

Max Regus

**Human Rights Culture in Indonesia**

# **Studies on Modern Orient**

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**Volume 35**

Max Regus

# Human Rights Culture in Indonesia

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Attacks on the Ahmadiyya Minority Group

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To my father and my mother



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‘God is good’ (Psalm 136:1)

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Ruteng, Flores Island, Indonesia, January 2021



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# Acronyms and Abbreviations

AI	Amnesty International
AKKBB	Aliansi Kebangsaan untuk Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan (National Alliance for Freedom of Religion and Belief)
BAKORPAKEM	Badan Koordinasi Pengawasan Kepercayaan (Coordinating Board for the Assessment of Belief and Religion)
CSO	civil society organization
DDII	Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council)
FPI	Front Pembela Islam (Islamic Defenders Front)
HRW	Human Rights Watch
HRWG	Human Rights Working Group
HTI	Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (Hizb UT-Tahrir)
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IMC	International Magna Carta
INFID	International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development
JIAD	Jaringan Islam Anti-Diskriminasi (The Anti-Discrimination Islamic Networking)
JIL	Jaringan Islam Liberal (Liberal Islam Network)
KEJAGUNG	Kejaksaan Agung (Attorney General).
KEMENAG	Kementerian Agama (Ministry of Religious Affairs)
KEMENDAGRI	Kementerian dalam Negeri (Ministry of Home Affairs)
Komnas HAM	Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia (National Human Rights Commission of Indonesia)
KTP	Kartu Tanda Penduduk (National Identity Card)
LBH	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (Jakarta Legal Aid Institute)
LPPI	Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengkajian Islam (Institute of Islamic Research and Studies)
LSI	Lembaga Survei Indonesia (Indonesian Survey Institute)
MMI	Moderate Muslim Indonesia
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (Indonesia People's Consultative Assembly)
MUI	Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Ulema Council)
NGO	non-governmental organization
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights
PCA	Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party)
PPI	Perhimpunan Pemuda-Pelajar Indonesia
PRC	Pew Research Center
Setara Institute	Institute for Research and Advocacy in Human Rights

## **XVIII** — Acronyms and Abbreviations

UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
Wahid Institute	Institute for Inter Religious Relations (Indonesian Students Association)

# Introduction

A positive approach to human rights in the wider Islamic community has not developed without friction. Literature about the relationship between Islam and Human Rights testifies to the resistance towards human rights, both by Muslim scholars and Muslim states. By using the concept of cultural relativism, human rights are said to have limited applicability to Muslim countries. (Syamsul Arifin, 2010, 47–48)

This book examines the extent to which the theory of human rights in general and the concept of a human rights culture, in particular, can be used to explain the situation of religious minorities in contemporary Indonesia.<sup>1</sup> The central focus of this book—based on the main question: *To what extent does the lack of a human rights culture in contemporary Indonesia help explain the violation of the human rights of the Ahmadiyya as a minority group and the challenges in providing a protection framework*—stands on the scientific belief in applying the theory of human rights and the concept of human rights culture in explaining and understanding the violation of human rights of certain religious minorities in contemporary Indonesia. Thus, using the Ahmadiyya as a case study, this book aims to understand and explain the issues facing religious minorities from a human rights perspective. Specifically, it looks at the intersection between human rights and the status of religious minorities, and the position of the state and civil society in terms of providing a framework for the protection of human rights.

Before providing an outline of this introduction, I also would like to present my personal experience and interest in relation to this study. As a Catholic priest, I served as the chair of the Inter-Religious Commission of Ruteng Diocese, Eastern Indonesia, from 2001 to 2007. Through this Commission, I was involved in many ‘inter-religious dialogues,’ mainly at the local level. I lived in Jakarta from 2007 to 2012 while conducting research for my master’s degree in the field of sociology at the Faculty of Politics and Social Science, University of Indonesia. During those years—especially 2008 to 2011—there were many attacks against religious minorities, including the Ahmadiyya (Setara Institute, 2012,

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<sup>1</sup> Indonesia is located in Southeast Asia and gained its independence from the Dutch on August 17, 1945.

