

KAFĀ'AH IN THE AHMADIYYA MARRIAGE: HOMOGAMOUS-HETEROGAMY AND SECT PRESERVATION

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Abstract

Ahmadiyya has a different concept of *kafā'ah* in marriage compared to several Muslims communities. The majority of Muslim scholars agree the main factor of *kafā'ah* in marriage is religiosity which is interpreted as theistic and moral, but Ahmadiyya interprets it as religious commonality. As a result, an Ahmadi woman is forbidden to marry a non-Ahmadi man. Meanwhile, an Ahmadi man is allowed to marry a non-Ahmadi woman, even a non-Muslim woman. Any adherent who violates the provision will be removed from the sect as an organizational sanction. Related to the facts, this paper aims to discuss the motivation, strategy, and goal of the provision. It uses a descriptive-analytic approach to analyze *kafā'ah* provision in Ahmadiyya literature with homogamy and heterogamy concepts. The results of this study show that the provision is motivated by historical and social factors, such as group discrimination, operational prohibitions, physical and non-physical violence. In addition, Ahmadiyya

implements a homogamous-heterogamy concept in the provision as a strategy to preserve its teachings and resist its adherents from other religious affiliations. The provision has been preserving the existence of Ahmadiyya from its establishment to the present.

Keywords: Ahmadiyya, *Kafā'ah*, Homogamy, Heterogamy

A. Introduction

Ahmadiyya is a religious sect found by Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad in Qadian, India, in the 19th century. At this period, Islam had suffered a setback from several sectors in India. These sectors included the educational and moral degradation in Indian Muslim society.¹ This Circumstance could trigger the growth of religious sects as a form of protest movement.² Thus, Ahmadiyya was a protest movement against the degradation faced by Muslim society in its establishment.

Ahmadiyya founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, had several controversies in the Islamic world. He claimed that he is *al-Masih* and *al-Mahdi*. He revealed a different conception of prophetic in Islam, and he also had a close relationship with British invaders. As a result, he was accused of being an infidel and a colonial stooge by the Muslim communities.³ However, some of his followers did not consider him as a new prophet. Instead, they considered him as a great *sufi* in the 19th century.⁴

Ahmadiyya is divided into two factions. The first faction is Ahmadiyya Qadiani, known as the Ahmadiyya Community. It has a conservative understanding of Ahmadiyya teachings. The second faction is Ahmadiyya Lahore, known as the Ahmadiyya Movement. Contrary, it has a liberal understanding compared to the Ahmadiyya Community.⁵

The majority of Muslim scholars consider Ahmadiyya teachings to be heretical. It is supported by several Muslim countries in the world that

¹Asep Burhanudin, *Ghulam Ahmad: Jihad Tanpa Kekerasan* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Pelangi Aksara, 2005), 30-32.

²Azmi Bishara, "Ta'ifah, Sect, and Sectarianism: from the Word and its Changing Implications to the Analytical Sociological Term," *ALMuntaqa* 1, no. 2 (2018): 65.

³Ihsan Ilahi Zhahir, *Mengapa Ahmadiyah Dilarang?: Fakta Sejarah dan I'tiqadnya*, trans. Asmuni, ed. Zulfikar (Jakarta: Darul Falah, 2006), 2-3.

⁴Syaeful Uyun, "Ahmadiyah dalam Perspektif Akidah dan Syari'ah" (Article presented in ISAI's Focus Group Discussion UIN Sunan Kalijaga-Jemaat Ahmadiyah Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, 27th of November 2014).

⁵James Thayer Addison, "The Ahmadiya Movement and Its Western Propaganda," *The Harvard Theological Review* 22, no. 1 (1929): 3.

proscribe the spread of its teachings.⁶ Consequently, its members get various violence from Muslim society. Furthermore, this violence still occurs in the 21st century, such a research conducted by Nina Mariani Noor, Siti Syamsiyatun, and JB. Banawiratma. They find the violence is in the form of assaults on Ahmadiyya mosques and its adherents' homes, even murder too. Besides, the government commits indirect violence by banning the existence of this sect in sundry regions and neglecting the legal protection of this sect against the violence.⁷ However, Asyasyafiiyah⁸ and Feriana⁹ state that the violence is caused by Ahmadiyya teachings which is disparate with the majority of Muslim communities and blasphemy of religion.

