

Original Research Article

Artikel Penelitian Orisinal

## The Marital Adjustment Dynamics of Ahmadi and Non-Ahmadi Descent of the Ahmadiyya Jamaat in Indonesia

[Dinamika Penyesuaian Perkawinan Pasangan Keturunan dan Bukan Keturunan  
Anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah di Indonesia]

Putri Yunifa & Tina Afiatin

Fakultas Psikologi  
Universitas Gadjah Mada

Marital adjustment between couples with different and stigmatized religious backgrounds has rarely been studied. This study aims to explain the dynamics of marital adjustment for Ahmadiyya Congregation members who are of Ahmadi descent and married to individuals of non-Ahmadi descent using a multiple case study approach. This study conducted in-depth interviews with four couples from Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation, consisting of two husband and wife couples with husbands of Ahmadi descent, and two husband and wife couples of Ahmadi descent. Data were analyzed with a cross-case synthesis. Personality factors (socialization and achievement) that are followed by adaptation have shaped the marital adjustments of the four husbands and wives of Ahmadi descent in this study. Personality strengthens relational commitments which play an important role in marital adjustment. In active Ahmadi couples, personality factors strengthen the religious commitment of the spouses, but they also compromise their partner's shortcomings in religious matters. Personality factors also encourage them to continue to show tolerance and generosity towards extended families who have shown a stigmatizing attitude towards them as Ahmadi. This study implies the importance of considering personality factors that predict partner adjustment and not only religiosity or religious background in marriages among religious groups.

*Keywords:* cross-case synthesis, multiple case study, marital adjustment, Ahmadiyya

Penyesuaian perkawinan antara pasangan dengan latar belakang keagamaan berbeda dan terstigmatisasi jarang dipelajari. Studi ini bertujuan menjelaskan dinamika penyesuaian perkawinan anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah keturunan Ahmadi yang menikah dengan individu bukan keturunan Ahmadi dengan pendekatan studi kasus majemuk. Studi ini melakukan wawancara mendalam kepada empat pasang suami-istri anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) yang terdiri dari dua pasang suami-istri dengan suami keturunan Ahmadi, dan dua pasang suami-istri dengan istri keturunan Ahmadi. Data dianalisis dengan sintesis lintas kasus. Faktor kepribadian (*socialization* dan *achievement*) yang diikuti adaptasi membentuk penyesuaian perkawinan pada keempat suami-istri lintas keturunan Ahmadi. Kepribadian memperkuat komitmen relasional yang berperan penting dalam penyesuaian perkawinan. Pada pasangan Ahmadi aktif, faktor kepribadian memperkuat komitmen religius suami-istri, namun mereka juga berkompromi dengan kekurangan pasangan mereka dalam keagamaan. Faktor kepribadian juga mendorong mereka tetap menunjukkan toleransi dan kemurahan hati terhadap keluarga besar yang pernah menunjukkan sikap stigmatik terhadap mereka sebagai Ahmadi. Studi ini mengimplikasikan pentingnya mempertimbangkan faktor kepribadian yang memprediksi penyesuaian pasangan dan bukan hanya religiusitas atau latar belakang keagamaan dalam perkawinan di kalangan kelompok keagamaan.

*Kata kunci:* sintesis lintas kasus, studi kasus majemuk, penyesuaian perkawinan, Ahmadiyah

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to: | Korespondensi sehubungan dengan artikel ini ditujukan pada:  
Tina Afiatin, Fakultas Psikologi, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Jl. Sosio Humaniora Bulaksumur, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 55281, Indonesia.  
E-Mail: [afiatin04@ugm.ac.id](mailto:afiatin04@ugm.ac.id)

This study examines the marital adjustment of spouses in the context of religious beliefs which have distinct characteristics in Indonesia. Indonesia is a country with a very diverse Muslim-majority population, as indicated by the development of various Islamic beliefs and understandings (Hidayatullah, 2014). However, several subgroups are considered heretical by the Indonesian Cleric Assembly, one of which includes Ahmadiyya (Wahid, 2018). Ahmadiyya has a different interpretation from the Islamic teachings of mainstream (or majority) Muslim groups, resulting in stigma (Connley, 2016; Noor, 2017). With a stigma against a group, individuals outside the group who marry members of such groups will also be at risk of being stigmatized or discriminated (Rodríguez-García et al., 2016). Thus, stigma against a group can be a risk factor for marital adjustment involving members of that group. Table 1 provides a glossary of terms related to this study's topic.

The authors became acquainted with the Ahmadiyya Congregation community in mid-2019 at the Ahmadiyya Congregational Mosque in Yogyakarta, based on information from one of the authors who is also a member of the Ahmadiyya Congregation. As stated directly to the authors, members of the Ahmadiyya Congregation referred to the differences between them as “(Ahmadi) descents” and “(non-Ahmadi) descents”. Ahmadi is their term to refer to members of the Ahmadiyya Congregation. This introduction was then followed by a second introduction with several couples who came from Ahmadi and Non-Ahmadi families. The authors identified more than 10 couples with these characteristics. In addition, the authors also found cases of similar couples who divorced after conflicts due to differences in this lineage (Ahmadi descent or non-Ahmadi descent).

Various studies on exogamy marriage involving groups that experience social discrimination have been conducted. Rodríguez-García et al. (2016) showed that prejudice-based social discrimination originating from each partner's family against stigmatized groups does not necessarily dissipate through marriage. In addition, Yulianto and Faturochman (2016) found that interdependence forms harmony in inter-ethnic marriages that tend to be prejudiced. However, the authors have yet to find an explanation from a socio-psychological perspective regarding the dynamics of marital adjustment between husband and wife from two

Studi ini mengkaji penyesuaian perkawinan pasangan suami-istri dalam konteks aliran kepercayaan yang memiliki kekhususan tersendiri di Indonesia. Indonesia merupakan negara dengan mayoritas penduduk beragama Islam yang sangat majemuk, diindikasikan dari perkembangan berbagai aliran dan paham Islam (Hidayatullah, 2014). Meski demikian, sejumlah aliran dianggap sesat oleh Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), salah satunya termasuk Ahmadiyah (Wahid, 2018). Ahmadiyah memiliki penafsiran yang berbeda dengan ajaran Islam kelompok Muslim arus utama (atau mayoritas), sehingga mendapat stigma (Connley, 2016; Noor, 2017). Dengan adanya stigma terhadap suatu kelompok, maka individu di luar kelompok yang menikahi anggota kelompok tersebut juga akan rentan terdampak stigma atau diskriminasi (Rodríguez-García et al., 2016). Dengan demikian, stigma terhadap suatu kelompok dapat menjadi faktor risiko penyesuaian perkawinan yang melibatkan anggota kelompok tersebut. Tabel 1 menyediakan glosarium istilah sehubungan topik studi ini.

Penulis berkenalan dengan komunitas Jemaat Ahmadiyah pada pertengahan 2019 di masjid Jemaat Ahmadiyah Yogyakarta, berdasarkan informasi dari salah satu rekan penulis yang juga merupakan anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah. Di hadapan penulis, para anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah menyebut perbedaan di antara mereka sebagai “keturunan (Ahmadi)” dan “bukan keturunan (Ahmadi)”. Ahmadi merupakan istilah mereka untuk menyebut anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah. Perkenalan tersebut kemudian mempertemukan penulis dengan sejumlah pasangan yang berasal dari keluarga Ahmadi dan bukan Ahmadi. Penulis mengidentifikasi lebih dari 10 pasangan dengan karakteristik demikian. Selain itu, penulis juga menemukan kasus pasangan serupa yang bercerai setelah berkonflik karena perbedaan latar belakang keturunan (keturunan Ahmadi atau bukan keturunan Ahmadi).

Berbagai studi mengenai perkawinan eksogami melibatkan kelompok yang mengalami diskriminasi sosial telah dilakukan. Rodríguez-García et al. (2016) membuktikan bahwa diskriminasi sosial berbasis prasangka yang berasal dari keluarga tiap pasangan terhadap kelompok yang mengalami stigma tidak serta merta menghilang melalui perkawinan. Selain itu, Yulianto dan Faturochman (2016) menemukan interdependensi yang membentuk harmoni dalam perkawinan beda etnis yang cenderung saling berprasangka. Namun, sejauh ini penulis belum menemukan penjelasan dari perspektif sosial-psikologis

Table 1  
Glossary

Terms	Definition
Ahmadi	: A person who is a member of the Ahmadiyya Congregation.
Ahmadi Descent	: An Ahmadi who also comes from an Ahmadi family.
Ahmadiyya	: The name of the organization founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in Rabwah, India, in 1889.
Qadian Ahmadiyya	: An Ahmadiyya group based in Qadian, India.
Lahore Ahmadiyya	: Ahmadiyya group based in Lahore.
Baiat	: Based on <i>Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Edisi IV</i> (Departemen Pendidikan Nasional [Department of National Education], 2015), the word <i>baiat</i> in Islam means taking an oath of allegiance to an imam (leader). In the context of Ahmadiyya, the leader is the <i>Khalifah</i> , or leader of the Ahmadiyya Congregation.
Candah	: A form of obligation for every member of the Ahmadiyya Congregation who earns to give donations which are paid regularly.
Candah ‘Am	: The obligation for every member of the Ahmadiyya Congregation who has an income to pay a monthly donation of one-sixteenth of their income (Ahmadipedia, 2021; Pengurus Besar Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia [Grand Administrator of Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia], 2009, p. 65).
Islam Majority	: Islamic groups in general, other than Ahmadiyya.
IBKA	: Wife of non-Ahmadi Descents, a wife (woman) who comes from non-Ahmadi parents or families.
IKA	: Wife of Ahmadi descent, a wife (woman) who comes from Ahmadi parents and was brought up in the Ahmadiyya tradition.
JAI	: Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation, one of the official religious organizations in Indonesia. Received legal status on March 13, 1953 from the Ministry of Justice number J.A/5/23/13.
Ahmadiyya Congregation	: The name of the Qadian Ahmadiyya group which resulted from the split between the Lahore Ahmadiyya and Qadian Ahmadiyya.
Harmony	: The quality of a marriage that characterizes harmony and minimal strife between marriage partners.
Lajnah Imaillah Makmum	: An organization of the Ahmadiyya Congregation whose members are women over 18 years of age. The person who is led (in congregational prayers) by the priest; people who become followers (in congregational prayers); people who pray behind the imam (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa (Pusat Bahasa) [Language Development Agency (Language Center)], 2016)
Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Mubaligh	: Founder and creator of the Ahmadiyya teachings in Qadian, India, 1889. : An Ahmadi whose job is to convey Ahmadiyya teachings after completing special education as stipulated in the Ahmadiyya Congregation.
Mubayyin	: A person who has just taken <i>baiat</i> and becomes a member of the Ahmadiyya Congregation.
Musi	: Every <i>Musi</i> candidate or executor of a will whose will has been approved by Sadr. Anjuman Ahmadiyya Pakistan (Ahmadin, 2015, p. 1).
Musiah	: A term for female <i>Musi</i> .
Mainstream Muslim	: Members or Islamic groups other than Ahmadiyya.
Zhilli Prophet	: The “shadow” prophet, a term addressed to someone who is believed to be a messenger of God but does not bring new sharia or teachings.
Non-Ahmadi	: A person who is a non-Ahmadi (member of the Ahmadiyya Congregation).
Rishtanata	: An internal matchmaking system within the Ahmadiyya Congregation that aims to match fellow members of the Ahmadiyya Congregation, through a bureau which is also called <i>rishtanata</i> .
SKA	: Husband of Ahmadi Descent, a husband (man) born to Ahmadi parents and brought up in the Ahmadiyya tradition.
SBKA	: Husband of non-Ahmadi descent, a husband (man) who comes from non-Ahmadi parents or families.
Stigma	: The act of exclusion of a minority group from the majority group against the wishes of the group because it is considered polluted (Connley, 2016).
Tarbiyat	: Training and education activities, especially in the spiritual, religious, moral and social fields (Pengurus Besar Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia [Grand Administrator of Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia], 2009, p. 30)
Tahrik Jadid	: Voluntary provision of sparing annual income for the <i>Tahrik Jadid</i> movement which is essentially a movement for the spread of Islam throughout the world, an appeal to endow oneself as a <i>mubaligh</i> and live a simple life (Zulkarnain, 2005).
Waqfi Jadid	: Voluntary provision of income to finance Ahmadiyya Congregation members who are available to serve and help with the work of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation organization (M. M. Y. Ismail, personal communication, 2022).
Wasiyat	: The agreement proposed by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of Ahmadiyya, based on the book they wrote, namely <i>Al-Wasiyyat</i> .