2013a, 2013b), and I became genuinely interested in researching their position and that of religious minorities in general.

For the past decade and onwards, human rights, in general, have been threatened in Indonesia. It is based on increasing restrictions on the activities of certain religious minorities in Indonesia. These restrictions were coupled with the escalation of discriminatory policies at the local level, which have tended to marginalize minority religious groups. With these restrictions, the intensity of attacks also increased. The PRC's report is one of the essential pieces of evidence of the escalating violence and discrimination against religious minorities in Indonesia (PRC, 2014). Concerning the problems faced by religious minorities in Indonesia, it is vital to consider the Pew Research Center (PRC) report of 2014.

In their sixth report, in general, the PRC expresses concern over what it calls social hostilities involving religious affairs. It attempts to trace specific attacks (which it notes are both physical and verbal) to religious minorities in transitional regions (countries). The PRC has evaluated the experiences of numerous religious minorities in 198 countries around the world and has identified two main challenges faced by these groups. First, some government regulations and policies restrict the expression of religious beliefs and practices of these groups. Second, some religious minorities face hostility and violence from individuals, social groups, and organizations—especially those affiliated with the majority or dominant groups in society (PRC, 2014).

In its report, the PRC concludes that, overall, religious hostilities have increased worldwide, with far more hostile events occurring in 2012 than in previous years. This conclusion is based on data that indicates that 33% of the 198 countries studied score profoundly for religious animosity. This percentage was significantly higher in 2013 than in previous years (it was approximately 29% in 2011 and nearly 20% in 2007 when the PRC first conducted research on this issue). Furthermore, the PRC identifies Indonesia as one of 25 countries—including Egypt, Russia, Pakistan, and Burma (Myanmar)—with a high number of religious restrictions.

The following issues have been considered relevant to the central concern of this book, such as the progress achieved by the Republic of Indonesia in developing a foundation for domestic human rights on the one hand, and the continuous challenges and problems faced by the country on the other side. This book also points out that the political changes that have taken place since the fall of President Suharto in 1998 affected the protection of the human rights of religious minorities as one of the main aspects of a human rights culture. This book explores the positions taken by stakeholders—including state and non-state actors, community-based organizations, and national and international organizations—that influence human rights protection in Indonesia.

All these issues are based on the difficulties and violations experienced by religious minorities—the Ahmadiyya serve as a single case of this study. In many studies that are aware of the historical origins of this group and its relationship with other groups in Indonesia and globally, the Ahmadiyya is defined as a religious minority group in the human rights discourse. This book, by presenting the situation of the Ahmadiyya, comprehensively reflects the status of human rights awareness and represents the problem of human rights protection in Indonesia. The study of the Ahmadiyya presents important information on the inter-related issues, including the triggers of violent attacks against the Ahmadiyya, the main forms of violation, and the attacks against the Indonesian Ahmadiyya that constitute the violation of their substantive human rights. The Ahmadiyya itself was founded in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835–1908) in the village of Qadian, Punjab, India. They established a mission in Indonesia in 1924, as a stream of official Islam, and currently have around 600,000 members (Badan Pusat Statistik, n.d.). However, they are now struggling to maintain this position in the face of violent resistance from the so-called ‘mainstream Muslim’ in Indonesia.<sup>2</sup>

In support of the Ahmadiyya, on June 1, 2008, Aliansi Kebangsaan Untuk Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan (AKKBB, the National Alliance for Freedom of Religion and Belief) held a general meeting (which was referred to as a protest in some reports) in Monas—the national monument—located across from the Indonesian Presidential Palace (BBC.co.uk/Indonesia, 2008). This protest, which was supported by many pro-democracy and religious-freedom groups, urged the government not to sign a proposed decree banning the Ahmadiyya.<sup>3</sup> The Front Pembela Islam (FPI, the Islamic Defender Front), the main actor for radical groups, responded violently to this (protest) meeting and attacked those gathered to support religious freedom. The incident coincided with the celebration of Pancasila Day (a celebrating day of the philosophical basis of the Indonesian state).

