of fifty members who are elected by subordinate *Anjumans* and other councils (Valentine 2008, 60). To conduct daily activities, there is *Majlis-i-Muntazimma* or managing committee. Set up by the general council, this committee consists of twenty members including *Amir*, the President, The Generals Secretary and The Financial Secretary. There are also two other committees with a special task, the Foreign Mission Committee and the Finance Committee. All these committees form the *Ahmadiyya Majlis-i-Aamah* or Ahmadiyya conference which usually assembles in their annual gathering to decide any matter in their organization. Decision in appointing or replacing *Amir* has to be endorsed by *Majlis-i-Moatemideen* (Valentine 2008, 60).

Although it spreads all over the world, every Lahore Ahmadiyya in every country is independent or semi-independent in terms of its organization and funding which is run by members. The relationship between the headquarter and other branches in other countries is only in terms of correspondence not in organizational matter. Furthermore, they do not give attention for their missionary for increasing the number of its members, therefore, the number of Ahmadiyya Lahore members does not grow significantly. Its members is possibly around 30,000 worldwide (Valentine 2008, 60).

For Ahmadiyya Lahore, whether there is an Ahmadiyya Lahore organization or not, is not important for them. The most important thing is that their ideas about Islam can be accepted by people, either wholly or partially. Therefore, they spread their ideas through publications. It can be seen from *Tafsir* Muhammad Ali that already translated into many languages and become reference for other Muslims (*Tempo* 1974, 48).

On the other side, Ahmadiyya Qadiani is internationally organized based on spiritual in hierarchical structure. The highest leadership is on *Khalifah* who is elected before the funeral ceremony of the former *Kha-*

lifah. The *Khalifah* is elected by *Majelis Intikhab* (Electoral College) which consists of 600 to 700 members comprising of *Amir*s, missionaries, and the heads of central organizations from around the world. This dissertation, as I have mentioned above, focuses on Ahmadiyya Qadiani (later I will use term Ahmadiyya).

The *Khalifah* within Ahmadiyya community is admitted as a God's representative on earth who leads, guides, teaches and preserves the faith. All decisions related to the community, made or have to be endorsed by the *Khalifah*. Ahmadiyya Muslim community emphasizes on the strength of organization and membership. To join Ahmadiyya, people have to pledge an allegiance to *Khalifah* and consequently some obligations embedded to them in the organization. The principle of *baiat* is "*sami'na waata'na"* (we hear and we obey) (Valentine 2008, 82). The *Khalifah*, according to Ahmadi, is a spiritual leader not political since the *Khilafah* is a spiritual not a political institution. The *Khalifah* in Ahmadiyya is always a man so as *amirs*, as Ahmadiyya is a patriarchal organization in which all are men who take in leadership and organizational position.

Ahmadi women, on the other hand, although they do not take a leadership position in organizational structure, they have their own organization in Lajnah Imaillah as their place and space to do their activities, and Lajnah Imaillah in one country is directly under the *Khalifah*'s supervision in doing their programs and activities. Therefore, that patriarchal system of Ahmadiyya does not become a hindrance for Ahmadi women to explore their capacity and potentials so as to exercise their agencies inside the organization.

The international headquarter of Ahmadiyya Muslim community is in Rabwah and London. In Rabwah, two main administrative departments of Ahmadiyya are located, *Sadr-Anjuman Ahmadiyya* and *Tahrik Jadid Ahmadiyya*. The former is responsible for organizing the move-

ment's activities in three countries, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, whereas the latter is responsible for the rest of countries in the world.

Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya which is also known as the Central Ahmadiyya Association is divided up into numerous offices to deal with several departments. Based on the statutes of Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, such as *Talim-i-tarbiyat* (department of education), *Talif-i-ishaat* (department of missionary literature), *Umur-i-kharijiyah* (department for foreign affairs).

In every country, the highest leadership is on an *Amir* (the President). *Amir* works with *Majelis Amilah*. *Majlis Amilah* consists of *Amir*, National council, *muballighin* and Head of National Bodies. There are three bodies in Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, Majlis Ansharulah whose members are Ahmadi male above 40 years old, Majlis Khuddamul Ahmadiyya whose members are Ahmadi male from 15 to 40 years old and Lajnah Imaillah whose members are Ahmadi female above 15 years old. Under Lajnah Imaillah there is Nasiratul Ahmadiyya which consists of Ahmadi female from 7 to 15 years old (*Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia* 1953, 36). In Indonesia, Jamaat Ahmadiyah consists of National level/Dewan Pimpinan Pusat/*Majlis Amilah*, provincial level/Dewan Pimpinan Wilayah (DPW), regency's level/ Dewan Pmpinan Daerah and district level /Dewan Pimpinan Cabang.

2.4 *Khalifah* of Ahmadiyya Muslim Community and Ahmadiyya's Development

Since the demise of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in 1908, there are five *Khalifah*s from Ahmadiyya Muslim community until now. This part elaborates every *Khalifah* and their significant notes on the development of Ahmadiyya Muslim community. *Khalifah* is elected for life and the successor is elected through an anonymous election from representative around the world just before the funeral ceremony of the former *Kha-*

lifah. The process of electing *Khalifah* looks like the process of electing a Pope within the Roman Catholic Church, names are proposed, seconded then by raining hands to accept or reject (Valentine 2008, 82). Now, it is under the leadership of *Khalifah al Masih Khamis* Masroor Ahmad and his headquarter base is in London.

The first *Khalifah* was Hakim Nuruddin (27 May 1908–19 March 1914), who was elected unanimously after the demise of Ghulam Ahmad on 27 May 1908, before the funeral prayers. After the election, the community took the pledge of allegiance on his hand. During his leadership, the first Ahmadiyya Muslim mission in England was established in 1914 by sending missionary to London. He only led for six years, and passed away on Friday, 13 March 1914 at Qadian.

The second *Khalifah* was Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad (19 March 1914–8 November 1965). He was born on 12 January 1889 and was the eldest son of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. He was very young when he was elected to be a *Khalifah* in 1914, therefore his leadership lasted for fifty one years when he passed away. About him becoming *Khalifah*, Ahmadis believe that he is the Promised son, *Muslih Mauud*, that God has informed Ghulam Ahmad about him and his leadership in Ahmadiyya Community (Dehlawi 2007, 3).

During Mirza Bashirudin Mahmud Ahmad's leadership, there were many significant efforts and projects initiated in terms of Islam propagation and solidarity among Ahmadiyya Muslim community. In terms of Propagation of Islam, he translated Qur'an into English with explanatory notes in order to deliver the message of Islam to Europe (Dehlawi 2007, 5–7).

Furthermore, he started to give trainings to missionaries and had sent them to various countries.[26] Missionaries were sent to Mauritius in

[26] Missionary in Ahmadiyya aims to propagate Islam by convincing people to join Islam through Ahmadiyya. They recruit Ahmadi young men to be missionaries and send them around the world. Missionaries (*muballigh*) are not allowed

1915, Philadelphia USA on 1920, Nigeria in 1921. The mission in Africa had achieved an extraordinary success proved by the number of mosques and schools established there by this community. More missionaries were sent to other countries including USA, Trinidad, Guyana, UK, Switzerland, Holland, Spain, Denmark, Germany, Sweden, Norway, France, Italy, Bosnia, Albania for Europe, Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leon, Liberia, Gambia, Zambia, Ivory Coast, Togoland for West Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Mauritius for East Africa (S. K. Ahmad 2014).

Besides the above countries, missions were established in South Africa, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Aden, Egypt, Kuwait, Bangladesh, Bahrain, Dubai, Fiji, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Hong King, Singapore, Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, and Indonesia. Missionaries were sent to the following countries and message of Islam was delivered: Iran, Jordan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Congo, Sicily, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Hungary, Poland, and Argentina. Consequently, more than 30 mosques were constructed in East and West Africa, besides Washington (USA), Hamburg and Frankfurt (Germany), Zurich (Switzerland), The Hague (Holland), London (UK), Denmark, Sweden (S. K. Ahmad 2014).

In order to support the missionaries, translations of Qur'an was also done into various languages, such as English (1955), Dutch (1953), German (1954), Danish (1961), Indonesian, Malay, Russian, French, Swahili (1953), Lugandi, Hindi (1939), Urdu, and Gurmukhi (1939) (Dehlawi 2007, 7).

Besides expanding Islam through its missionaries, *Khalifah* the Second also concerned about the spiritual upbringing of his community. He initiated lectures on the exposition of the Holy Qur'an for Ahmadi men and women. These lectures were later published under the title *Tafsir*

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to work but propagating Islam. Besides, principally every Ahmadi is a missionary (*dai ilallah*), they have duty to propagate Islamic teachings.

Kabir. He also translated Qur'an into Urdu language in a fluent, simple, idiomatic, and easy to understand language with explanatory notes. It was first published under the title *Tafsir Saghir* in 1957. He also employed speeches and sermons to give moral upbringing to the members (S. K. Ahmad 2014).

During the Second *Khalifah*'s leadership, the Community was arranged more organized than before. In 1919, *Khalifah* decided to divide the *Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya* (Central Executive Directorate) into various departments like education, treasury. He also instituted the procedures for electing office bearers in various cities and hired inspectors to oversee their work. This resulted in effective and timely community work being performed by the members in all the cities and towns of the country (Dehlawi 2007, 7).

Understanding the crucial role of women in Islam, and inspired by his second wife, Amatul Hayee who was active in religious activities, the *Khalifah*, founded Lajnah Imaillah in 1922 as an organization for Ahmadi women. At first, it was voluntarily and there were 13 women joining, but later on it became compulsory by default included all Ahmadi women. The first president was Nusrat Jehan Begum, the wife of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who was elected by the members. Since all *Khalifah*'s decisions are to be obeyed, the community supported the initiation; there is no information about any disagreement among Ahmadi both women and men. This founding then followed by introducing Misbah magazine in 1926 and opening Nusrat Girls High School in 1928 and in 1951 *Jamia Nusrat* (Women's College) started functioning in Rabwah. Since then, Ahmadi women were able to pursue university education (Imaillah 2012).

For young Ahmadi girls, as a result of the efforts of Amatul Hamid, daughter of The Second Khalifatul Masih, *Nasiratul Ahmadiyya* was established in July, 1928. Nasiratul Ahmadiyya is a separate organization consisting solely of girls up to the age of 15 years, and its running

under monitoring of Lajnah Imaillah. As Lajnah Imaillah, it is dedicated to moral upbringing, religious training, and social welfare for young Ahmadi girls (Nagi 2009). Whereas for Ahmadi men, *Khalifah* founded *Khuddamul Ahmadiyya* in 1938 and in 1948 he founded Ansarullah for men over forty years age. Till today, these bodies play a vital role in the moral and educational training of the community through its programs and activities for its members since these bodies directly relate to their members (Dehlawi 2007, 8).

Khalifah the Second also established the *Majlis Shura* (Central Consultative Body) of the community in 1922. It is the highest ranking institution within the Community after the *Khalifah*. Elected representatives of various chapters of the Community gather at the Center once a year on the express orders of the *Khalifah* and offer their consul and opinion on matters presented before them such as finance, projects, education. The *Khalifah* al-Masih agrees with the counsel, if he deems appropriate. In this way all the members of the Jamaat have a chance to get involved in the affairs of the Community by offering their opinion. At the national level, the council is presided over by the *Amīr* (National President). At the conclusion of the proceedings, the recommendations are sent to the *Khalifah* for approval which he may accept, reject or partially accept.

When Pakistan was declared as a new state in 1947 amid dangerous riots, death and turmoil all over the Indian sub-continent, Qadian was located in district Gurdaspur that was made to become part of India. In response to these circumstances, *Khalifah* worked persistently to plan the safe emigration of members from Qadian to Pakistan. He established Rabwah soon after the creation of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Rabwah was created in which its land they got because it was considered “a waste, desert land with no vegetation and frequent dust storms” (Zirvi 2002, 329). Most of the institutions of the Movement were re-established in Rabwah in a relatively short period of time.

For the purpose of fighting off the Ahrar Party,[27] which created misunderstandings among Muslims about Ahmadiyya in 1934, the *Khalifah* made a project named *Tahrik Jadid* (The New Initiative) in which he put forth 19 demands before the members. Some of these are: 1) Ahmadi youth should volunteer themselves for missionary work; 2) Members should donate money toward a special fund that will be used for propagation in foreign countries. This fund is called *Chanda Tahrik Jadid*. 3) Members should adopt a simple mode of life like eat one meal a day, wear simple clothing, avoid movie theatres, and get a job. The real intent behind this initiative was to reduce expenses and donate more toward the fund. 4) Ahmadi children should get professional education like medicine, engineering (Dehlawi 2007, 9─10).

On 27 December 1957, The *Khalifah* started the project called *Waqfi Jadid* (The New Dedication). The primary objective of this project was to look after the spiritual upbringing of the members living in the rural communities. The secondary objective was to bring the message of Islam to Hindu population of the country. This project is still exist till now, in which the objective is to bring the message of Islam to Europe, United States and Africa (Dehlawi 2007, 10─11).

Furthermore, another invention in this *Khalifah*'s era was he combined a new calendar after a lot of research and calculations, it is Hijri-Shamsi calendar that was adopted in 1940 (Zirvi 2002, 486). As we know, the calendar used in the West is the Christian (Gregorian) calendar that is based on the solar movements; it started with the birth of Jesus Christ. On the other hand, the Islamic (*Hijri*) calendar uses lunar movements and started with the emigration (*Hijrah*) of Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina, which occurred on 16 July 622. The *Hijri-Shamsi* calendar is based on solar calculations, but the starting point in time is the migration of Prophet of Islam instead of Jesus

[27] Ahrar party is an organization created to counter the Ahmadiyya by spreading hate toward Ahmadi among Muslims.

Christ's day of birth. According to this method, 2000 AD translates into 1379 Hijri-Shamsi i.e. 1379 years have passed since the emigration of Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina.

Each month in the calendar is named after an important event that occurred in the history of Islam. The time frame in these months is the same as in the months of a Christian calendar. *Sulh* (peace) January was taken from Hudaibiyah event. *Tabligh* (preaching) February was taken from when the prophet Muhammad usually sent letters to kings to call for Islam, *Aman* (protection) March was taken from when the Prophet giving speech during hajj *Wada*. *Shahadat* (martyrdom) April was taken when 70 prophet's companions were killed by *kafir*, *Hijrat* (migration) May was taken from the event the migration of the prophet. *Ihsan* (benevolence) June was taken from the event when the prophet freed prisoners of war unconditionally. *Wafa* (loyalty) July is from the loyalty of the companions in Ricaa battle. *Zahoor* (appearance) August is from the time when the Prophet brings the light of Islam. *Tabook* (battle of Tabook) September was taken from the Tabook battle, *Ikha* (brotherhood) October was taken from the Prophet's states that every Muslim in Medina had to take a brother from Muslim Mecca, *Nabuwat* (prophethood) November is when Muhammad was chosen as prophet in this month, *Fatah* (victory) December was taken from the victory of the Prophet in Mecca. This calendar can be seen from calendar published by Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.

Fawzy Sa'ied Thaha accused Ahmadiyya did this by interpreting *Hijrah* as a way of turning around their faces from Qamariyah calendar. He argues that if Ahmadiyya wants to eliminate shirk nuance in Calendar with Islamic nuances, why Ahmadiyya changed the names of the month in a year. He alleged Ahmadiyya consciously want to be far away from Qamariyah calendar and dishonor it (Thaha 1981, 86). However, it is clear that Thaha's calumny is false, he misunderstood that Ahmadiyya changed the names of Islamic month and do not respect them. In fact,

Ahmadiyya changed the month of Syamsiyah calendar/Christian calendar not the Qamariyah one.

The Second *Khalifah* passed away on 8 November 1965 and then the third *Khalifah* was elected on a meeting of *Majelis Intikhab*[28] (the Electoral College) that was established by the second *Khalifah*. *Majelis Intikhab* chose Mirza Nasir Ahmad as the third *Khalifah*. In this time, Ahmadiyya community experienced persecution in Pakistan after Rabithah Alam Islamy in their meeting on 17 April 1974 in Saudi Arabia declared Ahmadiyya community as non-Muslim. Riots and protest marches erupted against the Ahmadiyya throughout Pakistan. Houses belonging to Ahmadis were robbed and reduced to rubble. There were social boycotts against Ahmadis. They were fired from their jobs without a just cause, and some were even martyred. This persecution ended when Parliament of Pakistan passed an amendment to the Constitution on 7 September 1974 declaring the adherents of Ahmadiyya Muslim Community non-Muslims (S. K. Ahmad 2014). As Pakistan citizens, although Ahmadis did not accept the decision of this amendment but they had to obey it as their *Khalifah* command them to obey the state's law wherever Ahmadi live.

The Fourth *Khalifah* is Hadhrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad who was elected by *Majelis Intikhab* on 10 June 1982 right after the Third *Khalifah* passed away. In his leadership, persecution and oppression toward Ahmadi continued in which in April 1984 General Zia al-Haq, former president of Pakistan, passed an Ordinance whereby no Ahmadi could declare himself/herself a Muslim. This meant that Ahmadis could not recite the Qur'an, or recite the *Azan* (call to prayer) before prayer times.

[28] Majelis Intikhab (the Electoral College) now consists of 600–700 members comprising *Amir*s from all countries, missionaries and the heads of central organizations. They have a special meeting in Rabwah to choose a new *Khalifah* if the present *Khalifah* passed away. The way they elect *Khalifah* looks like the election of a Pope within the Roman Catholic Church. The names are proposed, seconded then chosen by raising hands.

They could not display the *Kalimat Tayyiba* or offer the Islamic greeting, *Assalamu alaikum*, to anyone. The violation of these regulations carried heavy fines, or imprisonment or both. Thousands of Ahmadis were thrown behind bars under these draconian laws, and some are still incarcerated in the Pakistani jails. These circumstances were responded by Ahmadi by fleeing to other countries to save their life. The Fourth *Khalifah*, Tahir Ahmad, flew to London and led the community from London in 1984. Nowadays, the *Khalifah* of Ahmadiyya lives in London.

Since the ruler of Pakistan General Zia al-Haq banned the publication of many books, magazines, and newspapers of the Movement, the Fourth *Khalifah*, Tahir Ahmad who was in London launched Muslim Television on 21 August 1992 to propagate their teachings. Nowadays, Muslim Television Ahmadiyya (MTA) is watched by millions of people in five continents through parabolic antenna with a specific frequency. This television broadcasts Islamic teachings, Ahmadiyya activities from around the world and learning Urdu, Arabic and reciting Qur'an programs. Every Friday the present *Khalifah* delivers a sermon in a mosque where he is present and is broadcasted through this television and watched all over the globe with great enthusiasm by Ahmadis. In addition, the Friday sermon is translated into several languages and distributed to Ahmadis around the world.[29] To keep in touch with the *Khalifah*'s teaching and Ahmadiyya activities, Ahmadi are suggested to watch this television regularly. Therefore they are encouraged to have a parabolic antenna, at least one in one local branch to catch the MTA's broadcast.

Tahir Ahmad also initiated International *Baiat* (pledge of allegiance), which first took place in 1993. This event is now held every year on the occasion of the UK Annual Conference in July. The *baiat* is performed

[29] All Ahmadi get the copies of these Friday sermons and suggested to read it at home and or read it in Jumat prayer by the Khatib.

in the following manner; *Khalifah* stretches out his right hand; persons sitting immediately close to him put their hands on his hands while others put their hands on the shoulders of these persons to make a continuous link with him. Everyone in the assembly puts his/her hands on the backs of others; thereby the entire gathering is connected with each other leading up to the *Khalifah*. The *Khalifah* recites a portion of the words of *Baiat* in English; he then pauses so the portion is translated into various languages. When the whole text of the *baiat* is completed, *Khalifah* recites the *Istighfar*.[30] At the end, everybody prostrates along with him (S. K. Ahmad 2014). This mass *baiat* is usually held in every Jalsah Salanah in which the *Khalifah* is present.

Some important projects undertaken under the leadership of the fourth *Khalifah* were establishment new offices of movement in London, the translations of Qur'an into major languages in the world. Up to 1989 the Ahmadiyya Community had translated the Noble Qur'an into twenty-seven languages. Within the next ten years from that year it completed translations into another twenty-six languages, bringing the total to 53. They targeted to translate Qur'an into ninety languages in the world. Now, there are more than 70 languages.

Another important project is *Waqfe Nau* Scheme which proposed on 3 April 1987, in which Ahmadi couples dedicating their children to the cause of Islam before their birth.[31] Furthermore, homeopathic medicine was developed and Homeopathic clinics now run by the Community

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[30] Istigfar is *astaghfirullah al adzim.* Istighfar may connote suppression of person's tendency towards falling into sin or error, or his protection against the consequences of such errors or sin, or of the errors and sins of others (Synopsis of Istighfar, Abdul Jaleel in The Review of Religions, December 1993, retrieved from alislam.org, 17 December 2014).

[31] From this *Waqaf e Nou* scheme, the community takes more attention to the education of children joining this scheme. Usually they become *muballigh* and many of them who choose becoming paramedics so that they can join into hospital or clinic owned by the Community to give service to people.

dispense free medicine to people irrespective of their creed, color or place of origin.[32]

In order to respond to society's need of help in the time of disaster, Ahmadiyya established Humanity First,[33] a humanitarian organization that has sent huge consignments of non-perishable food, clothing, and medicine to many countries such as Bosnia during disastrous conflict, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Tanzania. The Community is actively providing help to the needy and the poor in Third World countries. It also provides assistance to victims of natural or man-made disasters.[34] Ahmadi youths have been at the forefront in giving blood donations in many countries of the world like Canada, Nigeria, Indonesia, and Pakistan. In Rabwah a permanent blood donation center is established for this purpose. In Indonesia, Ahmadi youth have regular schedule to donor their blood both in events held by them or engaging with Indonesia Red Cross blood donor center. There was also opening Noor Eye Donor Bank on 20 November 2000 in Rabwah. All Ahmadi are suggested to be involved in Eye donor movement. Ahmadi women in Indonesia also took this participation by registering themselves as eye donor members,

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[32] Homeopathy is a system of medical practice that treats a disease especially by the administration of minute doses of a remedy that would in larger amounts produce in healthy persons symptoms similar to those of the disease (Merriam-Webster dictionary).

[33] Humanity first is an international charitable trust established to promote and safeguard the preservation of human life and dignity. It is a non-political, non-sectarian international relief and development agency that works with the world's poorest and most vulnerable people (id.humanityfirst.org) (accessed November 6, 2014).

[34] There are several kinds of aids given such as Disaster relief ; Pakistan Flood response in Pakistan (July 2010), Haiyan Typhoon in Philippines (2013), 'Water for life' in Pakistan (2010), Ghana (2011), Liberia and Mali (2013), Education and vocational aids : Haiti, Philippines (2013), Sierra Leone and Jordan (2014), 'Learn a skill' program in Sierra Leone (2010) and Nigeria (2011), Mali (2013), cited from Calendar 2015 Humanity First Indonesia.

and they are contributing the biggest number of eye donor candidates in Indonesia (S. K. Ahmad 2014). Now, there are 6,061 Indonesian Ahmadi women registered as eye donor members (PPLI 2014, 46).

One important highlight about the Fourth *Khalifah* is that his visit to Indonesia from 19 June to 11 July 2000. He was the First *Khalifah* of Ahmadiyya who had chance to visit Indonesia. He laid the foundation stone of a mosque as well as a secondary school. On 28 June 2000, he had a cordial meeting with the President of Indonesia, Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid), and also met Chairman National Assembly, Amin Rais. He also gave a lecture on the topic of "To Find Again Prophetic Vision of Religion" in Universitas Gadjah Mada and in the Annual Conference of Indonesia on June 2000. For Ahmadi in Indonesia, his visit was an unforgettable and such a blessed moment for them. Today, Indonesian Ahmadis really hope that the present *Khalifah* (The Fifth *Khalifah*) could visit Indonesia. However, due to unfriendly circumstances in Indonesia, they are now still waiting for the moment.

The Fifth *Khalifah*, Masroor Ahmad was elected on 22 April 2003, three days after the demise of the Fourth *Khalifah*. Before becoming The *Khalifah*, after graduating from Agricultural Economic in Agricultural University Faisalabad Pakistan, from 1977 to 1985 he served in Ghana, Africa in social, educational and agricultural development projects. Then he returned to Pakistan in 1985 and served in various senior administrative posts within the Community, including as Chief Executive of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Pakistan from 1997 until his election as *Khalifah*.

His outstanding program is a worldwide campaign to convey messages of Islam through all forms of media. Accordingly Ahmadi around the world are engaged in this program by hosting interfaith and peace symposia, presenting exhibitions of the Qur'an. *Khalifah* launched annual National Peace Symposium in 2004 by inviting many people from ministers, parliamentary, politicians, religious leaders and others. Be-

sides, this Fifth *Khalifah* takes a particular interest in alleviating the suffering of developing nations, by helping to improve their agriculture and facilitating access to food, clean water and electricity and health. Therefore he supports "Humanity First", an international non-profit disaster relief and development charity to broaden their coverage.[35]

2.5 Ahmadiyya's Faith: Controversial Distinctive Faiths

Ahmadiyya in Indonesia faces many persecution and conflict with violence because of its distinctive belief. Many other Muslims accuse them as deviant or even infidels. This part elucidates what are actually their faiths that bring controversy among Muslims.

Ahmadi see their Ahmadiyya community as a religious organization. Ahmadiyya community call themselves as Muslim. As Muslim, they vow *shahada*; there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of God. Their holy book is Qur'an as the last and perfect shariah book till the apocalypse. Regarding to the prophet Muhammad pbuh as *Khataman nabiyyin*, Ahmadiyya argue that Muhammad is the last prophet who bring shariah, close all the possibilities of *Tashrii* prophethood, no more prophet who bring new law. Name Ahmadiyya is coming from characteristic of Muhammad, Ahmad, means commendable/admirable. This characteristic describes beauty or softness. The choosing of name Ahmadiyya is very significant for them to propagate Islam as the Universal Message from the Prophet Muhammad (M. B. M. A. Ahmad 1997).

As have been mentioned above, Ahmadiyya Muslim community emphasis its strength on organization and membership. To be a member of Ahmadiyya, people have to vow a *baiat* (pledge of allegiance). There are ten conditions of *baiat* if people wish to enter Ahmadiyya. These ten

[35] https://www.alislam.org/khilafat/fifth/ retrieved 19 May 2015

conditions were firstly laid down by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad on 12 January 1889.

These ten conditions are should swear on the following from the core of his heart:

(1) That till the last day of his life, he/she shall abstain from *shirk* (associating any partners with Allah).
(2) That he/she shall keep away from falsehood, cruelty, adultery, dishonesty, disorder, rebellion and every kind of evil.
(3) That he/she shall offer prayers (*Salat*) five times daily.
(4) That he/she shall not inflict injury on any of Allah's creatures.
(5) That he/she would bear every hardship for the sake of Allah.
(6) That he/she shall not follow vulgar customs and guard against evil inclinations.
(7) That he/she shall discard pride and haughtiness, live in humility and meekness.
(8) That he/she shall hold his faith, dignity, and the welfare of Islam dearer than his/her own life, wealth and children.
(9) That he/she shall have sympathy for all of God's creatures, and devote his talents to their welfare.
(10) That he/she shall establish brotherhood with me (i.e.Ahmad), obeying me in all good things, and firmly adhere to these rules until the last breadth of his life (S. K. Ahmad 2014).[36]

For Ahmadi children who are born in to an Ahmadi family, they are raised with Ahmadiyya faith and considered as Ahmadi generation. Usually they will be asked by their parents to take a *baiat* when they got baligh.[37]

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[36] These ten requirements of *baiat* are read when someone is going to take a pledge joining Ahmadiyya and also members are always reminded about these ten requirements.

[37] Having ability to differentiate between good and bad.

The following part discusses several distinctive beliefs of Ahmadi:

2.5.1 Jesus Died Naturally

The prominent belief in Ahmadiyya is the death of Jesus, as the basis of their faith about the second coming of Jesus which is the founder of Ahmadiyya, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Jesus did not die on the cross but only fainted there. After he was saved by his companions, he went to Kashmir and lived until 120 years old and he was buried in Srinagar. There is a tomb in Srinagar India which is believed by Ahmadi as the tomb of Jesus.

Ahmedi, in his book, *Death on the Cross,* argues that Bible talks about the prophecy of Jesus, in Matthew 12:39. It is when Jesus was asked about the miracle, he answered that miracle of Jesus is like miracle of Jonah, in which Jonah entered the big fish for three days and he was still alive. Therefore, Similar to Jonah, Jesus also entered to the womb of the earth (tomb) alive and remained alive (Ahmedi 1992, 3). Jesus did not die on the cross to prove his prophecy that Jews was unsuccessful in killing Jesus and failed to prove that Jesus is an enemy and accursed of God (Ahmedi 1992, 4).

2.5.2 God's Plan to Save Jesus

Another proof given that if Jesus is not God or part of godhead, during the crucifixion, Jesus prayed to God to take "the cup of the death" to save him. If he was the part of Godhead, why did he asked for help, he could save himself (Ahmedi 1992, 7), and also asking God, *Eloi eloi, lema sabachtani?* My God, my god, why did you abandon me?, written in Mark 15: 34.

Other argument proposed is that God saved Jesus from crucifixion by making Jesus unconscious and did not die on the cross. In the cross of Jews, a person was placed on the cross, with his hands and feet nailed

to it, and left there for three days without water and food. Usually a person will die in three days in crucifixion, if he does not die, his bone will be broken and he will die because of this suffering. In fact, Jesus was only crucified for a few hours since he was crucified on Friday and Jewish Sabbath start after darkness on Friday so that a person who is crucified has to be taken down on Sabbath which is holy, and in that time, there was a terrible storm which made darkness came earlier. Jesus was then taken down in unconscious condition. His disciples, Joseph Arimathea took him and treated his body with medicine consisting of 'a mixture of myrrh and aloes', which is now in the East well known as '*marham-i-isa* (ointments of Jesus). This ointment has function to stop the flow of the blood and myrrh is an antiseptic (Ahmedi 1992, 15; Khan 1978, 33). Other proof that Jesus did not die on the cross was his appearance after his regaining his strength, he came to his disciples and joined them during the meal. It is a proof that Jesus was not a spiritual being and he still needed food to live. If Jesus was resurrected and now is still alive in heaven, so he still needs food now.

Therefore, according to Ahmadiyya, the claim believing in the life of Jesus in the heaven is supporting the belief of Christianity that Jesus is god. Besides, it is also placing Jesus higher than the prophet Muhammad. Paraphrasing Q 53:23, Ghulām Aḥmad says: "Is it death to our prophet (Muḥammad) and life to Jesus? This is, indeed, an unfair division" (*a-li-rasūlinā al-mawt wa al-ḥayāt li-ʿĪsā? tilka idhan qismatun ḍīzā, Āʿina-yi kamālāt-i* Islām, 379). Furthermore, Muslims believing Jesus still alive in the sky/heaven with his body is close to *shirk* ((M. B. M. A. Ahmad 1997; *Kami Orang Islam* 2007, 44).