Tabel 1  
Glosarium

Istilah	Arti
Ahmadi	: Orang yang menjadi anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah.
Ahmadi Keturunan	: Seorang Ahmadi yang juga berasal dari keluarga Ahmadi.
Ahmadiyah	: Nama organisasi yang didirikan Mirza Ghulam Ahmad di Rabwah, India, tahun 1889.
Ahmadiyah Qadian	: Kelompok Ahmadiyah yang berpusat di Qadian, India.
Ahmadiyah Lahore	: Kelompok Ahmadiyah yang berpusat di Lahore.
Baiat	: Berdasarkan Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Edisi IV (Departemen Pendidikan Nasional [Department of National Education], 2015), kata <i>baiat</i> dalam Islam berarti pengucapan sumpah setia kepada imam (pemimpin). Dalam konteks Ahmadiyah, pemimpin tersebut yaitu <i>Khalifah</i> atau pemimpin Jemaat Ahmadiyah.
Candah	: Suatu bentuk kewajiban bagi setiap anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah yang berpenghasilan, dalam bentuk donasi yang dibayarkan secara rutin.
Candah 'Am	: Kewajiban bagi setiap anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah yang berpenghasilan untuk membayar donasi setiap bulan sebanyak satu per enam belas dari penghasilannya (Ahmadipedia, 2021; Pengurus Besar Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia [Grand Administrator of Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia], 2009, p. 65).
Islam Mayoritas	: Kelompok Islam secara umum selain Ahmadiyah.
IBKA	: Istri Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi, yaitu istri (perempuan) yang berasal dari orang tua atau keluarga bukan Ahmadi.
IKA	: Istri keturunan Ahmadi, yaitu istri (perempuan) yang berasal dari orang tua Ahmadi dan dibesarkan dengan tradisi Ahmadiyah.
JAI	: Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, salah satu organisasi resmi keagamaan di Indonesia. Menerima status hukum pada 13 Maret 1953 dari Departemen Kehakiman nomor: J.A/5/23/13
Jemaat Ahmadiyah	: Nama kelompok Ahmadiyah Qadian yang dihasilkan dari perpecahan antara Ahmadiyah Lahore dan Ahmadiyah Qadian.
Keharmonisan	: Kualitas perkawinan yang mencirikan keselarasan dan minimnya konflik antar pasangan perkawinan.
Lajnah Imaillah	: Organisasi Jemaat Ahmadiyah yang beranggotakan perempuan berusia di atas 18 tahun.
Makmum	: Orang yang dipimpin (dalam salat berjamaah) oleh imam; orang yang menjadi pengikut (dalam salat berjamaah); orang yang ikut salat di belakang imam (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa (Pusat Bahasa) [Language Development Agency (Language Center)], 2016).
Mirza Ghulam Ahmad	: Pendiri dan pencipta ajaran Ahmadiyah di Qadian, India, 1889.
Mubaligh	: Seorang Ahmadi yang bertugas menyampaikan ajaran Ahmadiyah setelah menyelesaikan pendidikan khusus sebagaimana diatur dalam Jemaat Ahmadiyah.
Mubayyin	: Seseorang yang baru saja melakukan baiat menjadi anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah.
Musi	: Setiap calon <i>Musi</i> atau pelaksana wasiat yang wasiatnya telah disetujui oleh Sadr. Anjuman Ahmadiyah Pakistan (Ahmadin, 2015, p. 1).
Musiah	: Sebutan bagi <i>Musi</i> perempuan.
Muslim Arus Utama	: Anggota atau kelompok Islam selain Ahmadiyah.
Nabi Zhili	: Nabi "bayangan", istilah yang ditujukan kepada seseorang yang diyakini sebagai utusan Tuhan namun tidak membawa syariat atau ajaran baru.
Non-Ahmadi	: Orang yang bukan Ahmadi (anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah).
Rishtanata	: Sistem perjodohan di internal Jemaat Ahmadiyah yang bertujuan menjodohkan antar sesama anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah, melalui biro yang juga disebut <i>rishtanata</i> .
SKA	: Suami Keturunan Ahmadi, yaitu suami (laki-laki) yang terlahir dari orang tua Ahmadi dan dibesarkan dengan tradisi Ahmadiyah.
SBKA	: Suami Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi, yaitu suami (laki-laki) yang berasal dari orang tua atau keluarga bukan Ahmadi.
Stigma	: Tindakan eksklusif suatu kelompok minoritas dari kelompok mayoritas di luar keinginan kelompok tersebut karena dianggap tercemar (Connley, 2016).
Tarbiyat	: Kegiatan pelatihan dan pendidikan, khususnya di bidang kerohanian, keagamaan, moral dan sosial (Pengurus Besar Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia [Grand Administrator of Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia], 2009, p. 30).
Tahrik Jadid	: Penyisihan penghasilan sukarela yang bersifat tahunan untuk gerakan <i>Tahrik Jadid</i> , yang pada intinya merupakan gerakan penyebaran Islam ke seluruh dunia, himbuan untuk mewakafkan diri sebagai <i>mubaligh</i> dan hidup sederhana (Zulkarnain, 2005).
Waqfi Jadid	: Penyisihan penghasilan sukarela untuk membiayai anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah yang memiliki waktu luang untuk pengkhidmatan dan membantu pekerjaan organisasi Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (M. M. Y. Ismail, personal communication, 2022).
Wasiyat	: Perjanjian yang dicanangkan oleh Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, pendiri Ahmadiyah, berdasarkan buku yang ditulisnya yaitu <i>Al-Wasiyyat</i> .



families with different religious beliefs, one of which is stigmatized. This gap is the focus of the study. The discussion begins with an examination of the study's main variables, namely spousal adjustment, or marital adjustment.

There are various components within a marital relationship, this study focuses on marital adjustment. Marital adjustment is a change in attitude by couples to realize their expectations of marriage (Fisiloglu, 1990). Nurhayati et al. (2019) argue that marital adjustment is part of marriage quality, which shows a relational aspect and impacts marital satisfaction. This feeling of satisfaction involves all experience, relationship, and emotion shared between the spouses in their interactions (Khrisnanda & Santi, 2022). The quality of marriage is influenced by intrapersonal aspects, namely: (1) personality (Nurhayati et al., 2019); (2) religiosity (David & Stafford, 2015); (3) attitudes towards gender roles (Nurhayati et al., 2019); (4) patriarchal values that place men as superior to women (Ademiluka, 2021); (5) love (Kaur & Bhargava, 2016); (6) satisfaction in partner relations (Uygarer et al., 2015); and (7) control and self-knowledge (Hendrati, 2015). Apart from the intrapersonal aspect, the quality of marriage is also influenced by interpersonal factors, namely: (1) communication and household economic conditions (Nurhayati et al., 2019); (2) unconditional acceptance of each other and partner recognition (Hendrati, 2015); (3) commitment between partners (Knox & Schacht, 2013); and (4) the ability to resolve conflict and share interactive roles in marriage (Olson et al., 2011).

Religion or beliefs and religiosity affect marital adjustment. Religious communication (David & Stafford, 2015), religious commitment and practice (Aman et al., 2019), and religious consecration of marriage and problem-solving (Fallahchai et al., 2021) impact marital happiness and adjustment. However, marriage between followers of different religions or beliefs may have a contradicting effect (Hwang et al., 2019; Wright et al., 2017). On the other hand, acceptance of different beliefs is influenced by the formation of values and identity in the family. Relationships within the family are multigenerational or hereditary in terms of values, culture, and customs (Afiatin et al., 2018). Therefore, the marriage of members of two families with different belief systems

mengenai dinamika penyesuaian perkawinan suami-istri dari dua keluarga berbeda aliran agama yang salah satunya mendapat stigma. Kesenjangan inilah yang menjadi fokus studi penulis. Pembahasan dimulai dengan kajian mengenai variabel utama studi ini, yaitu penyesuaian pasangan atau penyesuaian perkawinan.

Dari berbagai komponen dalam relasi pernikahan, studi ini berfokus pada penyesuaian perkawinan. Penyesuaian perkawinan merupakan perubahan sikap yang dicapai pasangan untuk mewujudkan harapan mereka atas pernikahan (Fisiloglu, 1990). Nurhayati et al. (2019) berpendapat bahwa penyesuaian perkawinan merupakan bagian dari kualitas perkawinan yang menunjukkan aspek relasional dan berdampak pada kepuasan perkawinan. Perasaan puas ini melibatkan segala pengalaman, hubungan yang terjalin, serta emosi yang saling dibagikan antara pasangan dan diri sendiri dalam berinteraksi (Khrisnanda & Santi, 2022). Kualitas perkawinan dipengaruhi aspek intrapersonal, yaitu di antaranya adalah: (1) kepribadian (Nurhayati et al., 2019); (2) religiusitas (David & Stafford, 2015); (3) sikap terhadap peran *gender* (Nurhayati et al., 2019); (4) nilai patriarkal yang meletakkan laki-laki sebagai superior terhadap perempuan (Ademiluka, 2021); (5) cinta (Kaur & Bhargava, 2016); (6) kepuasan pada relasi pasangan (Uygarer et al., 2015); dan (7) pengendalian serta pengenalan diri (Hendrati, 2015). Selain aspek intrapersonal, kualitas perkawinan juga dipengaruhi faktor interpersonal, yaitu di antaranya adalah: (1) komunikasi dan kondisi ekonomi rumah tangga (Nurhayati et al., 2019); (2) penerimaan satu sama lain tanpa bersyarat dan pengenalan pasangan (Hendrati, 2015); (3) komitmen antar pasangan (Knox & Schacht, 2013); dan (4) kemampuan mengatasi konflik dan berbagi peran interaksi dalam perkawinan (Olson et al., 2011).

Agama atau keyakinan dan religiusitas mempengaruhi penyesuaian perkawinan. Komunikasi religius (David & Stafford, 2015), komitmen dan praktik religius (Aman et al., 2019), serta penyakralan perkawinan dan penyelesaian masalah secara religius (Fallahchai et al., 2021) berdampak pada kebahagiaan dan penyesuaian perkawinan. Namun, perkawinan antar penganut agama atau keyakinan yang berbeda dapat berdampak sebaliknya (Hwang et al., 2019; Wright et al., 2017). Di sisi lain, penerimaan terhadap perbedaan keyakinan dipengaruhi pembentukan nilai dan identitas pada keluarga. Relasi dalam keluarga bersifat multigenerasional atau turun temurun dalam hal nilai, budaya, dan kebiasaan (Afiatin et al., 2018). Oleh karena itu, perkawinan anggota dua keluarga berbeda keyakinan

can be at risk of adjustment difficulties due to differences in values passed down by each family. Nonetheless, these notions do not yet explain how the dynamics of spousal adjustment with different sect backgrounds that involve stigmatized sects by most followers of their main religion. In this study, the focus is on the Ahmadiyya Community.

### Context of Marriage and Ahmadiyya Congregation

In this section, the authors will explain the Ahmadiyya Congregation as the main context of this study. The Ahmadiyya Congregation was born from the Ahmadiyya separation into Lahore Ahmadiyya and Qadian Ahmadiyya. Lahore Ahmadiyya developed into the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Movement and Qadian Ahmadiyya then became the Ahmadiyya Congregation (Sofianto, 2014; Zulkarnain, 2005). For the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Movement (Lahore Ahmadiyah Congregation), Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is nothing more than a founder of Ahmadiyya (Sofianto, 2014). Whereas the Ahmadiyya Congregation (Qadian Ahmadiyya Congregation) believes that the door of revelation is always open and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of Ahmadiyya, is a prophet who did not bring new *sharia* or a *zhilli* prophet (shadow prophet) and the promised Messiah (Sofianto, 2014; Zulkarnain, 2005). This doctrine caused the Ahmadiyya Congregation to be stigmatized after it was deemed a deviant sect and not true Islam by the Indonesian Cleric Assembly in 2005 (Andries et al., 2014; As'ad, 2009; Connley, 2016; Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) [Indonesian Cleric Assembly], 2005; Noor, 2017; Sofianto, 2014).

Although the Ahmadiyya Congregation is considered non-Islamic by the Indonesian Cleric Assembly, the Ahmadiyya Congregation that the authors met had registered their marriage at the Office of Religious Affairs. This indicates that from a population standpoint, they are still recorded as Muslims.

In addition, the Ahmadiyya Congregation has one characteristic that distinguishes it from other Islamic groups, namely the obligation to *candah*. *Candah* is an obligation for every member of the Ahmadiyya Congregation who earns, in the form of donations which are paid regularly. These obligations are in the form of *Candah 'Am* (1/16 of income; Tahrik-e-Jadid Anjuman Ahmadiyya, 2005) and *Candah Wasiat* (a minimum of 1/10 and a maximum of 1/3 of income and assets; Ahmadin, 2015).

dapat berisiko pada penyesuaiannya karena perbedaan nilai yang diturunkan setiap keluarga. Walaupun demikian, berbagai uraian tersebut belum menjelaskan bagaimana dinamika penyesuaian pasangan dengan latar belakang aliran berbeda, yang melibatkan aliran agama yang mendapat stigma oleh mayoritas penganut agama induknya. Dalam studi ini, fokus ada pada Jemaat Ahmadiyah.