Kees van Dijk (2013, 2) describes the situation as follows: “...the vast majority of Indonesian Muslims are Sunni, and in the last couple of years, Ahmadiyah members and Shi’ites have become the victims of some brutal attacks.” My interest in

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2 Based on official religious status, the Indonesian population can be divided into followers of Islam: 207,176,162 (87.18%), Protestantism: 16,528,513 (6.96%), Catholicism: 6,907,873 (2.91%), Hinduism: 4,012,116 (1.69%), Buddhism: 1,703,254 (0.72%), Hu Khong Chu 117,091 (0.05%), not stated 139,582 (0.06%), not asked 757,118 (0.32%), total 237,641,326. See Badan Pusat Statistik.

3 This decree, the Joint Ministerial Decree, will be described further in Chapter 8 on the violation of the rights of the Ahmadiyya.

analyzing this issue peaked when members of the Ahmadiyya were murdered in Cikeusik on February 6, 2011. With this tragedy, the contemporary situation of the Ahmadiyya became a matter of domestic and, increasingly, global concern (HRW, 2016a). This tragic event stimulated my academic desire to go deeper into the hidden reality behind this tension.

## The Indonesian Ahmadiyya in Scholarly Work

To provide comprehensive information about the study of the Ahmadiyya, I need to draw attention to previous studies on the Ahmadiyya by some of the leading scholars working in this field. This is argued as a crucial step in understanding the various perspectives and issues involved in the discourse on minority human rights, in general, and the Ahmadiyya, in particular. By reviewing what has been written already, this section justifies the attempt by this book to contribute additional knowledge and new information to fill the gaps in this field of study.

An understanding of the history of the Ahmadiyya is essential for determining the multidimensional trajectory of this group. The group's history (Beck, 2005) reveals necessary facts about the complexity of its relationship with the many mainstream Islamic groups in Indonesia. Ever since their arrival in Indonesia—with its Muslim majority and social diversity—the Ahmadiyya have had a long and peaceful relationship with other social-religious groups (including Islamic ones).

The Ahmadiyya have also played an essential political role in the building of the Indonesian nation-state. Despite this, the position of the Ahmadiyya in dealing with mainstream Islam in Indonesia has inevitably been based on an asymmetric relationship. This relationship is based on the fact that the Ahmadiyya are considered a 'deviant group' that has damaged the theological foundations of the Islamic mainstream.

Avonius (2008) argues that the problem of the Ahmadiyya has been influenced by the application of the blasphemy law, which has been in place for the last 50 years. In this context, the Ahmadiyya have not only faced tensions that are reasonable (considering the fact that they hold a different view of Islam than the mainstream), they have also experienced many problems that can be regarded as extreme at both social and political levels. It appears that the position of the Ahmadiyya as a religious minority directly affects the level of protection (and rights) they receive as Indonesian citizens.

Susanti (2008) introduces the political aspect of the Ahmadiyya case. She concludes that the position of the state (government) and its relationship with other Islamic groups is a core issue in the protection of the Ahmadiyya. In Indo-

nesia, the area of the state is controlled mainly by majority groups, which have prevented it from fulfilling its legal and political responsibility to protect the Ahmadiyya. Hence, the position of the state and its ability to play its critical political roles are determined by the state's relationship with the many and diverse social forces in Indonesian society.

Budiwanti (2009) elaborates on the problem of the Ahmadiyya with the discourse on pluralism in Indonesia. This discourse is associated with the presence of the decree (*fatwa*) declared in 2005 by MUI in which 'pluralism' is identified as an 'illicit way of thinking' (*haram*) for Indonesian Muslims. This rejection of pluralism restricts some Muslim elites from presenting their views on the case of the Ahmadiyya. Moreover, discrimination against the Ahmadiyya directly damages the pluralistic *feeling* of public life in Indonesia, which is recognized as a primary aspect of the Indonesian nation-state building. The failure of the state to protect the Ahmadiyya from discrimination undermines social and religious diversity in Indonesia and reflects its rejection of religious pluralism.