2.5.3 Interpretation on *Khataman nabiyyin*

One controversial faith in Ahmadiyya is their interpretation on verse *khataman nabiyyin* that far different from other Muslims' interpretation and this reason place them as infidels. Other Muslims interpret and be-

lieve that this meant that after the Prophet Muhammad there will be no other prophet, he is the last prophet sent by God to the earth. However, Ahmadi believe that the prophet Muhammad is the last prophet who bring *shariat*/teachings but he is not the last prophet, meaning that after him, there is possibility that there will be prophet who is sent by God.

This belief came from their interpretation on QS Al Ahzab: 41, "Muhammad is not the father of your men, but he is the messenger of Allah and the Seal of the Prophets; and Allah has full knowledge of all things." In this verse, Ahmadiyya interpret *khataman nabiyyin*, not as the last but as the seal of all prophets, he is the best prophet and the most perfect among others (Sadiq 1993, 14; Cheema 1984, 2).

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in his book *Baraheen Ahmadiyya* writes, "Without doubt, no man or angel can match the divine attributes granted to the Holy Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be on him)." According to him, the true concept of '*Khatamiyyat'* is that the Prophet Muhammad possessed the most exalted status and not even angels could attain such a status. In fact, *Mi'raj* (spiritual ascension) of Muhammad is synonymous with '*Khatamiyyat*'(M. T. Ahmad 1985).

The concept of '*Khatamiyyat'* has been addressed in that the teachings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad were the most comprehensive and final and contained in them the noble and pure teachings of all previous revealed scriptures. Therefore, "It is no longer necessary to follow separately each previous prophet and his teachings, since the message brought by Muhammad (peace and blessings of Allah be on him) encompasses and surpasses all previous teachings. All other paths leading to God are now closed. All verities leading to God are contained in this teaching. There is no other truth after this. All true prior teachings are contained in these teachings. His prophet-hood is the culmination of all prophets and rightly so" (Al-Wasiyyat, pg. 17─18).

The distinct beliefs between Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi on this point are: (1)prophets can appear among spiritual descent of the prophet Mu-

hammad because he is the prophet whose spiritual is still alive, (2) the coming of prophets who follow the prophet Muhammad show the superiority of the prophet Muhammad because he is the seal of prophets, (3) the coming of prophets from Muslims show the highness of Muslim themselves, (4) the position of prophet is a blessing from Allah and the prophet Muhammad who opened it, not close it, (5) the prophet Muhammad is the last prophet who bring shariat, (6) prophets who came after him will always bring his seal (Sadiq 1993, 50).

2.5.4 Ahmadis' Belief in *Jihad*

Another distinct belief in Ahmadiyya is about *jihad*. Other Muslims often object to Ahmadi's belief on *jihad*. They accuse Ahmadi deny *jihad* since Ahmadi in India did not go to war against British who colonialized India in nineteenth century because Ahmadiyya was deliberately established by British to weaken Muslims.

Regarding to Ahmadi's belief in *jihad*, Ghulam Ahmad in his book, *Ruhani khazain*, stated that Islam never teaches Muslims to force others to be Muslims. Historically, the prophet Muhammad never spread Islam through war. Warfare only happened after the enemy abuses Muslims and all enemies want to eradicate Islam from the earth, God ask Muslims to go for *jihad* to defend Islam (R. A. Anwar 1988, 20). For real Muslims who follow guidance from Islamic teaching, they never follow the rule that Islam should be spread through warfare. Islam always expands and is accepted because of its beauty. Muslims who believe that Islam should expand using sword, it means they do not admit the beauty of Islam (R. A. Anwar 1988, 21).

According to Bashirudin Mahmud Ahmad (The Third *Khalifah*), Ahmadiyya do not deny *jihad* since belief cannot be made perfect without *jihad*. What they deny is *jihad* using sword and the best *jihad* form is *jihad* with Qur'an (M. B. M. A. Ahmad 1997, 58). Furthermore, there are two kinds of war. The first one is *jihad* war and the other one is an

ordinary war. What we call *jihad* war is war to defend our faith and the enemies that we face want to destroy the religion using violence and insist to change our belief. These circumstances urge Muslim to perform *jihad*. However, there are some requirements to do this *jihad*. This *jihad* should be announced by an Imam, call for *jihad* should be made by this Imam. He decides who have to go for *jihad* and who have to wait their time. If there is no imam who makes decision, when the time to *jihad* coming, *mukmin* (a believer) who do not participate in *jihad* will not be a sinner. However, if there is an imam who already made a call, the sinner will be *mukmin* who get a call but they do not go for *jihad* (M. B. M. A. Ahmad 1996, 27).

Ahmadis did not go for *jihad* against British during its colonialism in India because British did not force Muslims to change their religion and they gave religious freedom to Muslims, so that there was no obligation to go for *jihad* against British (M. B. M. A. Ahmad 1996, 27). Moreover, there was no any requirements to do *jihad* at that time (Suryawan 2005, 70).

Ahmadiyya defines *jihad* as a struggle which consists of three kinds of struggles: 1) struggle in defending religion, and the state using warfare toward enemies who want to eradicate religion and country by warfare. This kind of struggle is not needed anymore now since no one using weapon to defend and expand their religion; 2) *jihad* using reasons and explanation both oral and writings. Ahmadiyya uses this kind of *jihad* to expand Islam around the world; 3) *jihad* toward ourselves, restraining lust and desire (Batuah n.d., 12).

Historically, Ahmadi also did *jihad* using weapon. When Pakistan state was established in 1947 apart from India, Ahmadiyya Muslim community established Furqon battalion, and in cooperation with Pakistan army, did *jihad* against Indian army in Kashmir. Some young people from the battalion died on the battle. In Indonesian context, Ahmadis took a part in defending and struggling for Indonesian independence.

For Ahmadi, struggling for their country based on their love to the prophet Muhammad is part of their faith (Suryawan 2005, 78). These examples show that Ahmadi do not deny *jihad* using war, as long as there are requirements to go for *jihad* with weapon.

2.5.5 Ahmadi Do not Pray Behind Non Ahmadi

One distinctive action from Ahmadi which is often questioned by non-Ahmadi is why Ahmadi do not pray behind non Ahmadi. To answer this question, there are some reasons why Ahmadi do not want to pray behind non Ahmadi. This attitude started when Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as the founder of Ahmadiyya was accused as infidel by some ulamas at that time after he told that he is the Promised Messiah and Mahdi. Some ulamas like Maulvi Nazir Hussein from Delhi in 1892 made *fatwa* that Muslims are not allowed to say *salam* to Ghulam Ahmad and his followers, invite Ahmadi to their gathering or attend their invitation, and also pray behind Ahmadi. Other ulamas such as Maulvi Muhammad Hussain Sahib Batala, Maulvi Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, and Maulvi Abdur Rahman Sahib Bihari made a *fatwa* that it is *haram* to pray as *makmum* behind Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his followers. These *fatwa*s were read out in mosques, therefore Ahmadi could not go and pray in mosques which built by non-Ahmadi (Razak 2007, 3). At that time Ahmadi still went to mosque built by non-Ahmadi to pray and they observed prayers mingle with other Muslims.

Because of these circumstances, Ghulam Ahmad in 1900, after eleven years of the establishment of Ahmadiyya, ordered Ahmadi not to pray behind non Ahmadi, since during that eleven years ulama non Ahmadi always gave *fatawa* that Ahmadiyya is not Muslim, *kafir*, infidels, therefore, it was non Ahmadi who firstly accused Ahmadi as non-Muslim and not allowing Ahmadi to pray in the mosque. Since the *fatwa* from Ghulam Ahmad has never been dropped, consequently, till now all

Ahmadi do not pray behind non Ahmadi (Razak 2007, 16; Suryawan 2005, 138).

In the context of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia, besides based on *fatwa* from Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, there is another reason why Ahmadi do not pray behind non Ahmadi. It is when Majelis Ulama Indonesia gave *fatwa* twice in 1980 and 2005 stated that Ahmadiyya is outside Islam and misguided and misleading and it was followed by some violence toward Ahmadis in Lombok West Nusa Tenggara and in West Java which resulted in some loss like destructed mosques and death. Furthermore, in Manislor Kuningan, PAKEM (*Pengawas Aliran Kepercayaan Masyarakat*, Monitoring Mystical Beliefs in Society) Kuningan have recommended and asked police department and Religious Affair Office (Kantor Urusan Agama) Kuningan to repress Ahmadi by inspecting Ahmadi who are civil servants, teachers and *ustadz* with the suspect of defamation of religion, forbid giving Identity Card for Ahmadi and not record Ahmadi's marriage. Suryawan argues that because of these injustice treatments, it is natural if Ahmadi in Indonesia do not want to pray behind non Ahmadi who have broken Ahmadi's human right and also Indonesia Constitution 1945 (Suryawan 2005, 144).

In regard to accusation that Ahmadi is exclusive and their mosques are only for them, Ahmadis state that all mosques built by Ahmadiyya are open to any Muslims. Ahmadiyya never limit their mosque only for Ahmadi. Any Muslims can come and pray in Ahmadiyya's mosques. However, it seems that non Ahmadi who are resistant to come to Ahmadiyya's mosque.

2.5.6 Ahmadi Women Do Not Marry to Non Ahmadi

Some Muslims also point out that Ahmadi's exclusivity in terms of marriage in which they do not allow Ahmadi women to get married to non-Ahmadi men. The argument behind this action is that in developing

a family, there is basic need on the same principle so that they can build a happy and religious family. A woman, in a family should obey her husband; therefore Ahmadi women should get married to Ahmadi men in order to maintain their faith and also their children to keep up with Ahmadiyya community. Furthermore, in Ahmadiyya, women have a special role in educating their children.

There is a strict rule for Ahmadi women in this point. If an Ahmadi woman married to a non-Ahmadi man, she is considered out of the community by her own choice. Consequently, all her sacrifice like *chanda*[38] (financial contribution) and *lajnah chanda*[39] are not accepted by the committee. If she regrets and wants to get back to the community, she has to write a letter to the *Khalifah* directly, asking for forgiveness. This rule does not only apply for the woman herself, it does for all Ahmadi. If there is a marriage between an Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi, all Ahmadis are not allowed to attend the wedding. If they attend because of their family, they will get a sanction. The sanction ranges from preventing the person to be elected as local board member to dismissal for *muballigh*.

Within Ahmadiyya community, board members and elder Ahmadi always remind their youth members to get married among themselves, and to facilitate this rule, they have a *rista nata* (match maker marriage) department. This department exists in all branches of Ahmadiyya around the world. This department collects data on both Ahmadi men and Ahmadi women who are ready to get married and it will link them. Some-

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[38] Chanda is an amount of money given to Ahmadiyya organization; the fixed rate about 1/16 to 1/3 from Ahmadi's earning each month. There are two kinds of chanda, (chanda am) compulsory which is 1/16 and chanda wasiyyat voluntary from 1/10 to 1/3.

[39] Fund collected to run Lajnah Imaillah's activities, it is 1/100 from monthly earning for Ahmadi women who have job or 2,000 Rupiah for Ahmadi women who do not work (in Indonesia)

times they connect Ahmadi man with Ahmadi woman from different countries.

2.6 Jamaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia: A Brief History and Existence

In this part, I will elaborate more on Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in Indonesia which is known as Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia

2.6.1 The Coming and Existence

The coming of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia is different from other countries where Ahmadiyya Muslim communities develop. Usually Ahmadiyya decides to send their missionary without any invitations from the targeted country. However, in Indonesia, Indonesians who invited them to send their missionary. The first missionary of Ahmadiyya to Indonesia came in 1925 when *muballigh* Rahmat Ali responded to invitation from three Thawalib students Padang Panjang, West Sumatra, i.e Ahmad Nuruddin, Abubakar Ayub, Zaini Dahlan, who became Ahmadis when they studied in Lahore and Qadian in 1923.

Those Thawalib students were interested in news about English people who converted into Muslim because of a call from *dai* from India namely Khwaja Kamaluddin. It led them to go to Lahore on 1923. From Lahore they went into Qadian and met the Second *Khalifah* of Ahmadiyya, Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad and after having dialogue with *Khalifah* they took *baiat*. Since then, because of the generosity of Ahmadiyya giving scholarship, there were increasing number of Indonesian students who came and studied in Qadian.

Muballigh Rahmat Ali arrived at Tapak Tuan Aceh in 1925, and in 1926 he moved to Padang. The first branch of Jamaat Ahmadiyya was founded in Padang in 1929. In 1930 he moved to Batavia then Jamaat Ahmadiyya Jakarta was founded in 1932. Since then, Ahmadiyya spread

out in Indonesia. Although some branches have already been established around Indonesia, national organization of Jamaat Ahmadiyya Qadiani only inaugurated in 1935 after a conference held in Batavia (Jakarta) on 15 -16 December 1935. The organization was first named *Ahmadiyah Qadian Departemen Indonesia* (AQDI)- Indonesian chapter of the Qadiani Ahmadiyya), then changed into *Anjuman Ahmadiyya Departemen Indonesia* (AADI, Indonesian chapter of the Ahmadiyya community) after the conference on 12 -13 June 1937. Following the conference in Jakarta in December 1949, the name of organization was again changed into *Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia* with its headquarter in Jakarta. Only in 1987, the headquarter was moved to Parung, Bogor (Burhani 2013, 3─4). Nowadays, it has around 60.000[40] members who spread in Indonesia and the biggest number of Ahmadi is in West Java.

Ahmadiyya Muslim community, Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia received their legal status on 13 March 1953 from Department of Judge (Departemen Kehakiman) number J.A/5/23/13. In order to be in line with Law no 8 year 1985 about mass organization, in 1989 Ahmadiyya changed their statute and the most important change was making Pancasila as the basis of the organization. Therefore, in 1993 General Directorate of Social Politics, the Ministry of Home Affairs stated that Ahmadiyya organization is in accordance with UU no 8 1985.

As have been mentioned before in *Jihad* part, as Indonesian citizens, Ahmadis have participated in struggling for Indonesia's independence. According to their note, Sayyid Shah Muhammad, a *muballigh* from Ahmadiyya was one of persons who accompanied the first president of Indonesia, Soekarno, during independence struggle. The secretary of the

[40] About this number is approximately number since now PB Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia is still collecting data about their members to find the exact number. Every Ahmadi has AIMS (Ahmadiyya Information Management System) number which is unique for every person, and in Indonesia there is still a gap between the real number based on AIMS number and data from all branches in Indonesia.

first ceremonial Indonesia's independence committee, Raden Muhammad Muhyidin was also an Ahmadi (Kohar 2012, 8–9). Furthermore, in their correspondence with members of House of Representatives in 2012, *Amir* Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, Abdul Basith claimed that WR Soepratman, the composer of Indonesia Raya song (Indonesia national anthem) was also to be an Ahmadi, that this fact is rarely known by Indonesians.[41] Moreover, during the Independence Day of Indonesia in 1945, their *muballigh*s also participated in spreading the news to the world in Hindi and English through radio stations, also writing in mass media about Indonesia's struggling on independence. Besides, *Khalifah* Ahmadiyya at that time also asked Ahmadis around the world to support Indonesia by observing fasting Monday-Thursday for two months (Kohar 2012, 9).

Ahmadi in Indonesia, related to the struggle for independence from Dutch colonial domination, they joined the struggle as part of their *jihad shagir*, the small one, to defend their country. It is in line with what Ahmadi in Pakistan did go to war in the time of Pakistan partition from India. Whereas during British governing India in Ghulam Ahmad's time (1887), British treated Muslims with justice and equity, as a result, Muslims practically could live with freedom and tolerance to observe their religion. Therefore, there were no reason to go for warfare toward British ruler (Valentine 2008, 206–207).

[41] According to Zafrullah Ahmad Pontoh (spokeperson of Ahmadiyya), this claim was based on a book entitled "Kenang-kenangan Sepuluh Tahun Kabupaten Madiun" written by Bondan Winarno which stated that in 1943 WR Soepratman joined Ahmadiyya in Jakarta. Although there is no written record from Ahmadiyya since there was no systematic record of their members like today, Pontoh argues that WR Soepratman possibly joined Ahmadiyya in Petojo Jakarta that now is becoming Jl Balikpapan. (Majalah Detik in Sinar Islam, Vol. 1, No.1, Aman 1393/March 2014 pp. 41-43)

2.6.2 Struggles and Conflict Experiences

Since its arrival in Indonesia, it is when *Muballigh* Rahmat Ali came in Tapak Tuan Aceh, Ahmadiyya have faced some difficulties and oppositions. Hostile and fierce opposition came up from some ulamas who already heard about Ahmadiyya movement when they went to Mecca. Those ulamas' resisting action toward Ahmadiyya happened because of some various reasons, both religious and political reasons. They accused Ahmadi was formed by British who invaded India at that time in order to weaken Muslim community from within.

Many kinds of rejection toward Ahmadiyya appeared that time till New Order era, from the lightest to the heaviest, from just labeling Ahmadi as infidels to refusing the burial of Ahmadi in Muslim graveyard. There were also some arguments made by some ulamas to oppose Ahmadiyya through some sermons, publications. Among them are Syeikh Abdullah and Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah (Haji Rasul) in 1927 who wrote a book consisting a theological rebuttal of Ahmadiyya Qadiani doctrines (Ropi 2010, 286). However, violent conflict toward Ahmadiyya which include physical violence and destruction of buildings did rarely happen during that era.

Given those facts mentioned above, we can say that since its coming until before *Reformasi* era in 1998, resistance towards Ahmadiyya in Indonesia existed, however it was not as hostile as nowadays. Some ulamas who thought that Ahmadiyya is not in accordance with Islamic teachings, they wrote a book or opinion in magazine or they did debate against Ahmadi. One of the most popular debate was between A Hassan from *Persatuan Islam* and Abu Bakar Ayyoub, a missionary from Ahmadiyya, happened on 19 September 1933 in Salemba Jakarta. At that time hundreds people came to see the debate. The debate lasted for two days and it did not bring any chaos or violence. The record of this debate was compiled in a book and published by Pembela Islam ("Ahmadiyah, Sebuah Titik Yang Dilupa" 1974, 44). However, after the *Reformasi* era

the oppositions toward Ahmadiyya community is not in a form of debate and dialogue anymore but more on violence and physical attack on them and their mosques, settlement, infringement on their religious freedom and even disruption on their right as Indonesian citizens.

There is a radical change of the form of expressing resistance from other Muslims toward Ahmadiyya community, from using rational opinion and intellectual action such as holding debate and dialogue to doing physical attack and killing. Conflict in term of different interpretation on theological matter suddenly changes from non-violent to violent conflict which brings about many losses for Ahmadi.

2.6.3 The Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI)'s *Fatwa*s on Ahmadiyya and Their Social Impacts

Before going deeper to the conflicts that involved Ahmadiyya with other Muslims in Indonesia, it is important to know about the MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, Indonesia Ulama Council) and its *fatwa* since many Muslims Indonesia still consider and obey MUI's *fatwa*s, and also, in my opinion, arguably some MUI's *fatwa*s cause violent conflicts among Muslims themselves.

Related to deviant in Indonesia, the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) has issued 10 criteria of cult or deviant on 9 November 2007. If there is one doctrine that has indicated one of the ten criteria, it can be used as the basis to name the group as deviant. Those ten criteria are as follows: (1)Disagrees with the pillars of faith (Faith in God, Angels, Scriptures, the Apostle, End of Days, *Qadla* and *Qadar*) and the pillars of Islam (Saying two sentences *Shahadah*, prayer five times, fasting, zakat, and hajj, pilgrimage); (2) Believes and acts outside the teaching of the Qur'an and hadith ; (3) Believes in a decree that comes after the Qur'an; (4) Disputes the authenticity of the Qur'an; (5) Interprets the Qur'an differently from Qur'an principles; (6) Disagrees with hadith as a source of Islamic teaching; (7) Humiliates, despises or looks down on

the Prophets and the Messengers; (8) Disagrees that the Prophet Muhammad is the last Prophet and Messenger; (9) Changes, adds, or reduces principles concerning religious rituals that have been set down by *shariah*, such as "The hajj (pilgrimage) is not to Mecca", and prayers do not have to be performed five times a day; or finally (10) Claims other Muslims are infidels without justification by *shariah*, for instance, they are infidels because they do not come from the same Islamic group.[42]

In this part, I am discussing MUI's *fatwa*s on Ahmadiyya which directly and indirectly have been suspected to cause conflicts with violence among Muslims and the conflicts that happened. The goverment established the MUI in 1975 to control public expression on religious issues, but now it has been an independent organization in terms of its activities although in terms of funding, it get funding support from the government. It is organized at the national level but there are also at provincial and regencies levels. MUI in national level may issue a *fatwa* that not all provincial or regencies level might implement the *fatwa* (Hooker 2003, 61─62) and MUI in provincial or regencies may also issue a *fatwa* based on the situation in their area.

Since its establishment, MUI (both national and provincial) have issued many *fatwa*s related to 'deviant' among Muslims. MUI issued a *fatwa* in 2007 which gives guidelines on determining deviant teachings as aforementioned. Some of the guidelines are those that not in line with six core principles of Islam, recognizing a prophet after Muhammad, changing or modifying Islamic rituals like going hajj (pilgrimage) not to Mecca or stating that doing prayer five times daily is not necessary. In October 2007 the MUI declared a minority sect, *al-Qiyadah al-Islamiyah*, as deviant because it recognized its founder Ahmad Musadeq

[42] MUI: 10 (Sepuluh) Kriteria Aliran Sesat (Ten criterias of deviant sects) from http://www.media-Islam.or.id /2007/11/09/mui-sepuluh-kriteria-aliran-sesat/ (accessed November 2011).

as Imam Mahdi.[43] From this *fatwa*, there are several persons, sects or groups which then were also declared as deviant.

MUI have issued *fatwa*s about Ahmadiyya twice. The first *fatwa* was issued on 1 June 1980 that pronounces Jamaat Ahmadiyya is outside Islam and a deviant. This *fatwa* was based on nine books talking about Ahmadiyya, but according to Ahmadiyya Indonesia, MUI never mention the title of those books to Ahmadiyya Indonesia. Besides that, in 1984 MUI also warned that Ahmadiyya is harmful for the state's order and peacefulness.[44] This first *fatwa* did not get much attention from the central government at that time because the government paid more attention on the harmonious life among Indonesian with its "*Tri Kerukunan Umat Beragama*"[45] by suppressing the freedom of speech. Therefore, there was no significant number of violence happening toward Ahmadiyya community. Furthermore, Ahmadiyya could still develop and practice their religious activities without any difficulties.

The second *fatwa* was issued on July 29th, 2005 during *National Musyawarah VII* that asserts the first *fatwa* MUI about placing Ahmadiyya as a heretic sect and Muslims who join it are considered as infidels. For those who are already in Ahmadiyya are suggested to come back to the true Islam. The government has the obligation to ban Ahmadiyya.[46] In this *fatwa*, MUI attempts to influence and persuade the government in making a policy. It shows that MUI utilizes its influential position to interfere the state.

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[43] See International Religious Freedom Report 2009 from Bureau Of Democracy, Human Rights, And Labor Us

[44] Himpunan *Fatwa* MUI (The Compilation of *fatwa* MUI)

[45] This three concepts consists of harmony within the same religion, harmony among people from different religions and harmony between religious people with the state, from kepri.kemenag.go.id, retrieved 18 December 2014.

[46] Keputusan *Fatwa* Majelis Ulama Indonesia (*Fatwa* Decision Indonesian Ulama Council) No. 11/MUNAS VII/MUI/15/2005

In response to MUI's *fatwa* on Ahmadiyya, Jamaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia, in their book "Kami Orang Islam" (We are Muslims) clearly argue that this *fatwa* is obviously in opposition with the first verse of Pancasila which guarantee life or institution which admit the oneness of God. This verse never determines whether this oneness of God is inside or outside Islam, inside or outside Christianity or inside or inside other religions in Indonesia. In short, this *fatwa* is not in line with Pancasila and UUD 1945 (*Kami Orang Islam* 2007, 13).

In response to the rising number of violence toward Ahmadiyya community and suggestions and pressure from several mass Muslims organization included MUI to ban Ahmadiyya for the sake of stability and security, finally the government issued Joint Ministerial Decree (Surat Keputusan Bersama, known as SKB) about Ahmadiyya. The letter was signed by the Secretary General of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Assistant Attorney General for Intelligence, and the Director General for National Integration and Internal Politics at the Ministry of Home Affairs. The letter provides guidance for Governors, Regents, Mayors, Heads of the High Court, and Heads of Regional Offices under the Provincial Ministries of Religious Affairs throughout the country on proper implementation of the Joint Ministerial Decree (SKB). However, there are different attitudes from local governments in interpreting and implementing this SKB. Some of them issued banning of Ahmadiyya activities in their areas like East Java, West Sumatra, some said that the banning of Ahmadiyya is in the hand of central government; therefore local government cannot issue banning on Ahmadiyya, like Yogyakarta.

2.7 Violence toward Ahmadiyya

The conflicts and violence that directed to Ahmadiyya community cannot be separated with the issuing of a *fatwa* from MUI. It has been mentioned that MUI have issued their *fatwa*s about Ahmadiyya, twice. The first *fatwa*, issued in 1984, did not lead to any physical violence

toward Ahmadiyya communities. There was an incident in Manislor where some people painted graffiti on the walls, streets and roads in the Ahmadi village. However, this action was dealt by the Regency of Kuningan at that time and the situation did not escalate to other violence. The number of violent incidents towards Ahmadiyya increased dramatically after the issuing of the second *fatwa* in 2005.

After reviewing conflicts that involved Ahmadiyya, I categorised the conflicts into three types: (1) the issuing of a decree banning Ahmadiyya, (2) sealing of Ahmadiyya mosques and banning religious activities, and (3) mobbing the mosques and houses, including killing.

In its annual report, Center for Religious and Cross Cultural Studies[47] Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta reported that there were 20 violent actions toward Ahmadiyya community in 2008 which can be categorized into 4 categories; destruction on mosques and *musholla*, destruction on non-worship place assets, sealing mosques and *musholla* and sealing non-worship place assets (BPLI 2008, 11). For example, on 13 June 2008 thousands of people and 14 Islamic organizations sealed Jamaat Ahmadiyah Secretariat in Jl Perintis Kemerdekaan Bogor. On 18th June 2008, about 100 people sealed six mosques in Sukadana dan Penyairan village Campaka, Cianjur. On 20 June 2008, FPI (Front Pembela Islam) South Sulawesi sealed Nusrat Mosque and Ahmadiyya secretariat and in Cianjur, hundreds of people from Hisab (Himpunan Santri Bersatu, the Unity of Santri) and Garis (Gerakan Reformasi Islam, Islamic Reformation Movement) sealed al Ghafur mosque in Jl Muwardi Cianjur West Java by '*Disegel Umat Islam'*(sealed by Muslims) written in red paint. There were no security officers present.

Setara Institute reported that there were 193 violations toward Ahmadiyya in 2008. There were 145 incidents before the issuing of SKB

[47] Center for Religious and Cross cultural Studies (CRCS) is a center and post graduate programs in Universitas Gadjah Mada which publish report on religious life in Indonesia annually.

and 48 incidents after it. And the most incidents happened in West Java in which many Ahmadis live (Hasani 2009).

In 2001, the local Government of West Lombok issued SKB Bupati[48] that prohibits Ahmadiyya in West Lombok. Because of this letter, in Sambielen Lombok West Nusa Tenggara, a mosque was burnt, Ahmadis' houses were destroyed, an Ahmadi, Papu Hasan was killed and their properties were looted. While in Lombok Timur (East Lombok), in September 2002, The Regent issued a handbill restricting of spreading Ahmadiyya teachings in Lombok Timur.[49] In 2004, Regent of Lombok Timur issued a decree (Surat Keputusan) about banning Ahmadiyya in East Lombok resulted in ruining three mosques in Pancor by people.

In Kuningan West Java, SKB (Surat Keputusan Bersama) was issued by Kuningan local government that banned Ahmadiyya in 4 November 2002. As a result, eight mosques and houses were wracked. In December 2004, again the Regent of Kuningan, in collaboration with the Attorney and the Religious Department of Kuningan issued SKB banning Ahmadiyya in Kuningan.[50] This SKB was followed by many attacks toward Ahmadiyya community in Kuningan.

In the following year, after the issuing of SKB in Kuningan, there was much violence toward Ahmadiyya community in that area. On 20 October 2004, two *mushollas* namely At Takwa in Dusun 1 and Al Hidayah in Dusun IV in Manislor were destroyed by 10 people dressing ninja who came by a minibus. They arrived at 09.00 PM and directly broke window glasses in At Takwa and then moved to Al Hidayah. In

[48] Keputusan Bupati Lombok Barat No. 35 Tahun 2001 (Regent's Decision)

[49] Surat Edaran Bupati Lombok Timur No.: 045.2/134/KUM/2002

[50]Keputusan Bersama Bupati Kuningan, Kepala Kejaksaan Negeri Kuningan, Kepala Kantor Departemen Agama Kabupaten Kuningan No.:451.7/KEP.58-Pem.Um/2004, No.:KEP-857/02.22/Dsp.5/12/2004, No.: Kd.10.08/6/ST.03/147/2004

Al Hidayah, they broke the windows, the roof and burnt carpet.[51] On Friday 29 July 2005, Kuningan local government closed mosques and musholas in Manislor, Jalaksana sub district. In Kuningan, particularly in Manislor, majority people are Ahmadis, only some families that are not Ahmadis. An Nur mosque, seven musholas and Fadhal Umar hall that are usually used by Ahmadis to do their activities were closed and they set barriers on their doors and windows. It was done under the agreement between *muspida* (local leaders) and Ahmadiyya leaders.[52]

On Wednesday 28 September 2005, Cianjur's leaders prohibited Ahmadiyya from doing their religious activities. They were Regent Wasidi Swastomo, Attorney Deddi Siswadi, and *Ajun Komisaris Besar* Anang Suhardi from Police Department by signing a SKB.[53] Religious Department West Nusa Tenggara officially banned Ahmadiyya in West Nusa Tenggara on Thursday, 27 October 2005.[54]

In 2008, central government issued SKB (Joint Ministerial Decree on the Ahmadiyya) no 3 year 2008, no: KEP-033/A/JA/6/2008 that warns Ahmadis and other Muslims. The SKB was as the response to the calls to restrict the group's rights. For the most part, Ahmadiyya followers were allowed to continue worshiping, but they were not free to proselytize or otherwise practice their faith publicly.

Following to SKB, in South Sumatra, several conservative groups under the umbrella organization Forum Umat Islam (Islamic People's Forum), including the Front Pembela Islam (Islam Defenders Front) and

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51 http://majalah.tempointeraktif.com/id/arsip/2004/10/25/PST/mbm.20041025.PST92832.id.html) (Accessed February 2011).

52 http://www.tempo.co.id/hg/nusa/jawamadura/2005/07/29/brk,20050729-64587,id.html (accessed February 15th, 2011).

53 http://www.tempo.co.id/hg/nusa/jawamadura/2005/09/28/brk,20050928-67225,id.html (accessed February 15th, 2011).