### Konteks Pernikahan dan Jemaat Ahmadiyah

Pada bagian ini, penulis merasa perlu menjelaskan Jemaat Ahmadiyah sebagai konteks utama studi ini. Jemaat Ahmadiyah lahir dari perpecahan Ahmadiyah menjadi Ahmadiyah Lahore dan Ahmadiyah Qadian. Ahmadiyah Lahore berkembang menjadi Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia dan Ahmadiyah Qadian kemudian menjadi Jemaat Ahmadiyah (Sofianto, 2014; Zulkarnain, 2005). Bagi Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia (Jemaat Ahmadiyah Lahore), Mirza Ghulam Ahmad tidak lebih dari seorang pendiri Ahmadiyah (Sofianto, 2014). Sedangkan Jemaat Ahmadiyah (Jemaat Ahmadiyah Qadian) meyakini bahwa pintu wahyu selalu terbuka dan Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, pendiri Ahmadiyah, merupakan nabi yang tidak membawa syariat baru atau nabi zhilli (nabi bayangan) dan Al Masih yang dijanjikan (Sofianto, 2014; Zulkarnain, 2005). Doktrin tersebut membuat Jemaat Ahmadiyah mendapat stigma setelah dianggap sebagai aliran sesat dan bukan Islam oleh Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) pada tahun 2005 (Andries et al., 2014; As'ad, 2009; Connley, 2016; Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) [Indonesian Cleric Assembly], 2005; Noor, 2017; Sofianto, 2014).

Meski Jemaat Ahmadiyah dianggap sebagai bukan Islam oleh Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), pasangan Jemaat Ahmadiyah yang penulis temui mencatatkan pernikahan mereka di Kantor Urusan Agama (KUA). Hal ini mengindikasikan bahwa secara kependudukan mereka tercatat beragama Islam.

Selain itu, Jemaat Ahmadiyah memiliki satu karakteristik yang membedakan dengan kelompok Islam lain, yaitu kewajiban *candah*. *Candah* adalah kewajiban bagi setiap anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah yang berpenghasilan, dalam bentuk donasi yang dibayarkan secara rutin. Kewajiban tersebut berupa *Candah 'Am* (sebesar 1/16 dari penghasilan; Tahrik-e-Jadid Anjuman Ahmadiyya, 2005) serta *Candah Wasiat* (sebesar minimal 1/10 dan paling tinggi 1/3 dari pendapatan dan harta kekayaan; Ahmadin, 2015).

The obligation of *candah* (sacrifice of property), education or *tarbiyat*, and the stigmatization from mainstream Islamic groups (or the majority) are potential risks in marriages of different Ahmadi descents. Differences in the background of spouses regarding finances affect the way they think and communicate regarding finances which has an impact on the quality of the marriage (Baisden et al., 2018).

Rodríguez-García et al. (2016) ascertained that marriage does not necessarily eliminate pre-existing stigma, including religion-related stigma. The stigma related to religion encourages exclusive behavior, namely only making fellow Ahmadi as prayer leaders for members of the Ahmadiyya Congregation (Razak, 2007) and requiring marriage only to fellow members of the Ahmadiyya Congregation which is regulated in the *Rishtanata* (Ahmad, 2020).

Violations of the *Rishtanata* have different implications based on gender. Ahmadi women (*Lajnah*) will be considered to renounce the Ahmadiyya Congregation if they marry other than an Ahmadi, but this is not the case for Ahmadi men (Noor, 2017). So far, there has been no study that explains the dynamics of marital adjustment involving the Ahmadiyya Congregation's religious sect. Studies on the Ahmadiyya Congregation have only looked at the aspects of conflict, discrimination, persecution, and coercion faced by the Ahmadiyya Congregation communally (Amin & Abdullah, 2005; Andries et al., 2014; As'ad, 2009; Ngatini, 2012), the community's struggle to survive (Connley, 2016; Noor, 2017), and the theological aspects of the Ahmadiyya Congregation and its debates (Burhani, 2014; Schäfer, 2015). Based on these facts, the authors formulate the study question as follows: "How are the dynamics of marital adjustment for couples of Ahmadi descents and non-descents of the Ahmadiyya Congregation in facing the obligation of *candah*, differences in religious teachings, and the stigma against the Ahmadiyya Congregation?"

## Method

The qualitative approach applied is a case study with a descriptive approach, where data is described comprehensively and systematically without statistical equations and measurements (Handayani et al., 2015). The authors' position in this study is neutral. Personally, the authors respect human rights to believe in a religion for everyone, including minority groups, so the authors

Kewajiban *candah* (pengorbanan harta), pendidikan atau *tarbiyat* dan stigmatisasi dari kelompok Islam arus utama (atau mayoritas) berpotensi menjadi risiko dalam pernikahan berbeda latar belakang keturunan Ahmadi. Perbedaan riwayat pasangan mengenai keuangan mempengaruhi cara mereka berpikir dan berkomunikasi terkait keuangan yang berdampak pada kualitas perkawinan (Baisden et al., 2018).

Rodríguez-García et al. (2016) membuktikan bahwa perkawinan tidak serta merta menghilangkan stigma yang sudah ada sebelumnya, termasuk stigma terkait agama. Padahal stigma terkait agama mendorong perilaku yang eksklusif, yaitu hanya menjadikan sesama Ahmadi sebagai imam salat bagi anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah (Razak, 2007) dan mewajibkan perkawinan hanya dengan sesama anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah yang diatur dalam *Rishtanata* (Ahmad, 2020).

Pelanggaran terkait *Rishtanata* berimplikasi berbeda secara *gender*. Perempuan Ahmadi (*Lajnah*) akan dianggap keluar dari Jemaat Ahmadiyah jika menikahi selain Ahmadi, namun tidak demikian halnya dengan laki-laki Ahmadi (Noor, 2017). Sejauh ini, belum ada studi yang menjelaskan dinamika penyesuaian perkawinan yang melibatkan aliran keagamaan Jemaat Ahmadiyah. Studi mengenai Jemaat Ahmadiyah selama ini hanya melihat aspek konflik, diskriminasi, persekusi serta koersif (pemaksaan) yang dihadapi Jemaat Ahmadiyah secara komunal (Amin & Abdullah, 2005; Andries et al., 2014; As'ad, 2009; Ngatini, 2012), perjuangan komunitas untuk bertahan (Connley, 2016; Noor, 2017), dan aspek teologi Jemaat Ahmadiyah serta perdebatannya (Burhani, 2014; Schäfer, 2015). Berdasarkan sejumlah fakta tersebut, penulis merumuskan pertanyaan studi sebagai berikut: "Bagaimana dinamika penyesuaian perkawinan pasangan keturunan dan bukan keturunan anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah dalam menghadapi kewajiban *candah*, perbedaan dalam ajaran keagamaan, dan stigma terhadap Jemaat Ahmadiyah?"

## Metode

Pendekatan kualitatif yang digunakan adalah studi kasus dengan pendekatan deskriptif, ketika data disajikan secara komprehensif dan sistematis tanpa menggunakan rumus statistik dan pengukuran (Handayani et al., 2015). Posisi penulis dalam studi ini adalah netral. Secara personal, penulis menghormati hak asasi manusia (HAM) dalam beragama bagi siapapun,

sympathize with the stigma and discrimination experienced by members of the Ahmadiyya Congregation. On the other hand, one of the author's husband is an Ahmadi descent who refuses to take *baiat*. Before the author's marriage, the author was in an interfaith marriage that ended in divorce. Based on this, the authors believe that differences in a partner's and family's beliefs are indeed a risk factor for spousal adjustment. Awareness of human rights does not necessarily prompt spousal adjustment when it is not accompanied by good communication and problem-solving skills.

This study was located in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The results of the study and data collection received permission from the ethics commission number: 4046/UNI/FPSi.1.3/SD/PT.01.04/2020. Credibility is carried out by source triangulation, namely through several cross-check informants. Cross-check informants are sources who have information about study participants or the issues surrounding them. The validity of the study was ensured through member-checking, by sending a summary of the interview results to key informants.

## Participants

### Main Sources

Based on the initial search, the authors obtained information about several couples with different backgrounds of Ahmadi descent from N, one of the administrators of *Lajnah Imaillah (LI)*. The authors then selected based on criteria suitability. This study involved four married couples of the Ahmadiyya Congregation (Qadian Ahmadiyya), consisting of: (1) two couples whose husbands were of Ahmadi descent - whose wives were not of Ahmadi descent; and (2) two couples with the wife of Ahmadi descent - with the husband who is not of Ahmadi descent.

The two couples whose husbands are of Ahmadi descent consist of: (1) Couple 1, namely Adi and Yanti (AY); and (2) Couple 2, namely Paijo and Sri (PS). The two couples whose wives are of Ahmadi descent consist of: (1) Couple 3, namely Haryo and Ajeng (HA); and (2) Couple 4, namely Acong and Luna (AL).

Each couple has been married for more than a year and already has children. The participant selection method

termasuk kelompok minoritas, sehingga penulis bersimpati dengan stigma dan diskriminasi yang dialami anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah. Di sisi lain, suami penulis saat ini adalah seorang keturunan Ahmadi yang menolak melakukan *baiat*. Sebelum pernikahan penulis, penulis juga pernah menjalani perkawinan yang berbeda keyakinan dan berakhir dengan perceraian. Berdasarkan hal tersebut, penulis meyakini bahwa perbedaan keyakinan pasangan dan keluarga memang menjadi faktor risiko bagi penyesuaian pasangan. Kesadaran mengenai hak asasi manusia (HAM) tidak serta merta memicu penyesuaian pasangan, ketika tidak disertai kemampuan komunikasi dan penyelesaian masalah yang baik.

Studi ini berlokasi di provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Hasil studi dan pengambilan data telah mendapat izin dari komisi etik dengan nomor: 4046/UNI/FPSi.1.3/SD/PT.01.04/2020. Kredibilitas dilakukan dengan triangulasi sumber, yaitu melalui sejumlah narasumber informan *cross-check*. Informan *cross-check* adalah narasumber yang memiliki informasi mengenai partisipan studi atau isu yang melingkupinya. Validitas studi dipastikan melalui *member-checking*, dengan mengirimkan rangkuman hasil wawancara kepada para narasumber utama.

## Partisipan

### Narasumber Utama

Berdasarkan penelusuran awal, penulis mendapatkan informasi mengenai sejumlah pasangan yang berbeda latar belakang keturunan Ahmadi dari N, salah satu pengurus *Lajnah Imaillah (LI)*. Penulis kemudian memilih berdasarkan kesesuaian dengan kriteria. Studi ini melibatkan empat pasangan suami-istri Jemaat Ahmadiyah (Ahmadiyah Qadian) yang terdiri atas: (1) dua pasangan dengan pihak suami keturunan Ahmadi (SKA) - dengan pihak istri bukan keturunan Ahmadi (IBKA); dan (2) dua pasangan dengan pihak istri keturunan Ahmadi (IKA) - dengan pihak suami bukan keturunan Ahmadi (SBKA).

Kedua pasangan dengan pihak suami keturunan Ahmadi (SKA) terdiri dari: (1) Pasangan 1, yaitu pasangan Adi dan Yanti (AY); dan (2) Pasangan 2, yaitu pasangan Paijo dan Sri (PS). Kedua pasangan dengan pihak istri keturunan Ahmadi (IKA) terdiri dari: (1) Pasangan 3, yaitu pasangan Haryo dan Ajeng (HA); dan (2) Pasangan 4, yaitu pasangan Acong dan Luna (AL).

Setiap pasangan telah menikah selama lebih dari satu tahun dan telah memiliki anak. Metode pemilihan partisipan



Table 2  
General Description of Participants

Identity or Characteristic	Couple 1		Couple 2		Couple 3		Couple 4	
	Husband (SKA)	Wife (IBKA)	Husband (SKA)	Wife (IBKA)	Husband (SBKA)	Wife (IKA)	Husband (SBKA)	Wife (IKA)
Name	Paijo	Sri	Adi	Yanti	Haryo	Ajeng	Acong	Luna
Descent (Yes/No)	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Age	58	55	48	43	60	55	36	48
Occupation	Lecturer	Housewife	Self-Employed	Self-Employed	Medical Practitioner	Housewife	Private Sector Employee	Housewife
Education	Master's	Bachelor's	Bachelor's	Bachelor's	Medical Specialist	Bachelor's	Junior High School	Junior High School
JAI Member	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year of Marriage	1992		2007		1989		2015	
Children	2 (two)		1 (one)		4 (four)		1 (one)*	

Note. SKA = Husband of Ahmadi descent; SBKA = Husband of non-Ahmadi descent; IKA = Wife of Ahmadi descent; IBKA = Wife of non-Ahmadi descent; \*Child from Luna's prior marriage, co-parented with Acong; JAI = Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation.

Tabel 2  
Gambaran Umum Partisipan

Identitas atau Karakteristik	Pasangan 1		Pasangan 2		Pasangan 3		Pasangan 4	
	Suami (SKA)	Istri (IBKA)	Suami (SKA)	Istri (IBKA)	Suami (SBKA)	Istri (IKA)	Suami (SBKA)	Istri (IKA)
Nama	Paijo	Sri	Adi	Yanti	Haryo	Ajeng	Acong	Luna
Keturunan Ahmadi (Ya/Tidak)	Ya	Tidak	Ya	Tidak	Tidak	Ya	Tidak	Ya
Usia	58	55	48	43	60	55	36	48
Pekerjaan	Dosen	Ibu Rumah Tangga	Wiraswasta	Wiraswasta	Dokter	Ibu Rumah Tangga	Karyawan Swasta	Ibu Rumah Tangga
Pendidikan	Strata-2	Strata-1	Strata-1	Strata-1	Dokter Spesialis	Strata-1	SMP	SMP
Anggota JAI Tahun Menikah	Ya	Ya	Ya	Ya	Ya	Ya	Ya	Ya
Anak	1992		2007		1989		2015	
	2 (dua)		1 (satu)		4 (empat)		1 (satu)*	

Catatan. SKA = Suami Keturunan Ahmadi; SBKA = Suami Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi; IKA = Istri Keturunan Ahmadi; IBKA = Istri Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi; \*Anak hasil pernikahan Luna sebelumnya, yang diasuh bersama Acong; JAI = Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.

was purposive sampling per the study objectives. In addition, the authors also utilized snowball sampling, in which the authors retrieved information regarding other participants from one of the participants. Brief descriptions of the four couples are shown in Table 2.