Platzdach (2011) identifies three main issues related to the position of the Ahmadiyya. First, the controversy surrounding the legal status of the Ahmadiyya is one of the most critical issues, as it has ramifications for the very existence of this group. Second, the position of the Ahmadiyya is affected by how mainstream Islam defines them. Third, this definition of the Ahmadiyya by mainstream Islam severely impacts on the group's freedom of expression and other rights.

Crouch (2011b; 2012b) has examined the position of the Ahmadiyya in the context of the significant regulatory changes that have been made in Indonesia to strengthen local governments under decentralization. In the context of decentralization, the application of Sharia law has had serious implications for the Ahmadiyya (and other religious minorities). In some provinces and districts, the Ahmadiyya have faced direct threats and violence. It is based on the lack of a regulatory process that takes their interests and existence into account. They are mostly living under the domination of mainstream groups, which have access to political representation in government and can ensure that their interests are reflected in the regulatory process at the local level.

Abel (2013) argues that the Ahmadiyya are the target of a 'framing process' that is being conducted by the Indonesian government. In this framing process, the Ahmadiyya are considered a 'deviant group' in comparison to mainstream Islam. In this process, it appears that the state is yielding to the pressure exerted by other Islamic groups. Labeling the Ahmadiyya as a deviant sect impact on the presence of its members in the public sphere and restricts their ability to negotiate for state protection of their rights.

Burhani (2013, 2014a, 2014b) discusses the status of the Ahmadiyya in the context of their relationship with the rest of Indonesian Islam. Burhani notes that the position of the Ahmadiyya was weakened when ‘Muslim elites’ with ‘organizational authority’ defined the group as a ‘deviant group.’<sup>4</sup> The leading cause of the increasing violence against the Ahmadiyya is this new label.

Menchik (2014) has recently conducted significant research into the position of the Ahmadiyya in dealing with what he calls the dialectical relationship between religion and nationalism in Indonesia. Menchik concludes that the fate of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya can be explained through the concept of ‘productive intolerance’ as a part of the theory of ‘godly nationalism.’ By linking the issue of the Ahmadiyya with the discourse on nationalism, one can study the broader political landscape from many sides, especially from a political-science perspective.

From the previous literature and studies, it can be concluded that there are three main perspectives on the status of the Ahmadiyya. *They are* a theological position that presents the situation of the Ahmadiyya regarding the majority of Islam, a legal perspective that defines the Ahmadiyya according to the legal discourse in Indonesia, and a historical perspective that is based on tension and conflict between the Ahmadiyya and various groups. While most studies focus on these three perspectives, there are several other possible perspectives on the issue. However, there are relatively few scholarly works on the position of the Ahmadiyya from a human rights perspective. In this study, the human rights perspective is chosen as the primary analytical frame for understanding the case of the Ahmadiyya.

In general, relatively little academic studies and research have been conducted on the position of minority groups such as the Ahmadiyya or on how to develop a framework of human rights protection for them. Further study on this subject is needed to improve our scholarly understanding of the issues involved. Therefore, this book seeks to add to the existing research on the human rights of religious minorities in Indonesia (Sakai, Isbah, 2014; Sakai, Fauzia, 2014; Fealy, 2013).

Furthermore, this book has two main concerns and parts: it explores and explains the increasing human rights violations against the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia, and it examines the theory of human rights culture as an analytical framework for studying and understanding the issues involved in this case. These two

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<sup>4</sup> The Ahmadiyya were first labeled a deviant group by Nazir Hussain, who issued a decree (*fatwa*) in 1890 against the members of the Ahmadiyya, describing them as a ‘heretical sect’ and declaring to be non-Islamic. In 1980, MUI also issued a fatwa declaring that the Ahmadiyya are a non-Islamic group.



parts are used to identify all of the crucial problems faced by religious minorities. The problems refer to the status of the Ahmadiyya related to human rights during the social and political changes that Indonesia. The political changes mainly focus on the time since the fall of President Suharto in 1998 (Stojanovic et al., 2013).

