

THE PUNISHMENT AND DISCIPLINE OF AHMADI WOMEN : A CASE STUDY IN TRANSITO DORMITORY IN MATARAM

Abdul Gaffar

UIN Sjech Djamil Djambek Bukittinggi, abdulgaffar@iainbukittinggi.ac.id



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Abstract

Indonesian Ahmadiyya community (Jamaah Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI)) in Lombok has taken refuge in Transito Dormitory in Mataram since 2006. Therefore, it is interesting to see how Ahmadi women experienced expulsion and fled to Transito Dormitory due to the differences in Ahmadiyya beliefs regarding Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as a prophet. This study aimed to observe the punishment and discipline they endured during expulsion and refuge in Transito Dormitory. This study used a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach and Michael Foucault's theory of punish and discipline. The results of this study revealed that Ahmadi women who took refuge in Transito Dormitory had difficulties in carrying out family functions. They had difficulties in managing all the household needs with limited facility. They were lack of water for cooking, washing, and other needs. This paper also showed that Ahmadi women who took refuge in Transito Dormitory experienced punishment and discipline through limited access and strict control mechanisms that forced them not to leave Transito Dormitory in Mataram

Keywords: *Ahmadiyya, Punishment, Discipline, Women.*

Abstrak

Jamaah Ahmadiyah Indonesia Lombok telah mengungsi di Asrama Transito Mataram sejak tahun 2006. Oleh karena itu, menarik untuk dilihat bagaimana perempuan Ahmadiyah mengalami pengusiran hingga mengungsi di Asrama Transito Mataram karena perbedaan keyakinan Jamaah Ahmadiyah Indonesia mengenai Mirza Ghulam Ahmad sebagai nabi. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melihat penghukuman dan pendisiplinan yang mereka alami selama mengalami pengusiran dan pengalaman mengungsi di Asrama Transito. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologi dan teori penghukuman dan pendisiplinan Michael Foucault. Hasil penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa perempuan Ahmadiyah yang mengungsi di Asrama Transito mengalami kesulitan dalam menjalankan fungsi-fungsi keluarga, kesulitan dalam mengelola semua kebutuhan rumah tangga dengan fasilitas yang terbatas. Kekurangan air untuk memasak, mencuci dan kebutuhan lain. Tulisan ini juga menunjukkan bahwa Perempuan Ahmadiyah yang mengungsi di Asrama Transito mengalami penghukuman dan pendisiplinan melalui akses-akses yang serba terbatas serta mekanisme kontrol yang ketat yang memaksa mereka tidak bisa keluar dari Asrama Transito Mataram.

Kata Kunci: *Ahmadiyah, Penghukuman, Pendisiplinan, Perempuan.*

Introduction

The persecution case of Ahmadiyya community in Lombok, Indonesia occurred in 2006. Ahmadiyya community was evicted from Ketapang, Lingsar District, West Lombok Regency. As a result, several houses of Ahmadiyya community were destroyed by the mobs who were provoked by an Ustadz (Islamic religious teacher) in one of his lectures¹. Ahmadiyya community was evacuated to Transito Dormitory in Mataram, a building which once was used as Transmigration office, since February 2006.

Before evacuating to Transito Dormitory in Mataram, Ahmadiyya community in Lombok had been evicted by the society several times. Most recently, they were evicted from Ketapang, Gegerung Village, Lingsar District, West Lombok Regency and there was no clarity on when they could leave Transito Dormitory. The last case occurred in Greneng Village, East Lombok, in 2018. As a result, seven houses were destroyed and several people got injured.

In some Ahmadiyya cases, security forces tended to be perceived indecisive and to yield to the assault perpetrators². The rights of Ahmadiyya community as citizens, the rights of security, and the rights of law equality were not recognized by the local government³. The prohibition against

Ahmadiyya was also carried out through regulations issued by the local government and central government⁴.

Ahmadiyah community in Lombok only fought through the discourse (wacana) which they called as resistance through a pen. Since 1998, there have been more than 700 cases of violence which have no legal proceedings. On the contrary, Ahmadiyya community was forced to leave their houses and to follow Sunni understanding⁵. The case was spread in several areas such as in Lombok, several areas on Java Island, especially in West Java which is the center of Ahmadiyya understanding in Indonesia. The Fatwa of Indonesian Ulama Council year 1980 and 2005, and the Joint Decree of three Ministers were used as legitimacy by the party who carried out the expulsion. It was inseparable from the fatwa of Indonesian Ulama Council which labeled Ahmadiyya heretical and banned the spread of Ahmadiyya teachings as stated in the Joint Decree of three Ministers.