54 http://www.tempo.co.id/hg/nusa/nusatenggara/2005/10/27/brk,20051027-68620,id.html (accessed February 15th, 2011).

Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (the Indonesian Mujahidin Council), along with Hizbuth Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), insisted the dissolution of the Ahmadiyya. As a result, in September 2008 the acting Governor of South Sumatra issued a governor's decree banning Ahmadiyya. It stated that "the Ahmadiyya would be prohibited in the province because Ahmadiyya is not compatible with Islamic teachings." Many Muslims supported this ban, including officials from the provincial offices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, local prosecutors, and representatives from the local MUI and other Islamic organizations, including academics from Palembang-based Raden Fatah State Islamic Institute. The Governor was only in power for three months. The Ahmadiyya community is still able to perform its usual and normal religious activities in the province.[55] On 5 October 2008, Mahoto Mosque in Tanjung Medan, Pujud, Rokan Hilir Riau was destroyed (CRCS 2008, 12). Those are some rules and regulations issued by the government both the central and regional that were directly influenced by the issuing *fatwa* from MUI on Ahmadiyya and also demand from other Muslim communities who do not agree with Ahmadiyya's belief and those regulations lead to violence and hostilities toward Ahmadiyya community.

Apart from the destruction of their houses of worship, the Ahmadi in many regions also have to endure the restriction of performing religious rituals and activities. For example, on 20 June 2008, FPI (Front Pembela Islam) South Sulawesi sealed Nusrat Mosque and Ahmadiyya secretariat and restricted Ahmadiyya community of doing their religious activities. Whereas in Cianjur, hundreds people from Hisab (Himpunan Santri Bersatu) and Garis (Gerakan Reformasi Islam) besides sealing al Ghafur mosque in Jl Muwardi Cianjur West Java also asking Ahmadiyya community to stop their activities. Chep Hernawan, the leader of Garis Cianjur stated that that sealing was done because Ahmadiyya does not

[55] International Religious Freedom Report 2009 from Bureau Of Democracy, Human Rights, And Labor Us

stop their activities although SKB prohibits them to do religious activities and spread their teachings. A day before, there were four Ahmadis in Parakansalak Sukabumi who were forced to declare their coming out from Ahmadiyya and was witnessed by local MUI, police officers and the local government.

Five days after, on 25 June 2008 hundreds people came into House of Representative office in Cianjur and complained about the erasing of sealing signs in the Ahmadiyya's mosques. Those people accused The Cianjur Police, Ajun Komisaris Pramono has given permission to Ahmadiyya to do it. They argued that the erasing those sealing signals indicated that Ahmadiyya did not obey SKB. Whereas the police officers represented by Muhibudin stated that police will always play their role in protecting the society and he promised that they would deal with that problem further.[56]

A group of hardliners sealed a small Ahmadiyya mosque in Talaga village and a mosque in Parabon village, Cianjur, West Java on 1 August 2008. On 8 August 2008, people wrecked Baiturrahman mosque and mushola Baitud Do'a in Kebon Muncang and Kebon Kelapa, Parakansalak Sukabumi. Still in the same month, on 19 August 2008, about 200 people belong to Forum Masyarakat Muslim Ciputat, FMMC (Ciputat Muslim Community Forum) sealed Baitul Qoyyum mosque in Jl Raya Bukit Indah Ciputat, Tangerang Banten. The FMMC believed that Ahmadiyya members had failed to abide by a joint ministerial decree released in June that banned the group from proselytizing. Police thwarted the residents' attempt to seal the mosque. On 27 August 2008, hundreds of FPI members threatened the Ahmadiyya congregants of Al

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56 http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/nusa/2008/06/25/brk,20080625-126674,id.html Penghapusan Segel Masjid Ahmadiyya Diprotes (accessed March 2011).

Mubarak mosque in Jagakarsa, South Jakarta, and demanded they cease all of their activities before the month of Ramadan.[57]

The last kind of conflicts faced by Ahmadiyya is violence like mobbing houses, mosques and even killing. In this part, I present some of them just to give description on how it happened and how the government dealt with that violence.

On 9 July 2005, Mubarak building which is the headquarter of Ahmadiyya was attacked by thousands people. At that time Ahmadiyya followers were holding national annual gathering namely "*Jalsah Salanah"*. The mass forced them to stop the activities. Consequently, *Jalsah* was ended earlier and almost all participants went home for their safety. A week after, thousands people came again to Mubarak building on 15 July 2005 and asked Ahmadis to get out of there. Finally, about 200 Ahmadis were evacuated by the police to the attorney office in Cibinong.[58]

On Friday 22 July 2005, tens member of Umat Islam Indonesia (UII) led by Habib Abdurrahman Assegaf came again to Mubarak building in Kemang. They said that they were monitoring whether Ahmadis still doing their activities or not. They threatened if Ahmadis still do their activities they would bring 15 thousands of people to attack Ahmadis. There were 100 police officers and 30 Satpol PP guarding the building before they came. There were also people from Komisi Nasional HAM (National Commission for Human Rights) led by MM Billah. After the mass dispersed, two buses hired by the police arrived and picked Ahmadi and their belongings to a safe place.[59] On 6 January 2006, a

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[57] http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/nusa/2008/06/25/brk,20080625-126674,id.html
Penghapusan Segel Masjid Ahmadiyah Diprotes (accessed March 2011).

[58] http://www.tempo.co.id/hg/jakarta/2005/07/15/brk,20050715-63963,id.html (accessed March 2011).

[59] http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/jakarta/2005/07/22/brk,20050722-64253,id.html

mosque and a hall were destroyed by people in Leuwisadeng Bogor. The wall around the mosque collapsed, all windows were broken, the roof perforated, and roof-tiles were scattered around the mosque.

About 150 people from FPI (Front Pembela Islam) who came by three trucks and a car attacked Baiturrahman Mosque in Babakan Sindang, Cipakat Singaparna on 10 January 2008 at 15.30. The losses made were four broken window glass, the roof, and other appliances. Actually, at that time Ahmadi have already in coordination with police but that attack was uncontrolled.[60]

After finishing a demonstration asking for liquidating Ahmadiyya in Sadasari and Majalengka and also releasing the suspect of attack in December 2007, mass from Harseah village attacked Sadasari mosque on 28 January 2008 at 12.45 PM. It was the fourth attack since 22 December and it caused the most destruction.

According to Mubarok (an Ahmadi), at 12.30 PM the mass were passing Sadasari without any noise but then from north, suddenly about 70 people came and attacked the mosque using stone, ladders and others that seemed to have been prepared before. While they were destructing the mosques, there were about 250 people and police officers who were witnessing their action. Ahmadis actually have anticipated that action by reporting to the police that people who were demonstrating are from their neighbor village and they passed Sadasari on their way back home. However, it seemed that the police could not do anything to prevent it. Material losses resulted from that action were broken roof, ceiling, and parabolic antenna, burnt carpet.[61]

On 5 March 2008, a meeting hall in Tasikmalaya was stoned by a group of people wearing rimless cap. 12 window glasses and a glass

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[60] (Darsus, volume III, nomor 1, January- February 2008, p.7), Darsus is monthly newspaper published by Jamaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia and circulated to Ahmadis around Indonesia.

[61] (Darsus, volume III, nomor 1, January- February 2008, pp. 6 and 20)

door were broken. On 27 April 2008, a mass burnt Al Furqon mosque and school belong to Ahmadiyya in Parakansalak Sukabumi. On 30 April 2008, some people took Ahmadiyya's mosque apart in Ciaruteun Udik, Cibungbulan Bogor and watched by police officers from Bogor police department.[62]

On 2 June 2009, a mosque belonging to Ahmadiyya members in Kebayoran Lama, South Jakarta was deliberately set on fire by unidentified arsonists during dawn prayers. Witnesses told police that eight Ahmadiyya members were performing the dawn prayer on the second floor of the two-storey building when two men sprayed the mosque with gasoline from a jerry can and lit the fire. There were no injuries in the incident and no arrests were made.

On 19 April 2009 a group of unidentified persons reportedly vandalized the Mahmud mosque in Talaga village. One hundred and fifty residents had sealed the same mosque in July 2008. Also, in July 2008, they sealed the Taher mosque in neighboring Sindankerta village, Cianjur, West Java. On 5 October 2009, a group of people destroyed the Mubarak mosque in Mahato area, Tanjung Medan village, Pujud District, Rokan Hilir Regency, Riau Province, after the Eid al-Fitr celebration.[63]

In other eastern part of Indonesia, the Ahmadiyya community of 182 individuals living in camps as internally displaced persons (IDPs) in West Lombok since their homes and mosques were attacked by a mob in 2006 continued to face challenges during the reporting period. On 14 April 2009, the local government requested that the IDPs cancel plans to return to their homes in Gegerungan Village due to continueing security concerns and pending compensation issues. The April request followed an earlier series of requests in March that the Ahmadiyya delay their plans to return. So far, four families have returned to Gegerungan Village. They are reportedly living and working there safely, although

[62] (Darsus, volume III, nomor 1, January- February 2008, pp. 6 and 20)
[63] (Darsus, volume III, nomor 1, January- February 2008, pp. 6 and 20)

sometimes they still face low level intimidation from the local community. Until today, there are still some mosques belong to Ahmadiyya community which are sealed or closed even mobbed by other Muslims.[64]

Looking at conflicts and violence experienced by Ahmadiyya community in Indonesia, we can say that the conflict will likely appear between Ahmadiyya community and other Muslims who do not agree with Ahmadiyya's belief in the future. However, violence conflicts actually can be eliminated if all parties that involved in the conflict try hard to manage the conflict into more constructive conflict.

The government, as the authoritative, seems to take the easiest way for them to deal with the conflicts by issuing decree that mostly suppress the groups that are accused of being deviant. Furthermore, the decree or the law issued by the State are mostly not effective to control the conflict even it becomes a justification for some Muslims groups to attack what so called 'deviant' group without any afraid of being sent to the jail. Most people who attack 'deviant' groups can live freely after destructing other groups' properties.

2.8 Conflict Resolution Efforts

In responding to any violence and urge from some Muslim organizations on banning Ahmadiyyah in Indonesia, there were several dialogue and efforts done by the government. On 16 February 2011, PB Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia was invited to give presentation in hearing with parliament commission 8 (RDPU Rapat Dengar Pendapat Umum). There were 20 Ahmadis and 5 from YLBHI, LBH Jakarta, Kontras, ILRC and HRWG coming to that hearing. Among those 20 Ahmadi, they are mostly from Pengurus Besar JAI, National *Amir*, H Abdul Basit

[64] (Darsus, volume III, nomor 1, January- February 2008, pp. 6 and 20)

and two were from Lajnah Imaillah, *Sadr* LI, Lilies Aisyah Kamil (Kohar 2012, 5).

In this hearing, National *Amir* JAI explained the existence of Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia since 1923 and its legality based on Keputusan Menteri Kehakiman RI no JA 5/23/13 13 March 1953. Furthermore, he elaborated participation of Ahmadi in Indonesian independent struggle such as Sayyid Shah Muhammad, an Ahmadi who always accompanied Soekarno during the struggle, WR Soepratman; the composer of Indonesia Raya anthem was also an Ahmadi that many Indonesian do not realize it. Besides that, after the Proclamation of Indonesia's independence in 1945, *Khalifah* Ahmadiyya at that time, Bashirudin Mahmud Ahmad asked all *muballighin* of Ahmadiyya to help spread out the news (Kohar 2012, 8).

In recent time, Ahmadis try their best to be good citizens by participating in all aspects of development. Many Ahmadis are participating as parliament member, attorney, regent, lecturers, professors and many other professions. It shows that they are not exclusive at all like what people framing up to them (Kohar 2012, 9). Ahmadis are also active in social activities and charities. Their community, particularly Ahmadi women constitute the most number of eye donor members, and the second most blood donor members. They are also active in giving alternative medication through homeopathy technique. Through their Humanity First, Ahmadi always ready to give a hand when there is natural disaster happening in Indonesia, like in Aceh after tsunami in 2004 and Merapi eruption in 2010. Recently, they are developing a clinic with its all paramedics for people in rural areas like in Saptosari Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta, Klinik Asih Sasama.

Apart from that, Ahmadi women themselves through their organization, Lajnah Imaillah also have programs and social activities that in some extent are lessening the tense of the conflicts they face. What kind of efforts and development done by Ahmadiyya community in resisting

the conflict with violence and in promoting better life, particularly from Ahmadi women will be discussed in Chapter Four.

2.9 Conclusion

Having discussed about Ahmadiyya in Indonesia, from its history, faith, existence and participation in Indonesia, it shows that Ahmadiyya has been part of Indonesia for long time. Although its distinctive faith get some oppositions from other Muslims in Indonesia, before the *Reformasi* era the resistance were showed through debate and dialogue. However, since the *Reformasi* era, when everyone has their freedom to express their opinion, particularly on religious matters, the opposition toward Ahmadiyya moved to the form of violence. Muslims who do not agree with Ahmadiyya's faith, mostly hardliners Islamist, choose to do violence and repress Ahmadis in Indonesia. They give options for Ahmadi to get out of Islam if they still believe in their faith and not using name Islam or they have to follow faith like what other mainstream Muslims believe.

Ahmadis as Indonesians citizen feel that they have the same right as other citizens in term of their religious freedom, therefore they are not willing to change their faith. Although in some areas in Indonesia they experience violence from hardliners Muslims and also discrimination from local governments and ignorance from the State, they still try to be accepted by Muslims and can live in harmony in Indonesia by struggling their rights through constitutional way and also doing social and humanity services to the community.

Analyzing Ahmadiyya's struggles and existence in Indonesia using Gidden's theory of structuration, I argue that "'structure' that is regarded as rules and resources recursively implicated in social reproduction", during New Order era did not play significantly in governing Ahmadiyya. Therefore, Ahmadiyya still could develop in Indonesia in spite of MUI's fatwa about it is to be deviant, because structure at that time did

not give constraints and did not have influence to Ahmadiyya existence. However, in Reformasi era, structure played role in affecting Ahmadiyya community as agent. Structure (the State) has intention to dominate Ahmadiyya as minority groups by issuing rules to restraint the development and even the existence of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. On the other side, Ahmadiyya communities as agent have abilities to oppose against the structure through their resistance. Accordingly, the communities can reproduce new structures which allow them to exist. This can be seen from several social actions conducted by Ahmadiyya community across Indonesia, like negotiating their position by having dialogue with the government, revealing what Ahmadi have done for the country both during independence struggle and in contemporary Indonesia, and giving social and humanity services for wider community.

3

INDONESIAN AHMADI WOMEN AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LAJNAH IMAILLAH

> "I affirm that I shall always be ready to sacrifice my life, property, time and children for the cause of the faith and the community. I shall always adhere to the truth and shall always be prepared to make every sacrifice for the perpetuation of the Ahmadiyya Khilafat, InshaAllah." (Promise of Lajnah Imaillah, (Lajnah Imaillah 2011))

3.1 Introduction

The paragraph above is the promise of Lajnah Imaillah. Ahmadi women usually read out this promise when they start their meeting or activities in Lajnah Imaillah. The content of that promise shows how Ahmadi women should do in their lives. I write that promise to start this chapter to show the underlying motivation all Ahmadi women in doing their activities as Muslim, Ahmadi and as woman.

This chapter three answers the second question: How do Ahmadi women exercise their agencies through their organization, Lajnah Imaillah? To answer this question, we need to examine Indonesian Ahmadi

women and the significance of the Lajnah Imaillah, Ahmadi women organization, in terms of agency, space, and identity.

First, it discusses Lajnah Imaillah's history in its first founding in Qadian and in Indonesia. Second, its organizational structure and its position inside Jemaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia are discussed thoroughly. Third is the discussion on Lajnah Imaillah's activities and its significance in Ahmadi women's lives specifically in dealing with conflicts and resentments in their daily lives.

Lajnah Imaillah (henceforth be shortened as LI) is women's auxiliary organization o5f Ahmadiyya Muslim community. Based on its membership, Lajnah Imaillah is a religious organization since its relation with Jemaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia and its position as a wing organization for Ahmadi women(Blackburn 2004, 15). By default, all Ahmadi women automatically are the member of Lajnah Imaillah. Lajnah Imaillah is designed for Ahmadi women age 15 years and older. While the group for Ahmadi girls from 7 to 15 is called *Nasiratul Ahmadiyya* and for female kids younger than seven years old is called *Banat*.

3.2 Historical Overview of Lajnah Imaillah

3.2.1 Establishment of Lajnah Imaillah

Lajnah Imaillah is an auxiliary organization of Ahmadiyya Muslim community for women. It provides women a structure to train and develop and enhance their religious and academic knowledge, to acquire health and fitness skills, manage trade and bussiness affairs, and develop their financial abilities. Initially, there was no separate organization for Ahmadi women in Ahmadiyya Muslim community when the Ahmadiyya first established by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

Lajnah Imaillah, which literally means "maids servant of Allah", was first established by Bashirudin Mahmud Ahmad, the second *Khalifahh*. Understanding the crucial role of women in Islam, and inspired by his

second wife, Amatul Hayee, he founded this separate organization within the Ahmadiyya community, solely for women. Amatul Hayee was its first secretary. It was on 25 December 1922 in Qadian, India when the first meeting of founding members taking place.

His open letter namely "To the women of Qadian' called for Ahmadi women to recognize and accomplish their potentials. He wrote in his article in Urdu that "the efforts of our women along with our men are equally necessary for attaining the object of our creation"(Nagi 2009). He further wrote:

> "In order to fulfill the purpose of our creation the struggle by women is required and is as critical as by men. I think that women have not yet the understanding what Islam requires from us: how should we spend our lives, so that by gaining the pleasure of Allah we can get the blessings of Allah not only after our death but in this world as well. If we seriously examine this situation we realize that many women do not consider any other work worth doing, except their household duties." ("To the women of Qadian", Bashirudin Mahmud Ahmad, 1922 in Nagi 2009)

The establishment of Lajnah Imaillah makes Ahmadi women have same potential and chance to Ahmadi men in dedicating and spending their lives for Islam. At that time, Ahmadi women did recognize their household duties as their only importance work and this calling involves them to give their contribution for the struggle of Islam.

Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad further wrote that the spreading of false ideas such as in lifestyle among Ahmadi children could only be countered by Ahmadi women themselves. The certain way to cultivate the true spirit of Islam in children, he explained, was through their mother's teaching and guiding them. Therefore, the progress of the community is dependent upon women. In other words, women have responsibilities and privileges in educating their children who later will replace the former generation. Hence, the quality of Ahmadi children

depends on the quality of Ahmadi women. The childhood years are very impressionable ones. Therefore the reformation of women must be carried out by women (Nagi 2009).

This idea of founding a special organization for Ahmadi women received respectable response from Ahmadi women at that time. In the beginning, fourteen women[65] from Qadian signed up to this movement which was voluntary; later, given its crucial purpose for Ahmadi women themselves, all Ahmadi Muslim women were by default included as members in this organization, and it becomes an auxiliary organization for Ahmadi women (Nagi 2009).

The founding of Lajnah Imaillah, compared to other Islamic women organizations such as Muslimat or Aisyiah in Indonesia, is far different. The initiative of founding was from the *Khalifahh* as the highest leadership in the Ahmadiyya community after comprehending the need of involving women in developing the organization for struggles of Islam, and those Ahmadi women were willingly supporting and joining the organization. While in Muslimat[66] and Aisyiah[67], the founding were initiated by the women themselves after realizing that they need their own space and organization to support their umbrella organization e.g Nahdhatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. These differences on founding also reflect on other differences such as the process of choosing leadership in the organizations.

Lajnah Imaillah which is under Ahmadiyya organization is directly under the supervision of *Khalifahh* at time. In Ahmadiyya community, the leadership is very hierarchical in which the highest leader internationally is *Khalifahh* and in a country is an *Amir* which is always male. However, this patriarchal leadership is not a burden for Ahmadi women

[65] One of those fourteen women was Amatul Haye, the second wife of the second *Khalifahh* and Nusrat Jehan Begum, the wife of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

[66] Women organization in Nahdhatul Ulama

[67] Women organization in Muhammadiyah

to empower themselves since Lajah Imaillah is independently in funding and organizing their activities.

Accordingly, after the establishment of the organization, the first school for Ahmadi women was established in Qadian on 17 March 1925, namely *Madrasatul Khawateen*, a school for women, to spread religious education amongst Ahmadi women. Most of its graduates are teachers and workers in women's central office and educational institution (Imaillah 2012, 13). Besides teaching religious education, this school expanded to teach also secular education for girls and women since it is important to educate women both spiritually and secularly in order to give them better equipment in raising their children as the next generation of Ahmadiyya (Imaillah 2012, 13). On 15 December 1926, Lajnah Imaillah started their first publication, magazine Misbah (literally meaning a 'lamp' or 'lantern' i.e. a guiding light). This magazine strengthened the discipline and training and activities of Ahmadi Muslim women (Nagi 2009).

The first president of Lajnah Imaillah was Syeda Mahmooda Begum, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's wife. Since its establishment, Ahmadi women through Lajnah Imaillah actively took part in subjugating their lives to Ahmadiyya. In 1930 Lajnah Imaillah granted right to have representation in Majelis Shura.[68] It was the first time that those women are acknowledged in important meetings and their voices are also considered.[69]

Lajnah Imaillah, within its own organization Ahmadiyya community, gives a lot of contributions in terms of funding. It started since the

[68] The *Shura* is a consultative body prescribed by the Holy Qur'an consisting of proportionate representation, who meets to gather, debate, and put forward recommendations and opinions to the *Khalifah*h for the betterment of the *Ummah*. This body usually has a meeting once a year.

[69] As have been mentioned before, the leadership in Ahmadiyya is on male's hands, and in *Majlis Shura* Ahmadi women are represented by *Sadr* LI (president).

first generation of LI. They gave contribution for expanding Islam in Europe. The Fazl Mosque, the first mosque built by Ahmadiyya community in London, was fully funded by Ahmadi women through their own way of sacrificing their wealth. They also gave sacrifices to build a mosque in Copenhagen, Denmark. In addition, LI also gave fund to print Qur'an in German translation in their initial period activities (Nagi 2009).

3.2.1 Objectives of Lajnah Imaillah

There are 17 points in the open letter written by Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, which until now become the objectives of Lajnah Imaillah, and these can be found in the Statutes Lajnah Imaillah. These objectives have not been changed since 1922 when Lajnah Imaillah first founded because they are still relevant till now and is still used as guidance for Lajnah Imaillah in running their organization. However, the Statutes have been developed in line with the development of the organization. I will elaborate those 17 points in this part in order to examine the basis of Lajnah Imaillah as a religious organization for women and its activities.

The first to fourth points are about the necessary of Ahmadi women to start increasing their knowledge and spread the knowledge to other women; therefore the establishment of an organization is needed so that this work is continued; the establishment of certain rules and regulations to run the organization which must be obeyed by every member; the rules should be according to the concept of Islam presented by the Ahmadiyya Muslim community and help in strengthening it. These rules are written in LI's Statutes/constitution (*Dastur Asasi* of Lajnah Imaillah Silsilah Aliya Ahmadiyya) which regulate and guide how this organization should run (*The Constitution of the Lajna Imaillah Silsila Aliya Ahmadiyya*, n.d., 2).

The next objectives give attention to developing Ahmadi women's knowledge; members are encouraged to write essays on different aspects of Islam related to current situations, and those essays should be read in conventions in order to master the use of that knowledge; in order to increase knowledge, this organization should invite Islamic scholars whom they think are properly able to deliver lectures (*The Constitution of the Lajna Imaillah Silsila Aliya Ahmadiyya*, n.d., 3).

In order to reach these objectives, Lajnah Imaillah in every country usually publish their own magazine, bulletin or newsletter to give its members space to write and share their ideas and activities on any knowledge and matters that can enrich their community member's knowledge. For example, Lajnah Imaillah in USA have the Ayesha Magazine, Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia has As Syifa bulletin.

After increasing the knowledge of Ahmadi women both in religious and worldly knowledge, the following objectives are on maintaining the unity of the community; all proceedings of the organization should be according to plans and schemes of the *Khalifahh* of the time; Ahmadi women should always struggle to increase the unity of the community as their duty as Muslim, as the Qur'an, the Prophet Muhammad (saw) and the Promised Messiah have stated, and Ahmadi women should always remain ready for any sacrifice for this purpose (*The Constitution of the Lajna Imaillah Silsila Aliya Ahmadiyya*, n.d., 3).

In line with these objectives, all actions, activities and programmes made by a National Lajnah Imaillah are always under a careful planning and consulted to *Khalifah* before it got executed. After getting the endorsement from the *Khalifah*, all programs are fully supported by all members of Lajnah Imaillah, both in terms of financial and resources. Sacrifice, is the key and heart for them to give contribution for all activities and programs run. Their obedience to God and religious obligations can be seen from their presentation in doing sacrifice. Trianita, in her

research found out that this *pengorbanan* (sacrifice*)*, play as a modality of agency for Ahmadi women (Trianita 2009, 75).

The next objectives are on up-bringing of morality of Ahmadi women in order to do their responsibilities and duties as mother. Ahmadi women should always remain attentive for the reformation and development of their ethics and morality; cooperate with each other in this regard and think about ways and means for it and do not limit their attention towards food and clothing only. They have to understand their responsibility of raising children by making them active, vigilant and strong instead of ignorant of religion, frustrated and lazy; teach them whatever knowledge of religion that they have; create love and obedience of God, Prophet Muhammad (saw), the Promised Messiah and the *Khulafa*[70]; create in them zeal to spend their lives according to and for the sake of Islam; think about ways and means to do this work and act upon them (*The Constitution of the Lajna Imaillah Silsila Aliya Ahmadiyya*, n.d., 3).

Besides giving their time, money and energy to participate in all activities and programs held in the organization, Ahmadi women have a crucial role in educating their children; therefore they also have to get religious education to raise their children under Islamic teachings. Ahmadi women like in other conservative Muslims are viewed as who are responsible for bringing up their children.

When Ahmadi women work together, they better avoid for looking for others' mistakes and try to reform with patience and courage. Creating disunity by expressing anger and frustration is not allowed. They should not care about any ridicule and mockery from other people, when they start their new project, and they should learn in advance to bear this individual or group mockery so that other sisters get attracted by seeing their example (*The Constitution of the Lajna Imaillah Silsila Aliya Ahmadiyya*, n.d., 4). This point is important for Ahmadi women to work

[70] Plural form of *Khalifah*

together in LI smoothly. As since its first establishment, Ahmadiyya get opposition and hardship from anti-Ahmadi, therefore strengthening their internal bond is crucial.

Making like-minded Ahmadi women is necessary to strengthen the idea and to keep it continued forever. Their work can continue only when every Ahmadi woman who becomes member of the organization consider that her duty is to make other sisters like-minded. Only those women who have like-minded shall be made members of this organization who fully agree with its ideas and if someone, God forbid, does not agree anymore, shall leave without any resentment or shall be asked to leave. This is to safeguard the organization (*The Constitution of the Lajna Imaillah Silsila Aliya Ahmadiyya*, n.d., 4).

With the purpose of these objectives Lajnah Imaillah always encourage their members to obey the rules and regulation they have. If a woman breaks the rules, there are several sanctions for her, from having to make a written apologize to the *Khalifah* until exclusion from the membership of the community.

As the community does not consist of any particular group, they are all are Ahmadi women, therefore there shall be no discrimination between the rich and poor. Rather, they should try to create love and equality among both the rich and the poor, and the feelings of arrogance and superiority should be eliminated from the hearts, because in spite of different levels, as a matter of fact all men are brothers and all women are sisters. Ways and means should be suggested and acted upon to serve Islam and to help poor sisters and brothers. The last objectives of Lajnah Imaillah is to keep praying to God and ask for His blessing so that they can fulfill all those objectives in the best manner and ways till the end of time (Lajnah Imaillah 2011, 8–14).

The basis of the organization is *taqwa*, obedience to God. Therefore, all members are equal regardless their wealth. It reflects on the regulation of choosing people for their leadership committee and representa-

tives for Majlis Shura. The requirements are considered from their *taqwa*, their activity in the organizations, not from their intelligence or wealthy. Besides, from their daily interaction and activities inside the organization, we rarely notice a gap among those who are rich with those who are not.

Overall, from those objectives, in other words we can say that the aims of Lajnah Imaillah, as written in the letter of *Khalifah* the Second is to raise awareness among women about their important status and their great responsibilities in the religious organization while focusing on their duties towards mankind as well as their contribution to the society in which they live and raise the future generation (Lajnah Imaillah 2011, 7).

3.2.3 Flag of Lajnah Imaillah

Internationally, Lajnah Imaillah has its own flag which is usually raised on their meeting. In addition to all the graphics of the flag of Ahmadiyyat, it had three date trees with a stream flowing underneath them. The flag was made of satin and its design was stitched with a machine using different color silk threads. The flag was inaugurated by the second *Khalifah*, Bashirudin Mahmud Ahmad during *Jalsah Salanah* on 25 December 1939. The flag pole was 35 feet high and the flag was 3 ¾ meters in length and 2 ¼ meters in width. In addition to all the graphics of the flag of Ahmadiyya, it had three date trees with a stream flowing underneath them.

During the partition of Pakistan from India, this flag was brought along with utmost care (from Qadian, India to Rabwah, Pakistan). However, in April of 1949 when the first *Jalsah* was commencing in Rabwah, the box with the flag was accidentally left on the train by the workers unloading the luggage from the train; and was never recovered despite all efforts to do so (History of Lajna. vol 1: pg 469─470).

On 24 December 1998, Amtul Quddus, former President of Lajna Pakistan, wrote to *Khalifatul Masih IV* asking for recreating the flag, and it was agreed in January 1999 and the Lajna Flag was recreated by Khursheed Anjum. Also during the same year this flag was hoisted at the Annual Lajnah Imaillah Pakistan Sports Tournament and so is this flag used for all other Lajnah events.

Figure 3.1 Lajnah Imaillah flag (sources: History of Lajnah Imaillah, Lajnah Imaillah UK)

Crescent is a sign of the new era in the spiritual darkness of modern ages. Star; a star with 6 corners denotes six arches of faith. Oasis denotes motherhood that thrives on spiritual water. The three date trees represent three excellent women in the history of humanity; those are: Hajar who made a sacrifice for the sake of Allah to bring up a son (the Prophet Ishmael) in the desert. Maryam who gave birth to a son in a desert who grew up to be the Prophet Jesus. Amina, is the mother of the greatest prophets of all, the Holy Prophet Muhammad who was born in the desert. Minaratul Masih represents the prophecy about the Promised Messiah has come true. Sunrising in the West: Denotes the success of Islam and Ahmadiyya in the West. The sunrising in the West also de-

notes the prophecy of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (Imaillah UK 2012).