### Additional Sources

In addition, the authors also interviewed additional

adalah *purposive sampling* sesuai dengan tujuan studi. Selain itu, penulis juga menggunakan *snowball sampling*, yaitu penulis mendapatkan informasi partisipan lain dari salah satu partisipan. Secara ringkas deskripsi keempat pasangan tersebut ditampilkan dalam Tabel 2.

### Narasumber Tambahan

Selain itu, penulis juga mewawancarai narasumber

sources or cross-checked informants. Cross-checked informants are informants who know or have information about the four pairs of study participants or are knowledgeable about the views of a mainstream Muslim organization that is also related to one of the participant's extended families.

The cross-checked informants consisted of: (1) members of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation in Yogyakarta (consisting of the Head of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation, Regional *Mubaligh*, Area *Mubaligh*, and Head of *Lajnah Imaillah [LI]*); (2) participants' children; and (3) the mothers of two participants (namely the mother of Adi as the husband of Ahmadi descent and the mother of Acong as the husband of non-Ahmadi descent). Apart from that, the authors also interviewed a prominent Muslim scholar to obtain their perspective as part of mainstream Muslims (or the majority) regarding the Ahmadiyya Congregation. Table 3 contains complete information on additional sources or the cross-check informants.

## Procedure

After arranging the administration, the authors set an appointment with the participants who met the study criteria, by contacting them via phone call or the WhatsApp application, while attaching a consent form. Given the situation during data collection was during the COVID-19 pandemic, the authors implemented health protocol measures. Initially, three interviews were to be conducted offline, and one interview online via Google Meet. However, the author encountered difficulties due to unstable Internet connection, so the authors redesigned the meetings by making home visits while still implementing health protocols. The number of visits to the participants varied, depending on the results achieved at the agreed time. Before the interview, the authors asked each couple to fill out the Marital Adjustment Scale (Itryah, 2008).

## Instruments

### Interviews

The authors conducted in-depth interviews utilizing a question guide that consisted of two main questions, namely: (1) How is the process for couples of Ahmadi descent and non-Ahmadi descent to create marital harmony based on the background differences of Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi descent in marriage?; and (2)

tambahan atau informan *cross-check*. Informan *cross-check* adalah informan yang mengetahui atau memiliki informasi mengenai keempat pasangan partisipan studi, atau mengetahui pandangan salah satu organisasi muslim arus utama yang juga terkait dengan salah satu keluarga besar partisipan.

Para informan *cross-check* terdiri atas: (1) pengurus Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) di Yogyakarta (terdiri dari Ketua Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia [JAI], Mubaligh Daerah, Mubaligh Wilayah, dan Ketua Lajnah Imaillah [LI]); (2) anak para partisipan; dan (3) ibu dari dua partisipan (yaitu ibu dari Adi sebagai suami keturunan Ahmadi [SKA] dan ibu dari Acong sebagai suami bukan keturunan Ahmadi [SBKA]). Selain itu, penulis juga mewawancarai seorang tokoh cendekiawan Muslim untuk mengetahui pandangannya sebagai bagian dari umat Muslim arus utama (atau mayoritas) mengenai Jemaat Ahmadiyah. Tabel 3 berisi informasi lengkap narasumber tambahan atau informan *cross-check*.

## Prosedur

Setelah mengurus administrasi, penulis mengatur janji dengan partisipan yang telah ditentukan sesuai kriteria dengan menghubungi melalui telepon atau aplikasi *WhatsApp*, sembari menyertakan lembar persetujuan (*consent form*). Mengingat situasi saat pengambilan data studi adalah saat sedang pandemi *COVID-19*, penulis menerapkan protokol kesehatan. Pada awalnya, tiga wawancara dilakukan secara luring, dan satu wawancara dilakukan secara daring melalui *Google Meet*. Namun, penulis menemui kesulitan karena koneksi Internet yang tidak stabil, sehingga penulis terpaksa melakukan kunjungan ke rumah dengan tetap menerapkan protokol kesehatan. Jumlah kunjungan kepada partisipan bervariasi, tergantung hasil yang dicapai pada waktu yang disepakati. Sebelum wawancara, penulis meminta pasangan untuk mengisi kuesioner Skala Penyesuaian Perkawinan (Itryah, 2008).

## Instrumen

### Wawancara

Penulis melakukan wawancara mendalam dengan menggunakan panduan pertanyaan yang terdiri atas dua pertanyaan utama, yaitu: (1) Bagaimana proses pasangan keturunan Ahmadi dan bukan keturunan Ahmadi tersebut mewujudkan keharmonisan perkawinan berdasarkan perbedaan latar belakang keturunan Ahmadi dan bukan

Table 3  
*Cross-Check Informant List*

Name	Relationship with Participant	Context or Information
Dd	Head of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation	Has a kinship with one of the participants and knows the history of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation in Yogyakarta.
NN	Head of <i>Lajnah Imaillah</i>	Knows the proactiveness of the wives in the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation.
Myn	Regional <i>Mubaligh</i>	Knows the activities of the four couples in Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation and information related to the Ahmadiyya Congregation.
Bl	<i>Mubaligh</i> of Bantul Branch	Knows the stigmatic cases experienced by couples,
Zulfan	Haryo and Ajeng's Child	Knows about the stigmatization experienced by Haryo and Ajeng and was involved in a conflict mediation dialogue between their parents and Haryo's younger sibling.
Mia	Haryo and Ajeng's Child	Knows their parents' daily relations.
Iwan	Haryo and Ajeng Child	Knows their parents' daily relations.
Dafa	Paijo and Sri's Child	Knows their parents' daily relations.
Tina	Paijo and Sri Child	Knows their parents' daily relations.
SR	Acong and Luna's Child	Knows their parents' daily relations.
BM	Muslim scholar from an Islamic mass organization where Sri (Paijo's wife) is a part of.	Knows the organization's views on the Ahmadiyya Congregation.

Tabel 3  
*Daftar Informan Cross-Check*

Nama	Keterkaitan Dengan Partisipan	Konteks atau Informasi
Dd	Ketua Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI)	Memiliki hubungan kekerabatan dengan salah satu partisipan dan mengetahui sejarah Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia di Yogyakarta.
NN	Ketua <i>Lajnah Imaillah</i>	Mengetahui tingkat keaktifan para istri di Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.
Myn	<i>Mubaligh</i> Daerah	Mengetahui keaktifan keempat pasangan di Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia dan informasi terkait Jemaat Ahmadiyah.
Bl	<i>Mubaligh</i> Cabang Bantul	Mengetahui kasus stigmatik yang dialami pasangan.
Zulfan	Anak Haryo dan Ajeng	Mengetahui kasus stigmatik yang dialami Haryo dan Ajeng dan terlibat dalam dialog mediasi konflik antara orang tuanya dengan adik Haryo.
Mia	Anak Haryo dan Ajeng	Mengetahui relasi orang tuanya sehari-hari.
Iwan	Anak Haryo dan Ajeng	Mengetahui relasi orang tuanya sehari-hari.
Dafa	Anak Paijo dan Sri	Mengetahui relasi orang tuanya sehari-hari.
Tina	Anak Paijo dan Sri	Mengetahui relasi orang tuanya sehari-hari.
SR	Anak Acong dan Luna	Mengetahui relasi orang tuanya sehari-hari.
BM	Cendekiawan Muslim dari salah satu organisasi masyarakat Islam tempat Sri (istri Paijo) menjadi bagian.	Mengetahui pandangan organisasi terhadap Jemaat Ahmadiyah.

What are the factors that influence the dynamics?

keturunan Ahmadi dalam perkawinan?; dan (2) Apa saja faktor yang mempengaruhi dinamika tersebut?

### *Marriage Adjustment Scale*

As an additional data source, the authors also used the Marital Adjustment Scale developed by Itryah (2008) from the Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS) by Spanier

### *Skala Penyesuaian Perkawinan*

Sebagai sumber data tambahan, penulis juga menggunakan Skala Penyesuaian Perkawinan yang dikembangkan oleh Itryah (2008) dari Skala Penyesuaian

(1976). The use of the Marriage Adjustment Scale was based on the consideration that the instrument had been tested on a population with similar criteria to the participants in this study, namely married couples who are not divorced, reside in Java, and are predominantly Muslim (Itryah, 2008).

The Marital Adjustment Scale was utilized to complete information about spousal harmony, indicated by the couple's scores in behavioral adjustments (interpersonal) and subjective evaluation (intrapersonal). The test results of the Marriage Adjustment Scale by Itryah (2008) yielded 17 items with a validity coefficient range of shifting items between .264 to .489 with a reliability coefficient of .722. These 17 items consist of (1) five items for consensus between partners; (2) five items for satisfaction between partners; (3) five items of cohesiveness between partners; and (4) two items of expressions of love.

### Data Analysis

Quantitative data results were utilized to confirm the quality of spousal adjustment for each married couple. Qualitative data were analyzed using the content analysis method, and the coding was directly derived from the text data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The results were analyzed using a cross-case synthesis approach using Microsoft Word. The results of the interviews were transcribed verbatim which was then tagged using the comments feature in Microsoft Word based on content analysis, then categorized according to the interview question guide by examining the correlation of one statement to another. Furthermore, the authors carried out a cross-case synthesis, which is an analytical method in case studies involving at least two cases (Yin, 2014).

## Results

Based on the Marital Adjustment Scale score (Itryah, 2008), the authors utilized a hypothetical score category to interpret each participant's score. For example, Paijo had a score of 49, which is considered a Medium category, while other participants had a score > 51, and is considered a High category. Detailed information regarding the Marital Adjustment Scale scores can be seen in Table 4.

Pasangan atau *Dyadic Adjustment Scale (DAS)* oleh Spanier (1976). Pemilihan Skala Penyesuaian Perkawinan ini berdasarkan pertimbangan bahwa alat ukur tersebut telah diujicobakan pada sampel populasi yang memiliki kriteria yang mirip dengan partisipan studi ini, yaitu pasangan suami-istri yang sedang tidak bercerai, berdomisili di Jawa, dan mayoritas beragama Islam (Itryah, 2008).

Skala Penyesuaian Perkawinan ini digunakan untuk melengkapi informasi mengenai keharmonisan pasangan, ditunjukkan dengan skor pasangan dalam melakukan penyesuaian perilaku (interpersonal) dan evaluasi subjektif (intrapersonal). Hasil uji coba Skala Penyesuaian Perkawinan yang dilakukan Itryah (2008) menghasilkan 17 butir skala dengan rentang koefisien validitas butir bergerak dari 0,264 - 0,489 dengan koefisien reliabilitas 0,722. 17 butir ini terdiri atas: (1) lima pernyataan konsensus antar pasangan; (2) lima pernyataan kepuasan antar pasangan; (3) lima pernyataan kohesivitas antar pasangan; dan (4) dua pernyataan ekspresi cinta.

### Analisis Data

Hasil data kuantitatif digunakan untuk memberikan konfirmasi mengenai kualitas penyesuaian pasangan setiap pasangan suami-istri. Data kualitatif dianalisis dengan metode analisis konten, dan pengkodean diturunkan langsung dari data teks (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Hasil dianalisis dengan pendekatan sintesis kasus silang (*cross-case synthesis*) menggunakan *Microsoft Word*. Hasil wawancara ditranskripsi ke dalam bentuk *verbatim* yang kemudian ditandai menggunakan fitur komentar pada *Microsoft Word* berdasarkan analisis konten, kemudian dikategorisasi sesuai dengan panduan pertanyaan dengan memperhatikan keterhubungan satu pernyataan dengan pernyataan yang lain. Selanjutnya, penulis melaksanakan proses sintesis lintas kasus (*cross-case synthesis*), yang merupakan metode analisis pada studi kasus yang melibatkan setidaknya dua kasus (Yin, 2014).

## Hasil

Berdasarkan skor Skala Penyesuaian Perkawinan (Itryah, 2008), penulis menggunakan kategori skor hipotetikal untuk memaknai skor setiap partisipan. Sebagai contoh, Paijo memiliki skor 49 dan tergolong dalam kategori Sedang, sedangkan partisipan lain memiliki skor > 51 dan tergolong dalam kategori Tinggi. Informasi detail sehubungan dengan skor Skala Penyesuaian Perkawinan dapat dilihat pada Tabel 4.