Regardless of the controversy, Ahmadiyya is a sect that adopts Islam in its teachings. It has its own *fiqh* which guides their ways of life just like other Muslims. Additionally, It also regulates its adherents' marriage, especially regarding the provision of *kafā'ah*.¹⁰ Furthermore, it asserts the *kafā'ah* provision in its book of *Fiqh Ahmadiyyah*¹¹, *Rishta Nata Handbook*, and the other Ahmadiyya literature.¹²

Ahmadiyya has a different *kafā'ah* provision compared to several Muslim communities. The majority of Muslim scholars have concurred that the main factor in determining *kafā'ah* is the religious aspect in the form of Islam and morals.¹³ Conversely, Ahmadiyya interprets the religious aspect with similar sect affiliation. This sect prohibits Ahmadi women to marry non-Ahmadi men, they have to be marry with Ahmadi men. On the other hand, Ahmadi men are allowed to marry non-Ahmadi women and even

⁶ Akbarizan, "Jamaah Ahmadiyah (Kesesatan Yang Merusakan Kerukunan Umat Seagama)," *Toleransi* 1, no. 2 (December 2009): 273.

⁷Nina Mariani Noor, Siti Syamsiyatun, and JB. Banawiratma, "Ahmadiyah, Conflicts, and Violence in Contemporary Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 3, no. 1 (June 1, 2013): 1.

⁸Abdul Jabar Asyasyafiiyah, "Delik Penodaan Agama oleh Ahmadiyyah dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam dan Hukum Positif" (Bachelor Thesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2013), 113–114.

⁹Winni Feriana, "Analisis Kasus Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) Ditinjau dari Hukum Pidana" (Bachelor Thesis, Universitas Lampung, 2012), 53.

¹⁰It is an Islamic jurisprudence term which means the equivalence between spouses.

¹¹Mirzā 'Abd al-Ḥaq, *Fiqh Ahmadiyyah*, vol. 2 (Rabwah: Idārah al-Muṣannifin, n.d.), 22.

¹²Tim Majelis Amilah Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, *Buku Pedoman Rishta Nata* (Majelis Amilah Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, 2004), 28.

¹³al-Sayyid Sābiq, *Fiqh al-Sunnah*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1983), 127.

non-Muslim women.¹⁴ Furthermore, the purpose of the provision is to protect its adherents against exterior effects, because they have suffered from unfriendly treatment, even hostility from other Muslim communities.¹⁵

There are several studies about Ahmadiyya marriage. Azizah has found that matchmaking institution, *Rishta Nata*, among Ahmadiyya adherents in Indonesia had risen from its establishment to the present.¹⁶ Moreover, Zulhamdani has discovered that the measure of *kafā'ah* in Ahmadiyya Qadian is the similarity of religious affiliation, while its measure in Ahmadiyya Lahore is piety.¹⁷ Whereas, in the other study, Maulani has revealed that Ahmadiyya had a norm which prohibits Ahmadi women to marry with non-Ahmadi men.¹⁸ Thus, the previous studies have discussed about *Rishta Nata*, the measure of *kafā'ah*, and *kafā'ah* provision. None of it discusses further to uncover the strategy of the *kafā'ah* provision used by Ahmadiyya.

Departing from the facts and the previous studies, this study discusses the motivation, strategy, and goal of the provisions used by Ahmadiya. It uses a descriptive-analytics approach to analyze *kafā'ah* provision in the Ahmadiyya literature, such as *Rishta Nata Handbook*, *Fiqh Ahmadiyyah 2nd volume*, etc. Furthermore, it uses homogamy and heterogamy concepts to uncover the strategy and goal of the provision.

B. Homogamy and Heterogamy in the Sect

Generally, there are two types of marriage. The first type is Homogamy, which is a marriage between two spouses in one similar group, ethnicity, affiliation, or religion. The second type is heterogamy, which is a marriage between spouses in different groups, ethnicities,

¹⁴Mirza Masroor Ahmad, "Pentingnya Memperhatikan Masalah Pernikahan antara Ahmadi," Friday preaching in 13th of Dzulqaidah 1425 H (Baitus-Salam Mosque, Paris, France, 2005), 8.