Furthermore, it is worth to be noted in violence in the name of religion how belief becomes a component of discrimination that brings suffering. We do not only see such violence solely as a violation of Human Rights, but also see it influenced by other factors, such as economic, political, and ethnic. Beliefs or

¹ Nurhikmah, "Satu Dekade Jadi Rumpun Terasing: Narasi Identitas Dan Kekerasan Jemaat Ahmadiyah Di Lombok," *Retorik* 5, no. 1 (2017).

² Abdul Jamil Wahab and Fakhruddin Fakhruddin, "Menakar Efektivitas Skb Tentang Ahmadiyah: Sudi Kasus Konflik Ahmadiyah Di Desa Gereneng Lombok Timur," *Harmoni* 18, no. 1 (2019): 443–459.

³ Ismail Zaky, *Ahmadiyah di Lombok: Respon Pemerintah Daerah Terhadap Pemenuhan Hak-Hak Sipil Jemaat Ahmadiyah di Mataram pasca SKB tahun 2008*. (Jurnal Revie Politik, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2014)

⁴ Aan Suryana, "State Officials' Entanglement with Vigilante Groups in Violence against Ahmadiyah and Shi'a Communities in Indonesia," *Asian Studies Review* 43, no. 3 (2019): 475–492, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1633273>.

⁵ C Koerner and W D Putro, "The Socio-Legal Construction of Ahmadiyah as a Religious Minority by Local and National Government Policy: Restrictions before the Law, a Challenge for ...," *International Journal of Indonesian Studies* 4, no. 1 (2017): 14–30, https://arts.monash.edu/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/1679414/ahmadiyah-final-version.pdf.

religions are considered as one of the factors⁶. In the case of Ahmadiyya in Lombok, local political dynamics were one of the triggers of violence against Ahmadiyya⁷.

This research was to observe Ahmadiyya from the point of view of gender studies that was to see Ahmadi women as the victims of persecution and expulsion have been able to survive since 2006. In the previous studies that have been conducted on Ahmadiyya, there was no study which discussed the life of Ahmadiyya community as the victims of persecution in Transito Dormitory, especially regarding the study of women as an effort to see the burden of women when the violence and post-violence occurred.

The gender study conducted on Ahmadiyya focused on how Ahmadiyya women as the victims of the conflict in Parung, Bogor expressed their identity as a minority group in society and working environment⁸. This happened considering the onset of prejudice towards Ahmadiyya minority group⁹. Another study on gender stated that there was no difference in intolerance experienced by Ahmadiyya

women and Nahdlatul Wathan women in politics¹⁰.

Therefore, this study focused on how the efforts of women as the victims of persecution in Transito Dormitory were able to survive with limited circumstances and what the obstacles they had while taking refuge in Transito Dormitory. The fact that the refuge was a very narrow place only separated with mosquito nets between one family and another caused there was no privacy for women, childcare patterns, and life in the community around Transito Dormitory. Moreover, the domestic work which was the women's responsibility became difficult to be carried out.

This situation can be seen as a disciplinary punishment towards Ahmadi women in Indonesia who have taken refuge since 2006. It was as a result of ideological differences or understandings of the prophet Mirza Ghulam Ahmad so that they were evicted from their houses and took refuge in Transito Dormitory. The concept of *Panopticon* is a concept about the control mechanism in a building to conduct discipline towards supervised people and become part of the punishment towards the control objects. This was experienced by Ahmadi women while taking refuge in Transito Dormitory.

There are some study about Ahmadiyya, a study of Ahmadiyya in Lombok conducted by Chusniyah was on political intolerance experienced by Ahmadiyya and Nahdlatul Wathan¹¹. The

⁶ Paul Marshall, "Patterns and Contexts of Religious Freedom and Persecution," *The Brandywine Review of Faith & International Affairs* 2, no. 3 (2004): 27–34.

⁷ Mohamad Baihaqi, *Relasi Elit Lokal Dalam Konflik Keagamaan di Lombok Barat* (Jurnal Sosiologi Agama Vol. 14, No. 2, 2020).

⁸ Stara Asrita, "Identitas Perempuan Ahmadiyah Di Ruang Publik," *Jurnal Riset Komunikasi* 2, no. 1 (2019): 51–62.