3.3 Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia: A Brief Historical Overview

Following the existence of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia since 1924, Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia was established in Padang in 1928, but it was not officially organized. The Lajnah Imaillah actively ran organizational activities in 1931 in Padang, West Sumatra. The structure of organizational board at that time consisted of several primary bodies held by 5 Ahmadi women, because of the limited number of Ahmadi women. They were Siti Alam Sundari Daud as the leader, Anjar Bahar as the General Secretary, Nani Thali Puar as finance and teacher assisted by Halimah Syair and Nurani Musa (Zulkarnain 2005, 217). Activities conducted by this pioneer organization were mainly related to the religious activities performed once a week for Ahmadi women and for Ahmadi children. Lajnah Imaillah was just officially established in 1983 after its significant development in West, Central and East Java when their members held a congress in Padang and they formed Coordination Body of the Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia (Badan Penghubung Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia, BPLI). It was led by a leader and supported by a vice leader and secretary.

Then in 1987 this coordination body (*Badan Penghubung*) transformed into Leaders body of Lajnah Imaillah (*Badan Pimpinan Lajnah Imaillah*), and a leader of BPLI changed into *Sadr* LI (President). Basically, their activities were related to Jemaat Ahmadiyya activities like *pengajian*, trainings also held in order to empower women with certain abilities. Up to 1938 the Lajnah Imaillah's members consisted of approximately 40 Ahmadi women and experienced stagnation from 1942─1949 (Trianita 2009). Since 2010, BPLI transformed into Pengurus Pusat Lajnah Imaillah (Central Board of Lajnah Imaillah). Nowadays,

PPLI records the number of Lajnah Imaillah members Indonesia is about 13,363 which spread out in 2694 branches (PPLI 2014, 47).

Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia also has its symbol, presented in two forms, vandel and pin. The idea of having their own symbol came up from Lies Sumiarni Ibrahim Djajaprawira as the President of LI so as president of Committee *Ijtima* LI, when the first *Ijtima* Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia took place in Bandung in 1973. She asked R. Ahmad Anwar, a *muballigh* to make a design of a vandel/small flag for LI. R Ahmad Anwar made the logo with two background choices, blue and green, then from Ahmadi women's discussion in *Ijtima* they chose the green one.

According to R. Ahmad Anwar, there were two events that inspired him to make that logo, the first was his last meeting with Hazrat Bashir Ahmad, *Khalifah* second's son when he was going to back to Indonesia. He asked for counsel from Bashir Ahmad, and the advice was:

"As an Ahmadi, we have to have an interesting personality like beautiful flowers with its fragrant. Everybody likes beautiful flower and its scent. Do not be like in contradictory such as feces. All people would feel abhorrent and stay away from it" (N. S. Anwar 2000, 27).

The second event was the visit of Wakilut Tabshir,[71] Mirza Mubarak Ahmad, grandson of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, to Indonesia in 1963. In his speech he said to Jalsah's attendees, "I see Lajnah Imaillah members are gathering like flowers in a beautiful flower garden". He personified garden as the place where Masih Mauud's spiritual children gather.

In that vandel, there are three meaning categories of the symbols. The first is sign of Islam in form of verse Qur'an Ali Imran: 20, *innaddina indallahil Islam*, Surely, the true religion with Allah is Islam (complete submission).[72] The second meanings are about Ahmadiyya.

[71]Vakilut Tabshir is director of Tahrik Jadid (new scheme).

[72]The Holy Qur'an, Arabic and English translation published by Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, 2012.

Kubah Mosque with a minaret reminds us about Minaratul masih in Qadian surrounded by wall (*akhlak and ruhani*). In the sky there are two white lines represent dawn victory. Those two lines also mean that Lajnah Imaillah was founded by the second *Khalifah*. A crescent and star mean that the glory of Islam will come with the intermediation of Ahmadiyya (N. S. Anwar 2000, 29). The third one is symbol of woman's identities. It lies on the choosing of sun flower as the symbol. Sun flower always face to the sun so as Lajnah Imaillah who always follow the instruction from the *Khalifah* directly. Besides, sun flower contains many seeds that rich of nutrients. The yellow petals symbolize high vitality, both physically and mentally. The green leaves reflect the spiritual life of Ahmadi women on their obedience and lofty ideals. In addition, sun flower with its numerous seeds signify a hope that Ahmadi women will create next generation of Ahmadiyya having high morals, *mukhlis*[73] and *taqwa* (obedience) (N. S. Anwar 2000, 29)

Figure 3.2: Logo Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia (Source: PPLI)

[73] Mukhlis, being a sincere person

3.4 Organizational Structure

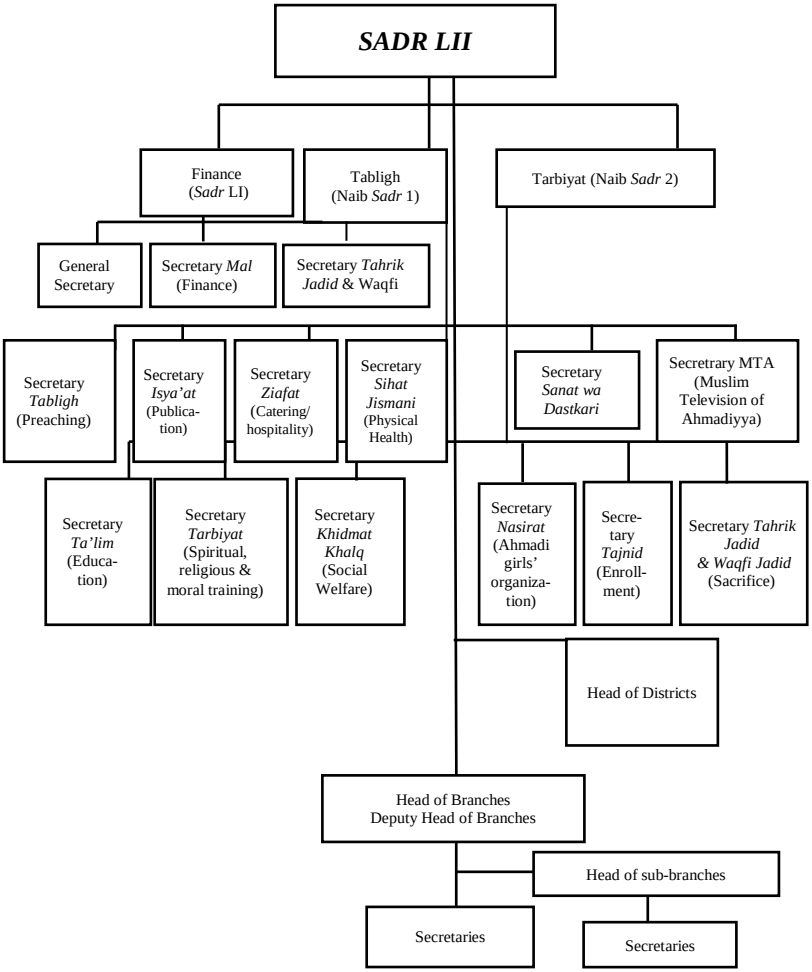
In 14 November 1989, *Khalifah* IV commenced that every National *Sadr* in every country is responsible directly under the guidance of the *Khalifah*. Consequently, all their activities plan and budget should get an endorsement from *Khalifah*. This rule makes them organizationally and financially independent inside Ahmadiyya Muslim community.

To run the organization, Lajnah Imaillah has Statutes, constitutions which principally manage all activities for their members and responsibilities and duties of each secretaries/board members. Their activities directly support and empower Ahmadi women in their religious and social life. Moreover, their activities also indirectly and directly support the existence of Jamaat Ahmadiyya as the bigger organization for Ahmadi women. Ahmadi women through Lajnah Imaillah actively participate in all activities held by Jamaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia even sometimes they become the main sponsor which support the fund for some activities.

Organizationally, the composition of its organization is almost the same as Ahmadiyya organization as its umbrella organization except some departments which are not available in Lajnah Imaillah such as *Rista Nata* (matrimonial agent) and *Ummur Kharijiah* (Public relation). The location of headquarter of Lajnah Imaillah is the same as headquarter of Ahmadiyya organization; in Indonesia, its headquarter is in Parung, Bogor and usually called as Markaz. The highest leader is *Sadr*, the President, who is helped by *Naib Sadr*/*Sadrs*. A Lajnah branch can be established if there are at least three Ahmadi women in one area. A *Sadr* is responsible in leading all activities in Lajnah Imaillah. She shall supervise all Lajnah activities. In doing her duty, a national *Sadr* is helped by two *Naib Sadrs* (vice president). In their daily organizational activities, *Sadr* supervises *mal*/finance group, *Naib Sadr* I supervises *tarbiyat*/education group and *Naib Sadr* II supervises *tabligh*/missionary

group (2014). The structural organization of Lajnah Imaillah, from national level to local level, has the same composition, but the number of individuals in charge may be different, depending on the number of members in one local branch.

Diagram 1: Organization Structure of Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia



As can be seen from diagram 1 above, to run their organization, Lajnah Imaillah has 14 secretaries which are divided into three groups. *Mal* (Finance) group is under the supervision from *Sadr* LI, *tarbiyyat* (education) group is under *Naib Sadr* 1 and *tabligh* (missionary) group is under *Naib Sadr* 2.

This division is based on their main activities. Finance group consists of three secretaries, general secretary, finance secretary and *Tahrik jadid* and *Waqfi jadid* secretary. General Secretary deals with any kind of correspondences and report. She is responsible for recording Lajnah Imaillah's activities and report it to *Sadr*.

Tarbiyat group consists of *tarbiyat* (education), *ta'lim* (spiritual, religious and moral teaching), *nou mubayyiah* (new converts), *khidmat khalq* (social welfare), *nasirat* (Ahmadi girls' organization), *tajnid* (enrollment). Whereas, *tabligh* group consists of *tabligh* (missionary), *isyaat* (library), *ziafat* (hospitality, catering), *sihat jasmani* (physical health), and *sanat wadaskari* (exhibition). The names of each secretary in all Lajnah Imaillah around the world is the same, which are rooted from Urdu language. This uniformity in using the terms, in my view, is to connect them around the world, since Ahmadi usually have annual gathering (*Jalsah Salana*) in which they would meet with other Ahmadi from other countries, the uniformity of using terms would ease them to communicate.

Each secretary in National Board of Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia (PPLI) in the headquarter is responsible for collecting report from LI branches. Each LI branch reports their activities monthly. They send it through mail, email, and started on November 2013 several LI branches which have access to the internet send their reports using online report. There is a special website created to send their reports. This is one of innovation happening in LI organization, mostly all communication between PPLI in Parung Bogor with Regional LI leaders and branches now is through email. They are going to be paperless. Only for LI

branches which are remote and have not have internet yet that send their report using papers.

As for reporting their activities monthly, LI committee usually have their meeting once a month to evaluate what they have done and what activities that they are going to have in the next month. For example, *Tarbiyat* secretary deals with educating the members in terms of religious affairs such as their activities in observing prayers (*salat*) both obligatory five times, Jumat prayer and also other Sunnah prayers such as *tahajud*, *dhuha* and *tasbih* prayers. They report on how many Ahmadi women observe prayers regularly, wear pardah, reciting Qur'an, understand the meaning of Qur'an. On the other hand, *tabligh* group deal with more worldly business and social activities such as building and maintaining relationship with other organizations and wider society, publishing and distributing books, giving alms and aids for others, and supporting members' economical life through cooperation and trainings (PPLI 2014, 37–77).

A National *Sadr* is chosen in a national convention (*Majlis shura*) consisting of office bearers of national level, district *Sadr*s, special LI members invited by National *Sadr* for consultation and representatives from members, every two years. One representative is represented 25 members and chosen by election. For local branch that consists less than 25 women, the representative is represented by one woman (Kamil 2014).

In the process of election of National *Sadr*, there are at least five names proposed. The names are proposed, seconded then accepted or rejected by raising hands. The introduction of each candidate is allowed but any propaganda is not allowed. Moreover, the candidate cannot vote for herself (*The Constitution of the Lajna Imaillah Silsila Aliya Ahmadiyya*, n.d., 21). The election is usually led by special LI member or someone who is appointed by the *Khalifah*. In the election of *Sadr* LI Indonesia in October 2014, the leader of the election process was *Raisut*

Tabligh of Jemaat Ahmadiyah as the representative of the *Khalifah*. Overall, the process of electing new *Sadr* does not take a long time, only for two to three hours.

After the process of election done, the list of those five names and the number of vote got is submitted to *Khalifah*, and the decision of who become *Sadr* is depend on *Khalifah*'s decision (*The Constitution of the Lajna Imaillah Silsila Aliya Ahmadiyya*, n.d., 21). It is possible that sometimes the name who get the most vote is not chosen by the *Khalifah*. A person can be chosen as National *Sadr* only who lives in the headquarter of National Ahmadiyya, and she can be elected for two years term and cannot be elected for more than three consecutive terms.

This process is far different from the process of election of the leader of other Islamic women organization in Indonesia such as Fatayat and Muslimat NU or Nasyiatul Aisyiah (NA) and Aisyiah in Muhammadiyah. In NA or Aisyiah, the candidates are from Formatur team, while in Fatayat the candidates of the president are usually from Regional and Branches committee who get the most votes. Those candidates are elected and the president is she who get the most vote from the participants of Muktamar. Whereas in Nasyiatul Aisyiah, there are 27 candidates who are proposed by regional leadership (*Pimpinan Wilayah*). Every *Pimpinan Wilayah* gives 27 names then those names are selected by election committee based on the requirements. Then finally they get 27 names as fixed candidates. During muktamar NA, the participants will choose 9 names as formatur then those 9 people in formatur who will elect the President of NA. There is no campaign also for the candidate in formatur, but usually their Curriculum Vitae is made book distributing to the participant of muktamar to learn the candidates.[74]

Comparing between Lajanh Imaillah, Fatayat and Nasyiatul Aisyiah, the difference are taking place on the process of election, who can be

[74] Based on interview with Rita Pranawati, Ketua IV Nasyiatul Aisyiah PP Muhammadiyah on 1st December 2014.

elected and have right to vote in the election of National President. In Lajnah Imaillah only those Ahmadi women who reside in Jakarta or Bogor who can be elected as *Sadr* LI, whereas in Fatayat and NA, anyone can be elected as candidate regardless their residence as long as she meets the requirements and get the most vote, except in NA the President is elected by a formatur consisting women who get the most vote from the participant of muktamar.

In terms of women who can vote, in LI participants are elected from every branch in Indonesia as representatives based on the number of their members with several requirements that to be met, any Ahmadi women can be representatives as long as she meet the requirements and elected by members in her branch regardless her position in leadership position. Whereas in Fatayat, only women who are in leadership position who can attend muktamar and give their vote for president election as same as in Nasyiatul Aisyiah. I can say that these differences occur because in LI, Ahmadi women automatically become the member of LI organization, while in Fatayat and NA only who are voluntarily join the organization become the member.

Furthermore, in terms of decision of who be the president, in LI, the most voted person is not automatically become the president, it is on the hand of the *Khalifah*. Whereas in Fatayat and NA, the president is the woman who gets the most votes, based on the result of election.

The same process election in National level also happens in the election of Local *Sadr* in every branch of Lajnah Imaillah. However, in local level, the candidates proposed are no more than three names. There are some requirements for a person can be proposed for a local *Sadr*, for example she should observe pardah[75] and knows the meanings of Qur'an, if not a whole at least a part of it[76] or if in villages at least she

[75] She wears hijab in her daily life.

[76] Knows and understands the content of Qur'an, usually examined by her religious activities in the organization.

can recite Qur'an. She also should observe five daily prayers regularly, be truthful and honest. Members who have right to vote gather and their number should meet the quorum which is ½ (50%) of the number of all members in that branch. If the quorum is not met at the first meeting, the election should be delayed and they have to hold the second meeting with quorum 1/3 (33%) of members. If, still in the second meeting does not meet the quorum, there should be the third meeting with any number of members attending. The result of the election is submitted to National *Sadr* and she decides which candidate can be the Local *Sadr* (*The Constitution of the Lajna Imaillah Silsila Aliya Ahmadiyya*, n.d., 22).

A *Sadr* is responsible in leading all activities in Lajnah Imaillah. She shall supervise all Lajnah activities. In doing her duty, a national *Sadr* is helped by two *Naib Sadr* (vice president). In their daily organizational activities, *Sadr* supervises *mal*/finance group, *Naib Sadr* I supervises *tarbiyat*/education group and *Naib Sadr* II supervises *tabligh*/missionary group(2014).

There are several conditions shall be met in which a member can be representative in *Majlis Shura*, or be chosen as *Sadr* and committee. These requirements are: a member is observing pardah (hijab), she regularly pays her obligatory *chanda* (money contribution) at least in the last six months, she does not by pass local Ahmadiyya system and insist to send her *chanda* directly to *markaz*,[77] she does not against any Ahmadiyya rules in last two years and not in disciplinary actions, her *wasiyyat*[78] (the will), if she is a *musi* (testator)has not been cancelled by Anjuman Ahmadiyya due to disciplinary actions, she never brought Ahmadiyya fund for her own personal needs (*The Constitution of the Lajna Imaillah Silsila Aliya Ahmadiyya, p. 21*). It can be seen that the rules of being committee members are very strict. Not every Ahmadi

[77] Branch where the National headquarter takes place.

[78] *Wasiyyat* is a sacrifice scheme in which Ahmadi gives a will to give her/his wealthy at least 1/10 for the sake of Islam, as in life also in death.

woman can be a committee member. In addition, the choosing of committee members does not depend on women's intellectual or wealth, but on their *taqwa* (obedience to God, The Prophet Muhammad, Qur'an, *Khalifah* and Ahmadiyya leaders).

Overall, organizational structure of Lajnah Imaillah is more hierarchical than other Islamic women organization. If a woman posits a higher position in leadership, she cannot hold lower position, for example if she holds an auditor in Lajnah Imaillah District, she cannot be committee in local branch. In addition, the principles "*sami'na waata'na'* (we hear and we obey) is really practiced in running the organization. The highest is on *Khalifah*'s hand, then National *Sadr*, District *Sadr*, Local *Sadr*. All members should obey what their leaders suggest as long as it is in line with Qur'an and *hadith*.

In general, the organizational structure of Lajnah Imaillah provides Ahmadi women a structure to train, develop and enhance their religious and academic knowledge, acquire health and fitness skills, manage trade and industry affairs and develop their financial abilities. Through the organization, Ahmadi women can maximize their abilities and also their contribution toward their own community and also to larger community. Although basically Lajnah Imaillah is a religious based organization, it is the place that not only gives space for Ahmadi women to express their religious, spiritual life but social life as well.

Referring to Orner's idea of agency (Ortner 1996, 20), in which agency is seen from "games" that are patterned, intentional activities that are partly scripted by culture and are pursued by individuals in purposeful ways, Ahmadi women in this case, are under patriarchal culture of Ahmadiyya Communities in which only man who take the leadership, however, those Ahmadi women do not bother with that. They can play their games insides Ahmadiyya community in line with the script written for them through Lajnah Imaillah that gives them comprehensive space. As the culture may prescribe what Ahmadi women should do,

however those women decide how and whether to do it. A deep discussion on how Ahmadi women play their scripted play in contemporary Indonesia both inside Ahmadiyya community and Indonesian society will be presented in Chapter Four.

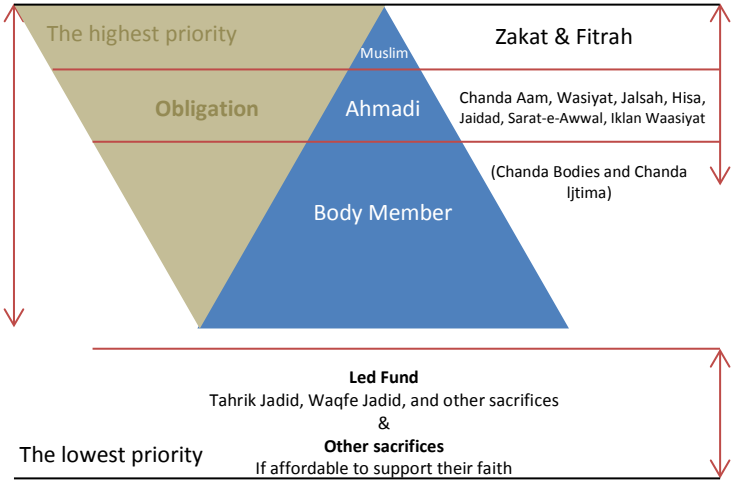
3.5. Financing the Organization

Although Lajnah Imaillah is always attached with Jemaat Ahmadiyya organization as their umbrella organization, in terms of financial resources it is very independent, even in some activities, Lajnah Imaillah supports Jemaat Ahmadiyya's fund and becomes the pioneer in giving financial support. Lajnah Imaillah get their resources from their members. Since in their promise that I have quoted in opening of this chapter, all Ahmadi women shall give their lives, wealth, times and children for the sake of Ahmadiyya and country, they give their fund for the developmental activities for Lajnah Imaillah.

There are two compulsory financial contributions from members, which consist of: Membership *Chanda* of *Lajna* and *Chanda Salana* (Annual) *Ijtema' of Lajna* (*The Constitution of the Lajna Imaillah Silsila Aliya Ahmadiyya,* n.d., 22).The rates Membership Chanda of Lajnah is one percent (1%) from the woman's earning each month for those women who work and a specific amount of money decided by National *Majlis shura* for those who do not work (e.g for Indonesia 2,000 Rp a month). Whereas the rate for *Ijtima* of Lajnah is based on decision made in National *Majlis shura*. These two financial contributions support all the activities of the Lajnah in National and local level. Besides those two, there are several other contributions under other scheme, such as local fund to support local LI activities, *Tahrik jadid* and *Waqfi jadid* scheme to help expanding Islam and others.

Basically, in terms of sacrifice in form of money contribution, there are a lot of schemes in the Ahmadiyya Muslim community. They classify it into three levels, first as a Muslim, second as an Ahmadi and third

as the part of body organization such as Lajnah Imaillah, Majlis Khuddamul Ahmadiyya or Majlis Ansharullah. Therefore, as Muslim, Ahmadi women have obligatory to pay zakat, as Ahmadi they should pay *chanda am* or *chanda wasiyyat* (certain money contribution) and as Ahmadi women they should pay membership *chanda* of *lajnah* and *ijtima* fund, and they also have to pay other kind of sacrifice. If a lajnah is a *musiah*, Ahmadi who join *Al Wasiyyat* program[79], she must contribute at least 1/10 from her monthly money for *chanda wasiyyat*, and if we add all contribution and sacrifice, a lajnah can contribute about 1/5 from all her earning.



[79]Al wasiyyat program is a program launched by Ghulam Ahmad in which Ahmadi would have to sacrifice 1/10 of their income and their property for the purpose of the propagation of Islam and the teaching of the Holy Qur'an (see www.khuddam.org/uk/latest/2014/01/25/blessing-of-the-instituion-of-wasiyyat-0-91776/) (accessed 5 March 2015).

A year of Lajnah Imaillah programs starts at the first October and finish the 30th of September next year. It includes all programmatic, activities and financial stuff. Therefore, the annual budget is also based on this period. The budget plans the amount of money to fund their activities in a year and the amount of money should be raised from members. As has been mentioned above, a national Lajnah's budget should get endorsement from the *Khalifah*, whereas local Lajnah's budget should get agreement from National *Sadr*.

Based on their annual reports, Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia's budget increases every year. It was *Rp.950,000,000*,- (nine hundred fifty million rupiah) on 2011–2012 and now in 2013 -2014 become Rp. 1,370,000,000,- (one billion three hundred and seventy million rupiah), there is an increase of 19,13%. This budget is for activities and program in national and district level, such as operational expenses in National headquarter, annual meeting (*Ijtima* and *Majelis Shura*, national and district level), while for activities in branch/local level, the money is from local *chanda* raised from the members.

All those money are raised from its own members numbering about 13.000 women. It is the duty of all committee board in branches to always encourage their members to give their contribution both in term of fund and time to support the organization. These big amount of their budget resulted from the hard work of its board in national and local levels and also the spirit of sacrifice from their members. Lajnah Imailah does not have any commercial business to raise money.

The National *Sadr* LI is responsible for all accounts of LI together with Secretary Mal controlling the use of the money. Besides, there are also internal auditors to control. Financial annual report is made and presented in National *Majlis Shura*, therefore all members know what for and how the money spent and they have right to get clarification.

3.6 Being a Lajnah, Be the Maid of God: Ahmadi Women in the Fields

For this dissertation, I researched three branches of Lajnah Imaillah, namely: Manislor in West Java, Yogyakarta, and Lombok in West Nusa Tenggara. This part describes overviews on those three areas in terms of its geographical, historical overview, development and existence of Lajnah Imaillah. In addition, challenges, responses for local political situations in every area are also discussed.

3.6.1 Manislor: Sweet Name, Bitter Experience

Manislor is located at sub district Jalaksana, Kuningan West Java. It is about 4 km under the feet of Ciremai Mountain, so it has got fresh and cool air. It can be reached from Cirebon, about 26 km or from Kuningan is about 9 km. According to its meaning, Manislor means sweet in the north. Next to Manislor is Maniskidul village which is only separated by a road.

Based on its legend, the name of the village used to be Manis. When Prabu Siliwangi was on his way moving from Galuh palace Ciamis to Batu Tulis Bogor, he took a rest in Cibulan and he married to a woman there. They've got three children, Indra Wulan (female), Indra Madura and Wisaprana (male). Because there were two male children, village Manis was divided into two, Maniskidul for Indra Madura and Manislor for Wisaprana. This happened about in 1835 (Prawira 2012, 5).

Now, there are 4,600 people living in Manislor, consists of 1,500 families. Ahmadi constitute about 80% from all inhabitants in Manislor. Most Manislor people earn for living as farmers, peasants, traders and labor. Most of them go to big cities like Jakarta regularly to work. In terms of education facilities, there are three elementary schools, SD, a SLTP and Madrasah Tsanawiyah.

Historically, the development of Ahmadiyya in Manislor cannot be separated from *Kuwu* (chief of village) Bening's role. Ahmadiyya started to exist in Manislor since December 1953 when a police orderlies (*mantri polisi*) namely Sutarjo came to Manislor and explained about Ahmadiyya to Kuwu Bening. After having discussion and reading book entitled "*Kebenaran Al Masih Akhir Zaman*" written by Maulana Rahmat Ali,[80] Kuwu Bening decided to take *baiat.*[81] He was the first person who joined Ahmadiyya with his brother Soekrono in 28 February 1954 and introduced Ahmadiyya to Manislor people. There were 80 people took *baiat* at the first day, then it became 391 people in the fourth day and in 1954, there were about 80 percent of Manislor people who joined Ahmadiyya. Among those people, there were 300 women joining the organization at that time (Prawira 2012, pp.5). So there was a mass *baiat* happened in Manislor, because of Kuwu Bening.This mass *baiat* was also influenced by the position of Bening as Kuwu and Soekrono as *sekretaris desa* (village's secretary) at that time. Since Bening wanted to ask people to follow him joining Ahmadiyya, he asked H Basyari to have discussion with religious leaders in Manislor. Besides, the other factor was a belief among villagers that if someday Imam Mahdi come, they have to follow him, therefore it was quiet easy for them to believe and then join Ahmadiyya whose belief is in the coming of Messiah.

Working hard together with H Basyari, Kuwu Being and Soekrono taught and guided people in Manislor about Ahmadiyya. They succeeded to transform Manislor, both the people and the village. Before joining Ahmadiyya, most Manislor people did not observe Islamic teaching and practice although they are Muslims. They still practiced mysticism, dynamism and animism like giving offerings. Their socio economical life were really low, most of them were peasants and did not have their

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[80]The first *muballigh* coming to Indonesia

[81] Take a pledge believing to Ghulam Ahmad as The Promised Messiah and joining Ahmadiyya Muslim community

own rice-field. There were only three brick houses owned by Kuwu Bening, Soekrono and Bapak Sabit. In contrast, after they joining Ahmadiyya, under the leadership of kuwu Bening and H Basari, people started to observe Islamic teaching, those who used to never do prayer (*salat*), started to learn to do prayer. Women went to Cilimus market to buy hijab and *mukena*. Besides, they also started to manage their settlement to be more healthy and orderly and now we can see almost houses in Manislor are permanent buildings with the newest style of house (Prawira 2012, 14).

Although most Manislor people joined Ahmadiyya, the existence of Ahmadiyya in Manislor have being faced some oppositions and mockery since its first development. Its distinctive belief made several people disagree with it and take opposition toward Ahmadi in Manislor. Kuwu Bening as the leader faced some difficulties and concerns from people who did not agree with him. At its first development, Ahmadi in Manislor use to observe five times prayers and Jumat prayer in village's mosque. However, after three months using village's mosque to do prayers regularly, anti-Ahmadi people invited some people from Ministry of Religious Affairs (Departemen Agama) Kuningan to come. Those people ordered Ahmadi Manislor to come into village's hall and they insulted Ahmadi and asked for dismissing Ahmadiyya in Manislor and banned Ahmadi from using the mosque. Consequently Ahmadis had to move their prayer to Bening's house (Prawira 2012, 20). Since then Ahmadi cannot observe prayers in village's mosque, even now village's mosque "Al Huda" is forbidden for Ahmadi. There is a board written "*Ahmadiyah haram masuk masjid ini*" (Ahmadi is prohibited to come into this mosque).

Because of the number of Ahmadi's fast growth, as have been mentioned before, from 80 people then reached to almost 80 % from all Manislor inhabitants, they need more space to observe prayers. Therefore, they started to build a mosque. The first mosque built by Ahmadi

was An Nur mosque in which its land was given by an Ahmadi, Sutawalam. It was firstly built at 15 August 1954. All members gave their hands in building the mosque. They worked hard together giving any contributions that they could. In the middle of constructing the mosque, because of order from some ulamas, Kuwu Bening was caught and interrogated by police and had to be jailed for 5 days under accusation that as the leader of Ahmadiyya, Bening has violated religion, safety and divide people into two groups (Prawira 2012, 21).

From those circumstances, in my opinion, besides because of its distinctive belief that are not familiar with other Muslims, there were some ulama and people who were worried about losing their power and influence among Manislor people because of that striking alterations from Manislor people. Kuwu Bening's move and action in motivating people to join Ahmadiyya and also guided those people in observing Islam have changed Manislor's behavior and character radically. I also see that those ulama were afraid that Ahmadiyya's impact would spread into other area near Manislor, and that would decline their power and influence among people.

Other oppositions to Ahmadiyya in Manislor also came up in a newspaper "Sumber" dated 5 August 1954, titled Ahmadiyya as a new religion, "Ahmadiyya is frog's religion" (*Ahmadiyah agama kodok*). They said that Ahmadiyya was brought by a *kyai* from Bandung who taught that doing prayer (salat) is only by *niat* (intention), dead people do not need to be bathed, just wrapped in black fabric (Prawira 2012, 34). Another story is that there was a woman who really hated Ahmadiyya so she persuaded people to go out from Ahmadiyya by getting reward a sum of money in return. As a result, many people gave up Ahmadiyya so that the number of Ahmadi decreased from 90 % into 80 % from all Manislor people.