Table 4  
*Interpretation of Spousal Adjustment Scores*

Participant	Ahmadi	Score	Category
	Descent or Not		
Paijo	SKA	49	Moderate
Sri	IBKA	65	High
Adi	SKA	66	High
Yanti	IBKA	67	High
Haryo	SBKA	57	High
Ajeng	IKA	58	High
Acong	SBKA	57	High
Luna	IKA	57	High

*Note.* Participants' names are pseudonyms/fictitious and are used only for illustrative purposes; SKA = Husband of Ahmadi descent; SBKA = Husband of non-Ahmadi descent; IKA = Wife of Ahmadi descent; IBKA = Wife of non-Ahmadi descent; Low Category: Score < 34; Moderate Category: Score 34-51; High Category: Score > 51.

### Couples with Husbands of Ahmadi Descent and Wives of Non-Ahmadi Descent

The two husbands of Ahmadi descent married wives who were not of Ahmadi descent with various backgrounds. From Couple 1, Yanti was raised by a Catholic father and a Muslim mother. From Couple 2, Sri came from a Muslim family who is also part of the community of one of the mainstream (or majority) Islamic community organizations.

The two couples have similar interests and professional backgrounds that make them work together. In addition, the two partners also display personalities that complement and harmonize one another. From Couple 2, Paijo admires Sri's caring personality (*"ngopeni"* in Javanese, which according to Paijo means attentive, nurturing, or guarding). Paijo showed a firm and unyielding personality, while based on the authors' observations, Sri tends to show a conceding attitude, especially regarding issues of faith and Sri's extended family. An example is Sri conceding when Paijo insists that Sri's family should respect them though they do not accept their faith as an Ahmadi. On the other hand, from Couple 1, Yanti admires Adi who tends to protect and accept their non-Ahmadi background. Adi admits that their personality and Yanti's personality complement each other, though they are different.

### Couples with Wives of Ahmadi Descent and Husbands of Non-Ahmadi Descent

Marriage between a wife of Ahmadi descent and a

Tabel 4  
*Interpretasi Skor Penyesuaian Pasangan Partisipasi*

Partisipan	Keturunan	Skor	Kategori
	Ahmadi atau Bukan		
Paijo	SKA	49	Sedang
Sri	IBKA	65	Tinggi
Adi	SKA	66	Tinggi
Yanti	IBKA	67	Tinggi
Haryo	SBKA	57	Tinggi
Ajeng	IKA	58	Tinggi
Acong	SBKA	57	Tinggi
Luna	IKA	57	Tinggi

*Catatan.* Nama partisipan telah disamarkan dan hanya digunakan untuk kepentingan ilustrasi; SKA = Suami Keturunan Ahmadi; SBKA = Suami Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi; IKA = Istri Keturunan Ahmadi; IBKA = Istri Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi; Kategori Rendah: Skor < 34; Kategori Sedang: Skor 34-51; Kategori Tinggi: Skor > 51.

### Pasangan Suami Keturunan Ahmadi (SKA) dan Istri Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi (IBKA)

Kedua suami keturunan Ahmadi (SKA) menikahi istri bukan keturunan Ahmadi (IBKA) dengan latar belakang yang bervariasi. Dari Pasangan 1, Yanti dibesarkan oleh ayah yang memeluk agama Katolik dan ibu beragama Islam. Dari Pasangan 2, Sri berasal keluarga Muslim yang merupakan bagian dari komunitas salah satu organisasi masyarakat (ormas) Islam arus utama (atau mayoritas).

Kedua pasangan tersebut memiliki kesamaan latar belakang minat dan profesi yang membuat mereka bekerja sama. Selain itu, kedua pasangan tersebut juga menunjukkan kepribadian yang saling melengkapi dan selaras satu sama lain. Dari Pasangan 2, Paijo menyukai kepribadian Sri yang *"ngopeni"* (yang menurut Paijo bermakna merawat, memelihara, atau menjaga). Paijo menunjukkan pribadi yang tegas dan pantang menyerah, sementara berdasarkan pengamatan penulis, Sri cenderung menunjukkan sikap mengalah terutama terkait persoalan keyakinan dan keluarga besar dari Sri. Sebagai contoh adalah Sri mengalah ketika Paijo bersikeras agar keluarga Sri menghormatinya meski mereka tidak menerima keyakinannya sebagai Ahmadi. Di sisi lain, dari Pasangan 1, Yanti menyukai Adi yang cenderung melindungi serta menerima latar belakang dirinya yang bukan keturunan Ahmadi. Adi sendiri mengakui bahwa kepribadiannya dengan kepribadian Yanti saling melengkapi, walaupun berbeda.

### Pasangan Istri Keturunan Ahmadi (IKA) dan Suami Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi (SBKA)

Perkawinan antara istri keturunan Ahmadi (IKA)

husband who is not of Ahmadi descent is preceded by the husband's decision to take *baiat*. This is due to the regulations of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation, that women of Ahmadi descent must marry other members of Ahmadi descent. An Ahmadi is also only allowed to pray or worship behind fellow Ahmadis.

In terms of religion, Haryo (from Couple 3) and Acong (from Couple 4) showed openness to the Islamic teachings of the Ahmadiyya Congregation. When they got to know Luna, Acong stated that they were interested in studying Islam, so Luna was also attracted to them. On the other hand, Haryo showed a willingness to learn Islam from the Ahmadiyya Congregation after becoming acquainted with Ajeng. Previously, Haryo claimed to be an “*abangan* Islamist” (an individual who practices a more syncretic Islamic way, as opposed to the more orthodox Islam; Muchtarom, 1988). Haryo's family also did not provide adequate religious education so Haryo was unable to read and recite the Koran.

### Adjustment in Facing Stigmatization

#### *Couples with Husbands of Ahmadi Descent and Wives of Non-Ahmadi Descent*

Couples with husbands of Ahmadi descent and wives of non-Ahmadi descent face challenges from mainstream Islam (or the majority), namely the view that the Ahmadiyya Congregation is not part of Islam. This is especially felt by Paijo and Sri (of Couple 2), as Sri's extended family is part of the mainstream (or majority) Islam. Sri's father initially refused Paijo's marriage proposal to Sri after knowing that Paijo was a member of the Ahmadiyya Congregation because they considered that Paijo still had to study Islam. Based on the desire to marry Sri, Paijo finally followed Sri's father's wish to study mainstream (or majority) Islam from the person appointed by Sri's father.

Nevertheless, Paijo still maintains their identity and belief as an Ahmadi. Sri finally decided to take *baiat* before marriage to avoid domestic conflicts. Sri's decision was undisclosed to their extended family who considered Ahmadiyya as a deviation from Islamic teachings. After marriage, Paijo and Sri also tended not to discuss religion between themselves and their extended family, especially about Ahmadiyya. For Paijo, the most important thing is that the difference in beliefs between them (Paijo and Sri's extended family)

dengan suami bukan keturunan Ahmadi (SBKA) didahului keputusan pihak suami untuk melakukan *baiat*. Hal ini disebabkan peraturan Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI), bahwa perempuan keturunan Ahmadi harus menikah dengan sesama keturunan Ahmadi. Seorang Ahmadi juga hanya boleh bermakmum atau beribadah di belakang sesama Ahmadi.

Dalam hal keagamaan, Haryo (dari Pasangan 3) dan Acong (dari Pasangan 4) menunjukkan keterbukaan terhadap ajaran Islam dari Jemaat Ahmadiyah. Ketika mengenal Luna, Acong menyatakan tertarik belajar Islam, sehingga Luna pun tertarik kepadanya. Di sisi lain, Haryo juga menunjukkan kesediaan untuk belajar agama Islam dari Jemaat Ahmadiyah setelah mengenal Ajeng. Sebelumnya, Haryo mengaku dirinya sebagai “*Islam abangan*” (individu yang mempraktikkan Islam dalam versi yang lebih sinkretis, dibandingkan dengan Islam yang lebih ortodoks; Muchtarom, 1988). Keluarganya juga tidak memberi pendidikan agama yang memadai sehingga Haryo belum bisa mengaji.

### Penyesuaian Dalam Menghadapi Stigmatisasi

#### *Pasangan Suami Keturunan Ahmadi (SKA) dan Istri Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi (IBKA)*

Pasangan suami keturunan Ahmadi (SKA) dan istri bukan keturunan Ahmadi (IBKA) menghadapi tantangan dari Islam arus utama (atau mayoritas), yaitu pandangan bahwa Jemaat Ahmadiyah bukan bagian dari Islam. Hal tersebut terutama dirasakan Paijo dan Sri (dari Pasangan 2), karena keluarga besar Sri merupakan bagian dari Islam arus utama (atau mayoritas). Ayah dari Sri awalnya menolak lamaran Paijo terhadap Sri setelah mengetahui Paijo adalah anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah, karena menganggap Paijo masih harus belajar agama Islam. Didasarkan atas keinginan untuk dapat menikahi Sri, Paijo akhirnya mengikuti keinginan ayah dari Sri untuk belajar agama Islam arus utama (atau mayoritas) dari orang yang ditunjuk ayah dari Sri.

Meski demikian, Paijo tetap mempertahankan identitas dan keyakinannya sebagai Ahmadi. Sri akhirnya memutuskan melakukan *baiat* sebelum menikah demi menghindari konflik rumah tangga. Keputusan Sri tersebut bersifat tertutup dari keluarga besarnya yang menganggap Ahmadiyah menyimpang dari ajaran Islam. Setelah menikah, Paijo dan Sri juga cenderung tidak membahas keagamaan di antara mereka maupun dengan keluarga besar, terlebih tentang Ahmadiyah. Bagi Paijo, yang terpenting adalah

does not trigger open conflict and that they still respect each other.

Meanwhile, Adi and Yanti (from Couple 1) face stigmatization from the extended family that is not of Ahmadi descent. According to Adi, Yanti's father once considered the Ahmadiyya Congregation the same as other Islamic groups which tended to be intolerant. Adi faced the stigma of Yanti's father by showing that most Muslims can develop tolerance, for example, by taking Yanti's father to church.

“It’s my husband who takes my father to church. If he prays, my husband will also accompany him. So my father feels that his faith is no longer being threatened, no. Absolutely not.” - (Yanti, 153-156).

Couples 1 (Adi and Yanti) and Couples 2 (Paijo and Sri) deal with stigma through two approaches. The first approach is through prayer activities with Muslims who are not of Ahmadi descent. The second approach is to avoid talking about the Ahmadiyya Congregation when in an environment that does not support the Ahmadiyya Congregation. They also tend not to disclose their identity as Ahmadi in their closest environment to avoid conflict with their extended family and the environment in which they live.

### ***Couples with Wives of Ahmadi Descent and Husbands of Non-Ahmadi Descent***

Couple 3 (Haryo and Ajeng) and Couple 4 (Acong and Luna) experienced stigmatization as members of the Ahmadiyya Congregation coming from their superiors at Luna's workplace and Haryo's family (specifically from Haryo's younger sibling). Wives of Ahmadi descent tend to be more active in responding to this stigmatization than their husbands. They are subject to the directions of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation, that is, if their members conflict with people outside the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation, they must contact the administrator or preacher (*Mubaligh*) for dialogue. When the dialogue yields no result, then they pray. Husbands who are of non-Ahmadi descent tend to prioritize the passive method, only by praying to maintain harmony.

Haryo and Ajeng's (Couple 3) relationship with

perbedaan keyakinan di antara mereka (Paijo dan keluarga besar dari Sri) tidak menimbulkan konflik terbuka dan mereka tetap saling menghormati.

Sementara itu, pasangan Adi dan Yanti (dari Pasangan 1) menghadapi stigmatisasi yang bersumber dari keluarga besar bukan keturunan Ahmadi. Menurut Adi, ayah dari Yanti sempat menganggap Jemaat Ahmadiyah sama seperti kelompok Islam lain yang cenderung intoleran. Adi menghadapi stigma dari ayah dari Yanti dengan menunjukkan bahwa mayoritas Muslim dapat mengembangkan toleransi, contohnya yaitu dengan mengantarkan ayah dari Yanti ke gereja.

“Itu, suami saya yang mengantar kalau ke gereja. Kalau Bapak sembahyangan juga suami saya yang nganter. Jadi bapak itu merasa sudah nggak ada merasa terancam keimanan itu, nggak. Sama sekali tidak.” - (Yanti, 153-156).

Pasangan 1 (Adi dan Yanti) serta Pasangan 2 (Paijo dan Sri) menghadapi stigma melalui dua pendekatan. Pendekatan pertama, adalah melalui aktivitas ibadah salat bersama-sama umat Muslim bukan keturunan Ahmadi. Pendekatan kedua, adalah dengan menghindari pembicaraan tentang Jemaat Ahmadiyah ketika berada di lingkungan yang tidak mendukung Jemaat Ahmadiyah. Mereka juga cenderung tidak mengungkap identitas mereka sebagai Ahmadi di lingkungan terdekat mereka untuk menghindari konflik dengan keluarga besar dan lingkungan tempat mereka tinggal.

### ***Pasangan Istri Keturunan Ahmadi (IKA) dan Suami Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi (SBKA)***

Pasangan 3 (Haryo dan Ajeng) serta Pasangan 4 (Acong dan Luna) pernah mengalami stigmatisasi sebagai anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah yang bersumber dari atasan di tempat kerja Luna dan keluarga besar Haryo (secara spesifik dari adik dari Haryo). Para istri keturunan Ahmadi (IKA) cenderung lebih aktif merespon stigmatisasi tersebut dibandingkan suami mereka. Mereka tunduk pada arahan Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI), yaitu jika anggotanya berkonflik dengan orang luar Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI), maka mereka harus menghubungi pengurus atau Mubaligh untuk berdialog. Ketika dialog tidak berhasil, barulah mereka berdoa. Para suami bukan keturunan Ahmadi (SBKA) cenderung memprioritaskan cara yang pasif, yaitu mendoakan saja untuk menjaga harmoni.