⁹ Halimatusa'diah Halimatusa'diah, "Dari Prasangka Hingga Diskriminasi: Menyoal Stigma Sesat Dan Kekerasan Terhadap Ahmadiyah Dalam Perspektif Komunikasi," *Avant Garde* 5, no. 1 (2017): 15.

¹⁰ Tutu Chusniyah, dkk. *Pembedaan Intoleransi Politik Jamaah Nabdlatul Wathan Terhadap Jamaah Ahmadiyah Ditinjau dari Gender* (Ulumuddin: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman Vol. 10, No. 2, 2020).

¹¹ Tutu Chusniyah, dkk. *Pembedaan Intoleransi Politik Jamaah Nabdlatul Wathan Terhadap Jamaah Ahmadiyah Ditinjau dari Gender* (Ulumuddin: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman Vol. 10, No. 2, 2020).

study found that there was no difference in intolerance experienced by Nahdlatul Wathan community and Ahmadiyya community in politics. This research was in contradiction with other studies which stated that the groups who experienced violence and persecution have certainly experienced intolerance in various ways.

More argumentative research was conducted by Ismail¹². Compared to Chusniyah's research, research conducted by Ismail found that the rights of Ahmadiyya community, both women and men, were heavily violated. They did not get full rights as citizens, the rights of security, the rights as refugees, the rights of law equality, and other civil rights. Including political rights, they had difficulty to get a Resident Identification Card (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk/KTP*).

Wahab's & Fakhruddin's studies¹³ corroborated the results of Ismail's research which stated that the apparatus did not take strict action against the perpetrators who did violence against Ahmadiyya community in East Lombok in 2018. Due to the violence, seven houses were destroyed and some people got injured. In this study, it explained that there was the rejection of the existence of Ahmadiyya and there was lack of understanding of the Joint Decree of three ministers which was caused by the government not coordinating with religious leaders who were the dominant class in society.

¹² Zaky Ismail, "Ahmadiyah Di Lombok: Respon Pemerintah Daerah Terhadap Pemenuhan Hak-Hak Sipil Jemaat Ahmadiyah Di Mataram Pasca SKB 2008," *Jurnal Review Politik* 4, no. 2 (2014): 293–317.

¹³ Wahab and Fakhruddin, "Menakar Efektivitas Skb Tentang Ahmadiyah: Sudi Kasus Konflik Ahmadiyah Di Desa Gereneng Lombok Timur."

Violence and persecution resulted in Ahmadiyya community in Indonesia not only experiencing discrimination, but also exceeding the stage of *Extermination*, which is an attempt to exterminate Ahmadiyya community¹⁴. *Extermination* in this context can be understood in three meanings. *First*, it is understood as an attempt to eliminate Ahmadiyya as a group that has different beliefs as stated in the Joint Decree of three Ministers concerning the prohibition of the spread of Ahmadiyya understanding. *Second*, it is understood as an attempt to eliminate Ahmadiyya community as happened in Cikeusik and Lombok which took one life in each incident. *Third*, it is understood to expel Ahmadiyya such as the refugees in Transito Dormitory.

Misguided discourses spread through the fatwa of Indonesian Ulama Council caused violence done by the public and without any legal proceedings from the apparatus. Furthermore, it was precisely the efforts of the majority to invite Ahmadiyya community to join Sunni understanding which is the ideology of the majority community in Indonesia¹⁵.

The opportunity of Ahmadiyya community to gain access to public services was hindered because the political actors who won the elections were anti-Ahmadiyya¹⁶. In addition to politics, the

¹⁴ Halimatusa'diah, "Dari Prasangka Hingga Diskriminasi: Menyoal Stigma Sesat Dan Kekerasan Terhadap Ahmadiyah Dalam Perspektif Komunikasi."

¹⁵ Koerner and Putro, "The Socio-Legal Construction of Ahmadiyah as a Religious Minority by Local and National Government Policy: Restrictions before the Law, a Challenge for"

¹⁶ Jessica Soedirgo, "Informal Networks and Religious Intolerance: How Clientelism Incentivizes the Discrimination of the Ahmadiyah in Indonesia," *Citizenship Studies* 22, no. 2 (2018): 191–207, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2018.1445490>.

factor that made Ahmadiyya the object of persecution was the provocation from groups such as the Islamic Defenders Front¹⁷ and the Islamic Research and Study Institute¹⁸. The rejections from the Islamic circles, the regulations, and the fatwa of Indonesian Ulama Council made a stigma against Ahmadiyya¹⁹.