Formally, the Ahmadiyya organization in Manislor was established on 20 February 1956 and so as Lajnah Imaillah Manislor (BPLI 2005,

159). The president was Rohanah, Bening's wife with members 275 LI and 25 *nasirat*. For their first activities, the main concern was doing *tabligh* by visiting and giving help to members who had *selamatan*. They provided religious education for its members, including reciting Qur'an and understand its meaning, memorizing prayer readings and about Ahmadiyya. Besides that, it also provided education for kids (*at-fal/banath*) and PKK activities for women. Other activities held are skills training every Sunday and literacy training twice a month (BPLI 2005, 159). Starting from 1967, besides participating in branch activities like *pengajian*, Lajnah held their own *pengajian* every Wednesday and Sunday for older lajnah and every Monday for young lajnah.[82]

When I conducted this research, Ahmadi women in Manislor numbered at 1,028 women who were distributed into eight groups. The group division is based on the location and mosque for their activities. There are eight mosques in Manislor, An Nur, Al Hidayah, Baiturrahman, Al Hikmah, Al *Jihad*, Al Barokah, Al Ikhsan, and At Taqwa. Most Ahmadi women in Manislor are housewives, farmers and traders, some are teachers.

Since Ahmadi women in Manislor live centered in one village, accordingly they find it easier to organize their religious and social activities. They have muawwanah[83] for their members weekly every Wednesday. For young Ahmadi, Ahmadi men and women who still study and not married yet, there is IGMA, *Ikatan Generasi Muda Ahmadiyah* (Young Ahmadi Generation Assosiation),[84]which has gathering every Friday night. I once attended their gathering and heard their sharing on

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[82] This segregation is informal, it is based on their age and status, young lajnah are Ahmadi women who are under 30 and not married yet, while old lajnah are those who are married.

[83] Gathering to have religious teaching and speech/ pengajian

[84] Consist of senior high school students, university students and unmarried young Ahmadi.

their experiences of discrimination because of their Ahmadi identity in their schools.

Figure 3.3 : An Nur Mosque, the center of activities for Ahmadi in Manislor (source: personal collection)

Ahmadi women in Manislor also have KWT (Kelompok Wanita Tani, Female farmers group) that produce snack from cassava and other farming products. Their products are usually sold to other areas in West Java like Kuningan, Cirebon and Bandung. Therefore, this KWT is not only supporting their financial life but also helping them to be known by other communities as Ahmadi since their products are well branded as favorite product of Kuningan regency. It becomes their tools to get a space in larger community about their existence and their participation.

Most houses in Manislor are permanent houses with the newest style of house. They have their own system in building house. They call it "*arisan*", in which if there is a family want to build a house, their close neighbors will have their contribution in terms of material buildings, for

example, one neighbor give 10 sacks of cement, and later on when this neighbor want to build a house, this person will give back those 10 cement. It is like saving building materials in one other's house for another time he get it back when he need it.

Ahmadi's settlement in Manislor is relatively clean and well organized compared to non-Ahmadi's houses in Manislor. This is because of effort from Kuwu Bening during the first development of Ahmadiyya in Manislor as has been mentioned before. He encouraged and led people to manage their settlement to be more organized, made wider path and keep cleanliness.

Ahmadiyya in Manislor is the biggest population of Ahmadiyya in one branch in South East Asia, numbered at 3,000 Ahmadi. It is about 80 percent from Manislor population. The development of Ahmadiyya in Manislor brings about Ahmadiyya's spreading in other areas. Accordingly, there are several new branches of Ahmadiyya established around Manislor in 1954–1996. Sadasari in Majalengka, Ciledug in Cirebon, Indramayu, Cikedung and Sekarmulya in Indramayu, Sudaganangan and Cikubangsari in Kuningan and Dukuhjati in Brebes (Prawira 2012, 22).

Challenges, discrimination, and hostilities are familiar for Ahmadi in Manislor since its existence in 1954 till now. They got experienced exclusion from village's mosque in their first development in Manislor although they gave contribution in renovating it, then got banned from doing their religious activities in their own mosques when their mosques were sealed for more than three years, and now they cannot registered their marriage in all KUA offices in Kuningan regency. More detailed conflict experiences will be discussed in the next part.

3.6.2 Yogyakarta: A Harmonious Life

Jemaat Ahmadiyyah Yogyakarta was established in 1947 when family of Sayyid Syah Muhammad moved from Kebumen. Sayyid Syah Muhammad was a *muballigh* of Ahmadiyya, he helped Indonesia's

government to spread the news about the independence of Indonesia to India. As a result, he and his family could live in a house owned by the government in Jl Bogowonto (now Jl Atmosukarto), then he bought that house in a good price to be a missionary house and in build a mosque for their activities on 11 March 1959 (M. Ahmad 2013, 189–190).

Accordingly, Lajnah Imaillah Yogyakarta was established in 1952 with 15 members and Taslimah Abdul Wahid as the first president. For their initial activities, they did *pengajian* for its member and also for young kids (athfal and banat) which studied about Qur'an, behavior (*akhlak*), Ahmadiyya and how to do prayer (*salat*) (BPLI 2005, 346). Moreover, they also did *tabligh* (missionary) by distributing books about Ahmadiyya to non-Ahmadi and also attended *pengajian* held by non-Ahmadi and gave speech in those *pengajian*. In 1960, there was the first Congress of Ahmadiyya Indonesia in Yogyakarta and Lajnah Yogyakarta involved as committee. Besides, Suara Lajnah,[85] Lajnah Imaillah magazine, was firstly published in Yogyakarta in 1971 under supervision of Maulana Hafiz Qudratullah, *muballigh* at that time (BPLI 2005, 347).

As time went by, from Yogyakarta, then Ahmadiyya spread out in Yogyakarta and Tawangmangu, Magelang. Now, in Yogyakarta Special District (Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta) itself, there are three branches of JAI, in Kota Baru Yogyakarta, Piyungan Bantul and Rongkop Gunung Kidul.

Yogyakarta Ahmadiyya mosque, as abovementioned is located in Kotabaru and it is the place where they do all their activities. In this area, there are mosque, Arif Rahman Hakim library, missionary house where the *muballigh* live and a guest house. Like other Ahmadi in other place around the world, Ahmadi maximize mosque as their center of

[85] Suara Lajnah as media communication and sharing knowledge among Ahmadi women then changed its name into Asy-Syifa and published regularly every three months

activities. Ahmadiyya Yogyakarta is one of branches that was visited by the Fourth *Khalifah* of Ahmadiyya, Mirza Tahir Ahmad in 22─25 June 2000. The *Khalifah* was attending and giving speech in an international seminar held in Universitas Gadjah Mada (BPLI 2005, 350).

Generally, Ahmadi in Yogyakarta relatively can do their religious activities peacefully. Every Jumat all members come to pray Jumat, both male and female, as we know in Ahmadiyya community, female also do Jumat prayer. Every Sunday, Ahmadi usually have some activities in the mosque. Lajnah Imaillah usually has their local committee meeting every first week and *muawwanah* (member gathering and hearing religious teaching) in the second week. Majelis Khuddamul Ahmadiyya has their meeting every third week and Majlis Ansharullah has their activities every fourth week. They also have activities especially for their young kids, *athfal* and *nasirat*.

Yogyakarta members are typically mixed from different ethnics around Indonesia since Yogyakarta is the city of education so that many Ahmadi from other areas studying in Yogyakarta for their undergraduate or graduate education. As there is a rule for Ahmadi who move from their origin and reside for more than one year in other area, he or she should report her move to the closest branch of Ahmadiyya in that area and she is registered as member of that branch. Consequently, she must pay *chanda* and other sacrifice scheme in that branch and involve in religious activities held in that branch. Therefore, the changing of the number of members in Yogyakarta is very dynamic. That is why Yogyakarta is called as "a transit" in which many of its members are not originally from Yogyakarta. There are only small numbers of members who are originally from Yogyakarta. However, this dynamic changing on the composition of their members does not bring any issues in having their routines. Basically, all activities related to the Ahmadiyya organization are done regularly.

Lajnah Imaillah Yogyakarta has been having good relationship with other women's organizations since its first development. Some lajnah actively teach Muslim non-Ahmadi in their neighborhood to learn Qur'an and also give speech in *pengajian* held by non-Ahmadi. From their history, I notice LI Yogyakarta have cooperation with other organizations in organizing some seminar and discussion. For example, in 25 December 1995 *Sadr* LI at that time, Hj. Uun Syarifatunnisa Makih gave a speech entitled "*Urgensi kedudukanIbu Bagi pembentukan generasi Qur'ani*" (The urgency of mother for developing Qur'an generation) in a discussion held by Jamaah Shalahudin Universitas Gadjah Mada and in 27─30 February 1999 under invitation from Fatayat NU to talk in a workshop on "*Kekerasan dalam Rumah tangga*" (Domestic violence), Prof. Dra. Nurul Mukhlishah, a lajnah, ahmadi woman presented a paper titled "Dakwah Ahmadiyah yang berhubungan dengan isu-isu kekerasan dalam rumah tangga" (Ahmadiyya's missionary that related to domestic violence issues) (BPLI 2005, 349–350). The good relationship and cooperation that was initiated since its existence in Yogyakarta, make Lajnah Imaillah and Ahmadiyya in Yogyakarta now gain freedom and safety to do their religious activities and rarely get discrimination and violence from non-muslims who do not agree with their faith.

The member number of Lajnah Imaillah in Yogyakarta when I did this research was 75 women, this Lajnah Imaillah branch is a medium branch according to its number of members. Although this number is quite small compared to Manislor's number, the annual budget of Lajnah Imaillah Yogyakarta is bigger than Manislor's budget since most of their members are having income. Several of them are students, but most of Ahmadi women in Yogyakarta are working women. Some of them are lecturer, doctors, teachers and civil servants. The members live spread out around Yogyakarta. Some are in Sleman and Bantul district, others are in Yogyakarta city.

Since Lajnah members in Yogyakarta reside spreading around Yogyakarta area, they have more opportunities to mingle with non-Ahmadi both Muslims and non- Muslims in doing their daily activities. This opportunity gives them more space to actively participate in society. Some of Ahmadi women are active in teaching their neighbors who are non-Ahmadi on reciting and learning Qur'an. They teach and give preaching regularly in *pengajian* for women and also for kids, TPA (Taman Pendidikan Al Qur'an). Although people know about her Ahmadi identity, people do not bother with it. Besides that, several members of lajnah also involve in social activities and interfaith dialogue. They actively attend seminar, workshop, conference which often organized by universities and NGO around Yogyakarta while introducing their identity as Ahmadi.

Those characteristics of Ahmadi Yogyakarta make them live safely and in harmony with others. Therefore, in Yogyakarta conflict violence toward Ahmadiyya community rarely happened. Even more, they can do their religious activities regularly in their mosque and other places which involved big numbers of Ahmadi from all branches in Yogyakarta without any difficulties.

Looking closely to their experiences on conflict relating to their faith, actually it already occurred since the existence of Ahmadiyya in Yogyakarta in its first development,[86] However, conflict with violence that just raised after *Reformasi* Era, Ahmadiyya Yogyakarta only get one occurrence when its mosque in Kotabaru was sealed by *Gerakan Pemuda Kabah* in 2008 with a banner, but it only lasted for a night and Ahmadi still can manage their activities in the mosque and no continuous hostilities happen. There are several factors influencing these encouraging circumstances for Ahmadi Yogyakarta. Those are: firstly, Yogyakarta as "The City of Tolerance" gives benefit to Ahmadiyya in Yogyakarta as a minority community in Indonesia to take part and give contribution

[86] See more on (Beck 2005)

in society. Secondly, the composition and situation of Yogyakarta that is very plural consisting many different ethnics groups with several different beliefs and also the existence of Sultan as the leader who is able to protect his people and also give same opportunities to people to live, study and work in Yogyakarta as long as they maintain the peaceful of Yogyakarta (Noor 2014).

3.6.3 Lombok: Living as Internal Displaced People

Ahmadiyya came into Lombok for the first time in 1960 when a lajnah from Garut West Java namely Siti Aminah moved to Mataram to work as a midwife in Rumah Sakit Umum (Hospital) Mataram. She got married to I Wayan Rupa, who was Hindu then converted to Islam and changed his name into Haji Ahmad Irwan Darmawan after completing pilgrimage to Mecca (BPLI 2005, 394)(M. Ahmad 2013, 235). In 1967, PB Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia sent *muballigh* Ahmad Nuruddin to Mataram and in 1970 there were 18 people who took *baiat* in Mataram (M. Ahmad 2013, 236). From Mataram, gradually, the number of Ahmadi grew and Ahmadiyya in Lombok spread in Mataram, Praya, Pancor and Sambielen.

Ngatini in her research found out that there were about 6,500 Ahmadi in Lombok before unremittingly attacks and hostilities toward them in 1998. However, now the number of Ahmadi decreased significantly in number 1,275 and those who reside in Lombok in 2012 are only 253 Ahmadi (2012, 4). This decreasing number happened because of the effort from anti-Ahmadi people like Muslims, ulama and local government to force Ahmadi to give up their faith using many ways. The coverage area of Ahmadi also only remains in Mataram, in Asrama Transito.

Originally, Ahmadi women in Lombok in this research are from several branches in Lombok like Praya, Pancor and Sambielen. However, nowadays, they are centered in one place in Transito building in Maje-

luk Mataram. Therefore, the location of Ahmadiyya branch where I conducted research is Lajnah living in Asrama Transito. Most Ahmadi here have been living in this place for more than 7 years, after they experienced expulsion from their own houses more than once.

Like other Ahmadi in other areas, lajnah in Lombok in their first existence and development had some social activities such as blood donor, charity by donating clothes, instant noodles, books to others, like to orphanage *Harapan* in Mataram. During Ramadhan they give groceries package, and donation for elderly people(BPLI 2005, 395). In terms of religious activities, they give *tarbiyat* (education) for Ahmadi kids (Nasiratul Ahmadiyya) to learn Arabic and Urdu languages once a week. For their own member's economy, they established pra cooperation.

Ahmadi in Lombok used to live in harmony with other people in their origin. Their houses mingled with other Muslims' settlement. No conflict happened although they have different faith. The conflict started to appear when there was Tuan guru or ulama who gave hate speeches in several *pengajian* and told people that Ahmadiyya is deviant, heretic. Started from 1998, Ahmadi in Lombok experiences enmities and hostilities from anti Ahmadi people. In 1999 people attacked Ahmadiyya's mosque in Bayan, Lombok Barat and forced them to relinquish their faith. As a result, an Ahmadi passed away in the attack. In 2002, their mosque and settlement in Pancor were cracked down by people. Following Pancor, other branches like Praya and Sambielen also experienced hostilities. They were forced to leave their houses, and their properties were looted then their houses were burnt down and they are not allowed to go back after the riots stopped. Consequently they moved to Mataram and now stay in Transito building and they still live in concern with limited facilities.

According to some Ahmadi women in my interviews, the attack in Pancor in 2002 seemed to be organized because the attackers did not attack Ahmadi houses once in all locations, but started from one location

on one night then moved to another location on another night.[87] Before the attack, Ahmadi usually got the information from their neighbors who care about them and told them to save their lives by leaving their houses by bringing any valuables things that they have. Police usually kept an eye on their houses but if the attackers looted things and then burnt down Ahmadi houses, police did not do anything except watching all happening.[88]

Both in Praya and Transito, Ahmadi were living in one open room that is divided into small cubicles measuring 3─5 meters per family and only limited by the curtain fabric as a separator. There was only one kitchen that was used by all refugees (Komnas perempuan 2008). Now there are still 30 families living in Transito. This temporary settlement is in a bit better condition although still in a very modest life. The cubicles for each family are now separated by multiplex and they have their own small kitchen for every family in one place shared with other families. When I did this research some Ahmadi men were renovating the kitchen and separated into several parts based on the number of families living there to make it more human and cleaner for them.

Transito building is a shelter to be a place for temporary living for people who are going to transmigrate to other areas in Indonesia. However, in Lombok, Transito now it seems becoming a permanent place for Ahmadi to live since they cannot go back to their own house and also there is no clues that they can move to other better place in which they can live freely with their faith.

Since 2010, there is a thought from local government, Lombok Barat, to move Ahmadi into other area in Lombok, to transmigrate in other

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[87] The attack lasted for a week and there were 8 shops, 8 houses, a mosque and a *musholla* broken down and 131 families had to leave their houses and stayed in police office for a week then they were moved Transito building (Ngatini, 2014: 3).

[88] Interview with participants Lombok, January 2014

place or to move to one of island in Sekotong Lombok. However, the local government only talked to media about this idea, and Ahmadi themselves are never involved in discussing about their lives. Till now, there is no clear program or actions on this issue.[89]

3.7 Ahmadi Women and Violent Conflict Experiences

Being a part of Ahmadiyya community that face conflict, violence and hostilities, accordingly, Ahmadi women also experience the violence. Violence experienced by Ahmadi women in Indonesia are in several forms, from verbal violence like labeling, bullying, discrimination and physical violence such as expulsion. This part elaborates more on this issue.

3.7.1 Restlessness Discrimination

From my research's participatory narratives, I found that discrimination and stigmatization is like being default for Ahmadi in Indonesia, but the degree of discrimination that they face among Ahmadi women from different areas vary in some ways. Some Ahmadi women experienced bullying since they were very young. Other Muslims labeled them with some negative names. In Lombok, people usually called them as 'Ahmadiyya ding kong" (they do not know what the meaning of this word till now). In Manislor, they were labeled from light label to the heaviest label that threaten their lives, such as "the followers of religion of kodok

[89] In responding to many attacks and hostilities to Ahmadi community in Indonesia, there were some ideas on how to resolve the problems, some said that it is better to give Ahmadi an isolated island to live in order to them not interacting with other Muslims and also not spreading their distinctive belief.

(frog)",[90] heretic, deviant, then their blood is *halal* meaning that they can be murdered in the name of religion.

Different from their sisters in Manislor and Lombok, Ahmadi women in Yogyakarta rarely get any labeling or discrimination. They relatively live safely and can observe their religious rituals without any burden. They will get unsafe feeling and uncomfortable situation when there is attack toward Ahmadiyya community in other areas in Indonesia, such as when people attacked Jalsah Salanah event in Parung Bogor in 2005 or the mob and killing of three Ahmadi in Cikeusik Banten in February 2011. Moreover, they can maximize their contribution to society through their social and humanity activities. They also can freely reveal their Ahmadi identity in their neighborhood, workplace and school.

Besides experiencing labeling and stigma, Ahmadi women also face intimidation because of their faith. Some got intimidation from their family who are anti-Ahmadi and from neighborhood to give up their faith. Since they keep their faith, they have to live separately from their big family. These happen to Ahmadi women in Lombok. They were spelled out from their own homes and when they tried to get help from their big family, their family gave requirement to them to give up their faith in order to get back to and live with the family. Because they do not want to surrender their faith, they cannot meet these requirements, they choose to live in Transito building with all its limitations and difficulties.[91]

Ahmadi women in Manislor got intimidation in a quite long period, from 2001 to 2007 in form of banners which were set up in front of their mosques by non-Ahmadi. The banners written; "*Ahmadiyah sesat*",

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[90] It firstly came out in the first development of Ahmadiyya in Manislor in 1954. This label was used to only used by non-Ahmadi in Manislor but then it spread widely (see (Prawira 2012, 34).

[91] Interview with participants from Lombok, May 2013 and January 2014

"*Ahmadiyah Kafir*" (Ahmadiyya is deviant, Ahmadiyya is heretics). Every day, in that period, they had to see those banners intimidating them without any action to drop it down although they are in their own village.[92] Furthermore, during that period, sometimes there were some unidentified people who blow Molotov bomb to their mosque, tried to burn it at any time, during daylight or night. In addition, not only mosques which were under target, but also their houses which nearly located with the mosques (Prawira 2012, 53–55).

Year 2002 is the toughest year for Ahmadi in Manislor. Starting from September 2002 when they got a note letter from Chief village about the installation of banner in their village with writing: *Ahmadiyah itu bukan ajaran Islam sangat berbahaya* (Ahmadiyya is not Islamic teaching, it is very dangerous). It was then followed by a letter from RUDAL, Leader of Majelis Ulama Indonesia Manislor and Leader of DKM Masjid Al Huda Manislor dated 18 September 2002 about *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* which the content pressure Ahmadi to convert their believe into true Islam and give up Ahmadiyya or admit Ahmadiyya and leave Islam, or convert to other religion. They also were asked to have debate in finding the truth and ready to have *mubahalah*[93] in order to get decision from Allah. Those hostiles were initiated by Department of Religious Affair Kuningan who previously issued a recommendation letter banning the existence of Ahmadiyya in Kuningan.[94]

Ahmadi in Manislor were living under fear. If there was an electricity pole bang on, it signed that there would be a mob or people attacking their places. Consequently, they all would get into their houses, ready to protect their lives but without any actions to confront the perpetrators. In addition, during that period, practically, they could not do their routines

[92] Interview with participants from Manislor, March 2013 and January 2014

[93] Literally means cursing each other to prove the truth

[94] Letter of Religious affair Department, Depag Kuningan number MI/23/BA.01.2/1564202 date: 12 September 2002

since Ahmadi men were busy protecting their mosques and settlements, whereas Ahmadi women had to prepare food and drink for Ahmadi men and for police officers who also stood by to see the situation. Of course these circumstances influence their economical lives since they could not work as usual but they had to spend their time and money more than usual to protect their properties and lives.

In terms of physical violence, Ahmadi women in Manislor experienced it several times. During the period 2002 -2005, some Ahmadi women experienced their houses attacked. People coming to and pelt their settlements with stones. When it was happening, they had to run or hide into a safer place and some of them got injured because of the stones. Some of houses' roofs were also broken. Besides that, some mosques were burnt down for several times. One mosque located in Maniskidul that was newly built by Ahmadi and then destructed by people who do not like it just a day before Ramadhan in 2001, the debris is still present till now. Ahmadi cannot rebuild it because people do not allow them to do so, thus they let it as it is as their monument of remembrance how the violence happened.

When they started to take pro-active actions by confronting people or apparatus who would seal or attack their mosque, sometimes, Manislor Ahmadi women had to face head to head with them. They stood on the first line arm in arm among them and they made a posse together to protect their mosque from sealing and attack while they were crying and praying. These actions actually place themselves in the most vulnerable positions because if the attackers went forward, they would be the first target. Therefore, police asked them to go inside the mosque rather than stay arm in arm in front of the mosque. At one occasion when the situation was getting chaotic, they surrendered and agreed to go inside the mosque. However, in other occasion, they defended the mosque while

holding hands stronger among them, although they had to face intimidation and violence.[95]

When there was an attack, most Ahmadi women in Manislor lent their hand regardless their age, position and participation in LI activism. Women with the baby by holding their babies they also took part in defending their mosque. Some women made chilly gun in preparation to defense if attackers coming. Once, they succeeded in protecting their mosque from sealing and attacking from perpetrators.[96]

There is one of famous story circulated among Manislor people and people who attacked them. At that time, when mob was ready to attack An Nur Mosque in Manislor, Ahmadi women gathered in the mosque praying, reciting *dzikir* while crying. The mob outside saw over the mosque there was like a big old man wearing turban covering the mosque. Hence, they were afraid of that and they hesitated to attack.[97]

For Ahmadi women in Manislor, they will never forget about those experiences. Nowadays, their circumstances are better than before. According to them, Joint Ministerial Decree issued in 2008, on one hand localize and prohibit them doing missionary work. On the other hand, it gives them more freedom in doing religious activities in their village although under the eyes of non-Ahmadi people and local government.

Besides enduring stigma and experiencing violence, Ahmadi women in Manislor also face difficulties in their citizenship rights. The most crucial is they cannot register their marriage in district Kuningan. Local government has made a rule which not allowing Ahmadi registering their marriage in Kuningan district. Therefore, Ahmadi should move to another district in registering their marriage. And it disadvantages them

[95] Interview with participants from Manislor, March 2013
[96] Interview with participants from Manislor, March 2013
[97] Interview with participants from Manislor, March 2013

in getting health facilities for their new family and kids.[98] In response to these circumstances, actually there was an effort from National Committee of Jemaat Ahmadiyah (PB JAI) supported by National Committee of Lajnah Imaillah (PPLI) asking help to central government about this issue, however, since the rule made by Kuningan Regency is already a firm rule, it cannot be abrogated.

Ahmadi women in Manislor also have not gotten their e-KTP yet when I conducted the research although they have been photographed for these e-KTP two years ago. The reason was that their religion in their e-KTP is still questioned. Ahmadi want to be registered as Muslim, however local government recognize them as non-Muslim because of Ahmadiyya is considered deviant, and consequently Ahmadi cannot put Islam in religion column.

Examining this e-KTP case from UU Republik Indonesia number 23 year 2006 about population administration, verse 2 which states that every citizen have their right to get population documents and in UU no 24 year 2013 about changes on UU no 2003/ 2006, verse 8 states that every responsible institution gives equal and professional service to every person about all population matters and important event. Ahmadi women face unjust treatment and service from the apparatus.

3.7.2 Preserving Ahmadi as Religious and Communal Identity for Ahmadi Women

In this part, I will elaborate on how Ahmadi women negotiate their Ahmadi identity in the context of Indonesia society in large. As we know that being part of Ahmadiyya meaning being Ahmadi is their own choice. They know the consequences of being Ahmadi, both consequences of obedience and sacrifice inside the Ahmadiyya Community

[98] There are several cases in which Ahmadi couples who are going to have a baby, they do not get health insurance program form Kuningan because they no longer have ID card Kuningan after getting marriage.

and also risk on being target of violence from other Muslims who do not agree with their faith outside the community.

From previous discussion, we have known that there is a tendency from Ahmadi women not to declare their identity as Ahmadi when they give humanity and social services to larger community, indirectly contribute on misunderstanding of people toward Ahmadiyya community. Consequently, the number of violence toward Ahmadi in Indonesia is still significant although Ahmadi women have already done services for community. This part will elaborate more on how Ahmadi women negotiate their identity in the context of Indonesia state, particularly after the issuing of SKB in 2008.

In Indonesia, according to Susan Blackburn (2004, 86), women membership of families and religious and ethnic groups has been considered more important than their membership of polity. It seems that the state has been reluctant to deal with women in individual basis; it prefers looking women as part of communities. Moreover, women suffer subordination within their communities.

From my participatory observation, I found that Ahmadi identity is basically a religious identity for women who join Ahmadiyya movement. This Ahmadi identity is embedded with their other identities, like ethnicity, sex, and profession, which distinguish them from mainstream Muslims. This identity also obliges them to obey all rules and regulations in Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia like paying *chandah* and other sacrifice (*pengorbanan*), being active in all Ahmadiyya's activities, implementing *pardah*, wearing veil, and getting married with an Ahmadi man.

Ahmadi as identity is part of their personal identities and also their communal identity. As found by Trianita (Trianita 2009, 80), being an Ahmadi is a source of pride and confidence for Ahmadi women. They are proud to be Ahmadi, different from other mainstream Muslims as is shown by identifying other mainstream Muslims as"*ghair*"or others.

This identity also helps them to be stronger in facing the persecution and violence that happened quite frequently after 2005. Moreover, their identities establish a strong solidarity among them. They will help each other and support their Ahmadis fellows if there is violence that happens to them. For example, when Ahmadis in Lombok were expelled from their home in 2005, some of their children were taken care by Ahmadis from West Java in order to get proper life and education. If there is a mosque that is attacked or destructed by hardliners Muslims, the news will spread fast among Ahmadiyya community. It will be announced in Jum'at prayers and they all together will pray and sometimes slaughter a goat as "*tolak balak*".[99]

Since Ahmadi are minority both in number and identity in Indonesia, preserving identity is an essential thing and challenging in order to survive in the future. In preserving their Ahmadi identities, Ahmadi women play a significant role. In this matter, Ahmadi women have duty to educate their children in order to keep in Ahmadiyya faith. Since they do not have their own formal schools, they usually send their children to any school that they think are good for their children's formal education. However, they always pay attention to religious education, especially about Ahmadiyya faith. They will always remind their children that they are Ahmadis and bring them to the mosque and attend activities done by their community. As has been discussed before, that one of the efforts done by Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia to strengthen their community in facing any conflicts with violence toward their community is by giving education to their members.

To do this task, Ahmadiyya has a *tarbiyat* (education) agency in every level. Lajnah Imaillah has also *tarbiyat* agency. This *tarbiyat* agency is responsible for maintaining their members' knowledge on Islam and Ahmadiyya faith. They usually hold religious activities like learning to recite and discuss Qur'an. This agency will monitor members' religious

[99] A means of preventing something not good from happening.

activities and report it monthly to the National Lajnah Imaillah board. Moreover, due to the increasing number of violence toward them, they also give knowledge and information to their members about law, the Joint Ministerial Decree about Ahmadiyya (SKB), human rights and citizenship.

Another way of Ahmadi to preserve their Ahmadi identity is through *Risthanatha* (matrimonial) program which arranges and makes a match for Ahmadis who are ready to get married. This *ristha nata* program helps their member to find couples among their own community to keep their Ahmadi identity. Since they are a minority in Indonesia, and they have rule that they have to get married with Ahmadi, however, it frequently happens that an Ahmadi man is married to a non-Ahmadi woman and vice versa. Consequently, some members are becoming less active anymore in Ahmadiyya and their children also do not get involved in Ahmadiyya. And these circumstances give effects to the strength of the community. Nowadays, in anticipating these challenges, they do not only advise their members to get married to an Ahmadi, but more specifically to Ahmadi family since there are many cases in which Ahmadi who get married to an Ahmadi conversing from non-Ahmadi, their involvement in Ahmadiyya activities decreasing because of no support from their extended family who are not Ahmadi.

3.7.3 Negotiating Identity: Between Religious Identity and Nationhood

As I have mentioned before, for Ahmadi women, identity as Ahmadi is not merely personal identity but also communal identity. In declaring their communal identity, they are proud to be Ahmadis so that they will show their identities without any difficulties when they are in their community. However, in fact, most of them do not live in one area, close to each other. Indeed, they live with mainstream Muslims as majority who see them as different and frequently hardliners treat them

harshly. Therefore, they normally hide their Ahmadi identity in society and they are just like other society members who interact with many different people from different backgrounds

Furthermore, since the issuing of Joint Ministerial Decree (SKB) 2008 which forbids Ahmadi to spread out their teachings, as citizens, Ahmadi have to obey that SKB. Consequently, they have to stop their activities related to missionary program and in some cases they have to hide their identity as an Ahmadi also to prevent some hardships that may happen to them.

From my interviews, however, SKB actually does not affect their religious activities significantly. They still can practice their daily religious activities, and also weekly or monthly in the mosque. They only face difficulty when they want to conduct an event that involves many members from a larger area like from Yogyakarta province. In 2009, they held an annual gathering for members from all around Yogyakarta branches. To ease getting the permission from the local government, they named the event "family gathering of Majlis taklim Arief Rahman Hakim" rather than "*Jalsah Salanah* Yogyakarta". The event was actually the same as *Jalsah Salanah* that was held in Bogor, which was attacked by Gerakan Umat Islam in June 2005 and caused the issuing of SKB in 2008, but it only covered Yogyakarta area.

In the national level, when Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia wants to hold meeting with their members like *Majelis Shura* or National *Ijtima*, in booking place to hold the activities in meeting halls or hotels, they usually do not declare their Ahmadi identity. They usually use a "*Jamaah Pengajian*" term that is common for mainstream Muslims and also more acceptable.