Hubungan Haryo dan Ajeng (dari Pasangan 3) dengan

Haryo's younger sibling improved after they helped Haryo's younger sibling deal with household problems. After that, Haryo and Ajeng avoided discussing Ahmadiyya matters with their relatives. Even so, the two wives of Ahmadi descent still respect their husbands.

### **Adjustment in Terms of Religious Education (Tarbiyat)**

#### ***Couples with Husbands of Ahmadi Descent and Wives of Non-Ahmadi Descent***

Couple 1 (Adi and Yanti) tend not to actively participate in the Ahmadiyya Congregation's *tarbiyat*. However, they occasionally attend *tarbiyat* to please Adi's mother. They also agreed that Yanti would take *baiat* to please Adi's mother, and even this was done after years of marriage. Couple 1 tends to attend services with members of mainstream (or majority) Islam.

Meanwhile, Couple 2 (Paijo and Sri) actively participated in *tarbiyat* as Ahmadi. This was confirmed by the members of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Congregation. They also work together in the family *tarbiyat*. Sri educates their children to read the Qur'an and pray, while Paijo educates the understanding of the Qur'an (Ahmadiyya translation) with logical narration, as taught by their father.

During the holidays, Couple 2 attends a joint prayer service held by mainstream (or majority) Islamic groups with Sri's extended family. Paijo considers this a form of *tasamuh* (tolerance) and their personal matter with God. In short, Couple 2 (Paijo and Sri) and Couple 1 (Adi and Yanti) work together or have the same agreement in terms of religious education.

#### ***Couples with Wives of Ahmadi Descent and Husbands of Non-Ahmadi Descent***

Ajeng and Luna are wives of Ahmadi descent so they are the main pillars of the Ahmadi doctrine in the family. However, their husbands, Acong and Haryo, cannot read the Qur'an, even though reciting the Koran is a tradition that is prioritized in the Ahmadiyya Congregation. This prompted Ajeng and Luna to teach their husbands about religion. Luna taught Acong the Koran and *salat* in the hopes that Acong could become an *imam* (leader). Even though they are pressured, Acong obeys to please their

adik Haryo kembali membaik setelah pasangan ini membantu adik Haryo tersebut menghadapi masalah rumah tangga. Setelah itu, Haryo dan Ajeng lebih menghindari pembahasan mengenai Ahmadiyah dengan saudaranya. Walaupun demikian, kedua istri keturunan Ahmadi (IKA) tersebut tetap menghormati suami mereka.

### **Penyesuaian Dalam Hal Pendidikan Keagamaan (Tarbiyat)**

#### ***Pasangan Suami Keturunan Ahmadi (SKA) dan Istri Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi (IBKA)***

Pasangan 1 (Adi dan Yanti) cenderung tidak aktif mengikuti *tarbiyat* Jemaat Ahmadiyah. Namun, mereka sesekali mengikuti *tarbiyat* demi menyenangkan ibu dari Adi. Mereka juga sepakat Yanti melakukan *baiat* untuk menyenangkan ibu dari Adi, dan itu pun setelah bertahun-tahun berumah tangga. Pasangan 1 cenderung mengikuti ibadah dengan anggota Islam arus utama (atau mayoritas).

Sementara itu, Pasangan 2 (Paijo dan Sri) aktif mengikuti *tarbiyat* sebagai Ahmadi. Hal tersebut dikonfirmasi pengurus Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI). Mereka juga bekerja sama dalam *tarbiyat* keluarga. Sri mendidik anak mereka membaca Al Qur'an dan salat, sedangkan Paijo mendidik pemahaman Al Qur'an (terjemahan Ahmadiyah) dengan narasi yang logis, sebagaimana diajarkan ayahnya.

Saat hari raya, Pasangan 2 mengikuti ibadah salat bersama yang diselenggarakan kelompok Islam arus utama (atau mayoritas) bersama keluarga besar dari Sri. Paijo menganggap hal tersebut bentuk sikap *tasamuh* (toleran) dan urusan pribadinya dengan Tuhan. Singkatnya, Pasangan 2 (Paijo dan Sri) serta Pasangan 1 (Adi dan Yanti) bekerja sama atau memiliki kesepakatan yang sama dalam hal pendidikan keagamaan.

#### ***Pasangan Istri Keturunan Ahmadi (IKA) dan Suami Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi (SBKA)***

Ajeng dan Luna merupakan istri keturunan Ahmadi (IKA) sehingga mereka menjadi penyangga utama doktrin Ahmadi dalam keluarga. Namun, suami mereka, Acong dan Haryo tidak bisa membaca Al Qur'an, padahal mengaji termasuk tradisi yang diutamakan dalam Jemaat Ahmadiyah. Hal itu mendorong Ajeng dan Luna untuk mengajari suami mereka dalam hal agama. Luna mengajari Acong mengaji dan salat dengan harapan Acong dapat menjadi imam. Meski



wife. However, Luna did not force Acong to study the Koran when Acong was pursuing additional income, considering their weak economy. Ajeng also understands their husband's shortcomings in reciting the Koran and considers Haryo's personality to be more important.

“If he can read the Koran fluently but then he doesn't respect his partner, or he does as he pleases, that's even worse.” - (Ajeng, 492, 339-343, 30 September 2020).

Acong and Haryo support their wives' activities as administrators of the Ahmadiyya Congregation both morally and materially. Even though Ajeng and Luna believe that *sunnah* worship (non-obligatory worship) is also a must in the Ahmadiyya Congregation, they try to understand when their partners do not practice or have not practiced it due to their position as breadwinners.

### Adjustments in Sacrifice of Wealth

#### *Couples with Husbands of Ahmadi Descent and Wives of Non-Ahmadi Descent*

In terms of wealth sacrifice, Couple 1 (Adi and Yanti) agreed not to pay *candah*. According to Adi, *candah* is an organizational rule, not a religious instruction, and they see how its usage lacks transparency, so they do not believe in its practice. They took this decision even though it resulted in conflict with Adi's mother. As both are of working backgrounds, they made financial decisions together.

Unlike Couple 1 (Adi and Yanti), Couple 2 (Paijo and Sri) agreed to fulfill their obligation to pay *candah* and to teach it to their children. They are even active as *Musi* and *Musiah*, paying 1/10 of their total income for *candah*. Sri and Paijo believe that *candah* is a form of belief that one's wealth is a treasure donated in the way of Allah. Sri considers *candah* as a systematic and reliable sacrifice of wealth and a form of “competition in goodness”.

“Earlier I told you about the *candah* sacrifice. Anyway, yes, competing in virtue. Those are the principles.” - (Sri, 30, 333-334, 7 October 2020).

Even though Sri does not work, Paijo considers that

tertekan, Acong patuh demi menyenangkan istrinya. Namun, Luna tidak memaksa Acong belajar mengaji ketika Acong mengejar tambahan penghasilan, mengingat ekonomi mereka lemah. Ajeng juga memaklumi kekurangan suaminya dalam mengaji dan menganggap kepribadian Haryo lebih penting.

“Kalau seandainya dia bisa baca Qur'an lancar tapi kemudian dia tidak menghargai pasangannya, sewenang-wenang, itu kan juga justru lebih parah.” - (Ajeng, 492, 339-343, 30 September 2020).

Acong dan Haryo mendukung kegiatan istri mereka sebagai pengurus Jemaat Ahmadiyah secara moril maupun materil. Meski Ajeng dan Luna meyakini bahwa ibadah yang *sunnah* (tidak wajib) juga menjadi keharusan dalam Jemaat Ahmadiyah, mereka berusaha memaklumi ketika pasangan mereka tidak atau belum melakukannya karena kesibukan sebagai pencari nafkah.

### Penyesuaian Dalam Pengorbanan Harta

#### *Pasangan Suami Keturunan Ahmadi (SKA) dan Istri Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi (IBKA)*

Dalam hal pengorbanan harta, Pasangan 1 (Adi dan Yanti) sepakat untuk tidak membayar *candah*. Menurut Adi, *candah* adalah aturan organisasi, bukan agama, dan mereka menilai penggunaannya tidak transparan sehingga mereka tidak mempercayainya. Keputusan tersebut mereka ambil meski membuat mereka berkonflik dengan ibu dari Adi. Dengan latar belakang keduanya bekerja, maka keputusan keuangan pun mereka ambil bersama.

Berbeda dengan Pasangan 1 (Adi dan Yanti), Pasangan 2 (Paijo dan Sri) menyepakati untuk memenuhi kewajiban membayar *candah*, dan mengajarkannya ke anak mereka. Mereka bahkan aktif sebagai *Musi* dan *Musiah* yang membayar 1/10 dari penghasilan mereka keseluruhan untuk *candah*. Sri dan Paijo percaya, *candah* merupakan wujud keyakinan bahwa harta seseorang adalah harta yang disumbangkan di jalan Allah. Sri menganggap *candah* sebagai pengorbanan harta yang sistematis dan terpercaya, serta wujud dari sikap “berlomba dalam kebaikan”.

“Tadi saya kan bilang tentang pengorbanan *candah* itu. Pokoknya ya berlomba-lomba dalam kebajikan itu toh. Itu aja prinsipnya.” - (Sri, 30, 333-334, 7 Oktober 2020).

Meski Sri tidak bekerja, namun Paijo menganggap

the husband's wealth belongs to the wife so financial decisions are made together. In terms of material sacrifices, both partners have the same attitudes and values, so they do not experience any major conflict in practicing such values.

### ***Couples with Wives of Ahmadi Descent and Husbands of Non-Ahmadi Descent***

Couple 4 (Luna and Acong) and Couple 3 (Ajeng and Haryo) who differ in socio-economic terms also actively pay *candah*. Acong works as a shoe repair worker while Haryo is a specialist doctor. Both believe in *candah* as a means of salvation in the world and the hereafter and it does not reduce their fortune.

Husbands who are of non-Ahmadi descent work and earn enough to sacrifice wealth, even more than what is required. Acong is determined to increase their financial sacrifice because they believe this will increase their fortune. Haryo also decided to take part in the *wasiyat* program which obliges Ahmadi who become *Musi* or *Musiah* to sacrifice more wealth than those who do not participate.

In addition, Haryo and Acong also tend to enjoy helping others. Acong is financially responsible for the education of Luna's child from their first husband at a special school for Ahmadiyya Congregation children and bought them a jacket. Haryo also financially helps their sibling and Ajeng's sister.

Apart from this *candah* obligation, decision-making regarding the non-obligatory sacrifice of wealth is in the hands of the husband. From Couple 4, Acong decided to increase the contribution of *takhrikh jaddid* and *waqfi jaddid* even though these are not obligatory. Likewise, Haryo from Couple 3 followed the *wasiyyat* movement and became a *Musi* without asking their wife's permission. However, the wives eventually accepted their husbands' decisions. A summary of the dynamics of marital adjustment between Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi descent is provided in Figure 1.

## **Discussion**

The purpose of this study is to elaborate on the process of marital adjustment between members of the Ahmadiyya Congregation (of Ahmadi descent) who marry

bahwa dalam harta suami terdapat milik istri sehingga keputusan keuangan pun diambil bersama. Dalam hal pengorbanan harta, kedua pasangan memiliki sikap dan nilai yang sama sehingga mereka tidak mengalami konflik yang berarti ketika menjalaninya.

### ***Pasangan Istri Keturunan Ahmadi (IKA) dan Suami Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi (SBKA)***

Pasangan 4 (Luna dan Acong) serta Pasangan 3 (Ajeng dan Haryo) yang berbeda secara sosial-ekonomi juga aktif membayar *candah*. Acong berprofesi sebagai pekerja reparasi sepatu sedangkan Haryo berprofesi sebagai dokter spesialis. Keduanya meyakini *candah* sebagai pembawa keselamatan dunia dan akhirat dan tidak mengurangi rejeki.

Para suami bukan keturunan Ahmadi (SBKA) bekerja dan berpenghasilan cukup untuk pengorbanan harta, bahkan yang lebih dari yang ditentukan. Acong bertekad meningkatkan pengorbanan harta karena meyakini hal itu dapat meningkatkan rezekinya. Haryo juga memutuskan mengikuti program *wasiyat* yang mewajibkan Ahmadi yang menjadi *Musi* atau *Musiah* mengorbankan harta lebih banyak dibandingkan yang tidak mengikuti.

Sebagai tambahan, Haryo dan Acong juga memiliki kecenderungan suka membantu orang lain. Acong membiayai anak Luna dari suami pertamanya di sekolah khusus anak Jemaat Ahmadiyah dan membelikannya jaket. Haryo juga membantu adiknya sendiri dan juga adik Ajeng secara finansial.