In studies on Ahmadiyya in Lombok and especially Transito refugees, no one specifically discussed the lives of women who took refuge in Transito Dormitory and how life during confinement in refuge. The study on Ahmadiyya women did not discuss the obstacles experienced by these women in Transito Dormitory, nor how they were able to survive for more than dozens of years in refuge. Two studies on Ahmadiyya were limited to politics and Ahmadiyya women in public space.

The concept of punishment and discipline was discovered by Michel Foucault in his book entitled *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. According to Foucault, torture is an attempt at power to control and show that the power exists. The execution of power not only illustrates the operation of power but also the existence of the truth of power. Foucault investigated how the portraits of prisoners were appalling and executed in public by tearing and burning their body. The prisoner's bodies were the

object of the apparatus. The punishment and torture illustrated that the defendant was guilty²⁰.

Discipline and Punish focused on times when putting people under supervision was more efficient than making them comply with certain laws. The monarchical system of power in the West produced Foucault's description of the *Panopticon*, a concept stated by Jeremy Bentham about circular prison cells in which all prisoners would feel watched from the central tower. Thus, they would eventually watch themselves²¹.

This concept is to explain how Ahmadiyya women were monitored and controlled while taking refuge in Transito Dormitory. Being monitored was to ensure that they could not return to their homes as they did in 2010. The attempt to return to their homes was failed after they were evicted again by the community. Being controlled was to ensure that they were not able to carry out their activities freely, especially the activities of organization as the Joint Decree of the three Ministers prohibiting them from spreading their beliefs.

At the beginning for a century, legal system which was applied was showed to the society. Then, the punishment did not particularly involve the physical part but it was more subtle. The focus of punishment was no longer on the unbearable sensation of prisoners. However, the focus was on things like depriving of their rights. The punishment should be bureaucratized and rationalized. The control of bureaucracy was reflected in the fact that all army technicians

¹⁷ Ahmad Najib Burhani, "Fundamentalism and Religious Dissent: The LPPI's Mission to Eradicate the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 44, no. 129 (2016): 145–164.

¹⁸ Andi Muhammad Irawan, "“They Are Not Muslims”: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Ahmadiyya Sect Issue in Indonesia," *Discourse and Society* 28, no. 2 (2017): 162–181.

¹⁹ Ainul Azrin, Putrawan. *Stigma Jemaah Ahmadiyah (Studi Fenomenologi pada Pengungsi Jemaah Ahmadiyah Wisma Transito Mataram)*. Tesis tidak diterbitkan 2019.

²⁰ George Ritzer, *Teori Sosial Posmodern*. (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2010), hal. 94-95.

²¹ Madan Sarup, *Panduan Pengantar untuk Memahami Postrukturalisme dan Posmodernisme*. (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011), hal. 103-104.

took over the role of executioners and people who carried out the torture directly were warden, doctor, teacher, psychologist, and psychiatrist²².

In the context of Ahmadiyya in Transito Dormitory, *Panopticon* becomes relevant in which the movements or all activities carried out by Ahmadiyya community were monitored. The discipline and punishment have not always involved physical parts since they were evicted from their houses and took refuge in Transito dormitory.

The physical punishment was no longer carried out by the government or by the community. However, the restraints on freedom of movement were continually experienced by Ahmadiyya community.

Thus, the treatment towards Ahmadiyya community who took refuge in Transito Dormitory was a disciplinary effort which was another form of punishment besides the physical punishment carried out by the community. Therefore, this concept of punishment and discipline became relevant to explain what has happened in Transito Dormitory since 2006 when Ahmadiyya community started to take refuge. There was no need for violence, but they were organized and unable to develop their communities with the limitations they had while living in the dormitory.

The research method used was qualitative. The substance of qualitative research was an attempt to find the meaning of data²³. The existing meaning was both concrete and abstract. The concrete meaning was related to behavior and actions of

individuals and groups, while abstract meaning was related to group values and world systems. Through the data, the meaning could be expressed. The meaning in the society had several levels which were the meaning of society, individuals, groups, ethnicity and the meaning of the world system²⁴.

This study used a phenomenological study approach which focused on human experience. The starting point for the phenomenological study approach was the deep approach to the subject. The subject's experiences were the main concern in order to gain the subject's awareness of the phenomenon experienced in its purest way. The phenomenological study approach also sought to place self-awareness on what the subject experiences.