Moreover, as referred to by some scholars, this book uses human rights as a dynamic perspective from which to map issues, taking a comprehensive point of view and linking these issues to the political dimensions and the role of the state and other actors (Evans, 2005; Clapham, 2006). This book is also concerned with the political changes that have taken place in Indonesia since 1998, which have significantly influenced the development and implementation of a human rights framework (cf. Eldridge, 2002). This book also links with the problem of intersection between religion and politics in its all complexities (Fox, 2013) that directly affects the position of religious minorities. The relationship between the majority and minority in the context of the tension between the Ahmadiyya and other groups is considered one of the main elements of the issue.

These points of view are employed in exploring and analyzing the violation of the rights of this religious minority. These points of view are also useful in explaining the relationship between the changing position of religious minorities and broader social and political rights in society and the state (Mansfield, Snyder, 2007). Besides, an anthropological approach is taken to collect hidden experiences and data from many actors and informants (e.g., from the victims of human rights violations) (cf. Riles, 2006).

In building on previous studies and research, and contributing to the extensive discourse on human rights, this study considers post-colonial circumstance and the post-authoritarian setting in Indonesia when examining the current position of the Ahmadiyya and other minorities in Indonesia. This issue is linking with the challenges of human rights protection in Indonesia. I mention two main aspects here. First, about the position of minority groups, one of the most influential theoretical innovations of post-colonial theory is Antonio Gramsci's concept of 'subaltern classes,' including how their subordination of the Ahmadiyya relates to their privileged position in state-building):

The subaltern classes refer fundamentally in Gramsci's words to any "low rank" person or group of people in a particular society suffering under hegemonic domination of an elite ruling class that denies them the fundamental rights of participation in the making of local history and culture as active individuals of the same nation. (Louai, 2012, 5)

Second, by considering the post-colonial (Spivak, Harasym, 1990) and post-authoritarian setting, this book looks at how the Indonesian state—in the context

of state formation—has redefined international human rights and applied human rights principles in its constitution and its domestic system of law and regulations. Also, consideration of the post-colonial and post-authoritarian setting facilitates an understanding of the problems faced by religious minorities during the ongoing decentralization taking place in Indonesia.

The post-colonial view is one of the scientific approaches that can be used to investigate the ongoing violence against a subaltern class such as the Ahmadiyya in society. Spivak argues that “*The clearest available example of such epistemic violence is the remotely orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogeneous project to constitute the colonial subject as ‘other’*” (Spivak, 1994, 76). In light of the discussion of post-colonial and post-authoritarian state-formation, this study also critically explores and presents the situation of the Ahmadiyya in the context of Indonesia’s decentralization (i.e., the shifting of power from the national to the local level). It also explores the insecurity faced by the Ahmadiyya and other minorities—as a result of this political change.

Some studies have tried to blame decentralization for the violent treatment of religious minorities in the current period of state formation in Indonesia. Accordingly, the role of political decentralization in creating and reinforcing the dominance of certain groups in Indonesian society is assessed throughout this study (cf. Duncan 2007; Kingsley, 2012). During this period, *Sharia law*<sup>5</sup> has been inserted as a foundation of state law, which is of great interest to many actors (Hefner, 2012).

## Research Design

I am challenged in choosing an effective method and strategy to study this issue. This stage mainly deals with the need for obtaining an in-depth understanding of the problems associated with human rights with religious minority groups and the reasons for such issues. The use of qualitative methods has been justified, as a qualitative case study has the unique ability to shed light on critical hidden

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<sup>5</sup> Sharia (also spelled Shariah or Shari’a) law is the law of Islam. Sharia law is derived from the actions and words of Muhammad, which are called ‘*Sunnah*’ and from the Quran. Sharia law itself cannot be altered, but the interpretation of Sharia law, called ‘*fiqh*,’ by imams, is given some legal consideration. As a legal system, Sharia law covers a wide range of topics. While other legal codes deal primarily with public behavior, Sharia law includes public behavior, private behavior, and individual beliefs. Of all the legal systems in the world today, Islam’s Sharia law is the most intrusive and strict, especially regarding women. Retrieved October 30, 2015, from <http://www.billionbibles.org/sharia/sharia-law.html>.

issues related to religious minorities that are facing violence, the position of the state and political institutions and actors, the problem of citizenship, and the involvement of civil society in supporting protection for religious minorities (Yin, 1984; 2003).