This kind of negotiation, by not declaring their Ahmadi identity in having events involving big number of their members, shows their obedience to the state's rule and also their intention to avoid attack that could happen if mainstream Muslims knew that Ahmadiyya community

held a gathering. It seems that in these circumstances, not showing their Ahmadi identity is not a big deal for them. As long as they can hold their religious activities, they do not violate the State's rules and maintain conducive situation. Like what was said by my participant: "not telling our Ahmadi identity when we hold a religious activity that involve many Ahmadi members is better, because the most important thing is that we can hold our religious activities without any disturbances".[100]

Relating to obedience to SKB, Ahmadi women tend to do it as careful as they can. If people do not know that they are Ahmadi, they will keep silent or may be tell them about their Ahmadi identity. However, when people ask about the Ahmadiyya faith and teachings, they will answer that if they tell them, it means they violate SKB. One of my respondents, for example, told me of a conversation happened between a group of Ahmadi women and a travel car driver. At that time, Yogyakarta Ahmadi women would join Ahmadiyya activities in Purwokerto and they would rent a car and a driver. When the driver arrived in Office of Jemaat Ahmadiyah Yogyakarta in Kotabaru, he realized that it is Jemaat Ahmadiyah office. He then asked these Ahmadi women what they will do in Purwokerto. They told the driver that they were going to have an Ahmadiyya gathering. Then the driver asked about the differences between Ahmadiyya and Islam mainstream. They answered that actually there is no differences between them. The driver wondered why Ahmadiyya were attacked by mainstream Muslims and accused as infidels. Ahmadi women answered that they cannot answer those questions since it is part of what is banned by SKB. This shows that Ahmadi women try hard to obey SKB by not telling Ahmadiyya teachings to other Muslims although that Muslims ask them to do.

Furthermore, from participants' answers on their feelings towards the issuing of SKB, most of them said that whether SKB issued or not

[100] Intervew with Mahmuda, Yogyakarta, 2012.

does not influence their faith. There is one participant who said that at first she was bit disappointed with the state on the issuing of SKB because it is unjust according to her. However, later on, she feels fine since SKB does not violate their freedom to practice their religious activities.

Most Ahmadi women agreed that SKB does not influence their freedom to practice and observe their religious activities; however in some branches they found more difficulties to practice their beliefs since there are different interpretation between Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi toward the content of SKB. Ahmadi think that SKB does not ban them to do their religious activities like what they did before the issuing of SKB. Indeed, their practices are in line with SKB's order. However, non-Ahmadi see SKB as a law of banning Ahmadiyya and its practices for its followers.

In showing their Ahmadi identities to society, particularly when they interact in Muslim mainstream society, from my questioners and interview, I can categorize it in three categories. In the first category, some of participants confidently declare their Ahmadi identity in the first introduction. They do it since they are raised in strong Ahmadiyya faith and most of their family members are also Ahmadi. Furthermore, they also hold important position in Lajnah Imaillah organization like chairwoman or *muballigh*'s wife. Interestingly, some young girls who are still in universities and schools also stated they place their Ahmadi identity in first place before other identities after the issuing of SKB. One of them even said that SKB made her "braver" to reveal her Ahmadi identity. Furthermore, the SKB made Ahmadiyya more popular among Indonesian people so that many people are seeking the information about Ahmadiyya. In this context, Ahmadi women take the role to explain about Ahmadiyya and also correct some mistake perspectives and information about Ahmadiyya.

In the second group are Ahmadi women who reveal their Ahmadi identity only if the situation forces or allows them to do so, for example, some Ahmadi women in a taxi that I have mentioned above. The reason

is that they think that showing their Ahmadi identity depends on the situation they face. When they think they do not need to show it, they will not tell other people about their identity, but if there is a chance or a need for them to reveal their Ahmadi identity, they will show it without hesitation.

The third group is Ahmadi women are those who rarely or even never declare their Ahmadi identity. It is because they mostly interact with mainstream Muslims in their everyday activities and they tend to hide their Ahmadi identity to keep them safe in society.

3.74 Conclusion

Lajnah Imaillah as an auxiliary organization for Ahmadi women is the place where Ahmadi women can exercise their agency both inside and outside their umbrella organization, Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia. Although Ahmadi women cannot hold a position in structural organization of Ahmadiyya Muslim community nationally or locally, its autonomy status inside Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia gives them freedom to do their religious as well as social activities. Moreover, their autonomy in financing their organization, in fact becoming the main support for running some Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia programs in National and local level. Through Lajnah Imaillah, Ahmadi women get and create space for their improvement even they expand their space outside their closed community. Chapter Four discusses specifically on how Ahmadi women resisting to conflict and hostilities they face from anti-Ahmadi and the government as well, by examining their defense mechanism and further examining on how they exercising their agencies in dealing with the circumstances.

4

AHMADI WOMEN RESISTING VIOLENT CONFLICTS

"Faith and good deeds are integral part of one another. Without faith deeds are nothing and without good deeds faith is incomplete." (Masroor Ahmad, Khalifatul Masih V)[101]

"I behave nicely in my office, but still there are people who do not treat me nice. There is a colleague who never smiles at me when I smile at her. But for me, I always say to myself: this is only small issue compared to what has been experiencing by other Ahmadi in Lombok, Manislor and Cisalada, West Java. It is only smile, the most important thing is that I smile at her and if she does not smile at me, it is okay."

"We have to show them that we are different from others. This is that important: we are Ahmadi community have to try to behave as good as possible so that they will realize that what they think about us is not real/true."

(*Sadr* Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia, May 2013)

[101] In his khilafat centenary speech (The Review of Religions, May 2008.Vol 103. Issue 05, page 74).

4.1 Introduction

There are many efforts done by anti-Ahmadi to diminish Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. Hostilities, mockery and discrimination toward Ahmadi are mainly purposed to make Ahmadi give up with their faith on Ahmadiyya. Moreover, several local governments, such as in West Java and Lombok, through Ministry of Religious Affairs regularly do mentoring treatments to Ahmadi to get back to the considered the "true Islam" by Muslims majority in Indonesia. However, those kind of discrimination, confrontation, special treatment and even violence, accordingly not making Ahmadi give up their faith or fear to continue their activities based on their faith. Although there are some Ahmadi who decided to turn around their faith because of the severe pressure but the numbers are not significant.[102] In fact, the intention to stop and weaken Ahmadi does not get the realization. Although living in difficulties and always under the eyes of anti-Ahmadi people, Ahmadi still can observe their religious activities based on their faith while they try hard not to break the law in Indonesia. They always keep in their mind about Surat Keputusan Bersama, (joint ministerial decree) issued in 2008, which forbids them to spread their distinctive belief to others. For them, as long as they obey the law, they can go on their religious and social activities. Moreover, recently, based on this notion, Ahmadi start to be more active in

[102] Ngatini found out that Ahmadi in Lombok used to be more than two thousands, but after for years getting violence and pressure from anti Ahmadi, the number of Ahmadi in Lombok now is about two hundreds and they are persistence with their faith despite of hard life because of their faith (2012). In West Java, there are several news in newspaper saying that some Ahmadis gave up their Ahmadi and vow shahadat to declare it in front of Department of Religious Officers. However, from Ahmadi side they stated that there were no Ahmadi declaring their giving up from Ahmadiyya. Those who gave up are people who have Ahmadi family but they aren't Ahmadi.

community and show their existence and give contribution for Indonesia.

Since conflict involving Ahmadiyya community were increasing after *Reformasi* era, as has been elaborated in chapter Three, accordingly Ahmadi women also face and experience discrimination and violence in different level. In response to those discrimination and oppositions, Ahmadi women react differently from time to time. This chapter focuses on how Ahmadi women respond to conflict with violence and hostilities against their community. Moreover, this chapter elucidates the answers for research questions: What are the roles, struggles and efforts of Ahmadi women in handling and resisting the conflicts, violence and hardship? What are the defense mechanisms they use and what are their reasons? Why do Ahmadi women select certain types of social activities and how do they exercise their agency to promote better life programme regarding their experience of hindrance (internally and externally)? ; And finally, what are their hopes and expectations for the future in the context of religious harmony in Indonesia?

Metaphorically, Ortner theorizes agency is like actor playing in the play; "players are "agents", skilled and intense strategizers who constantly stretch the game even they enact it, and simultaneously players are defined and constructed (though never wholly contained) by the game"(Ortner 1996: 20). In the field might assume, based on what we have discussed previously that Ahmadi are set to be victims and target in which they are always condemned, discriminated, set as minorities who are treated as if they do not have the same right as other Muslims or even other citizens. In the bigger set up of citizenship, because of their faith, they have to admit that becoming victims is the only position for them. However, in playing this part, Ahmadi women change their attitude from time to time in responding to their circumstances.

This chapter explores narrative of Ahmadi women on how their response to conflict and violence against them using defense mechanism

and further they exercising their agencies in doing several actions in responding to any discrimination and violence towards them from 1998 to 2014.

Based on my research data findings over resistance, strategies and responses of Ahmadi women toward the social conflict, discrimination and violence they have acquainted, I discover three distinct ways and level of actions of Ahmadi women in three areas of research in Manislor, Lombok and Yogyakarta in using defense mechanism and exercising their agencies in order to have better life.

As have been mentioned before that I use the concepts of resistance of James Scott who differentiates resistance into two forms, publicly and hidden resistance. Therefore, in observing how Ahmadi women respond to their conflict experiences, I looked closely to their activities, both daily activities and Lajnah Imaillah Programs concerning to reduce the violence and reaching justice in society as well.

In examining Ahmadi women's activities, I considered their activities and classified which one that public resistance and which ones as disguised resistance. By determining those two kinds of resistance in Ahmadi women circumstances, we can see how they resist towards conflicts and also how they exercise their agency through their strategies. Furthermore, I also could notice activities and strategies developed by those Ahmadi women to participate in building peace and improving better life.

Moreover, to observe defense mechanism used by Ahmadi women in responding to their circumstances, I investigated any efforts from Ahmadi women in approaching conflicts they go through, by examining forms of defense mechanism they utilized such as accepting their position, talking to media to share their stories and building good social relations. Good social relations are needed since the absence of it can lead ethnic minorities to become marginalized and alienated from the rest of community. Kingsley in his research in Lombok argue that with-

out strong social relationships, minorities are vulnerable to violence should tension arises (Kingsley 2010, iii-iv).

Moreover, as for this research also studied creative agency used by Ahmadi women in resisting conflict and promoting better life, I refer to Trianita's finding in her research about Ahmadi women's agency that agency of Ahmadi women lay on their religious expressions which are articulated through three modal of actions, which are obedience, sacrifice and belief in *karunia* (blessing). Therefore, those three modals were investigated on how Ahmadi women exercise those three in dealing with conflict experiences.

The vary actions and defense mechanism forms taken by Ahmdi women show the moving narrative and exercising agency of Ahmadi women in responding to their circumstances. Therefore, I divide this chapter into three parts, based on my analysis on narrative of Ahmadi women about their involvement and response to violence that their community faced using Ortner's theory on agency, Scott's theory on resistance, and also Vaillant's defense mechanism categories.

Actions and activities of Ahmadi women individually and also organizationally through Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia were observed carefully to discover resistance and implemented defense mechanisms. Besides that, modal of agencies were also noticed through their activities to determine what kind of agencies. In addition, the dynamic of their relationship with other communities and other Muslims from time to time were also as concerns to see the quality of their relationship and possibilities of building more engaged relationship.

4.2 Admitting the Consequences and Being in Passivity

Being Ahmadi women in Indonesia means being stigmatized and discriminated. This is consciously felt and acquainted by Ahmadi women in Indonesia. They realize that their choice to be part of Ahmadiyya

community make them more vulnerable and prone to any oppositions from anti Ahmadi.

As a part of Ahmadiyya Muslim community, Ahmadi women through its auxiliary organization, Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia, take part actively in all activities which involved all aspect of life. Since its establishment, Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia based on its constitution, mainly work to empower their members through religious and social activities. Because of the small number of their members and their lack of religious knowledge at its first development, their first concern was the improvement of their members' religiosity. Therefore, their activities were mainly on educating their member through *pengajian*, learning Qur'an, many activities to encourage their member to improve their obedience (*taqwa*) through sacrificing and prayers. Their social activities also have been started but mainly for their community members, like giving aid to members who are in difficult economic situation and founding cooperation or pra-cooperation for their members. They also started to do social activities to larger community outside their community but still in limited number of activities and amount of fund.

As time went by, the number of Ahmadi women increased, Lajnah Imaillah keep on educating and empowering their members as their main programs. Ahmadi women, as an Indonesian citizen like other Indonesian citizens, also participate in any activities in their neighborhood and workplace. For them, being obedience to the state where they live is a must no matters how the government treat them because of their Ahmadiyya faith. Their obedience attitude is based on what has been suggested by the founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who said that Ahmadi should obey the law of the state where they live although the government is an oppressive government. All members are suggested to be active in women activities in their place such as *PKK*[103], *Posyandu*[104]

[103] Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga is an organization to empower women to take part in Indonesia development.

and build a good relationship with other women's organization and also with local leaders in their area like village chief, sub-district head, regent and governor and their wives.

One of the most prestigious efforts done by Lajnah Imaillah is their contribution as the biggest number of eye donor participants in Indonesia started from 1985. They always advise their members to participate to be eye donor so as blood donor; even these activities are included as their main programs. Nowadays, the number of eye donor candidates is 7,549 women and 161 women have had donated their eyes. For blood donors, it is numbered at 6,788 women (PPLI 2012, 42). The choice on eye and blood donor is not separated from international program of Ahmadiyya on humanities as have been mentioned before that Ahmadiyya community has Humanity First for their humanities aid work. Moreover, becoming eye donor and blood donor do not need many requirements except vigorous condition of body, so everybody can join as long as they are in good health.

Figure 4.1: Manislor Blood Donor Group

(Source: http://warta-Ahmadiyah.org/Ahmadiyah-manislor-meriahkan-hari-jadi-kota-kuningan-ke-516/ retrieved 17 March 2015)

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[104] Pos pelayanan terpadu is a place to maintain health that is from, by and for community under the supervision related paramedic (Departemen Kesehatan RI. 2006).

Figure 4.1 shows a blood donor group which consists of Ahmadi women in Manislor. Manislor becomes blood bank in Kuningan regency, so that if people need blood donor they will contact Ahmadi in Manislor. Apart from Ahmadi men in Manislor, there are 200 Ahmadi women becoming blood donor participants and 708 women who become eye donor participants.[105]

Although Lajnah Imaillah has involved in several kind of activities in communities, consequently, in some levels they can lessen misunderstanding about Ahmadiyya in Indonesia through their social activities such as blood donor, eye donor, social services, however, violence toward them was not going down since the issuance of Joint Ministerial Decree (SKB) 2008, even in some places it was going up. Ahmadi women have to meet the reality that they are prone to any violence from other communities because of their faith. Their position as minority in terms of faith and also number make these Ahmadi women's position in society is unequal with other Muslims.

Ahmadi women's efforts to participate more in community seemingly not really bring about any difference to the level of confrontation and violence against their community because of their unequal position. Several times their mosques have become the target to be closed and broken down in preventing them doing their religious activities, such as the sealed and zinc fenced of Al Mishbah Mosque in Bekasi West Java, the attack on their religious activities in Wanasigra, May 2013 and recently the sealing of their mosque in Ciamis by local government just a day before Ramadhan on 26 June 2014.

This part deliberates the first stage of Ahmadi women in handling conflict and violence they encounter which took place after *Reformasi* era between 2000─2008. There were several forms of defenses that Ahmadi women practiced in this period.

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[105] Lajnah Imaillah Manislor monthly report, Secretary Khidmat Khalq, February 2013.

In response to those kind of hostilities, mockery and discrimination from anti Ahmadiyya, in this time, Ahmadi in general including Ahmadi women, admitted their position as victim, minorities whose destiny and position is determined by others, other Muslims and several local governments which blame them because of their distinctive faith from mainstream Muslims. Ahmadi are considered as deviant, misleading, and apostle, therefore they have to be condemned, diminish or even murdered. Anti -Ahmadi people consider Ahmadi as the cause of violence that happen toward Ahmadi community, disturbing the harmonious life in Indonesia, even defaming the purity of Islam, hence, Ahmadi have to get the consequences.

Although Ahmadi renounce all accusations toward them about deviancy of their faith, Ahmadi kept silent, they only let people harassed them verbally, physically and attack their properties, mosques without any social force or public resistance or defense. Moreover, frequently they could not defend their properties and rights, even they were forced by the apparatus such as police to surrender not by their own willing. If people finished cracking down their mosque, accordingly the local government also blamed them and would seal their mosque to prevent them doing their religious activities with reason of maintaining conducive circumstances. When people came and attacked again, they would also let it happen again and again. They have to be ready for any label, stigma, discrimination, violence and they did not have chance to defend their rights, or when they had chance to secure it, the apparatus and people did not allow them to do so. These ways of Ahmadi women responded to those violence and discrimination shows that they made rationalization to their circumstances in which they saw their suffering of violence and discrimination as consequences of being different in Indonesia. Rationalization is offering a socially acceptable and apparently more or less logical explanation for an act or decision actually produced by unconscious impulses.

The narrative of Ahmadi women at this period show that for them, it is their destiny to be mistreated and discriminated by other Muslims or anti Ahmadi, or even worse, by the State. It is their consequences to be different from other Muslims in theological matter. Ahmadi women from three areas of this research have different experience relating to this stage. Many of them are familiar with stigma, labeling. The others were exposed by intimidation and verbal harassments. However, they had same reaction towards it.

One of Ahmadi women in Manislor stated:

> "When we passed by, they said: "Kafir, sesat" heretic, deviant, but we never replied or answered. The horrible thing was that they threw a Molotov bomb into our properties. My house was under Molotov attack also, it got cracked. We used to let it happen, did not do anything to respond, we did not know the legal status of that circumstances, so when we were attacked or our mosque was burnt or we experienced any other violence, for the solution, usually the local government would seal the mosque." (Umi, Interview Manislor,7 May 2014)

From Umi's narrative about her suffer, she had to face stigmatization on being deviant and heretic by getting verbal oppression, followed by physical offense in forms of attacking house and mosque and forbidding observing religious activities in the mosque by sealing the mosques. However, at that time she did not respond at all on those oppressions.

> "They also used to display a big banner with very big letters written on it: "Ahmadiyah sesat, Ahmadiyah kafir", in our village, along the road Manislor. At that time, we did not do anything; we only kept silent, and let them to do that and did not take the banners down".

Moreover, besides getting stigma as individual, Ahmadi in Manislor were also stigmatized communally in their own place. Living under intimidated banners which stretched in their village in high exposure and psychologically threatened them, but still they did not do anything at that time.

> "Since 2003, almost every year, our mosques were sealed. We let them to do so, we only saw it from a distance or if we cried, they would always blame us, the police would say: "this is your fault, you have to close down your mosque but you did not"".

Ahmadi women in Manislor responded to violence that happened at that time passively. They only kept silent when people harassed them verbally by calling them as deviant, *kafir, sesat.* They also let people intimidated them verbally and did not respond anything to them. They made themselves accustomed to any kind of intimidation they got. Somehow, they have internalized and accepted the stigma and label from other Muslims as the consequences therefore there was no need to respond.

Moreover, related to violence done by people toward their properties, Ahmadi did not do anything to protect their properties. When people attacked them, they would only hide to a safer place if they could and let people destroy their houses and mosques. If people finished their actions, Ahmadi would quickly renovate their properties to prevent the police investigating the violence case. Because if the police came and investigated the case, usually the police would give a police line in their properties, particularly their mosques which means that they could observe their religious activities as usual.

Figure 4.2: A ruined mosque in Maniskidul/Manislor which let by Ahmadi as their monument of hostilities they have experienced

(Source: personal collection)

The responses of Ahmadi in Indonesia to violence toward them were similar to Ahmadi's response in Pakistan, in which they do not fight back if they got attacked. This happen because of the principle of Ahmadi of being nonviolent organization in line with their principle on *jihad*, that have been discussed in Chapter Two, which is *jihad* as a struggle consist of three kind of struggles: firstly is struggle in defending religion and the state using warfare toward enemies who want to eradicate religion and country by warfare but this kind of struggle is not needed anymore now since no one using weapon to defend and expand their religion. Second is *jihad* using reasons and explanation both oral and writings to expand Islam around the world, and third is *jihad* toward ourselves, restraining lust and desire (Batuah n.d., 12). Ahmadi thought that they cannot respond to any outbreaks from anti Ahmadi with the

same response which is fighting back because Ahmadi prefer using reasons and explanation to people who do not agree with their faith. Therefore, they choose to have discussion, dialogue or debate with non-Ahmadi to explain their faith.

Moving to Ahmadi women in Lombok, compared to other Ahmadi women in Manislor and Yogyakarta, those Ahmadi women suffered the hardest alienation and violence, and unfortunately they are still experiencing it until now. Ahmadi women in Lombok were evicted from their own houses because of their faith and they cannot go back to their own houses. They have to live far from their origin, families and where they used to be belong. They lose their properties, their jobs, and finally their civil rights.

Figure 4.3: An Ahmadi woman walking between cubicles in Wisma transito Lombok

(Source: http://www.sr-indonesia.com/photo-essay/view/refugees-in-their-own-land, retrieved 13 January 2016)

Ahmadi women in Lombok suffer from many kinds of violence exposure, from stigmatization, labeling and physical violence. Ahmadi

women live through labeling since they were very young when they were still unable to understand the differences of their faith with others. People labeled those Ahmadi women with unfamiliar and strange terms and Ahmadi themselves do not understand the meaning of the terms till now. Similar to Ahmadi women in Manislor, Ahmadi women in Lombok did not respond to those kinds of discrimination and violence. Ahmadi women kept soundless although they felt painful in their heart.

> "When I was very young, I usually attended madrasah in the mosque every Monday to Thursday, my neighbors usually bullied me by saying "Ahmadiyah ding kong" I do not know what is the meaning of that ding kong words till now. When I was at school my friends usually called me, "Hi, Ahmadiyya kid""(Hayati, Interview Lombok, January 2014).

Hayati and her friends continued getting bullying and opposition when they were in school. Since she has already understood why people mocked her because of her faith therefore she chose not to respond to it. Her teachers and friends ridiculed her in several ways, such us through discussion in class or in students' organization like *OSIS* (students' organization) and *Pramuka* (scouts). Being passive and not confronting at all were her choice in responding to those alienation in order to avoid arguing and conflict.

> "When I was in Senior High School, there was a BK teacher who wrote on the blackboard word "Ahmadiyya" and then asked students to discuss about it. Suddenly I lost my enthusiasm to discuss. I was keeping silent and not joining the discussion. When the teacher asked me why I did not give any comment about it, I replied that I was not feeling well." (Hayati, interview Lombok, January 2014)

> "When I was joining committee of OSIS, in its briefing, there was material discussing about the heresy of Ahmadiyya. I was

> still keeping silent although I did not feel comfortable." (Hayati, interview Lombok, January 2014)
>
> "During my time in school, I experienced psychological intimidation but I tried to keep calm and silent not to react frontally. Most of my friends were ignorance about my Ahmadiyya faith, some of them knew that I am an Ahmadi, some did not. There were also some friends who said about Ahmadiyya negatively" (Hayati, interview Lombok, January 2014).

Hayati actually felt painful and oppressed by all those mockeries in school although she had chosen a friendlier school. She tried to socialize in school by actively participated in extra-curricular school activities like *OSIS* and *Pramuka* to lessen exclusivity and not to show her Ahmadi identity. However, still she got ridiculed by her teachers and friends.

> "They yelled at us that our blood is halal, we can be murdered. They also often called us "ding kong", I do not know what the meaning of this words." (Rima, Interview Lombok, 2013)

Besides getting stigma, labeling and intimidation, Ahmadi women in Lombok also experience other forms of violence, in which got exorcized from their home. Before being removed from their homes, they were experiencing intimidation regularly. Almost every night they heard people yelling: "attack attack Ahmadi", in the middle of the night. Those circumstances made them frightened. Every time they heard people yelling, they would run and hide to save themselves, but then there was no attack. It happened again and again and psychologically made them depressed and uncomfortable.

> "At the middle of night, we heard people yelling: attack attack. I think their purpose is to frightening us. They did it every night. When we heard people yelling we would hide but then they did

> not attack us. They did it again the next days." (Fauzia, Interview Lombok, January 2014)

Fauzia further explained that those scary episodes make her get trauma. Every time she hears or sees crowd she will get frightened and trembling, because it reminds her about her bitter experience in the past. When I interviewed her, she looked worried and frightened. Moreover, when she had to flee from her house, she was just a newly married woman. At that time she had to protect her husband also who is not originally from her village.

Whereas Rima, who came across violent when she was very young and got expelled from her house, told her story on how the situation was at that time. She and her family had to hide in their bedroom to save their lives while the mob were attacking their house and intimidating them by yelling, and at that night directly Rima's family had to be evacuated to their non-Ahmadi family's house.

> "People attacked us from rice field side since our settlement was surrounded by rice field. Some people mobbed from rice field, some were from the front side. While attacking they yelled: "Ahmadis' blood is Halal". Consequently, we should move that night, we stayed in family's house who is not an Ahmadi." (Rima, Interview Lombok, May 2013)

Talking about apparatus like police, when there was an attack to Ahmadiyya community, mostly, the apparatus forced Ahmadis not to guard themselves. Moreover, the apparatus forced them to be evacuated for security reason. Living as Internally Displaced Person was also not Lombok Ahmadi women's own choice, but they were forced to do so. Now Ahmadi women have been living in Transito building for more than eight years.

> "We stayed in Polres for two weeks with limited facilities. All Ahmadis stayed in that one place mixed with all stuff we could

> bring at that time, there were approximately 300 Ahmadis. They were from Sambielen, Pancor, Selong, Motong Gomong, Motong Golong. Practically, all Ahmadis from Pancor section were all evacuated into Polres." (Hayati, interview Lombok, January 2014)

In the process of their evacuation to Transito, those Ahmadi women felt that the apparatus (the police) were in purpose to place them in Transito. The apparatus created the situation to make Ahmadi did not have any choices except staying in Transito. Those Ahmadi women think that actually the circumstances at that time was not so turmoil but the apparatus always reminded them that their lives were under threat therefore they had to flee. In this case, Lombok Ahmadi women used denial as their defense mechanism in which they negated that the situation that time was actually fine, so that they did not need to move.

> "They said that they wanted to save our lives, hence we were evacuated. However, everything that we leave back home were mobbed and plundered by perpetrators and then they broke and burnt down our houses." (Hayati, Interview Lombok, 2014)

> "When we were in Polres (police's office), actually the situation was settled, but the apparatus made it up to make it tense. We were staying calm in Polres but we heard like gun shot outside. We felt that they wanted to make us got panic. At that time, we surrendered, if we had to die at that time, we would die, because we did not know what to do anymore"(Hayati, Interview Lombok, 2014).

> "I was at the second grade in Junior High School in 2002 when the attack happened. I always remember that accident, it will never fade away from my memory. That time, in 2002, my house was near Ahmadiyya mosque, approximately five minutes on foot. The mosque was the first target of attack then they went to

> Ahmadis settlement near the mosque. They did not destruct once but they did it in several nights. My house was destructed on the second night. After they destructed the mosque then they attacked one's Ahmadi's house, but then they stopped because of the police stopped them. But on the following night they came again and like guerilla in destructing our houses by breaking down some houses this night and another house in another night." (Rima, interview Lombok, 2013)

Having scrutinizing the narrative of Ahmadi women in this period, in terms of defense mechanism, I can say that in this period Ahmadi women were powerless, therefore they reacted with rationalization, denial and then acceptance to reduce their anxiety. Besides that, they were inactive since they were busy with helping their members in dealing with the hostilities. For example, when many Ahmadi in Lombok got excluded from their homes, other Ahmadi in West Java helped them by evacuating children to continue their school in West Java by being foster child for other Ahmadi families there.

Although defense mechanism is unconscious response, there are some reasons I found from my interviews why Ahmadi women used to keep silent and did not share their experience to others and also passively reacted to the violence. Firstly, it is related to Ahmadi's believe that what they experience is a consequence for them of being Ahmadi, therefore they have to admit and accustomed to all those discriminations and violence. Being alienated, discriminated and persecuted is part of their struggle in maintaining their faith, therefore they did not complain. This belief also make them more resilient to any kind of alienation. Secondly, because of their obedience to the laws in Indonesia, they were afraid of giving respond by resisting people who attacked them or government who banned them to observe their religious activities. Moreover, at that time Ahmadi have not had knowledge enough yet about their rights as Indonesian citizens who have religious freedom to do religious activities

based on their faith and they did not know the legal status of their cases. Thirdly, there was a role from the apparatus who did not protect Ahmadi's properties, mostly the apparatus did omission to people who attacked Ahmadi, even those apparatus sometimes made the situation worse by making up the situation which made Ahmadi women anxious and restless.

In this period, Ahmadi women chose to make a stand in docile agency in retorting discrimination and antagonisms toward their community. Ahmadi women applied their agency to survive their faith internally not to defend their rights and confront people who oppose their faith using discrimination, alienation and violence. In order to observe their religious activities, Ahmadi women used general terms that are usually used by other Muslims, such as changing terms *"muawwanah"* (monthly religious meeting for members) into *"pengajian"*. I suppose this happened because in this period, increasing violence towards Ahmadi community has just risen up dramatically after Reformation occurred and they did not aware of it before. Although during New Order era, Ahmadi has been faced opposition from anti Ahmadi people, however the numbers of violence were quite insignificant. Therefore, in the first period, Ahmadi were still shocked and tried to find out the way they deal with those calamities.

In terms of their form of resistance to violent conflicts, these Ahmadi women choose passivity as Scott argues, in which they neither responded to any violence that they faced nor stop their religious activities as anti-Ahmadi wanted to. On one hand, they kept silent and let people attacked their properties, on the other hand those calamities did not prevent them to observe their religious activities.

On the other side, freedom of speech which notified by mushrooming the number of media in Indonesia and their freedom to broadcast any news also gave influence to the attitude of Ahmadi in handling those conflicts. Nowadays, many media do not always inform a balance news,

sometimes it is opinions of some people from one side, do not cover both sides, therefore the news and information about Ahmadiyya were mostly not from Ahmadi themselves. However, several media at that time then tried to investigate about Ahmadi from its faith and its deviancy.[106] People who at first did not know about Ahmadiyya, started to know about Ahmadiyya, but they got incorrect information about Ahmadiyya. This situation particularly caused the increasing number of violence toward Ahmadi in Indonesia since more people got provoked and joined in opposing Ahmadi.

4.3 Courage to Stand for and Defend Rights as Indonesian Citizens

After experiencing enmity, persecution and violence for more than six years that was increasing dramatically, Ahmadi women started to get attention and help from other organizations which care about their circumstances. As a result, it encouraged them to be more active in dealing with the violent conflicts.