Di luar kewajiban *candah* tersebut, pengambilan keputusan terkait pengorbanan harta yang tidak bersifat wajib ada di tangan suami. Dari Pasangan 4, Acong memutuskan untuk meningkatkan sumbangan *takhrikh jaddid* dan *waqfi jaddid* sekalipun hal itu tidak wajib. Demikian pula Haryo dari Pasangan 3, yang memutuskan mengikuti gerakan *wasiyyat* dan menjadi *Musi* tanpa meminta izin istrinya. Meski demikian, para istri akhirnya menerima keputusan suami mereka. Rangkuman dinamika penyesuaian perkawinan antara keturunan Ahmadi dan bukan keturunan Ahmadi tersedia di Gambar 1.

## **Diskusi**

Tujuan studi ini adalah menjelaskan proses penyesuaian perkawinan antara anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah (keturunan Ahmadi) yang menikahi individu

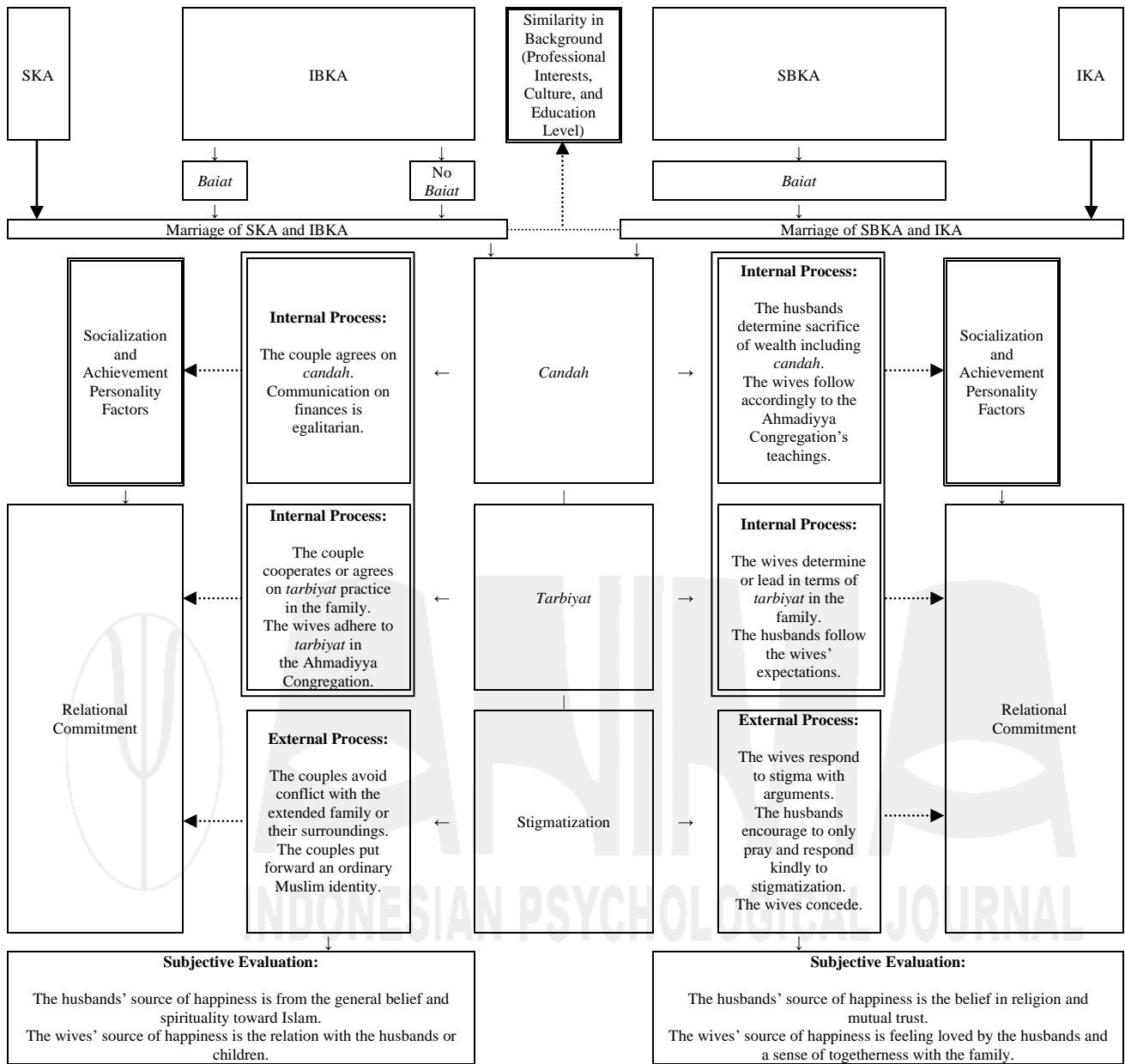


Figure 1. Summary of marital adjustment between Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi descents.

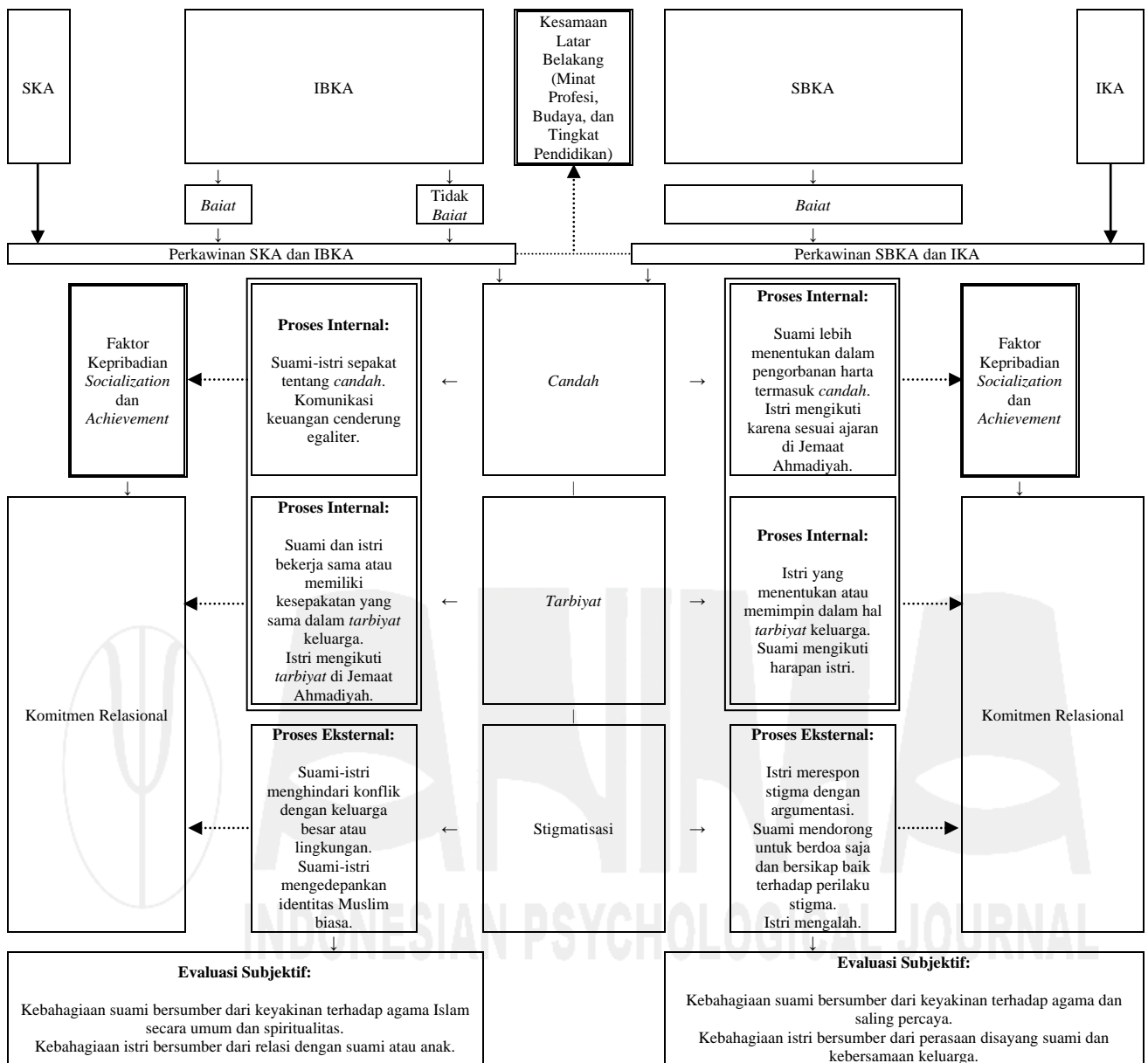
Note. SKA = Husband of Ahmadi descent; SBKA = Husband of non-Ahmadi descent; IKA = Wife of Ahmadi descent; IBKA = Wife of non-Ahmadi descent; Arrow with straight line = Process; Arrow with dotted line = Affecting factor.

individuals who are of non-Ahmadi descent. Based on the cross-case synthesis of the two types of couples, the adjustment of the four husband and wife couples occurs internally (between husband and wife) and externally (husband and wife couple with extended family or other people).

Internal processes involve intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects between the husband and wife. The couple's external process involves intrapersonal and inter-

personal aspects between husband and wife. External processes involve intrapersonal and interpersonal aspects between husband and wife. The couple's external process involves intrapersonal and inter-

personal aspects between husband and wife. The couple's external process involves intrapersonal and inter-



**Gambar 1.** Rangkuman penyesuaian perkawinan pasangan keturunan dan bukan keturunan Ahmadi.

*Catatan.* SKA = Suami Keturunan Ahmadi; SBKA = Suami Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi; IKA = Istri Keturunan Ahmadi; IBKA = Istri Bukan Keturunan Ahmadi; Panah bergaris lurus = Proses; Panah bergaris putus-putus = Faktor yang memengaruhi.

personal aspects with the extended family, the Ahmadiyya Congregation organization, and other parties outside the two. One example is the stigmatization that comes from extended family and neighbors. Personality factors (socialization or agreeableness and achievement or conscientiousness) are intrapersonal aspects that play a role in the formation of interpersonal aspects of spouses. The nature of conceding, maintaining harmony, and being prosocial behavior characterizes the personality of socialization or

dengan keluarga besar, organisasi Jemaat Ahmadiyah, maupun pihak lain di luar keduanya. Salah satu contohnya yaitu stigmatisasi yang bersumber dari keluarga besar maupun tetangga sekitar pasangan. Faktor kepribadian (*socialization* atau *agreeableness* dan *achievement* atau *conscientiousness*) merupakan aspek intrapersonal yang berperan dalam pembentukan aspek interpersonal suami-istri. Sifat mengalah, menjaga harmoni, serta prososial mencirikan kepribadian *socialization* atau *agreeableness*. Sedangkan ketekunan,



agreeableness. Meanwhile, persistence, goal-orientation, hard-working, controlling, and self-organization characterize an achievement-oriented personality. Both types of personality factors play a role when spouses respond to external and internal processes.

Amongst couples whose husbands are of Ahmadi descent and the wives are of non-Ahmadi descent, personality factors along with similar backgrounds of interest and profession play a role in forming cooperation and support to one another in terms of *tarbiyat* (education) and *candah* (donation). The husbands tend to take the lead in terms of family religious education (*tarbiyat*) and family (achievement), but is also tolerant of their wives' extended family members who have different beliefs (socialization). The wives also tends to follow their husbands' attitude in terms of *tarbiyat* and *candah* for the sake of harmony (socialization) or because of compatibility in ways of thinking. An example is the decision of Couple 1 (Adi and Yanti) to follow the *tarbiyat* of mainstream Islam rather than that of the Ahmadiyya Congregation.

The marriage adjustment process for couples with wives who are of Ahmadi descent and husbands who are of non-Ahmadi descent are slightly different. Internally, the wives hold control regarding religious education in the family. They also encourage and help their husbands improve their abilities in religious practices so that they can become leaders in religion, according to their religious beliefs, which their husbands follow. On the other hand, the wives also accept the shortcomings of their husbands in terms of *tarbiyat* when it comes to their occupation. The attitude of these couples characterizes the socialization and achievement personality factors.

Socialization personality factors also appear in the form of the husbands' prosocial behavior who are of non-Ahmadi descent. In terms of finances, this personality is followed by a dominant tendency. They decided on what form of financial sacrifice to follow. They also donate to other parties outside the Ahmadiyya Congregation, although sometimes without the wives' approval. However, the wives finally agreed to this because of the belief that the husband is the leader.

Overall, three out of four couples tend to avoid discussing Ahmadiyya with their wife's or husband's extended family, because they fear it would result in conflict. This behavior also shows that a problem-

berorientasi tujuan, kerja keras, kontrol, dan pengorganisasian diri mencirikan kepribadian *achievement*. Kedua macam faktor kepribadian tersebut berperan ketika suami-istri merespon proses eksternal dan internal.

Pada pasangan suami keturunan Ahmadi (SKA) dan istri bukan keturunan Ahmadi (IBKA), faktor kepribadian yang disertai kesamaan latar belakang minat serta profesi berperan membentuk kerjasama dan saling mendukung suami istri dalam hal *tarbiyat* dan *candah*. Pihak suami cenderung memimpin dalam hal pendidikan keagamaan (*tarbiyat*) keluarga (*achievement*), namun juga toleran terhadap anggota keluarga besar istrinya yang berbeda keyakinan (*socialization*). Pihak istri juga cenderung mengikuti sikap suami dalam hal *tarbiyat* dan *candah* demi harmoni (*socialization*) atau karena keselarasan pemikiran. Sebagai contoh adalah keputusan Pasangan 1 (Adi dan Yanti) untuk cenderung mengikuti *tarbiyat* dari Islam arus utama (atau mayoritas) daripada dari Jemaat Ahmadiyah.