Results and Discussion

Taking Refuge in Transito Dormitory in Mataram

Ahmadiyya community in Lombok, Indonesia, has experienced displacement after being rejected by the community. Most recently, Ahmadiyya community who came from several places in Lombok built houses in Bumi Asri housing complex in Ketapang, Lingsar District, West Lombok Regency. The housing complex was surrounded by rice fields, separated a few hundred meters from the local residents. However, the relationship between Ahmadiyya community and the local residents was quite harmonious. The incident began when the fatwa of Indonesian Ulama Council labeled Ahmadiyya heretical in 1980 and in 2005 which made the local residents expel Ahmadiyya community in February 2006.

²² George Ritzer, *Teori Sosial Posmodern*. (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2010), hal. 95.

²³ Norman K. Denzin, *Handbook Of Qualitative Research*. Terj. Dariyatno (dkk) (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar., 2009).

²⁴ Burhan, Bungin, *Penelitian Kualitatif: Komunikasi, Ekonomi, Kebijakan Publik, dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya*. Jakarta: Prenada Group, 2011), hal. 105.

At present, 30 households or 131²⁵ Ahmadiyya residents lived in Transito Dormitory which was located in Majeluk, Mataram. Majeluk could be the last residence for Ahmadiyya community in Lombok, considering the complicated problems faced by Ahmadiyya community in Lombok from year 2006 up to now. In Majeluk, precisely on Transmigration Street no. 12, Mataram, NTB stands a building as wide as a football field which once was owned by NTB Transmigration Department. This building is familiar as Transito Dormitory²⁶ which consists of four building and a field.

Since 2006, the building has been occupied by Ahmadiyya community who was forced to evacuate after being evicted from various places in Lombok. Before 2006, Transito Dormitory was familiar to Ahmadiyya community from Pancor, East Lombok. In 2002, the incident occurred for the first time in Pancor. As a result, they were evacuated to Transito Dormitory after several days staying in police office in East Lombok. They stayed at Transito Dormitory for several months before they rented houses in several places in Mataram. The incident also resulted in children who were still in school had to separate from their parents. It was because the decision of the local government and the management of Ahmadiyya community in Lombok decided

that children who were still in school were sent to several places in West Java to continue their school.

Since 2006, as many as 35 households or 137 people, from Ketapang, Gegerung village, West Lombok regency, have become the residents of Transito Dormitory. Before living in Ketapang, they came from various places in East Lombok and Central Lombok, as well as North Lombok which used to be part of West Lombok before the proliferation of administrative region. However, the majority of them were from several places in East Lombok. Specifically for the incident in Central Lombok that occurred in the middle of 2006, they were evacuated to a building which was once used as Public Hospital in Praya District, Central Lombok.

Punishment for Ahmadi Women in Lombok

Freedom of religion is a complicated problem in Indonesia even though it has been explained how freedom of religion is guaranteed by the state in the 1945 Constitution article 28 and 29. In fact, many citizens find it difficult to obtain the rights that are actually absolute. The issue of freedom of religion and belief in Indonesia can be seen at least in two broad lines. *First*, freedom of religion and belief refers to the beliefs that are outside the six official religions recognized by the state. *Second*, freedom of religion and belief refers to the minorities in the six official religions in Indonesia.

The discussion in this section was the minority groups that were in the six official religions which were then considered heretical by the majority groups, both through government institutions and non-governmental organizations that have the "authority" to determine the basis for true

²⁵ This number was different from the first time they evacuated to Transito Dormitory in Mataram. It was because some died, left, and entered the dormitory.

²⁶ The name of Transito Dormitory was taken from the origin of the building before it was used by JAI refugees. Transito Dormitory which was previously used as a shelter for transmigrants in NTB who came from several areas, such as NTT, Papua and several other areas was also called as Transito Dormitory.

beliefs according to those religious teachings²⁷.

Ahmadiyya community in Indonesia is included in the second group, which is a group that exists in the six official religions. Nevertheless, in this case certain party (Islam) considers Ahmadiyya not part of it. Furthermore, Ahmadiyya is even considered as a group that harms Islam itself because of the differences in interpretation of verses about prophethood.