¹⁵Tim Majelis Amilah Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, *Buku Pedoman Rishta Nata*, 24.

¹⁶Tsaniyatul Azizah, "Perkawinan Ahmadiyyah (Studi Sejarah Hukum Rishtanata: Lembaga Perjudohan Internal Jemaat Ahmadiyyah Indonesia di Yogyakarta)" (Master Thesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2016), 114–117.

¹⁷Zulhamdani, "Konsep Kafa'ah dalam Perkawinan Ahmadiyah Qodian dan Lahore Perspektif Ulama Syafi'iyah" (Bachelor Thesis, IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2002), 100–103.

¹⁸Rif'atul Maulani, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Pelaksanaan Perkawinan Jemaat Ahmadiyya di Bubutan Surabaya" (Bachelor Thesis, UIN Sunan Ampel, 2015), 64.

affiliations, or religions. Furthermore, these two types occur in society. In particular, this discussion will focus on marriage related to sects or religious affiliations.

Several scholars have investigated religious affiliation in their researches. Newport¹⁹, Kluegel²⁰, Stark and Glock²¹, argue that religious affiliation may change after an individual moved to a new community or gained a new social status. Therefore, some religious groups applied homogamy to preserve their members' affiliation from religious change. In this case, two studies conducted by Babchuk²², Crockett²³ and Ballweg, it reveals that several religious groups applied religious homogamy to maintain their members' affiliation.

Religious Homogamy can be a motivation for religious affiliation change. It may occur when two spouses of different affiliations got married once. In this case, they may change their affiliations to one of two affiliations. The change is to make their second marriage based on one teaching of the same belief. This matter as Musick argues, homogamy is one of the motivations for an individual to convert his affiliation.²⁴

Religious homogamy may cause a positive effect rather than religious heterogamy. Heaton has found that religious homogamy makes husband and wife more harmonious and more cheerful because of less family conflict as conversely arise in religious heterogamy.²⁵ Furthermore, Glenn argues that religious heterogamy arises sorrow for husbands, but it arises lower sorrow for wives because of their stronger position in controlling their children's religiosity.²⁶ Thus, religious homogamy will minimize conflicts in the family, because family members have the same perception

¹⁹Frank Newport, "The Religious Switcher in the United States," *American Sociological Review* 44, no. 4 (1979): 528.

²⁰James R. Kluegel, "Denominational Mobility: Current Patterns and Recent Trends," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 19, no. 1 (1980): 26.

²¹Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock, *America Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment*, 3rd ed. (California: University of California Press, 1974), 203.

²²Nicholas Babchuk, Harry J. Crockett, and John A. Ballweg, "Change in Religious Affiliation and Family Stability," *Social Forces* 45, no. 4 (1967): 555.

²³Harry J. Crockett, Nicholas Babchuk, and John A. Ballweg, "Change in Religious Affiliation and Family Stability: A Second Study," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 31, no. 3 (1969): 468.

²⁴Marc Musick and John Wilson, "Religious Switching for Marriage Reasons," *Sociology of Religion* 56, no. 3 (1995): 268.

²⁵Tim B. Heaton, "Religious Homogamy and Marital Satisfaction Reconsidered," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 46, no. 3 (1984): 729.

²⁶Norval D. Glenn, "Interreligious Marriage in the United States: Patterns and Recent Trends," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 44, no. 3 (1982): 564.

in their beliefs, as well as family religiosity will form family behavior to gain harmony between its members.

Myers found that religious homogamy has declined in intensity from generation to generation due to being affected by gender, job, and family issues. Otherwise, a lot of homogeneous actors state the prosperity of marriage is caused by perceptions built by religious authorities.²⁷ In brief, it shows that religious rules set the perception of the adherents, so this perception has implications for the concept of blessedness that is believed by them.

Religious heterogamy can trigger family conflict due to the differences in the faith and the lack of tolerance. However, the conflict may not occur if family members can understand and respect one another. Thus, it will determine harmony and family happiness.