The initiative of being active, in my estimation, was coming hand in hand with the help offers and attention from other organizations. Inside, Ahmadi women started to take several actions in handling the violent conflicts that they suffer. If in the first period they were docile, only exercising their agency to empower themselves inside and not actively responding toward people who mocked and harassed them, in this second period, Ahmadi women started to play more active by taking their positions not as passive victims, but as active victims. They started to act to defend their rights. Those Ahmadi women started to work their agencies out in coping with alienation they face. If there was an effort

[106] Media like Tempo.co made a special report on Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. Majalah Detik wrote about the relationship between WR. Supratman and Ahmadiyya.

from anti Ahmadi and local government to seal Ahmadi's mosque or prevent Ahmadi doing their religious activities, those Ahmadi women stood up and defended their rights. Ahmadi women also started to speak up to people about the enmities they were experiencing. This phase happened from 2005 to 2011.

As Ahmadi women initiated to be more active outside their own community, they started to answer many invitations coming from other organizations to share their experience. Ahmadi women eagerly used these opportunities to speak up and show their visibilities, for examples giving testimonies in an event held by *Komnas Perempuan* (National Commission of Women) about the violence. They also actively took part in several discussions on religious freedom held by organizations which concern about the issue.

In this stage, besides advocated by their umbrella organization, Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia which have formed *LBH* to handle issues on the persecution of their community from other communities and also from government, those Ahmadi women also were still facilitated by other organizations such as NGO, *Komnas Perempuan* (National Commission of women). *LBH JAI* (*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia,* Legal aid institution) educated them about their rights and suggested them to protect their properties. Those Ahmadi women would attend when they were invited. They talked and explain when they were asked to do so.

Being facilitated and educated, Ahmadi women improved their knowledge and awareness about the violence they face and how to cope with those hostilities. As a result, when there was an effort from local government to shut down their mosque due to anti Ahmadi's pressure, Ahmadi women reacted actively to defend their religious rights. This is one of example of what has been done by Ahmadi women in Manislor.

> "Then in 2005, when LBH Ahmadiyya, came and informed us that our mosque are our properties, it is our right to believe our

> faith and observe our religious activities. We were also taught how to defend our rights and our mosques. Then we have courage and bravery to secure our mosques. Therefore, in 2005, when they wanted to seal our mosque, we, hand in hand made a line and protected our mosque so that they could not seal it. However, at that time, they could still seal our mosque." (Umi, Interview Manislor, March 2013)

Figure 4.4 : Ahmadi women in Manislor blocking the road in front of An Nur Mosque to prevent sealing.

(Source: https://isamujahid.wordpress.com/manislor-menangis/, retrieved 17 March 2015)

Figure 4.5: Ahmadi women Manislor standing in front of Annur Mosque to protect it from sealing.

(Source: http://persatuan.web.id)

> "In 2010, when they sealed our mosque, we directly opened the seal, because based on our experience, if they sealed our mosques and we did not open the seal, it would last for years and we could not pray in our mosque. Once, it lasted for three years, the mosque sealed and we could only pray at our own houses." (Umi, Interview Manislor, March 2013)

> "In 2010, when anti Ahmadi and *Satpol PP* wanted to seal our mosque, we defended our mosque. We prevented them to do so. We have already known our rights, when they said that if they did not seal our mosque, people will attack and do violence toward us. We said: "Let it happen. If they want to attack, let it, we are not frightened." So, when Satpol PP wanted to seal our mosque, all Ahmadi women gathered and protected our mosque. We were holding hands and stood up in the front line. In fact, many Ahmadi women who were not active in our religious ac-

> tivities also came and join us to guard the mosque." (Laili, Interview Manislor, March 2013)

In 2010, Manislor Ahmadi women, when they heard that their mosque were going to be sealed by *Satpol PP* and many people from *GUII (Gabungan Umat Islam Indonesia)* which consist of several Islamic organization such as FPI (Front Pembela Islam), GIBAS (Gerakan Inisiatif Barisan Siliwangi), GERAH (Gerakan Anti Ahmadiyah), Rudal (Remaja al Huda), Barak (Barisan Rakyat Kuningan), Gerakan Anti Maksiat, Laskar *Jihad*, Komponen Masyarakat Kuningan, FUI (Forum Ukhuwah Islamiyah), Bimasuci, Ikatan Pencak Silat Indonesia Kuningan, Gamas, GAPPAS, MMI (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia) Cirebon, FPI Majalengka, those Ahmadi women gathered in front of the mosque and made life barriers by holding their hands. There were about 400 Ahmadi women joining those life barriers. One of my participants said that at that time not only Ahmadi women who were active in Lajnah Imaillah activities who joined but also those who were not really active. They held a banner written about their rights of having freedom to believe their faith and observe their religious activities. I think that their actions in this event show that they started to have awareness about their rights and how to defend their rights.

One of misunderstanding toward Ahmadi that lead to hostilities is on issue of exclusivity. Organizationally, Lajnah Imaillah's membership is exclusively for Ahmadi women since it is based on their religious identity as Ahmadi and their confession toward the coming of Imam Mahdi, its founder. Its membership is compulsory for all Ahmadi women aged from 15 up, meaning that Ahmadi women automatically are included in Lajnah Imaillah organization. While for Ahmadi women fewer than 15 are included in NAI and its organization is under Lajnah Imaillah's supervision. Therefore, in terms of organization, Lajnah Imaillah is like other women wings organizations such as Muslimat in NU or Aisyiah in Muhammadiyah that are exclusively for women from NU for the former

and Muhammadiyah women for the latter. Ahmadi women also involve in other organization based on their Ahmadi identity. For those who are university students, they join in AMSA (Ahmadiyya Muslim Student Association), but this organization is voluntarily like PMII (Pergerakan Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia) in NU and IMM (Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah) in Muhammadiyah.

Although Lajnah Imaillah membership is exclusively for Ahmadi women, in terms of activities, particularly their social activities, are not only purposed for their own members but alsoto other communities but the coverage was not so large because their smaller number compared to Indonesian society at large, as we know that the number of Ahmadi women number is only 13,000.

As Indonesian citizens, Ahmadi women always try to actively participate in most activities held in community and their neighborhood. In this period, as a national organization for Ahmadi women, *PPLI (Pengurus Pusat Lajnah Imaillah)*, always participated when they got invitations from other organizations in seminar, conferences, both social and religious organizations such as *ICMI (Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia), Puan Amal Hayati with its activities of iftar and saur gathering every year, ICIP (International Center for Islam and Pluralism), YJP (Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan)*. Lajnah Imaillah also had several joined activities with other women organizations such as Muslimat NU, Fatayat NU (BPLI 2008, 45–47).

Based on their annual report in 2008, Lajnah Imaillah also took place in responding to several violence happened to them, for example giving testimony in a press conference held by *Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan* in Jakarta about "*Selamatkan Ibu dan Anak Ahmadiyah dari Kekerasan"* (Save Ahmadi women and children from violence). They also attended and gave testimony in the launching of monitoring result on violence actions toward Ahmadi women and children *("Peluncuran hasil pemantauan Tindak kekerasan terhadap Ibu dan anak Ahmadiyah")* in Nation-

al Commission of Woman (Komnas Perempuan). They also did use mass media to respond to violence that happen to them. They gave a talk in radio program in Green Radio Jakarta by giving press release on the issue on saving Ahmadi Women and children from violence and the existence of Lajnah Imaillah and did interview with televisions and newspapers (BPLI 2008, 46–47). This is may be the first time Ahmadi women talked publicly about their experience on violence.

In this period, besides started to defend their rights physically, Ahmadi women started to speak out when there was other organization which support and call them to do so. Before that, Ahmadi women's voices were unheard. Mostly, only Ahmadi men's voices which were heard. In addition, Ahmadi women pro-active approach were also initiated in this period. It is noted in Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia annual report in 2008, National Board Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia sent a formal mail to Ministry of Women Empowerment to have a visit and build a relationship. Accordingly, they started to build good relationship with several various organizations.

Although Ahmadi women have been implemented pro-active approach in dealing with the escalation of conflict and violence towards them in this 2005–2008 period, unfortunately, it seems that their efforts were not enough to minimize the number of violence and discrimination toward their community. Even more, on June 2008 the government, represented by Ministry of Religious Affair Maftuh Basyuni, Ministry of Home Affair Mardiyanto and The Attorney General Hendarman Supandji, signed and issued a Joint Ministrial Decree, *SKB (Surat Keputusan Bersama),* which accusing Ahmadiyya as spoiling Islam and furthermore banning their religious activities that are considered as deviancy. This SKB states that Ahmadi are not allowed to open and proselytize their faiths that are distinct from other mainstream Muslims. This SKB, according to As'ad was an attempt to please radical groups in society (As'ad 2009, 390).

This *SKB* actually also warns Muslims in Indonesia not to do violence toward Ahmadiya community. Unfortunately, the lack of socialization of the content of this SKB resulted in misunderstanding and led to different interpretation on this SKB. Some local governments translated this SKB into local regulation which ban Ahmadiyya activities in their region such as in West Java, West Sumatra, and East Java. Therefore some radical groups think that it means Ahmadiyya should be banned and cannot live in Indonesia and or practice their religious activities. Consequently, the number of attack and violence toward Ahmadiyya community were increasing instead of decreasing.

According to Dewi Candraningrum, this SKB of three ministers, "have legalized racial profiling, surveillance, preemptive arrests and detentions, secret courts, and the denial of legal rights not only to those accused of astray and infidel sects, but also those suspected of harboring hostile intent toward Islam". Ahmadiyya community then becomes constant target of hostility acts of tiny minorities of extremists as well as for tolerant Indonesian who has lived together hand in hand with Ahmadiyya since 1920s.[107]

This SKB, directly influenced the attitude of Ahmadi women. Hence, they were more wary in their activities. They were afraid to clarify misunderstanding about their faith because they were afraid of breaking the law and that Joint Ministerial Decree, SKB which states that Ahmadi are not allowed to open and proselytize their faith that are distinct with other Muslims' belief. However, in fact, their choice not to clarify misunderstanding about their faith resulted on worse treatment and more violence toward them.

In this second period, Ahmadi women started to use different form of defense mechanism in resisting conflicts and violence they faced. If in the first stage they used denial, rationalization and acceptance to relieve

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[107] http://indonesianMuslim.com/a-requiem-for-voicelessness-Ahmadiyya-Muslim.html. Retrieved 12 November 2014)

their anxiety, in the second stage they started using their power and potential to react. They used courage to counter their anxiety by protecting their private rights. Courage is a mental ability and willingness to confront conflicts, fear, pain, danger, uncertainty, despair, obstacles, vicissitudes or intimidation. Ahmadi women used physical courage to extend their lives by protecting their mosque and properties, whereas their moral courage was to attain justice and fairness for them to get their right to observe their religious activities.

Furthermore, in this stage Ahmadi women practiced public resistance in which they utulized their social power to oppose when there was pressure toward them. For example, Ahmadi women in Manislor physically protected their mosque by making life barriers with their bodies while holding banner saying their rights to have freedom in observing their belief. They also publicly confronted when there was an attempt from apparatus to close down their mosque by unsealing their mosque.

However in other occasion, Ahmadi women were using other way of resistance by giving testimonial stories about their experiences through media, and attending discussion and sharing with other organizations and NGO which care about them were their choice. Ahmadi women started to show the world about their lives, their experiences of calamities. As Scott argues that "resistance is a subtle form of contesting 'public transcripts' by making use of prescribed roles and language to resist the abuse of power—including things like 'rumours, gossip, disguises, linguistic tricks, metaphors, euphemisms, folktales, ritual gestures, anonymity'"(Scott 1992, 137), Ahmadi women used their stories to challenge "public transcripts". They employ facilities they got from NGO and media to make their catastrophes heard by people.

To conclude, in terms of resistance, in this period Ahmadi women used two forms of resistance, both public using social force and hidden resistance by showing and telling their hard situations through media.

Ahmadi women in Manislor chose to resist by using their potentials to prevent the sealing of their mosques. However, Ahmadi women in Lombok, with their limited potentials and resources, they could only cry and tell their stories to media who came to their place and let those media broadcast their apprehensive circumstances. In other words, there is asymmetric pattern on the way Ahmadi women resist to conflicts.

These variety of resisting conflicts among Ahmadi women depend on their context and locality. However, in terms of coordination, although it seems that they did it unorganized, the fact is that Sadr LI as a top of leadership in Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia gives her endorsement to what Lajnah Imaillah in the branch can do to resist. Normatively LI have rules and values, which are: they have to obey their leaders in local, national (Sadr LI) and international level (*Khalifah*) under the concept of Nizam Khilafat, they also have to obey the law where they live, and they have value "Love for All Hatred for None". Those rules and values are to be guidance to them in doing their activities.

In responding to and resisting conflicts and discrimination they face, Sadr LI gives the normative suggestion but the application depend on circumstances and context, potential and capabilities in every branch. Sadr LI said about Manislor case when Ahmadi women physically confronted people who wanted to seal their mosques, "In Manislor Ahmadi live there and do their activities in their village. Therefore Ahmadi should defend their private rights including their mosques. While in Bekasi case, Ahmadi could not physically opposed the sealing of the mosque because most of Ahmadi in Bekasi do not live there, they spread over Bekasi so their private properties are safe".[108]

[108] Interview with Sadr Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia, May 2013

4.4 Self-evaluating and Showing Others about Their Availability and Participation

The following part will discuss about Ahmadi women's activities and respond in the next period.

Having those harsh experience for several years, Ahmadi women started to evaluate themselves. They comprehended inside themselves, individually and organizationally. They assessed their own attitude and also their organization activities and those attitudes and activities' implication toward their existence and security.

Based on their experience in some areas, if their members of Lajnah Imaillah (Ahmadi women) participate actively in their neighborhood and society even more those Ahmadi women have responsibility in local government such as Ketua RT,[109] Ketua RW,[110] or other structural position in local government, they found out that their existence and security are protected and maintained by society in their neighborhood. For example in Lenteng Agung, Jakarta where one of Ahmadi women was becoming Ketua RW, and she showed very good performance so that her society were happy with her and they can live in harmony, when there was a rumor or an effort to attack Ahmadis in that area, people tried their best with several ways to prevent the attack happen. Therefore, Ahmadi women realize that their existence and security cannot be separated from their neighborhood and larger society.

On the other hand, in most areas where Ahmadi community have faced violence and persecution, it is found that most of their members living centralized in one area such as in one village or one kampong, and look being exclusive, for example in Manislor. Consequently, most of Ahmadi women spend most of their time with their own community in their daily lives. All daily activities and religious activities are mostly

[109] Rukun Tetangga, a neighborhood consisting around 20-30 houses

[109] Rukun Warga, a neighborhood consisting 2-5 Rukun Tetangga

[110] Leader of a neighborhood

done with their own community, with almost the same people. Their only chance interacting with non-Ahmadis is in their workplace. These circumstances, on one hand are good for them in term of doing and observing religious activities and strengthening their own bond. They can easily mobilize their members to do all religious activities, even they can have prayers five times a day together, *pengajian* every week, and it is good for their internal education and monitoring as a religious organization. On the other hand, since most of their time has been spent among their own Ahmadi community both in religious and social life, their interaction with non-Ahmadi is not quite often. As a result, non-Ahmadi around them see Ahmadi women as an exclusive and closed community. Moreover, non-Ahmadi see those Ahmadi as others who have very different faith.

Actually Ahmadi women in Manislor always actively participate in their social life by joining Dasa Wisma,[111] PKK,[112] Posyandu[113] but since most of their neighbors and village residents are Ahmadis, it means they only have little chance to meet and interact with non-Ahmadis. They also have volleyball club which sometimes has friendly match with other clubs from other villages, but those Ahmadi women rarely reveal their identity as Ahmadi, most of the time they only declare as Manislor residents. Ahmadi women thought that people have already known who they are when they say that they are from Manislor since Manislor is well known as Ahmadi village. However, it was only their assumption that people know about their religious identity as Ahmadi. In fact, not all people know that they are Ahmadi and not all people under-

[111] Dasa wisma, literally means ten houses, a group of households in a neighborhood.

[112] Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga is an organization to empower women to take part in Indonesia development.

[113] Posyandu (Pos pelayanan terpadu) is a place to maintain health that is from, by and for community under the supervision related paramedic (Departemen Kesehatan RI. 2006).

stand about Ahmadiyya. Consequently, although they frequently participate in social activities, since they rarely expose their Ahmadiyya identity, people still do not know about Ahmadiyya and have misunderstanding about Ahmadiyya and Ahmadi.

In another case experienced by an Ahmadi woman in Lombok, the issuance of SKB in 2008 gave chance to her to explain about Ahmadiyya to people around her workplace. Her attitude and behavior before the issuing of SKB helped her to be easier clarify the misunderstanding about Ahmadiyya so that people can accept her.

> "After the issuing of SKB in 2008, in 2009 my teacher knew that I am an Ahmadi from a letter sent by *Kepala Dinas*[114] who stated that there is a student who is Ahmadi in the school. My teacher called me and clarified about that. He said that he was called by *kepala dinas* and he said that he did not know that there is an Ahmadi in the school. Then I explained about Ahmadiyya to him. Fortunately they were willing to hear my explanation. I said: I used to be your student for three years. You taught me Islamic subject. Did you see any Islamic teaching that I did differently from others? I could memorize al Baqarah verses when you asked me to memorize. When you heard from people that Ahmadi pray naked, did you ever see I pray naked?" (Rima, interview Lombok, 2013)

From those two experiences, we can see that Ahmadi women in Manislor rarely reveal their identity as Ahmadi because of their worries that they would break the SKB so that their security would be in danger. However, in fact their hesitancy in clarifying their Ahmadiness led to more violence to them. On the other hand, in the case of Rima in Lom-

[114] Kepala Dinas Pendidikan, someone who is responsible in Educational office in regency level.

bok, she succeeded in giving clarification to her teacher about Ahmadiyya so that there is no misunderstanding about Ahmadiyya and she can continue her career as a teacher in the school. In other words, having good relationships and clarifying the real Ahmadiyya faith to people, more or less can lessen misunderstanding and accordingly minimize the number of enmities toward them. In this stage, Ahmadi women were exercising their religious identity as a modal of agency to make clear about their faith but still not in a significant way.

4.5 Being Indonesian Ahmadi Women Contributing to Their Country

Based on the experience in the previous stage, Ahmadi women finally comprehend that although they have tried to participate in larger society, however many of their members were rarely active in their neighborhood, or if they are active in social activities, most of the time they rarely declare about their Ahmadi identity and clarify misunderstanding that happen within society. It is because they thought that people have already known about them and their Ahmadi identity like Ahmadi women in Manislor so that there was not a need to talk about their identity, or because they were afraid of revealing their identity because they thought that saying about their identity as Ahmadi would break SKB from three ministries. In the previous stage, they started to take part actively in society both in social activities and also in clarifying about their condition, situation and thoughts related to some violence happened to them because of their faith. After they interact with larger community, Ahmadi women finally realized that not all people know that they are Ahmadi. Therefore, in the following time when those Ahmadi women got chance to have friendly match with other clubs they then introduce themselves as Ahmadi.

Conflict will always be presence in our society because Indonesia comprises from many different ethnics, religions, faiths and cultures.

Conflict that Ahmadiyya community faces and experience is inevitable since there are always different interpretations and understandings among Muslims. Moreover, it seems that social cohesion[115] where Ahmadi women live is not quite good. There are still differences on their common aims and objectives and weak social solidarity. Therefore, efforts on strengthening social cohesion as well as changing or transforming conflict from conflict which bring about violence and discrimination into conflict which strengthen the community and Indonesia are necessary.

Looking at this need, Ahmadi women initiated to do self- introspection, which part that they missed so that they still prone to any violence and persecution.

> "Some violence that happened to our community, it is as introspection for us. It means that we have to approach outer community; we have to mingle with larger community, not only with our own community in Ahmadiyya. Me myself feel that I used to be exclusive because I only interact deeply with my Ahmadi friends and family. Therefore, we need to be open and have good relationships with non-Ahmadis".
>
> "It is true that many non-Ahmadi friends know me as Ahmadi, however, we live in community in which people around us are not Ahmadi. If we do not have a good affiliation with them, if violence happen to us they will not help us. Mostly, people who attacked us are not our neighbors or those who know us, mostly are strangers from outside. But, if violence happen and we have good relationship with our neighbors, they will protect us." (Iin, interview Yogya, January 2014)

[115] Social cohesion is defined as "common aims and objectives, social order, social solidarity and the sense of place attachment" (Forrest and Kerns 2001).

It can be said that violence that often threaten Ahmadi, become a wake-up call for their community, that they have to improve their efforts in order to live harmonious life with other Muslims in Indonesia and also live secure and got protected from their neighbors. So far, what they have done is not enough to lessen misunderstanding and also violence toward their community. Moreover, the dynamics changing in Indonesia with the raising of radicalism among Muslims indirectly make them more vulnerable to any kind of violence.

Ahmadi women recognized that they need to improve their social capital. As Portney and Berry argue that social capital is associated with "people's sense of community, their sense of belonging to a neighborhood caring about the people who live there, and believing that people who live there care about them" (Portney and Berry 2001, 71), Ahmadi women found out that people living around them did not really care about those Ahmadi women's lives because Ahmadi women used to not really mingle in wider community outside their Ahmadi community.

Therefore, besides attending many invitations from other organizations, Lajnah Imaillah also started to actively contact other organizations by holding activities that involved other organizations. In this stage they started to reach out, extended their activities not exclusively for their members but also for women outside Lajnah Imaillah. In this stage they continue their efforts that they have been carrying out to give social and humanity services to society, even those Ahmadi women are expanding the coverage of their activities. For example, inside, PPLI encouraged Ahmadi women to take part as eye and blood donors and be more active in their neighborhood through PKK activities.

While outside, PPLI involved in Program "Sahur Keliling" organized by Yayasan Puan Amal Hayati under leadership of Sinta Nuriyah Abdurrahman as sponsor partner (PPLI 2012, 42–44). These activities were taken as a way of defense mechanism in protecting their feeling of safety and accepted. People in Indonesia know well who Sinta Nuriyah

is, the wife of former president Abdurrahman Wahid. Sinta Nuriyah is well known for her activities in promoting pluralism and harmonious life among people from different faiths. By joining her program in "Sahur Keliling", Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia wanted to be recognized their availability in doing social and religious activities outside their community. Those Ahmadi women used affiliation as their by attaching themselves with Sinta Nuriyah's program of Sahur Keliling.

According to *Sadr* Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia 2012 -2014:

> "If we talk about our activities in community at large, social activities, cooperation with other organizations, sometimes we are bewildered with so many invitations to join their activities. Hence, if they said that our organization is exclusive, I think that opinion is not correct." (Siti, Interview 2013)

They refute to be seen as an exclusive group since several of their programs and activities are involving other women from outside Ahmadiyya community.

Whereas Ahmadi women in Lombok, although they live in shelter, they have built good relationship with other Muslim organizations by attending invitation from them, joining training held by other Muslim organization like Nahdhatul Ulama or NGO. They also speak out to give clarification about their faith when NGO invite them. They do it personally and organizationally. Since their circumstances living in Transito, they have more opportunities to tell their situation to media who usually come and make news about their current situation. They also invite people from other communities when they have religious activities such as commemorating Nuzulul Qur'an.

One of Ahmadi women in Lombok said that:

> "We have to be active in clarifying misunderstanding about us. We can start it from the smallest surroundings then step by step we continue to larger communities. For me, the misunderstanding

> and hate toward us is like poison, and that poison is already largely spread in society, so we need more antidote to detoxify those poison." (Rima, Interview Lombok, 2013)

In response to nowadays circumstances, their response toward the raising violent conflicts to their community, Lajnah Imaillah internally changed their attitude toward others. They realize that what they have done to lessen misunderstanding about Ahmadiyya is still need to be expanded. Their social and humanity programs in some degrees are effective and helpful for them to lessen misunderstanding that happen, however, it did still not reduce the enmities that happen toward Ahmadi. It is shown by the number of violence and discriminations to their community that still occur in some areas. Some to mention, the attack of Ahmadi in Cikeusik Banten that brought about three Ahmadi killed, the erecting zinc fenced in Al Mishbah Mosque in Bekasi, attack on Ahmadiyya activities in Tasikmalaya, Cianjur. Based on these circumstances and looking at the role of Lajnah Imaillah in reducing misunderstanding about Ahmadiyya in Indonesia larger communities through their social activities, National Board of Jemaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia (Pengurus Besar Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia) officially appointed Pengurus Pusat Lajnah Imaillah (PPLI) wing organization in charge becoming an agent in doing social activities.

In the third stage, with official endorsement from National Board of Jemaat Ahmadiyya Indonesia, PB JAI, Ahmadi women started to manifestly show their actions as Indonesian citizens who have the same rights as others. They responded to any discrimination and violence regarded on conflict because of their faith by being an active agent in promoting peace and dialogue so as promoting better life. As Ortner say, the culture may prescribe what an individual should do, but the acting subject decides how and whether to do it (Ortner 1996, 21). Ahmadi women started to change their role in the play. They initiated resistance, both public and hidden resistance, in the former stage and now they expand

their space by going out from their closed community (Ahmadiyya community) into outer and wider society.

Interestingly, Ahmadi women do not bring their bitter empiricism to get attention from others in this period, but they bring and show their potentials, skills and abilities to give contribution and help others. Indeed, they have already run their programs in giving service to others regularly, but in this stage these Ahmadi women make it as programmed activities in which they give special attention, time and fund to implement those programs. Here, Ahmadi women decided how to play in society as an agent. They started to play as a strategic participant in social life (Ortner 1996, 21). Furthermore, there is a change of the form of their defense mechanism, from courage into affiliation, altruism and anticipation.

Affiliation is shown by attaching to Sinta Nuriyah through "Sahur Keliling" program which is held annually every Ramadhan, and PPLI becomes one of supporter of this program. Altruism is shown by giving constructive service to others that brings pleasure and personal satisfaction. Ahmadi women chose to give social and humanity services through their programs in Lajnah Imaillah, such as social service by giving groceries to people in need, organizing bazar, giving free health checking up. Those activities become their routines programs. By giving social and health services to others, Ahmadi women find themselves more comfortable and their anxiety decrease.

Anticipation done by Ahmadi women is through developing to build good relationship with other organizations, the apparatus, and communities. In this form of defense mechanism, there are two forms of effort of Ahmadi women, internal and external efforts. Internal efforts are important to analyze since these internal efforts directly influence their external work.

As we can see before, conflict, challenges and threats are conversant for Ahmadiyya community in Indonesia. Realizing that position, Lajnah

Imaillah Indonesia is aware of the need for giving strength and capability to their members in order to face and deal with those circumstances. What make them in difficult situations now is their faith that is seen to be different from the majority in Indonesia, even more seen as heretic and deviant. Since faith for them is the ultimate basis for them in their live, therefore they have to preserve their faith as for facing the reality.

One of Ahmadi women's internal efforts is to strengthen themselves. Fortifying their faith is a must in order to deal with any kind of persecution, intimidation and physical violence toward them. Family is the primary, smaller and first unit to strengthen. If a family is strong in term of faith, thus family's strength also will be stronger. If the family is strong in term of faith, it is easy for them to face any kind of resistance from outside. According to *Sadr* Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia, the first basis for defending their community is Ahmadiyya's branch which consists of several families. Therefore, in their annual program in 2014, *tarbiyat*/education for family became their concern. Women, in Ahmadiyya community take a crucial role in educating their children. Woman is a school for their children. Moreover, Ahmadiyya community always place prayers and *dua* as the most important thing in doing all their activities. They believe that everything happen is under God's will, even a falling leaf is on God's will.

Inside, PPLI educate their members to behave as what the Prophet Muhammad suggest with *akhlakul karimah* (righteousness behavior) in their daily lives since actions are more important than debate or argument. As for Ahmadi women, debating and arguing about Ahmadiyya faith and beliefs is not their skills, and based on their slogan "Love for all hatred for none", they have to serve for humanity, therefore they choose using their skills and abilities in parenting, health and medical skills. In every meeting, all members are always reminded about their duty as Muslim, as Ahmadi and also their duty to call to the God (*da'I ilallah*) not call to Ahmadiyya. As for as *dai*, their behavior and attitude

is the most important thing since people will respect them based on their attitude. Here, Ahmadi women are exercising their agency in which they carry out their religious identity as Muslims and Ahmadi through practical daily lives that can be recognized by other people.

Furthermore, in terms of Ahmadi women's relationship with other communities, PPLI suggest their members to have a good rapport with their neighbors. They give guidance, that an Ahmadi family should build good liaison with their neighbors, at least 40 families consist of ten houses in front of their house, ten houses behind, ten houses on the right side and ten houses on the left side. Good relationship with neighbors is very crucial for them as part of society.

In national organization level, PPLI initiated and sponsored events or programs which involved participants from other communities. The events were discussed and planned carefully by PPLI in Bogor and socialized within their members around Indonesia to get support for the implementation. The events were held around Indonesia and hosted by local branches. Accordingly, PPLI planned what they call "programmed *Rabtah*". *Rabtah* means developing good affiliation with others. They believe that if they have good relationships with non-Ahmadis, violence and discrimination toward them will be eventually declining.

Based on their *Majelis Shura* decision in 2012 -2013, PPLI choose parenting, health and crafts as the topic as for those topics are neutral topics and there are several Ahmadi women who are experts on those fields. PPLI specifically formed a team for giving parenting workshop around Indonesia. Through their lower organization, regional Lajnah Imaillah Organization they build relationship with local leaders to make their program happen. They have started this program from July 2013 into June 2014, and continuing until now. The purpose of this program is to reduce people's misunderstanding on Ahmadiyya and to reach unapproachable areas.[116] In this program, they target government pro-

[116] Material for Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia Committee Members Training 2013

grams such as *PNPM,*[117] *HIMPAUDI,*[118] *PAUD,*[119] *PKK*, and *Posyandu* in which community and governmental leaders are able to attend together with people.

The programs do not only stop for those trainings and workshops, PPLI have also follow- up programs. In order to reach their goal, those Ahmadi women have to carry those programs on by keeping their good connection with people who have already joined the programs. The most significant and crucial thing is maintaining good relationships that have been initiated and built. They recommend all committee members from their branches in Indonesia to retain and preserve those relationships by doing follow up activities like visitation, joining programs held by local government, coming to open house of local officials while introducing their identity as Ahmadi. By keeping this good association, they hope that people will get correct information about Ahmadiyya from its original sources, the Ahmadi themselves.

Ahmadi women take this step because based on some cases in their community around Indonesia, they found out that if they have a very good and close relationship with other Muslims or other communities and also their members are actively participate in social activities and organizations beside their own organization, Lajnah Imaillah, they are more likely to be safe. Like one example that I have explained above, it is in Lenteng Agung Jakarta.[120]

In these workshop and training activities, Ahmadi women open up their identity as Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia with the hope that people will

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[117] Program Nasional Pembangunan Masyarakat Mandiri, PNPM Mandiri is national programs to reduce poverty, especially that based on community empowerment (http://www.pnpm-mandiri.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=54&Itemid=267) (accessed 11 February 2015)

[118] Himpunan Pendidik Anak Usia Dini Indonesia is organization for early childhood educators and teachers

[119] Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini (early childhood education)

[120] Interview with *Sadr* Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia, May 2014

recognize them as Ahmadi. These parenting workshops have been held in several areas in Indonesia and got good response from organizations they cooperate with. Based on my observation the materials that they give in parenting workshop mostly are Islamic values in educating children from Qur'an and *hadits* that are similar to "other Muslims'" teaching. In doing their *rabtah* activities, PPLI give firm rules to Ahmadi women to always remind themselves about their identity as Ahmadi Muslim, therefore they have to always maintain their attitude to be in accordance with Islamic teachings.