I understand that there are several directions that scientific research can take: descriptive, exploratory, evaluative, predictive, and explanatory. The central questions of this book are exploratory and descriptive. This study concentrates on the West Java province of Indonesia, which has the most significant number of reported incidences of human rights violations against the members of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. The study focuses on the period of political change that came after the fall of President Suharto in 1998.

Many challenges were faced while conducting this research. First, this research required the involvement of a ‘gatekeeper’ to simplify access to the field when conducting interviews and observations. In this study, the gatekeeper was a human rights activist who is trusted by the Ahmadiyya and who has contact with key informants and sources of data. Second, as an ethnographic study, I had to understand my role as a researcher in this study. I consider that the topic is highly sensitive because of the violence against the members of the Ahmadiyya and due to the religious minority-majority dynamics in Indonesia. This sensitivity affected the process used to gain access to key informants and to collect additional data.

Three sets of data were required for the study (cf. Heaton, 2004, 91). First, the research necessary data relating to the contemporary situation of the Ahmadiyya, especially concerning the violence experienced by members of this group. Second, the study required data on the position of the various actors and institutions (both social and state) concerning the discrimination and violence against the Ahmadiyya. Third, the study required data relating to future expectations, especially about the ability of NGOs and the international community to construct protection for the Ahmadiyya.

Moreover, several data-collection methods were used, including interviews, observation, the more general academic study of documents, journals and books, and a reflective journal. The research was conducted in both the Netherlands and Indonesia. Each method was used to combine and complement the findings of the fieldwork. The process also relates to the existing literature and to the questions that the research seeks to address. The remainder of this subsection outlines the different methods used for data collection.

In conducting this study, I took the position of participant observer, which afforded me opportunities to obtain information from members of the Ahmadiyya. Through direct interaction with members of the Ahmadiyya, I was able to understand the situation of this group better. I was also able to obtain partic-

ular data regarding, for example, unreported events and gain access to places that belong to the Ahmadiyya (cf. McLeod, 2009).

During the observation stage, I had direct contact with members of the Ahmadiyya and other actors involved in the Ahmadiyya issue. As a participant, I visited four central Ahmadiyya communities. First, I visited the Ahmadiyya in Kuningan, Cirebon, West Java Province. Kuningan is home to one of the largest Ahmadiyya communities. In Kuningan, the Ahmadiyya live in one ‘excluded’ village, which was attacked in 2007. This is a particular village for the Ahmadiyya, most of whom live in mainstream Muslim-majority communities. I visited this location in August 2014. At that time, I attended a marriage ceremony of some members of the Ahmadiyya. I also took a picture of the mosque that was burned by a mob in 2002.

The second important location I visited is the University of Ahmadiyya in Bogor. This institute is a central place of mission preparation and education for Ahmadiyya preachers and teachers. This location, both the university and the mosque, was attacked by radical groups in 2005. In July 2014, one of my key informants, a lecturer at this university, helped me to reach this location and allowed me to interview with two victims of the Cikeusik tragedy who were hiding there.

In September 2014, I visited a third Ahmadiyya community and one of the Ahmadiyya’s mosques in Central Jakarta. During this visit, I met with a spokesman for the Ahmadiyya youth. Some data from this observation is presented in part II of this book, including some pictures. Finally, as an additional observation, in December 2016, I made a short visit to the Ahmadiyya community living in ‘transit place’ at Mataram on Lombok Island.

Through participatory observation, I was mainly able to obtain information about the Ahmadiyya that is not known to many people. I also had direct interactions with members of the Ahmadiyya— and participate in communications, specifically regarding their daily lives. These observation visits helped me to understand the feelings and experiences of the Ahmadiyya in challenging the violent situations that they have faced, building connections with various actors, and maintaining internal cohesion.