Religious Heterogamy also influences the confidence of couples who undergo this type of marriage. Bouma²⁸, Adams and Moge²⁹ discovered that a wife would be inclined to adhere to her husband's confidence in religious heterogamy. Furthermore, the husband is considered as a leader in a family formed by marriage in society. As a result, it is no doubt that other family members will tend to adhere the family leader. Indeed, religious heterogamy may be allowed for men members of an affiliation as a strategy to acquire a new member and preserve the existence of the affiliation.

C. A Brief History of Ahmadiyya

Ahmadiyah was founded by Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad.³⁰ He was born on Friday, 13th of February 1835 in the city of Qadian, India. His father was a physician, and his grandfather was a judge (*qāḍī*). At that period, Islam was suffering a setback in India caused by missionary movements of Christianity evangelism in various parts of the world including India, as called The Great Century of World Evangelization. Moreover, Muslim communities in India were facing educational and moral degradation in

²⁷Scott M. Myers, "Religious Homogamy and Marital Quality: Historical and Generational Patterns, 1980 - 1997," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 68, no. 2 (2006): 292.

²⁸ Donald H. Bouma, "Religiously Mixed Marriages: Denominational Consequences in the Christian Reformed Church," *Marriage and Family Living* 25, no. 4 (1963): 431.

²⁹Robert Lynn Adams and John Moge, "Marriage, Membership, and Mobility in Church and Sect," *Sociological Analysis* 28, no. 4 (1967): 205.

³⁰Munawar Ahmad Sa'eed, *The Essence of Islam*, trans. Chaudhry Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, vol. 4 (Tilford: Islam International Publications Ltd., 2006), 1.

society.³¹ Consequently, that case can trigger the rise of religious sects as a form of protest movement.³²

Accusations of infidels and colony accomplices were directed at Ahmadiyya members. The accusations was obtained due to the controversy of its founder, Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad, who claims to be *al-Masīh* and *al-Mahdī*. He had expressed different prophetic conception from Muslims communities. Furthermore, he had a close intercourse with the colonial government, Britain.³³ Otherwise, for some of his followers, Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad was not a new prophet, but rather he was a great *sufi* in the 19th century.³⁴ Indeed, several indications support those accusations, however, those indications can not be used as a reason to oppose them.

After the death of Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad, Ahmadiyya was led by his successors. The successor was referred to as the *Khalīfah of Ahmadiyah* or *Khalīfah al-Masīh*. Furthermore, the *Khalīfah of Ahmadiyah* had been succeeded by five caliphs for several periods. These caliphs are Hazrat Hakim Nuruddin as the first *Khalīfah al-Masīh* who led in 1908 - 1914 AD, Mirza Basyiruddin Mahmud Ahmad as the second *Khalīfah al-Masīh* who led in 1914-1965 AD, Mirza Nasir Ahmad as the third *Khalīfah al-Masīh* who led in 1965 - 1982 AD, Mirza Tahir Ahmad, as the fourth *Khalīfah al-Masīh* who led in 1982 - 2003 AD, and Mirza Masroor Ahmad as the fifth *Khalīfah al-Masīh* who led in 2003 to the present.³⁵

In the development, Ahmadiyya was divided into two fractions. These fractions were Ahmadiyya Qadiani and Ahmadiyah Lahore. Ahmadiyya Qadiani as known as Ahmadiyya Community had a conservative understanding of Ahmadiyya teachings. Unlike, Ahmadiyya Lahore as known as Ahmadiyya Movement had a liberal view compared to the Ahmadiyya Community.³⁶ However, they still apply similar teaching from his founder.

Ahmadiyya members were continuously increasing for several times. In 1896, there were only 300 members of the Ahmadiyya Community. However, its members had reached nearly 50,000 people in 1900. Moreover, its members had reached 70,000 people in 1918.³⁷ In brief, the number of its members rose steadily every year.

³¹Burhanudin, *Ghulam Ahmad: Jihad Tanpa Kekerasan*, 30–32.

³²Bishara, "Ta'ifah, Sect, and Sectarianism," 65.

³³Zhahir, *Mengapa Ahmadiyah Dilarang?*, 2–3.

³⁴Uyun, "Ahmadiyah dalam Perspektif."

³⁵Uyun, "Ahmadiyah dalam Perspektif," 2-3.