This *rabtah* program where Lajnah Imaillah build good relationships with other groups and communities is the best defense mechanism taken by Lajnah Imaillah to protect themselves from any violence, discrimination and persecution. Examined from the way they resisting the conflict, this *rabtah* program is also a way of Ahmadi women's resistance. In resisting the conflicts, those Ahmadi women do not oppose against the perpetrators or oppressors, but those Ahmadi women move closer to those people and try to mingle and cooperate with them.

Figure 4.5: Parenting training for Bunda PAUD in Yogyakarta

(Source: Lajnah Imaillah Yogyakarta)

Figure 4.6: Participants of Parenting workshop discussion in Yogyakarta

Figure 4.7: Sadr LII and Advisory Bunda PAUD Yogyakarta after having Parenting Training

Figure 4.8: Participants of parenting class in Asih Sasama Clinic, Gunung Kidul (Asih Sasama Collection)

Figure 4.9 Chair of LI Yogyakarta visiting Yogyakarta Major's wife (LI Yogyakarta collection)

4.6 Ahmadi Women's Narrative: Planting a Hope and Gaining Social Justice

> "I always expect that one day the government say: "Please Ahmadi can observe their religious activities freely based on their belief and they can go back to their home". Even though government do not give our properties back." (Hidayati, interview Lombok, January 2014)

In this research I make use of narrative of Ahmadi women on their experience on conflict, violence and discrimination. I let them to tell their stories based on what they experienced. According to Gene Combs and Jill Freedman (psychologists), "people stories are defined and constructed though stories. The story exemplify the power involved in being in the position into decision which stories will be told and retold, and which will not. It shows how the sharing and circulation of different stories contribute to building different communities. It illustrates how stories give meaning to lives and relationships, privileging some people and relationship and making others invisible (Combs and Freedman 2012, 1035).

Within Ahmadi women in the fields, there are some similarities which occur among Ahmadi women when they tell their stories about their experience on conflict and violence, although every woman has her own experience and has her own way which one she want to tell and which one to keep. They have experienced different levels of violence and they chose one unforgettable moment in their life.

This part is answering the last question of this research: What are Ahmadi women's hopes and expectations for the future of their lives in the context of religious harmony in Indonesia?

1. Different Level of Experience, The Same Shared Attitude

For most Ahmadi women in Indonesia, an event that they always remember is the attack of their annual national gathering (*Jalsah Salanah*) in Bogor in July 2005 because it is the point when they started to find difficulties in practicing their faith through their religious activities and got harsher intimidation and violence. Moreover, after 2005 their Ahmadiyya community went through many attacks and violence across Indonesia. A number of mosques were sealed, destroyed or burnt down. Finally the government issued a Joint Ministerial Decree (SKB) in 2008 which burdens them to expand their faith and this SKB was followed by local laws issued by some local governments which ban the existence of Ahmadiyya in their areas.

The other event that came up from their narrative is an event held by Aliansi Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan (AKBB)[121] on 1 June 2008 in which AKBB held a march to commemorate the birth of Pancasila in Monas Jakarta. At that event, many Ahmadi women, particularly those who are in central office, involved and they became victims of attack done by radical Muslims. In this event, actually was the first time for Ahmadi women to start showing their existence and sounding their voice. However, the attack stopped their actions and left traumatic event for those Ahmadi women.

In telling their stories, most Ahmadi women were comparing their own experience to their Ahmadi women colleagues in other parts of Indonesia whose experience were worse than theirs. They always remind themselves that what they face, what they experience is lighter than their sisters in other areas of Indonesia do. This attitude makes them stronger in their faith, resilient and more lenient toward others who have different faith and beliefs from them.

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[121] AKBB is an organization consisting of several organizations which support the freedom to have religion and faith.

> "For me, what I experienced is only a piece of cake compared to what other Ahmadi acquainted in Lombok, Manislor and Cisalada." (Siti, Interview Bogor, 2013)

> "I was coordinating the event of AKBB in Monas, 1st of June 2008 so that I came earlier than others. I was able to move the location to gather because I heard rumors that there will be something not good happen, there will be other groups confronting our activities. When we were attacked I saw by myself how we were being hunted. They did not care whether female or male. Me myself had to meet face to face with them. At that time the police were far away from the location. The attackers were closer than the police. So it was unlikely that the police would protect and help us" (Siti, Interview Bogor, May 2013).

Whereas for Ahmadi women who have experienced severe violence like Ahmadi women in Lombok, they tell their story on how they were expelled from their own houses. They told their stories in a very rigid and chronological story. In addition, they also told their opinions about what was happening. They also still feel the pain and heart beating when they tell their story on that. Those violence become traumatic events for them up to now.

> "The destruction of our houses did not happen at once on one night, but in turn. This night those perpetuators destructed one group's houses, tomorrow night they continue to another group. They did it until all Ahmadis' houses broken down. I think they have planned the way they destruct our houses, it seems that they were under coordination." (Hayati, Interview Lombok, 2014)

> "The mosque was the first target of attack then those people went to Ahmadis' settlement near the mosque. They did not destruct the houses at once but they did it in several nights. My house was destructed on the second night. After destructing the mosque then

> they attacked one's Ahmadi's house, but then they stopped because of the police stopped them. However, on the following night they came again and like guerilla in destructing our houses by breaking down some houses this night and another house in another night." (Rima, interview Lombok, 2013)
>
> "I still feel the pain and eerie when I have to tell my story about how we were attacked and expelled from our house"(Fauzia, Interview Lombok, January 2014).

Narrative story, according Combs and Freedman, "allow people to both contribute and partake of a growing body of insider knowledge". Also, as people join their voices together, they are more likely to be heard in the larger society. They are less marginalized (Combs and Freedman 2012, 1035). Therefore, narrative story of Ahmadi women about their experiences on violent conflicts and their struggles reveal their stories that were rarely heard. From their stories now we can discern what kind of experience those Ahmadi women have, how they feel about it, what and how they deal with their circumstances.

The stories that were generated from several Ahmadi women, as part of minority group that are discriminated, give them a chance to share their stories to be heard by others and also the government. It is hoped that by recognizing, hearing and considering their voices, there will be more understanding to them and also the government considers their existence and circumstances from another perspective or point of view. Moreover, policy makers and government in making rules or other policy regarding to the existence of Ahmadiyya community also see from Ahmadi women's experiences, since women and children in any conflict always be the most vulnerable groups.

2. Ahmadi Women's Hope on Peace

Besides narrating their stories and experience on conflict and violence and also their efforts in dealing with those conflicts, I also explore their hope on current situation of their community. I asked them about their expectation for the government in the context of their status as Indonesians which is under Pancasila as our basis.

There were several important issues which came up from those Ahmadi women. Firstly, they call out about their right as citizens in term of religious freedom. They believe that under Pancasila as the State's basis, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika which admits the varieties of Indonesians from Sabang to Merauke with their various ethnic, religion, languages and also faiths, the State should protect and guarantee the freedom of all its people to believe and do religious activities based on their faith.

Many Ahmadi women rely on government's willingness in making policy which allow them to have freedom to believe their faith and observe their religious activities like other Indonesia citizens without any discrimination. They think that as citizen they always obey the law and rules, they also never miss their duty to pay taxes, in addition they always try hard to take a role in community. However, based on what they have been experiencing since 2000, they find it difficult to freely express their religion. Even more they got some persecutions and discrimination from people and also from local governments which caused many losses for them.

In addition, those Ahmadi women also do not only ask for their own religious freedom but also for other minority groups living in Indonesia. Being experienced as minority which vulnerable to any kind of persecution and violence, they do not want their experience also be acquainted by other minorities. Religious freedom is human rights, therefore every person has right to believe their faith and observe their religious activities without any intimidation and oppression.

> "My expectation is not only for us, Ahmadiyya community, but also for other minorities like us such as Christians, Catholicism, who always be the victim of intolerance in Indonesia. The government should not only see the needs of the majority but also the minorities. We always pay taxes as citizens. In our cases, it is clearly seen that we are the oppressed, therefore the government should protect us instead of do omission when intolerance actions happen. That makes the perpetrators think that their action is legal. Moreover, I see that most actors of violence in terms of religious intolerance rarely got caught and sent to the court. If some of them are got caught they usually will only get a very light punishment." (Iin, interview Yogya, January 2014)

From the narrative above, Ahmadi women want a peacefully harmonious life in Indonesia with its plural societies composed by many different ethnics, religions, cultures. Therefore, protection to all Indonesians, regardless their identities, is crucially needed. The government is one who has this responsibilities but it does not perform well.

Narrative about justice also came out from Ahmadi women's hope. They think that what was happening to them these years is because there is no justice for them. According to them, the government who has the responsibilities to treat their people justly does not meet their responsibilities. The government still treats them differently to other citizens although Ahmadi community always does their duty as citizen.

> "Our hope is that the government treats us justly. Although we are Ahmadi, we should get our citizenship rights since as citizens we never disregard our duties and responsibilities, such as paying taxes, giving our vote in general election. I demand justice for our community." (Umi, Interview, Manislor, 2014)

Justice that they want also including their right to have important documents such as electronic identity card (*E-KTP*) for Ahmadi in Man-

islor. Until now, although they have already taken photograph for their ID card, they still have not received yet their ID card. What is happening now when their ID card is expired, they will get the new one but not the electronic ones. The reason of the local government still pending their e-KTP cards is because Kuningan Government still asking about Ahmadi's religion, whether they are to be considered as Muslims or not. One Ahmadi woman said:

> "About electronic Identity Card, (e-KTP) please give us ours. Do not ask and complain about our religion since we are Muslims. We have the same Shahadat, our Holy book is also Al Qur'an not Tazkirah like what people accuse." (Umi, Interview Manislor, 2014)

Another issue which come up from Ahmadi women in Manislor is the right to register their marriage in Kuningan regency. They now cannot register their marriage officially in all *KUA*[122] *(Kantor Urusan Agama)* in Kuningan regency because there is like local law which said that Ahmadi are not allowed to get married in all *KUA* in Kuningan. As a result, for years, Ahmadi usually register their marriage in other regencies. Before registering in other areas, they have to move their *KTP* to targeting regency. This procedure leads to several consequences which give disadvantages for Ahmadi. Besides they have to spend more money to get new *KTP* from other regency, it sometimes happens, when the couple are going to have a baby, the wife cannot get health services for free from government such as *Jamkesmas*,[123] because their *KTP* is outside Kuningan regency. These conditions, accordingly, really bring disadvantage for Ahmadi in term of health and also education services.

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[122] Religious affairs office which present in every district in Indonesia. One of its responsibilities in registering Muslims marriage.

[123] Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat, public health insurance

Having a bit different experience but there are commonalities with Ahmadi women in Manislor, Ahmadi women in Lombok who have been living for almost 8 years in Transito building as refugees, most of them cannot have ID Card (*KTP*). If they need a *KTP* and they want to make one, the local government makes it difficult for them to get it. When they ask to local government in their origin, local government argues that those Ahmadi no more live in the area so that they cannot get the *KTP*, on the other hand when those Ahmadi apply for *KTP* in local government where they live now, those apparatus said that those Ahmadi are not originally from that area. These hard circumstances make them not have *KTP*, an official letter as a proof citizenship. As a result, they lost their citizenship rights. They cannot register their marriage in *KUA*, consequently they are not able to make birth certificate for their kids. Accordingly, those kids born in Ahmadi families which unregistered cannot register for school since the requirement to school is having birth certification. Moreover, in absence of *KTP* means losing opportunities to get public services. One of Ahmadi in Lombok said that they just like invisible for the government. No land and no rights, even mostly treated inhumane. Having no ID card brings about chained effects in their lives. Therefore, they hope that they can get their rights as Indonesians.

Given those narratives from Ahmadi women, the need of justice arise from them. They realize that what happens to them is injustice treatment from government. They do not blame people who attack and do violence to them, but they are questioning the government in responding to conflict and violence to them. They argue, if the government is really firm in doing law enforcement, violence towards them and other minorities in Indonesia will likely not happen anymore. For them, conflict is inevitable in the context of Indonesia with many various beliefs and culture and they are working on lessening misunderstanding of people about their faith in order to reduce the number of conflict. It is

the government's responsibilities to protect its people regardless their origin, ethnics and belief.

Ahmadi women's expectation is protection as Indonesian citizen. When those Ahmadi women got protected from any threats and violence, they can live peacefully like other Indonesians with no fear of getting danger in expressing their belief. Therefore, they can maximize their lives in meeting their needs, and also giving services to others. To gain protection for themselves from society, as have been discussed previously, Ahmadi started to build good relationship with other communities where they live.

> "I hope that in the future there will be no more attack and violence to our community, no more mockery like what happened in the past both verbally and physically." (Hidayati, Interview Lombok, January 2014)

Another hope from Ahmadi women in Lombok is that they can go back to their own homes, without any requirements applied to them like giving up their faith. They hope the government would allow them to go back and protect them. Those Ahmadi women only want to live in their own houses, start to build their house again and live normally like they used to be. Finally, they hope that their voices and hope now are heard and they can go on with their lives and their faith without any burden and violence to their community.

4.7 Conclusion

Violent conflicts and enmities acquainted by Ahmadi women in Indonesia have changed Ahmadi women's attitude in resisting the conflicts and exercising their agencies. The modal of agencies they utilized are the same, which are their obedience, sacrifice and believe in blessing. However, the way they exercise those agencies are changing time to

time. From merely passive in tackling the conflict, moving into reactive actions then becoming more active by taking initiative to build peace.

Looking closely at Ahmadi women's defense mechanism, there are changes of their form of defense mechanism from time to time and also different between one Lajnah Imaillah branches with another. They applied denial, rationalization then acceptance in the first period (2000─2008). Then they changed to courage by doing both physical and mental courage in the second period (2009─2011). Finally in the third period, they moved to affiliation, anticipation and altruism. Their choices to those forms of defense are influenced by their circumstances and their potentials and abilities.

Moreover, the way Ahmadi women cope with those hard circumstances, on one side, eventually create more space and opportunities for Ahmadi women to show their existence to larger society outside their closed community and on the other side, strengthen their position and role inside their own community. After a long process and evaluation to their own organization and members, the need to be more active as Ahmadi in society in terms of social and humanity activities outside their own community emerged in order to lessen misunderstanding about Ahmadiyya which spread out in Indonesia and also reduce the number of conflict and violence toward their community. Finally, now, Ahmadi women are having more spaces in exercising their agencies to actively participate in Indonesian society, both in general issues as well as in promoting better life efforts.

To close this chapter, I took a poem written by an Ahmadi girl about her hope:

Harapanku (My hope)

Teringat saat itu… (I remember that moment)
Masih berdiri kokoh rumahMu (Your house still stood firm)
Dan di situlah ku mengkaji ilmu (I used to learn there)
Kini aku hanya bisa meratap (Now, I can only wail)

Menatap puing-puing tanpa atap (Stare at the debris without roof)
Tak bisa lagi aku terlelap (I can't sleep soundly anymore)
Saat mereka buat harapku lenyap (When they took away my hope)
Salah apa? (What is wrong?)
Sehingga mereka hancurkan semua (So they broke all)
Hancurkan asa yang membuncah dalam dada (Break my hope in my heart)
Ajaran kami bukanlah sepercik noda (Our teaching is not a stain)
Tak perlu kalian cerca dan hina (You do not need to insult)
Apalagi hancurkan rumahNya (Moreover break His house)
Aku hanya bisa menengadah (I can upturn only)
Semoga bisa lagi ku beribadah (Hopefully I can worship)
Di rumahMu yang damai dan megah (In Your Peaceful and glorious house)

– Jihan Fauziah- Nashirat Sukabumi

5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

> "Give us, Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia a chance to give contribution in society, we are very welcome and eager to contribute. We are, Lajnah Imaillah, many of us who have skills that can be used and exercised. We really hope that the government makes use of us in terms of those skills. We are socially oriented, not a commercial institution. This is our characteristics as Ahmadi women, giving services to our country." (Iin, Bogor, January 2014)

5.1 Concluding Remarks

The main research question of this dissertation is how Ahmadi women deal with violent conflicts and what are the roles, struggles and efforts of Ahmadi women in handling and resisting conflicts, violence and hardship they experience relating to their faith in their daily lives and what kind of defense mechanism they use. Based on the description, data and findings found in this research, also the discussion in the previous chapter about Ahmadi women narrative on their occurrence on violent conflicts, specific agency of Ahmadi women according to Ortner's agency in which Ahmadi women are seen as active players, their everyday resistance from James Scott and defense mechanism, there are several concluding remarks that can be drawn as follows:

From Ahmadi women's narrative about violent conflict and their involvement and thoughts about that, there are three stages taken by Ahmadi women in Indonesia through its organization Lajnah Imaillah in dealing with those experiences from 2000 to 2015.

First of all, during period 2000 -2008, because of Ahmadi's theological reason, Ahmadi women admitted and believed that violence and harsh treatment toward their community because of their distinctive belief is part of their fate to be Ahmadi and also as the proof of the truth of their faith. Therefore, for Ahmadi women they are accustomed to discrimination and enmities that they face. For that reason, they did not give any responses to resist. Ahmadi women responded with rationalization and acceptance, kept silent in their difficult situation as long as they still could observe their religious rituals.

Organizationally, Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia Board was not affected, they could still run their programs regularly although they had to do it in silence, for example they had to move the address of sending monthly reports from its branches around Indonesia or changing the name of their gathering into common event that familiar for non-Ahmadis like changing term "*Jalsah Salnah*" into "*pengajian*". Although they could not hold national events which involved big number of their members, they were not really worry about that, they survived with their religious observance although they had to reduce the number of their activities because of the difficulties. In this period, their defense mechanism form is rationalization and then acceptance. Those Ahmadi women only applied their active agency internally to strengthen themselves but they exercised their agency passively in tackling hostilities from others.

Secondly, the period 2008–2011, Lajnah Imaillah and its members started to be active in showing their existence by responding to violence that happened to their community. In this stage, after the issuing of SKB in June 2008, the numbers of hostilities toward them were increasing. As a result, there were some NGOs and other organizations which care

about Ahmadi's conditions and helped them to express and share their experience through some media like radio, television and newspapers. Gradually, their existence is to be present and heard in Indonesia society. People started to know and hear about their hard experience on violent conflict. These Ahmadi women's defense mechanism was courage, both physical and metal courage. Internally, they also started expanding and intensifying their social activities. They encouraged their members to be more active in their neighborhood. Hence, people started to acknowledge them and feel their presence from their social and humanity activities. However, still the coverage of being recognized as Ahmadi do not include all Ahmadi women in Indonesia. Therefore, there were still a number of persecution and violence happening to their community in this period, particularly in West Java.

Thirdly, after doing self-assessment to their organization programs and also member activities, Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia realized that some social and humanities programs they had, in some extent could reduce the number of violence toward them; however they need more efforts to lessen the number of violent conflicts or at least to protect themselves from the violence. Although they have already run some social and humanity programs and projects which have reached many parties outside their closed community, in fact those Ahmadi women's visibility is imprecise in society. Their visibility in the society needs to be shown more clearly with all their social and humanity activities which beneficial for people. Therefore, Ahmadi women need to make some transformation on their programs and projects. Moreover, people's lack of information and understanding about Ahmadiyya still spread around Indonesia. In this stage, revealing their Ahmadi identity while doing their social and humanities activities is crucial in lessening all those misunderstanding. On Ortner's agency, in this stage, Ahmadi women are transforming their role into active player in which they are trying to expand their space while negotiating their identity without

giving up their faith. To do this, Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia firstly strengthens their members internally in terms of faith and identity as well as their social capital before they go outside into larger society. Giving more education on religious and theological materials and also knowledge on politics is their choice.

In this period, their defense mechanism was affiliation by attaching themselves to well-known person like Sinta Nuriyah. They also do altruism by giving social and humanity services to others in wider society, not only for their own community. Furthermore, they do anticipation by starting to initiate building good relationship as their definitive defense mechanism. This kind of defense also become their way of resisting conflicts and discrimination by coming closer to the majorities instead of against them. From the findings in this research, it is proven that the best defense mechanism for Ahmadi women in resisting oppression and discrimination toward them is through building good relationship with non-Ahmadi.

In answering the third research question on the roles, struggles and efforts of Ahmadi women in handling and resisting conflicts, violence and hardship they experience relating to their faith in their daily lives and what are defense mechanism they use, we find out that conflict is normal and conflict is a motor change for internal transformation in LI organization. Conflict that Ahmadi women come across and experience eventually become a motor for them to change. Although, the conflict does not change either their organizational structure or their faith, even it strengthens their faith and make them more resilient, but in the end, eventually it transforms their attitude and expand their activities in dealing with those persecution and violence. Violent conflicts that used to only place Ahmadi women in oppressed position now make them realize that they can be an active agent of peace in plurality of Indonesia.

Violent conflicts do not only have negative effects in terms of properties and lives loss, but those also bring about positive effects for Ah-

madiyya community itself and also for Indonesia society at large. Ahmadi women can manage conflict and violence that they face into something positive in which they do not blame the perpetrators but they look back into themselves to see and adjust with the circumstances without turning around from their faith.

Ahmadi women recognize that the problems and violence that their community went through, basically is not only because of their faith but it also relates to social, political and economic issues. The activities of their members in their neighborhood and also their relationship with other communities and organizations were still need to be expanded. In response to that, Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia make programs which directly touch the need of society and also encourage their members to be more active in all social and humanity activities in their neighborhood, workplace and schools. In addition of that, they give guidance and skills to their members in doing their role in society.

In resisting conflict and discrimination they face, Ahmadi women use both public and hidden resistance. For public resistance, they used their social force in the case of Manislor where Ahmadi women protested and protected their mosques by physically making life barriers and PPLI members joining a protest with AKBB (Aliansi Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan) on 1 June 2008 to commemorate the birth of Pancasila in Monas Jakarta. In doing hidden resistance, Ahmadi women did it by crying and telling their stories and experiences through media, both by having press conference, talk show or let media broadcast their condition such as condition of Ahmadi in Transito Lombok.

Examining the forms of resistance which Ahmadi women taken using Scott's argument, both resistances come up in Ahmadi community. However, for disguised resistance, those Ahmadi women only resist when there is conflict and oppression to them. If there is not any conflict, oppression, persecution and discrimination, they will do their activities as usual; they can even easily mingle in society. Moreover, their

hidden resistances are actually organized by PPLI as the highest leadership for Ahmadi women. However, PPLI do not give exact recommendation how to respond to conflict which their members deal with, but it endorses and suggests their members to do resistance which is suitable with their context, locality, and capacities. Each Ahmadi women group have their freedom to exercise their own agencies to determine how they would resist and act so their resistance forms are asymmetric between one group to others. Therefore, Scott's argument that hidden resistance is unorganized and appears in everyday lives is not applicable to Ahmadiyya community.

From this research I argue that resistance of religious minority groups usually only appear when they are physically oppressed and their rights are under threat. If those religious minorities groups do not feel under threaten and they can observe their religious activities, there will not be resistance from them.

Moving to the research question on why Ahmadi women select certain types of social activities and how they exercise their agency to promote better life programme regarding their experience of hindrance (internally and externally), from this research, we found that Indonesian Ahmadi women have and play vital roles inside their umbrella organization, Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, not only in terms of social and humanity services but also in religious activities. Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia usually becomes the motor, initiator and also sponsor for some important programs held by the organization. As I have mentioned before in the previous chapters, in social and humanity activities, Lajnah Imaillah is noted with the biggest number of eye donor candidates in Indonesia, blood donors, and it also has programmed social activities like regularly distributing groceries for unfortunate people during Ramadhan, establishing PAUD or Kindergarten that are opened for not only their members but also other Muslims around the schools. Their choice on those women related matters such as parenting, health, and social ser-

vices and their well-organized programs become their strength and uniqueness.

Although Ahmadi women do not take a position in leadership of Jemaat Ahmadiyah organization, only place its *Sadr* (president) as representative in organization structure, Lajnah Imaillah has their own space to exercise their agency by doing those continuous programs and activities as their actualization as Ahmadi, women and Muslims. Their independent financial and organizational stands give them more space and opportunities to maximize their potentials and place them equal with their Ahmadi man fellows. Even in some cases those Ahmadi women are more dominant and take leadership in several Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia activities. Through social and humanity services activities, those Ahmadi women can find ways to handle their harsh circumstances as well as to create new structures in society which can accept them as part of society with their own belief.

In addition, based on Ahmadi women's narrative on their hope for their own community, expectation on harmony and peaceful life without violence in Indonesia with its plurality and social justice for all is on their first list. They realize that to live in peace and harmony with other communities need cooperation and hard work among different communities. Moreover, according to those Ahmadi women, these hard works need support from the government by giving protection and equal treatment to their people regardless their ethnics, gender, faith and religion.

Ahmadi in Indonesia are considered themselves as Indonesian Muslims who are originally born and live in Indonesia. Their identity is very contextual and exceptional compared to other Ahmadi in the West countries such us UK, USA and other Europe countries. Fleeing to other country to get their religious freedom seems not their eventual choice since their characteristics as Indonesians who attach to their mother earth make them not easily move to another area. This case can be seen from Ahmadi in Lombok, who getting very harsh enmity from anti Ah-

madi people in Lombok as well as from the government, but they seem reluctant to move from Lombok Island. Even more, the frear of losing their rights, as Indonesian citizens, does not make those Ahmadi willingly relocate. In other words, they are Indonesians with all its consequences of being Indonesians. Although they have been experiencing conflict with the toughest hostilities because of their distinctive faith, indeed their being Indonesian becomes stronger. Their choice is staying as Indonesians in Indonesia. Therefore, Ahmadi women are trying hard to negotiate their identity and space in Indonesia by doing several relevant actions and activities in order to be accepted as part of Indonesia and can live coexistence with other Indonesians with its plural societies, Bhineka Tunggal Ika.

Ahmadi women's strategies defense mechanism in resisting and dealing with violent conflict related to their faith demonstrate that non-violent defense mechanism becomes a powerful energy to promote better relationship, mutual understanding among conflicting parties in society. Therefore, this kind of non-violent defense mechanism can be an alternative way in undertaking conflicts among different religious groups in Indonesia. I believe that if all parties involved in the conflicts share the same idea of non-violent defense and they are in equal position and willingly to cooperate, peace and harmony life among Indonesians from different faiths, particularly within Muslims with their vary schools is likely reached.

5.2 Future Directions and Recommendations

Given that lessening violent conflicts related to faith, particularly which implicating Ahmadi is possibly attained, I predict that if Ahmadi women keep on their efforts to build and maintain good relationship by doing social and humanity activities in promoting better lives that invite more people not only from their own community but from wider society in cooperation with other institutions both civil and governmental insti-

tutions, peace among Indonesians particularly among different religious groups is likely to be achieved.

Ahmadi women's efforts in dealing with the conflicts, of course, have to be improved in terms of quality and quantities. However, although it seems that non-Ahmadis are welcome with those Ahmadi women's efforts, the activities and strategies done to search for peace will not always be the same as what they are doing now, since they are just starting, not all non-Ahmadi recognize their actions and activities. Broaden the coverage of cooperation with other women organizations to build wider connection is necessary for Lajnah Imaillah as organization. Moreover, the growing trend of radicalism in Indonesia would still place Ahmadiyya community in vulnerable position as target of persecution and discrimination, new strategies are needed to think about.

Furthermore, openness on their Ahmadiyya identity is essential. As for now, many Indonesians actually do not know exactly what Ahmadiyya is, who are and how Ahmadi look like. Many people only get information about Ahmadi from media and also from people who do not agree with and often do not like Ahmadi because of differences on belief. Many Indonesians never meet directly and have interaction with Ahmadi. It is the duty of Ahmadi themselves to lessen this misunderstanding by being more open and stretching their interaction. It is understandable that many Indonesians still have misunderstanding about Ahmadiyya because in terms of physical and appearance and religious practices, e.g. the way Ahmadi dress up and worshipping, Ahmadi are not different from other Muslims. Therefore, being more open in terms of theological matters also crucial in order lessen misunderstanding about Ahmadiyya and accordingly reduce the number of conflict, discrimination and persecution. Ahmadi should have not been afraid of uncover their faith, since there are more similarities than differences with other Muslims.

After examining how women Ahmadi handle and prevent violent conflicts, I suggest that opening identity as Ahmadi is crucial to do at present, to reduce misunderstanding in the community while providing the correct information regarding the Ahmadiyya. To do this, it is necessary to increase the capabilities of Ahmadi women because many Ahmadi women who do not dare open their identities because of their limited knowledge and capacity. So far only the Ahmadi women occupying positions of management have sufficient capacity. It is the duty of PPLI to do this through a more intensive program for all members.

Although the results from what Ahmadi women doing now is not visible yet, but there is always a hope for a better relationship among Muslims from different schools in Indonesia to together bring a peace. Lajnah Imaillah as a social force has potentials as an agent of peace in Indonesia and their program in promoting better lives is likely to contribute in building religious harmony in Indonesia. Therefore, their several social and humanity programs that have been implemented need to be maintained and improved. Innovation on programs are not only in parenting and health programs but expanding to other issues such as education and economic. Moreover, the coverage of those programs should be expanded to reach needy people regardless their faith, ethnicity and gender.

Since this research only portraits on Ahmadi women's side in dealing with violent conflict, this only covers up from one side, it does not reveal from non-Ahmadi's side. Therefore, research on how Muslims communities in Indonesia react and respond toward Ahmadi women's activities in resisting conflicts and promoting better life programs will be a worthy research to do, and it will add and enrich research on Ahmadi women's issues to give more fruitful description about intra religious relationship and harmonious life in Indonesia. In addition, if in the future, Ahmadiyya Indonesia has already have equal position with other

Muslims, research on conflict transformation process is inevitable to conduct.

Finally, as concluded in this dissertation about non-violent defense mechanism and its potential to be an alternative in building better relationships among different religious groups who are in conflicts, further study on the form of defense mechanism applied by groups involving in conflicts becomes imperative to conduct.

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Ahmadi Women
Resisting Fundamentalist Persecution

A Case Study on Active Group Resistance in Indonesia

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Since the start of the Reformasi era and the fall of the New Order regime led by President Suharto in 1998, there have been numerous incidents of violence against the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia stemming from different interpretations of the Qur'an, which has led to the destruction of mosques and cases of murder. These incidents, and others like them, suggest the importance of understanding the context of such discrimination against the Ahmadi and in particular Ahmadi women to establish a peaceful and more equitable Indonesia.

This dissertation focuses on Ahmadi women's experiences in dealing with conflict and the ways they organize themselves to resist conflict for the betterment of their lives in the face of social and institutional discrimination.

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