Ahmadiyya community experienced not only rejection but also violence which involved all parties included the state apparatus. Although the violence done by all parties was not physical, most Ahmadiyya community has suffered persecutions which even caused death such as in Cikeusik, Banten and in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. Recently, an attack took place in West Kalimantan where a mosque belonging to Ahmadiyya community was burned by the mob.

In this section, it discussed how Ahmadiyya women experienced the process of persecution before and after being in Transito Dormitory in Mataram. It then became part of the punishment and discipline for women who were considered having different beliefs. The women have taken refuge without the certainty of time.

It was inseparable from the fatwa of Indonesian Ulama Council in 1980 and 2005, the Joint Decree of three Ministers, and several regional regulations that prohibited the spread of Ahmadiyya teachings which have been considered heretical. Thus, this was considered to be

legitimacy by the local community to evict them from their own homes.

The fatwa of central Indonesian Ulama Council also led to the urging of Indonesian Ulama Council of West Nusa Tenggara to dissolve and consider Ahmadiyya community in Indonesia to be outside of Islam. Despite not issuing Fatwa like other regions, Indonesian Ulama Council of West Nusa Tenggara urged several parties, including the chief high prosecutor of West Nusa Tenggara who was also the chairman of PAKEM (Supervisory Agency for Community Beliefs).

In 2011, the chairman of Indonesian Ulama Council of West Nusa Tenggara, Saiful Muslim, admitted having conducted a meeting with the chairman of West Nusa Tenggara Kesbangpoldagri Agency (*Badan Kesbangpoldagri*), Ridwan Hidayat. Saiful Muslim and Ridwan Hidayat conducted a meeting to discuss the ‘freezing’ of Ahmadiyya community in Indonesia after meeting West Nusa Tenggara Governor, Zainul Majdi. It has been compromised by Islamic mass organizations in West Nusa Tenggara that Ahmadiyya community in Indonesia must be frozen because they were not part of Islam.

Women, children, and the elderly were generally vulnerable groups to violence in conflict, including Ahmadiyya women who experienced eviction at the end of 2005 and took refuge in Transito Dormitory in February 2006. The forms of violence against Ahmadiyya women in Indonesia were varied, ranging from physical, psychological, to symbolic violence.

Fath, one of the refugees in Transito Dormitory, stated that during the attack on the house of Ahmadiyya community in Ketapang, West Lombok, she was pregnant and had a four-year-old child. This condition

²⁷ Abdul Mu'ti dan Najib Burhan, “The limits of religious freedom in Indonesia:with reference to the first pillar Ketuhanan yang MahaEsa of Pancasila,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 9, no. 1 (2019).

made Fath almost miscarried because she had fallen while avoiding the rampage that was trying to ruin their home.

“At that time I ran away from the house after hearing people shouting ‘destroy!’. I ran away with my son and several other women whose houses were also attacked. At that time we did not know where to go, while my husband and several other men were still trying to survive in front of the house and some people faced them”²⁸ .

Such conditions almost occur in every conflict, where women are very vulnerable to violence. Of course, this was not only experienced by Fath, but also experienced by all Ahmadiyya community in the housing complex. This incident brought them to Transito Dormitory in Mataram after they ensured that they could no longer return to their homes in Ketapang, West Lombok. Women and their children would feel not safe when conflicts occurred.

That incident was the beginning of the loss of their privacy as independent human beings. It was certainly not an exaggeration since there was no certainty when they would be released from the “punishment” that has been imposed on them. It was started from the fatwas and the regulations of some central and local government. West Nusa Tenggara NTB is one of the regions that issues Governor's regulations (*Pergub*), in addition to West Java, East Java, and several other areas.

The essence of the prohibition was the derivation of the Joint Decree of the three Ministers and must not exceed what was stipulated in the Joint Decree. Thus, the activities of Ahmadiyya community in some

areas in Indonesia should not spread their teachings and beliefs.

At the beginning of taking refuge, some of the children who were still attending school at the level of Junior High School and Senior High School were taken to West Java by using a bus to continue their education in the center of Indonesian Ahmadiyya community which is in Parung, Bogor. According to one of the mothers whose children participated in the group, their children who were forced to move to West Java to continue school lived in every house of Ahmadiyah community around the school belonging to Ahmadiyya community in Bogor.

This certainly affected the psyche of Ahmadi women in Indonesia because of the sudden change of their lives drastically. Although they experienced rejection in 1983 for the first time, they never had to separate from their families and children who were still in growth. Some male children continued their study to Ahmadiyya candidate preacher school. They would later become the spiritual leaders in Ahmadiyya branches in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the female children attended school as usual.