³⁶Addison, "The Ahmadiya Movement," 3.

³⁷Addison, "The Ahmadiya Movement," 3.

Gradually, Ahmadiyya members spread all over the world. Especially, its members grow in Europe. In the case, George Bernard Shaw said that the British kingdom would accept Islam in the late 20th century because he saw the religion that Muhammad brought had high respect and was widely accepted.³⁸ Furthermore, Ahmadiyya has grown in 206 countries with numerous adherents which are more than 200 million people.³⁹ In particular, the Ahmadiyya sect still exists in America until the 21st century.⁴⁰ Indeed, its members can survive and arise all over the world.

D. The Concept of *Kafā'ah* in the Ahmadiyya Marriage

Mirza Tahir Ahmad affirms that Islam is a religion that gives full attention to the matter of marriage.⁴¹ The selection of a marriage partner is important in marriage because it determines the happiness and harmony of the household.⁴² Mukhtar Ahmad Cheema asserts that *kafā'ah* is an important thing that ought to be considered in life mate selection based on the hadith narrated by Ibn Mājah,⁴³ which guides for selective in choosing an equivalence partner.⁴⁴

Mirzā 'Abd al-Ḥaq in his book *Fiqh Ahmadiyyah*, explains the four criteria for *kafā'ah* in marriage. These criteria are wealth, beauty, heredity, and religion. These criteria are chosen based on a hadith narrated by al-Bukhārī,⁴⁵ whose content informs that marrying a woman should base on four matters including the aspect of wealth, descent, beauty, and religion, however, it is recommended to prioritize the aspect of religion.⁴⁶

Mirza 'Abd al-Ḥaq gives further explanation as bellow:⁴⁷

Means: The mean of that hadith is settled four main factors that are most important in life to build a household with a woman in it. These four

³⁸Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad, *An Introduction to The Hidden Treasures of Islam*, ed. Syed Hasanat Ahmad (Tilford: Islam International Publications Ltd., 2010), 210.

³⁹Uyun, "Ahmadiyah dalam Perspektif," 2.

⁴⁰Abdurrahmaan Saaleh, "Sectarian Islam in America: The Case of United Submitters International-The Foundation," *Islamic Studies* 55, no. 3/4 (2016): 241.

⁴¹Mirza Tahir Ahmad, *Islam's Response to Contemporary Issues*, ed. 4 (Tilford: Islam International Publications Ltd., 2007), 97.

⁴²Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad and Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, *Ahmadiyyat or The True Islam* (Tilford: Islam International Publications Ltd., 2007), 236.

⁴³Mukhtar Ahmad Cheema, *Islamic Teachings on Ideal Family* (Tilford: Islam International Publications Ltd., 2008), 17.

⁴⁴Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, juz 1 (n.p.: Dār Ihyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, n.d.), 633.

⁴⁵al-Ḥaq, *Fiqh Ahmadiyyah*, 22.

⁴⁶al-Bukhārī, *Ṣāḥiḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 7 (Dār al-Fikr, 1981), 9.

⁴⁷al-Ḥaq, *Fiqh Ahmadiyyah*, 22.

factors are: First, ownership of the property of the woman and her family. Second, family lineage or ancestry of the woman. Third, the woman's beauty. And fourth, religiosity and moral of the woman. A pious believer ought to give priority to religious and moral factors in the selection of a life mate rather than the other three factors.

Ahmadiyya prioritizes religious aspects in the selection of spouses because of some reasons. Mirza Bashir Ahmad explains that the suggestion to prioritize aspects of religion contained great wisdom. He adds that the consideration in fostering the household is not only based on mere pleasure but also aims to compose a harmonious family and good offspring.⁴⁸ Additionally, Mukhtar Ahmad Cheema quotes hadith narrated by Ibn Mājah which explains that a pious wife is the world's foremost jewelry. While other factors are only supporting aspects and not on the same level as the religiosity.⁴⁹

There are several further explanations about the aspect of beauty, ownership, and ancestry in the Ahmadiyya teaching of *kafā'ah*. Mirza Bashir Ahmad explained that the beauty factor does not last long and will fade with age. Similarly, property is only temporary and does not guarantee harmony and happiness for the family.⁵⁰ Furthermore, *Rishta Nata Handbook*, explains that all people are descendants of the Prophet Adam, so basically, everyone has the same social status.⁵¹