All these primary knowledge complements the information I received from the informants. During my observation visits, I made notes on the events associated with the Ahmadiyya, and I took photographs. These notes pertain to the phenomena and activities experienced by the Ahmadiyya. Those are including their feelings and knowledge as a group and as individuals. These observations have been considered as useful phases in answering the main research question about the issue of violence against the Ahmadiyya and their situation concerning other Muslim majority groups in Indonesia.

I was also struggling in reaching informants who could reflect (on their own and others' behalf) on issues related to discrimination and violence against the Ahmadiyya, the response by the state or government on the national and local levels, and the position of civil society with the attacks and restrictions experienced by the Ahmadiyya. Interviews were conducted with members of the Ahmadiyya, activists, intellectuals, human rights defenders, state-actors. A couple of informants were interviewed in four phases.

I categorized these informants into three main groups with the three phases of interviews in 2013, 2014, and 2016: members of the Ahmadiyya, Muslim activists and intellectuals who work in several religious (Islam) organizations and institutions, and informants who are representatives of NGOs, human rights defenders, activists, and intellectuals or academics. To support these key informants, I received significant support from one of the former members of the National Human Rights Commission of Indonesia (2007–2012), who was a leader of the investigation into the Cikeusik murder of February 6, 2011. I also received support from resource persons associated with leading newspapers, such as *The Jakarta Post* and *Kompas Daily Newspaper*.

I chose to conduct primarily unstructured interviews and semi-structured interviews using open questions. I recorded three conversations with the Ahmadiyya members in 2014, but most were documented and supported by making notes. Interview with four informants from human rights and NGO activists were conducted in 2012 to inform and discuss the research plan. Meeting with five informants from human rights NGO activists and one public intellectual were held in 2013 as part of the pre-fieldwork and as an additional source of information for the research design. Interview with 15 informants that mostly from the Ahmadiyya members conducted in 2014 constituted the final fieldwork for this research. As an additional interview, in December 2016, I did in Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara Province, with one member of Ahmadiyya who is living in transit place and one activist.

During the fieldwork, I conducted interviews with the members of the Ahmadiyya. These interviews were conducted between June and September 2014 during an observation in locations in which the Ahmadiyya communities reside, including Kuningan (West Java), Bogor and Jakarta. The interviews were carried out to obtain information on the experiences of the Ahmadiyya related to the many forms of violence and discrimination they have faced in Indonesia. They were also designed to gain information about the responses of the Ahmadiyya to this violence. The involvement of various actors in this situation was also becoming the main target of this process. The interviews focus on the history of the Ahmadiyya as a minority group and their experiences, including the violence experienced against its members. (i.e., they mainly refer to Chapters 4 and 5).

Subsequently, Muslim intellectuals and activists who have significant insight into the status and position of the Ahmadiyya about mainstream Islam were interviewed. These interviews were conducted in Jakarta in August of 2014. These informants were mainly members of organizations and institutions. These interviews were conducted to answer two parts of the research question about the status of the Ahmadiyya according to mainstream Islam and the response of mainstream Islam to the increasing violence against this group.

Finally, I interviewed representatives of national and international NGOs, human rights defenders, activists working to promote interfaith dialogue, and activists from international NGOs—some of whom belong to non-religious organizations in Jakarta. These interviews were conducted in June-July 2012, July 2013, and August 2014. The objective of these interviews was to obtain information about the processes undertaken by both state and non-state actors to deal with the current situation of the Ahmadiyya.

A document study supported this research by supplementing the data gathered in the interviews and observations. By studying relevant documents, I sought to find additional information as follows. First, the positions and actions were taken by radical groups that attacked the Ahmadiyya. Second, the position and response of the state or government concerning violence against the Ahmadiyya. Third, the involvement of civil society and NGOs with the attacks and restrictions experienced by the Ahmadiyya. Documents were studied to answer the research question regarding human rights protection for the Ahmadiyya as well as to other religious minorities in contemporary Indonesia.