The separation between the mothers and their children especially in a society that adhered to a patriarchal system in which the parenting style depended on the mother caused a mental trauma for Ahmadi women at that time. The life in Transito dormitory was concerned. The building which was once used as an office was not wider than a football field and must be occupied by 31 households or around 133 people. With this condition, many activities that used to be carried out privately become no longer private because of very limited space.

Transito dormitory building consisted of three side-by-side buildings, and the room

²⁸ Interview with Fath on August 3, 2021.

barrier between one family and another only used mosquito nets. In each room was filled by one family consisting of married couples and their children who must have had their own room.

The limited space caused them to be deprived of their privacy as an independent human being. This limited space also brought new problems, especially for adult women who had a higher level of privacy than adult men had. This certainly resulted in a negative impact of parenting process which needed a decent and clean place. Otherwise, this had an impact on children's growth and development in which the mothers had the responsibility for the development of the child²⁹.

On the other hand, the responsibility of domestic affairs was important to be noticed such as the need for family space and water. Women needed water for cooking, bathing their children, doing laundry, doing dishes, and others. Unfortunately, water sources in Transito dormitory were very limited. The need of water for more than a hundred people who lived in one place was certainly difficult to be met. Sometimes, it was also difficult to get water from Regional Drinking Water Company. Thus, they had to be patient with the limitations because they had no option to get out of that place. Rahmi stated, "We have to queue for washing, bathing, and other water needs, but Alhamdulillah we have enough water in every prayer time"³⁰.

²⁹ Buyung Surahman, "Peran Ibu Terhadap Masa Depan Anak," *Jurnal Hawa: Studi Pengaruh Utamaan Gender dan Anak* 1, no. 2 (2019).

³⁰ Interview with Rahmi on August 3, 2021. In the west part of the Transito Dormitory, there is Mushalla which is used for Prayer for the refugees. It can even be said to be the center of Ahmadiyya activities during taking refuge in Transito Dormitory.

At the beginning of taking refuge in Transito Dormitory, these conditions made them want to return to their homes that had been destroyed by the mob. Once they ever tried to return to their houses, but they were evicted again. As revealed by Mastum, one of the elders living in Transito dormitory, "Several people, my husband, and I tried to return to Ketapang in 2010 and repair the damaged house by selling jewelry and livestock that we still had. However, we were expelled again by the local community. We had no money and jewelry left after repairing the house"³¹.

The issues that concerned family functions psychologically, such as functions of education, recreation, production, and consumption were limited in Transito dormitory only. Therefore, things that were family functions which required enough space and sources became confined and centralized in a refuge that everything was limited.

Discipline for Ahmadi women in Lombok

The restrictions on limited sources and independence experienced by Ahmadiyya community in Indonesia certainly had an impact on other more complex matters. For example, how their movements were constrained by space and time that required them to be in an unfit place.

This kind of thing was part of the control of the right to live of Ahmadiyya community which was indefinite until when they experienced lack of freedom and were confined in Transito Dormitory. In 2011, the Governor of West Nusa Tenggara tried to transfer Ahmadiyya community Indonesia

³¹ Interview with Mastum on August 3, 2021.

into Gili Tangkong Island which is in the South of Lombok Island.

Sahidin, the spokesman of refugee in Transito Dormitory, once came to Tangkong Island to see the location offered by West Nusa Tenggara and West Lombok governments as a way for Ahmadiyya community to get out of Transito Dormitory. However, this never happened due to the constraints of the process of selling the assets of Ahmadiyya community in Ketapang which would later be used to build a house in a new place. The issue of asset prices being pegged by the government was a major obstacle. Until now, even after the changing of the regional leader, the clarity of being transferred to Gili Tangkong never had a follow-up.

After they made some attempts to get out of Transito dormitory, both their own initiative in 2010 and the government's initiative 2011 failed, they no longer had a chance to get out. For some of Ahmadiyya community who were still 20-40 years of age got out of Transito Dormitory by working outside the region or trading around Mataram. On the other hand, those who were elderly and did not have adequate abilities had small chances to move.

After 15 years of taking refuge, they got used to those kinds of conditions. It could be stated that the disciplinary process through the Joint Decree of 3 Ministers that seeks to restrict their ideological activities was successful. The point of prohibition of spread religious beliefs and activities as stated in the Joint Decree of three Ministers was one of the efforts to freeze the organization from all their activities.