The *Rishta Nata Handbook* explains further about the religious aspect in *kafā'ah* which located in Qur'an. The most important *kafā'ah* is the factor of piety as verse of Allah in Q.S. al-Ḥujurāt (49): 13,⁵² which means "O people! truly We have created you from a man and a woman, then We have made you races and tribes so that you recognize one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in Allah's sight is the most pious person. Truly, Allah is All-Knowing, All-Conscientious."⁵³

A pious woman will educate her children better than an irreligious woman. Mirza Bashir Ahmad explained that a pious woman would educate the personality of her children well. While women who are not

⁴⁸Mirza Bashir Ahmad, *Forty Gems of Beauty*, ed. First American. (USA: Majlis Anṣārullāh, 2007), 82.

⁴⁹Cheema, *Islamic Teachings on Ideal Family*, 18.

⁵⁰Ahmad, *Forty Gems of Beauty*, 82-83.

⁵¹Tim Majelis Amilah Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, *Buku Pedoman Rishta Nata*, 28.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 46.

⁵³Lajnah Pentashih Mushaf al-Qur'an, *Al-Qur'an al-Karim dan Terjemah Bahasa Indonesia* (Kudus: Menara Kudus, 2006), 518.

virtuous will inherit a bad personality.⁵⁴ As a consequence, the selection of spouses ought to be based on her religiosity, not on external factors such as wealth, appearance, and social status.⁵⁵ Additionally, other factors such as social status, employment, and wealth are only approving factors.⁵⁶

E. Interpretation of Religious Factors in Ahmadiyya Provision on *Kafā'ah*

As explained in the previous discussion, Ahmadiyya consider the main factor of *kafā'ah* in marriage is religiosity. Ahmadiyya figure, Mirzā 'Abd al-Ḥaḡ, interprets religious factors with individual piety perceived as similar affiliation. As a result, Ahmadi women can only marry Ahmadi men to maintain their confidence and affiliation.⁵⁷ In this matter, Zulhamdani⁵⁸ and Maulani find that Ahmadiyya has a provision that prohibits Ahmadi women from marrying non-Ahmadi men.⁵⁹

The emergence of the provision is caused by several factors. These factors are the number of its members and the unfriendly attitude of non-Ahmadi. Conversely, it is not possible to hold a marriage with a non-Ahmadi person who considers them to be infidels and Dajjal followers.⁶⁰ Additionally, Mirza 'Abd al-Ḥaḡ explains in his book that⁶¹ Meaning: Seeing the problems that occur in the community that disturb the beliefs of Ahmadiyya adherents, hence, to maintain their faith, an Ahmadi woman should not be married to a non-Ahmadi man. Because this marriage does not accomplish the equivalence in religious matters. However, if a marriage between Ahmadi woman and non-Ahmadi man has occurred, it does not cancel the marriage and the status of the child resulting from the marriage. Furthermore, the child still has a lineage to his parents, so that he has the legal rights of sharia to inherit and so forth.

There was a case of an Ahmadi adherent who married his daughter to a non-Ahmadi man. This case made Mirza Ghulam Ahmad angry with him. He stated that an Ahmadi woman should not be married to a non-Ahmadi man, hence, she should stay in the house. As a consequence, the

⁵⁴Ahmad, *Forty Gems of Beauty*, 83.

⁵⁵Aḡmad dan Khan, *Ahmadiyyat or The True Islam*, 236.

⁵⁶Cheema, *Islamic Teachings on Ideal Family*, 17.

⁵⁷al-Ḥaḡ, *Fiqh Ahmadiyyah*, 22.

⁵⁸Zulhamdani, "Konsep Kafa'ah dalam Perkawinan Ahmadiyah," 100-103.

⁵⁹Maulani, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Pelaksanaan Perkawinan," 64.

⁶⁰Tim Majelis Amilah Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, *Buku Pedoman Rishta Nata*, 24-25.