The documents studied can be grouped into three categories. First, established and well-known newspapers and weekly magazines in Indonesia, such as *Kompas*, *Tempo*, *Jakarta Post*, and several online media, international reports, and news sources, were selected. The selection of the media sources was based on their intensity in publicizing the Ahmadiyya issue and their distribution. All these sources routinely publish stories on various topics related to the Ahmadiyya and are distributed throughout Indonesia. Specifically, the *Jakarta Post* is an English daily newspaper that reports intensively on the Ahmadiyya. This newspaper can be accessed worldwide and is the primary source of information on these issues for the international community. The *Jakarta Post* also has an exclusive collection of reports and news about the problems of the Ahmadiyya. The *Jakarta Post* offered access to their research and development department for stories related to the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia.

The second category of documents includes those from the National Human Rights Commission of Indonesia (Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia, Komnas HAM), which is the official government institution responsible for human rights in Indonesia. In this context, it deals with the states' efforts to uphold the human

rights of the Ahmadiyya as a minority group. The Commission is based in Jakarta. From the National Human Rights Commission, I received the unpublished final report of their special investigation of the Cikeusik murder of the Ahmadiyya on February 6, 2011. I have also had access to a number of special reports on violence against the Ahmadiyya produced and published by international institutions, such as the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and other agencies of the United Nations, as well as various regional institutions. Documents produced by Komnas HAM and Komnas Perempuan (National Commission on Violence against Women) were selected as primary sources for this study.

The third category of document consists of non-governmental reports by NGOs that have investigated the Ahmadiyya and religious civil-society organizations, such as the Wahid Institute (established to spread the teachings of Abdurrahman Wahid, the 4th president of Indonesia from 1999–2002, on tolerance), the Maarif Institute (established to support peace within contemporary Islam and among the wider Indonesian public, based on the inclusive Islamic leadership of Syafii Maarif), Setara Institute (an advocacy group that supports religious minorities and other human rights movements in Indonesia), Jaringan Islam Liberal (JIL, a Network of Liberal Islam in Indonesia), the Moderate Muslim Society (MMS), Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (LBH, The Legal Aid Foundation), and Setara Institute. The works of these institutions were selected as sources for the document study because they consider the problems faced by religious minorities in Indonesia. The study also draws on some special reports and documents on the Ahmadiyya published by international human rights organizations, such as International Crisis Group, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch.

A reflective journal and field notes were also used as another form of data collection. The reflective journal and field notes describe my experiences while conducting the research. One of the more touching moments in the field research was my meeting with a key informant (one of the victims of the Cikeusik tragedy) who was hiding in one of the human rights organizations in Jakarta. I met this informant in 2014. I made notes of my observations during the meeting, which strengthened my interest in researching this area. From these notes, I was also able to understand the difficult situation facing the members of the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia on a deeper level.

## Structure of the Book

This book is divided into four parts, excluding introduction and conclusion.

Part I that discusses the paradox of human rights comprises four chapters. Chapter 1 presents the theory of human rights and the status of minorities. Chap-

ter 2 elaborates on the concept of human rights culture in providing a framework for the whole study of the current situation of the Ahmadiyya. Chapter 3 discusses the human rights discourse in Indonesia. Chapter 4 highlights the status of religious minorities in Indonesia.

Part I that connects to the information of the Ahmadiyya presents two main components; First, the origin and founder of the Ahmadiyya (chapter 5) and Second, the historical trajectory of the Ahmadiyya in a global and Indonesia's contexts and settings (chapter 6).

Part III presents the violation of human rights based on the experiences of the Ahmadiyya. This part includes two chapters. First, chapter 7 explores the human rights violations against the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia, including persecution, discrimination, and violence. It describes the many forms of violence against religious minorities, the triggers for human rights violations (including the various decrees against them), and the actors involved, both state and non-state. Second, chapter 8 examines the breach of the substantive rights of the Ahmadiyya.

Part IV outlines the politics of human rights in Indonesia. This part covers two chapters; chapter 9 discusses the politics of human rights protection in Indonesia; chapter 9 elaborates on the issue of co-constructing human rights protection in Indonesia.