Despite the restriction of ideological activities and the prohibition of the spread of teachings, it had an impact on economic, political, and socio-cultural activities. Even

in the early days of taking refuge, they did not have a Resident Identification Card (KTP) as an administrative requirement to obtain government services including the right to be elected and vote. They started to have a Resident Identification Card in 2014.

Ahmadi women have got used to do parenting and domestic activities in Transito Dormitory for years³². As stated by Mbh, "We have been familiar with our situation here although we hope to be able to get out"³³. Such a situation was a disciplinary process carried out to Ahmadi women. They were not able to do something according to their will, but rather carried out life with compulsion and limited access to the outside world. Thus, this situation made them surrender to live a life they think not right.

The limitation of sources caused the women not to be able to meet the domestic needs which were their responsibility in patriarchal culture. This situation has become commonplace for 15 years. It did not seem to be a problem even though it was a fundamental need for women to support the needs and functions of the family as they should.

In a normal conflict, basic needs that no longer can be met by society itself are the responsibility of the state, and it even can be a matter of crisis which becomes the responsibility of the state. It was opposite to the situation of Ahmadi women in Indonesia. Instead of being present in that kind of situation, the state became one of the actors who created the condition in which its citizens were required to adapt to

³² Interview with Shd on July 31, 2021. She said that there were some JAI residents who had just entered Transito Dormitory and some who had left. So, not all Ahmadiyya community who live in Transito Dormitory have lived there since 2006.

³³ Interview with Mbh on August 2, 2021.

all limited circumstances. As expressed by Johrah:

"It's okay we can't go anywhere and do activities like other people. We are considered to never get along with the community here. In fact, we do not live with other community here. We used to be able to hang out with other people in Ketapang because our houses were next to each other"³⁴.

What was experienced by all Ahmadi women in Indonesia who had special needs in their daily lives was such a prison. This even has been a genetic control for the last 15 years. This can also be said to be part of the control of all activities that should be carried out freely, but it seems as if someone is monitoring them so that the control that was carried out was working properly.

Every society or community in carrying out economic, political and so on can gradually go through a certain period of time and form its own pattern. This included shaping a habit in everyday life and establishing a new system that did not previously exist in the community. Religious needs and various kinds of religious activities can become organized when a society has the same fate and ideology³⁵.

Ahmadiyya experienced a new pattern and a familial system which were different from the society in general public after taking refuge for 15 years. This kind of thing was part of the habituation or disciplinary process that originally aimed to discipline Ahmadiyya teachings sourced from Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who claimed to be a prophet. However, it later had an impact on

discipline on all aspects of Ahmadi women's lives in Transito Dormitory.

Ahmadiyah was monitored or in a condition that ultimately became a habit which was constantly repeated and became a common occurrence, not a problem that must be overcome. Therefore, it later will be knowledge that continues to be produced and will be the truth that what has happened for 15 years to Ahmadi Women was a common thing, instead of being a humanitarian problem.

Conclusion

Ahmadi women in Lombok have occupied Transito Dormitory for 15 years since 2006. This was inseparable from regulations that were discriminatory against minority groups such as Ahmadiyya, especially Ahmadiyah women.

In this study, it was found that Ahmadiyah women experienced violence psychically, physically, and symbolically. This can be seen as a result of discriminatory rules and at the same time as punishment and discipline against Ahmadiyya women in Lombok. It can be seen how they lived in a limited condition for the last 15 years which they shouldn't have experienced. Limited sources and restraint by forcing them to live in a place that is not their home are part of the punishment process in the context of discipline.

After 15 years of living without certainty, they seem to be accustomed to their condition which was limited and their motion space (*ruang gerak*) which was constantly monitored. This can be seen when they tried to return to their homes, they were evicted again back to Transito Dormitory.

They were able to survive with all the economic limitations and limited opportunities to develop. Beliefs are one

³⁴ Interview with Johrah on August 2, 2021..

³⁵ J.S Furnival, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India*, (New York: New York Press, 1956).

part of them that can keep them survive for 15 years. It was proven that the belief they have to be held firm under any circumstances. Ahmadiyah women on the island of Lombok can be an example of the weak state and result in fertile violence against minorities. This case may even occur against other minority groups, not only interreligious minority groups, but also minority groups in one religion. Ahmadiyah and Shia are examples of minorities in the majority religion.

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