⁶¹al-Ḥaḡ, *Fiqh Ahmadiyyah*, 22.

sanction for violating this provision is expenditure from its membership, but the perpetrator will be forgiven when he has truly repented. In that case, the perpetrator was forgiven after 6 years expelled from the sect.⁶²

The provision of marriage prohibition with non-Ahmadi does not be applied to an Ahmadi man. An Ahmadi man may marry a non-Ahmadi Muslim woman. Moreover, he is allowed to marry a Hindu and Sikh woman.⁶³ It is intended that women who are married to Ahmadi men will adhere the teachings of this sect because a wife should follow her husband as a priest.⁶⁴

F. Sanctions of the Violation of *Kafā'ah* Provision in Ahmadiyya Marriage

There are several sanctions for Ahmadiyya adherents who do not comply with the provision of *kafā'ah*. This sanction was confirmed by Hadhrat Khalifatul Masih V Atba in a letter sent to Sadr Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia on 6th of December 2003 regarding the provisions of the marriage between Ahmadi women with non-Ahmadi men whose contents were as follows:

1. This marriage was considered *irtidad* or departing from Ahmadiyya. Consequently, the perpetrator is considered out of the sect.
2. The member of the Lajnah who had been given advice and warnings but remained in rebellion and wanted to marry a non-Ahmadi man was expelled from Nizam Jamaat.
3. Ahmadiyya adherents who participated in assisting the implementation of this marriage ceremony were considered to be against the rules and procedures, and they will get sanctions recommended by the sect.
4. The member of Lajnah who continues the marriage process with a non-Ahmadi man before the sect decision is ruled, he also gets the sanctions.
5. The member of the Lajnah who did not disclose his intention to marry a non-Ahmadi man to the sect will be removed from it.⁶⁵

Although this provision explicitly applies only to female members of this sect, it is also applied to male members. However, it is not as strict as the provision for female members. For instance, Hariadi should get

⁶²Tim Majelis Amilah Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, *Buku Pedoman Rishta Nata*, 32-33.

⁶³Fadhil Sa'id an-Nadwi, *Ahmadiyah: Sekte atau Agama Baru* (Tuban: Pustaka Langitan, 2006), 175.

⁶⁴Maulani, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Pelaksanaan Perkawinan," 49.

⁶⁵Tim Majelis Amilah Jamaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, *Buku Pedoman Rishta Nata*, 38-40.

sanctions when he married with non-Ahmadi woman, but it can be avoided by taking *baiat* a potential partner before marriage.⁶⁶

G. The Ahmadiyah Marriage Strategy in Preserving Its Teachings

From the discussion above, there are several facts that Ahmadiyya enforces an unequal *kafā'ah* between male and female adherents. Male adherent has a higher bargaining position than female adherent. The female adherent is forbidden to marry a man outside the sect. Conversely, male adherent is allowed to marry women outside the sect.

The background of the *kafā'ah* provision enactment is the hostility and violence that is obtained by Ahmadiyya adherents. As a result, Ahmadiyya applies the prohibition of heterogamy for female members to guarantee the harmony and happiness of its female members, as Heaton argues.⁶⁷ Because women have a low bargaining position in the family which is possible to get violence from her husband who is not in one belief. Additionally, a wife may adhere to her husband's belief as a homage to the head of the family. On the other hand, women have a high bargaining position towards the religious affiliation of their children as Glenn argues.⁶⁸

In this case, Ahmadiyah views conservative to prioritize the protection of female adherents. Therefore, Ahmadiyya applies homogamy concept for them due to preserve their religious affiliation as argued by Babchuk,⁶⁹ Crockett,⁷⁰ and Ballweg. Furthermore, religious homogamy will minimize family conflict caused by differences in the views of married couples. Additionally, homogamy ensures that their offspring will be affiliated to participate in their sect membership.

The provision of *kafā'ah* for Ahmadi male adherents is laxer than female adherents. Ahmadiyya allows its male adherents to marry non-Ahmadi Muslim women and even women from other religions. This matter shows that Ahmadiyah has an assumption which a man has a strong bargaining position in the family. Conversely, it is different from Glenn's argument, he says that heterogamy results in unhappiness for the husband because it will lead to conflict with other family members.⁷¹ As a consequence, his children will be inclined to adhere their mother's confidence compared to their father's confidence.

⁶⁶ Ahmad Hariadi, *Kenapa Saya Keluar dari Ahmadiyah Qadiani*, Indonesia. (Makkah: Rabitah Alam Islami, 1988), 16.

⁶⁷Heaton, "Religious Homogamy and Marital," 729.

⁶⁸Glenn, "Interreligious Marriage in the United States," 564.

⁶⁹Babchuk, Crockett, and Ballweg, "Change in Religious Affiliation," 555.

⁷⁰Crockett, Babchuk, and Ballweg, "Change in Religious Affiliation," 468.

⁷¹Glenn, "Interreligious Marriage in the United States," 564.

In contrast to that argument, Ahmadiyah views that a husband has superiority in the family which will affect the religious affiliation of other family members. After a non-Ahmadi woman is married to an Ahmadi man, she will gradually tend to adhere to her husband's faith as a priest, this is as Bouma argues.⁷² Moreover, when a woman has gained the status of a wife and penetrates in a new community, so she will be inclined to change her religious affiliation as argued by Newport⁷³, Kluegel⁷⁴, Stark and Glock⁷⁵.

The homogamy concept applied by Ahmadiyya may urge non-Ahmadi person to change his religious Affiliation. In this case, a non-Ahmadi woman had to be an Ahmadi adherent before marriage, due to her prospective husband would not get sanctions from this sect. This matter supports Musick's argument, that homogamy is one of the motivations for a person to convert.⁷⁶ Indeed, in the concept of heterogamy, it is implied the desire of homogamy in essence.

Homogamy and heterogamy affect significantly the household of the couples. In the case of homogamy, it will minimize conflicts in the family, because family members have the same perception in their beliefs. Furthermore, family religiosity will form family behavior that is in harmony with each family member. While heterogamy can trigger family conflict due to differences in beliefs and low tolerance. However, this conflict does not occur if family members can understand and respect one another, hence, it will determine the harmony and happiness of the family.

In addition to the application of the homogamous-heterogamy concept in marriage, Ahmadiyya also defines organizational sanction for violation of *kafā'ah* provision. The sanction is being excluded from the sect for the perpetrators and those who are involved and participate in assisting the marriage. This matter shows the superiority of religious authority in this sect which affects the perception of its members. This supports the argument of Myers, which states that religious authorities build perceptions about homogamy that have better quality in marriage.⁷⁷ This shows that religious rules determine the perception of adherents. So this perception also has implications for happiness that is believed by adherents.

⁷²Bouma, "Religiously Mixed Marriages," 431.

⁷³Newport, "The Religious Switcher," 528.

⁷⁴Kluegel, "Denominational Mobility," 26.

⁷⁵Stark and Glock, *America Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment*, 203.

⁷⁶Musick and Wilson, "Religious Switching for Marriage Reasons," 268.

⁷⁷Myers, "Religious Homogamy and Marital Quality," 292.

H. Conclusions

Kafā'ah provision in Ahmadiyya marriage is a long process of historical and social factors. It can not be denied that the exclusivity of this group is motivated by the attitudes of other Muslim communities who are not friendly to its adherents. For instance, they have got group discrimination, operational prohibitions, as well as physical and non-physical violence in society. Nevertheless, this difference in views can not be used as a reason to justify the violence behaviors against its adherents.

The provision of *kafā'ah* in Ahmadiyya marriage uses two types of marriage, homogamy and heterogamy. Heterogamy is only allowed for male adherent. Meanwhile, homogamy is allowed for both male and female adherents. Furthermore, the provision is to preserve its teaching and protect its adherents. It has succeeded in preserving its existence amidst the storm of resistance from other Muslim communities. However, it requires the closure of its members with other Muslim communities. Thus, it has hampered the sect's relationship with other communities which has led to misunderstandings caused by lack of awareness.

Finally, the writers argue that Ahmadiyya applies the concept of homogamy-heterogamy in *kafā'ah* provision as an effort to protect its adherents' affiliation from outsider effects and ensure the existence of this sect. This argument is proved by historical and social factors that motivate the provision. Besides, its existence is proved by the spread of its members in several countries all around the world. However, this strategy was not successful in protecting its adherents from numerous discrimination and violence that they experienced as revealed by some previous researchers.

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