Proses penyesuaian perkawinan pada pasangan istri keturunan Ahmadi (IKA) dan suami bukan keturunan Ahmadi (SBKA) sedikit berbeda. Secara internal, para istri memegang kendali mengenai pendidikan keagamaan di keluarga. Mereka juga mendorong dan membantu para suami mereka meningkatkan kemampuan di bidang keagamaan agar dapat menjadi pemimpin dalam agama, sesuai keyakinan agama, yang dituruti oleh para suami mereka. Di sisi lain, para istri juga menerima kekurangan suami dalam hal *tarbiyat* jika terkait kesibukan pekerjaan. Sikap suami istri tersebut mencirikan faktor kepribadian *socialization* dan *achievement*.

Faktor kepribadian *socialization* juga muncul dalam bentuk perilaku prososial para suami bukan keturunan Ahmadi (SBKA). Dalam hal keuangan, kepribadian tersebut diikuti kecenderungan dominan. Mereka mengambil keputusan mengenai bentuk pengorbanan harta yang diikuti. Bahkan, mereka juga menyumbang pihak lain di luar Jemaat Ahmadiyah, meski kadang tidak didahului persetujuan pihak istri. Namun, para istri akhirnya menyetujui hal tersebut karena keyakinan bahwa suami adalah pemimpin.

Secara keseluruhan, tiga dari empat pasangan cenderung menghindari topik pembicaraan tentang Ahmadiyah dengan keluarga besar istri atau suami, karena dikhawatirkan dapat memicu konflik terbuka.

solving strategy of avoiding is still common among married couples in Java (Andayani, 2001). The behavior of minimalizing conflict, avoiding arguments, and becoming ignorant can also portray efforts to manage harmony (Lestari et al., 2013). Jawad and Elmali-Karakaya (2020) also reveal conflict avoidance behavior in couples who come from different beliefs. Avoiding conflict is also carried out by members of congregations by harmonizing identities (Connley, 2016). This is a characteristic of socialization personality factors (da Costa & Mosmann, 2021).

The behavior of a husband or wife who concedes, maintains harmony, and is prosocial characterizes socialization or agreeableness personality factors. Socialization or agreeableness personality factors are characterized by kindness, generosity, delicacy in dealing with others, friendliness, liking harmony, and altruism (Noronha et al., 2015). Meanwhile, behavior that shows persistence to work hard, such as earning a living, teaching religion, and fulfilling *candah* obligations are characteristics of achievement or conscientiousness personality factors (Noronha et al., 2015).

The socialization personality factor encourages the four couples to accept the different background beliefs of their respective husbands or wives which impacts their marital adjustment (da Costa & Mosmann, 2021). An example is following the wishes of the husband or wife and extended family to become Ahmadi, and helping their extended family members. This creates satisfaction for the couples (da Costa & Mosmann, 2021) as it may enhance a sense of closeness with the extended family. Meanwhile, the personality factor of achievement (da Costa & Mosmann, 2021) has encouraged a number of these couples to fulfill their obligations as Ahmadi.

This study confirms that the intrapersonal aspect in the form of personality factors (socialization and achievement; da Costa & Mosmann, 2021) forms the interpersonal aspect, namely commitment to relationships (Mitchell et al., 2015) which influences the adjustment or adaptation process of spouses. Relational commitment forms consensus in facing various challenges, including financial or *candah* matters. Consensus on finances promotes open communication which leads to marital satisfaction, according to the findings of Cenci et al. (2018). This is in accordance to

Perilaku ini juga menunjukkan strategi penyelesaian masalah dengan cara menghindar (*avoidance*) masih umum di kalangan suami-istri di Jawa (Andayani, 2001). Perilaku meminimalisir konflik, menghindari pertikaian, menghindari argumen, dan menjadi *ignorant* juga dapat menggambarkan upaya untuk mempertahankan harmoni (Lestari et al., 2013). Jawad dan Elmali-Karakaya (2020) juga mengungkap perilaku menghindari konflik pada pasangan yang berasal dari keyakinan yang berbeda. Menghindari konflik juga dilakukan anggota jemaat dengan harmonisasi identitas (Connley, 2016). Hal tersebut merupakan ciri faktor kepribadian *socialization* (da Costa & Mosmann, 2021).

Perilaku suami atau istri yang mengalah, menjaga harmoni, serta prososial mencirikan faktor kepribadian *socialization* atau *agreeableness*. Faktor kepribadian *socialization* atau *agreeableness* dicirikan dengan kebaikan hati, kedermawanan, kehalusan dalam menghadapi orang lain, ramah, menyukai harmoni, dan altruistik (Noronha et al., 2015). Sedangkan perilaku yang menunjukkan ketekunan untuk bekerja keras seperti mencari nafkah, mengajarkan agama, dan memenuhi kewajiban *candah* merupakan ciri faktor kepribadian *achievement* atau *conscientiousness* (Noronha et al., 2015).

Faktor kepribadian *socialization* mendorong keempat pasangan menerima perbedaan latar belakang keyakinan suami atau istri masing-masing yang berdampak pada penyesuaian perkawinan (da Costa & Mosmann, 2021). Sebagai contoh adalah dengan mengikuti harapan suami atau istri dan keluarga besar menjadi Ahmadi, serta membantu anggota keluarga besar. Hal tersebut menimbulkan kepuasan bagi pasangan (da Costa & Mosmann, 2021) karena dapat meningkatkan kedekatan dengan keluarga besar. Sedangkan faktor kepribadian *achievement* (da Costa & Mosmann, 2021) mendorong sejumlah pasangan ini untuk memenuhi kewajiban mereka sebagai Ahmadi.

Studi ini menegaskan bahwa aspek intrapersonal berupa faktor kepribadian (*socialization* dan *achievement*; da Costa & Mosmann, 2021) membentuk aspek interpersonal, yaitu komitmen terhadap relasi (Mitchell et al., 2015) yang memengaruhi penyesuaian atau proses adaptasi pasangan. Komitmen relasional membentuk konsensus dalam menghadapi berbagai tantangan, termasuk soal keuangan atau *candah*. Konsensus dalam hal keuangan mendorong keterbukaan komunikasi yang menyebabkan kepuasan perkawinan, sesuai temuan Cenci et al. (2018). Hasil ini sejalan

the findings of Yuspendi et al. (2015), who states that marriage quality is affected simultaneously by adult attachments and personality characteristics. Relational commitment allows husbands and wives to understand each other and compromise on their partners' weaknesses in religious matters - both internally and when facing stigma from external sources.

### Study Shortcomings and Limitations

This study has several shortcomings and limitations. Firstly, there is a lack of couples who are members of the congregation that are in the process of getting divorced. As a result, information regarding the dynamics of spousal adjustment becomes less comprehensive. Secondly, this study only includes a sample of participants in Yogyakarta and has not covered other areas with frequent incidents of violence and discrimination, so the impact of stigmatization is strongly suspected to be felt more by spousal members of the Ahmadiyya Congregation. Thirdly, this study did not collect data from informants who were in direct conflict with participants, so not all stigma was confirmed because the authors did not obtain direct contact with the parties conflicting with the participants. The authors managed this by obtaining supporting information from parties who witnessed the conflict. Fourthly, the COVID-19 pandemic prolonged the data collection time, as one couple had to undergo independent isolation, so the authors were unable to visit the couple temporarily. Lastly, as all couples had different characteristics, the depth of information obtained from each couple also differed.

### Conclusion

This study concludes that the marital adjustment process for couples of the Ahmadiyya Congregation of Ahmadi descent and those who are of non-Ahmadi descent face various challenges, one of which stems from the stigma against the Ahmadiyya Congregation. The socialization personality factor encourages the couples' adaptation in terms of worship and *tarbiyat*, financial management including the sacrifice of wealth, to dealing with the stigmatization of the Ahmadiyya Congregation.

Wives and husbands of Ahmadi descent and non-Ahmadi descent prioritize relational commitment that is rooted in the socialization and achievement personality factors. Socialization personality factors encourage each

dengan temuan dari Yuspendi et al. (2015), yang menyatakan bahwa kualitas pernikahan dipengaruhi secara bersamaan oleh kelekatan dewasa dan ciri kepribadian. Komitmen relasional menyebabkan suami-istri dapat saling memahami dan berkompromi dengan kelemahan pasangan mereka dalam hal keagamaan - baik secara internal maupun ketika menghadapi stigma yang bersumber dari pihak eksternal.

### Kelemahan dan Keterbatasan Studi

Studi ini memiliki sejumlah kelemahan dan keterbatasan. Pertama, kurangnya pasangan anggota jemaat yang sedang proses bercerai. Hal ini berakibat, informasi mengenai dinamika penyesuaian pasangan menjadi kurang menyeluruh. Kedua, studi ini hanya mencakup sampel partisipan di Yogyakarta, dan belum menjangkau wilayah lain dengan insiden kekerasan dan diskriminasi yang kerap terjadi, sehingga dampak stigmatisasi diduga kuat lebih dirasakan oleh pasangan suami-istri Jemaat Ahmadiyah. Ketiga, studi ini tidak mengambil data dari informan yang berkonflik secara langsung dengan partisipan, sehingga tidak semua stigma terkonfirmasi karena penulis tidak memperoleh kontak pihak yang berkonflik secara langsung dengan partisipan. Hal ini diharapkan telah ditanggulangi dengan penulis mendapatkan informasi pendukung dari pihak yang menyaksikan konflik tersebut. Keempat, situasi pandemi *COVID-19* menyebabkan waktu pengambilan data menjadi lebih lama karena sepasang partisipan sempat menjalani isolasi mandiri, sehingga sementara tidak dapat dikunjungi. Terakhir, karakteristik pasangan yang berbeda menyebabkan kedalaman informasi tiap pasangan juga berbeda.

### Simpulan

Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa proses penyesuaian perkawinan pada pasangan anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah keturunan Ahmadi dan bukan keturunan Ahmadi menghadapi berbagai tantangan yang di antaranya bersumber dari stigma terhadap Jemaat Ahmadiyah. Faktor kepribadian *socialization* mendorong adaptasi pasangan dalam hal ibadah dan *tarbiyat*, pengelolaan keuangan termasuk pengorbanan harta, hingga menghadapi stigmatisasi terhadap Jemaat Ahmadiyah.

Para istri dan suami keturunan Ahmadi dan bukan keturunan Ahmadi mementingkan komitmen relasional yang bersumber dari faktor kepribadian *socialization* dan *achievement*. Faktor kepribadian *socialization*

couple to accept and adapt to the conditions of their husband or wife and their respective extended families. Meanwhile, achievement personality factors encourage them to fulfill obligations or important issues for their spouses. The socialization and achievement personality factors influence the formation of relational commitments which play an important role in spousal adjustment. In addition to personality factors, the similarity of background (profession, culture, and level of education) also causes the four couples to be egalitarian and aligned in communication.

The findings of this study showed that the adjustment of couples who come from families with different beliefs and experience stigmatization is determined by relational commitment which comes from socialization and achievement personality factors. Relational commitment has made a number of these couples endure in the face of various challenges including stigma caused by differences in the background beliefs of their respective families.

### Recommendations

This study suggests that future researchers further examine the dynamics of marital adjustment in couples who are members of the Ahmadiyya Community (of Ahmadi descent) who marry non-Ahmadi descent and experience conflicts that lead to separation. For administrators of the Ahmadiyya Congregation, matchmaking facilitated by the Ahmadiyya Congregation must consider personality factors as factors that predict adaptive behavior or adjustments to one another. For those who wish to marry individuals who come from marginalized communities with different beliefs and are stigmatized, it is best to prepare themselves and their extended family so that mutual understanding and acceptance can be internally realized within the couple as well as between the couple and their respective extended families.

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mendorong setiap pasangan menerima dan menyesuaikan diri terhadap kondisi suami atau istri mereka serta keluarga besar masing-masing. Sedangkan, faktor kepribadian *achievement* mendorong mereka memenuhi kewajiban atau hal penting bagi pasangan. Faktor kepribadian *socialization* dan *achievement* tersebut memengaruhi pembentukan komitmen relasional yang berperan penting dalam penyesuaian pasangan. Selain faktor kepribadian, kesamaan latar belakang (profesi, budaya, dan tingkat pendidikan) juga menyebabkan keempat pasangan tersebut untuk cenderung egaliter dan selaras dalam berkomunikasi.

Temuan studi ini membuktikan bahwa penyesuaian pasangan yang berasal dari keluarga yang berbeda keyakinan dan mengalami stigmatisasi, ditentukan oleh komitmen relasional yang bersumber dari faktor kepribadian *socialization* dan *achievement*. Komitmen relasional membuat sejumlah pasangan tersebut bertahan dalam menghadapi berbagai tantangan termasuk stigma yang disebabkan perbedaan latar belakang keyakinan keluarga masing-masing.

### Saran

Studi ini menyarankan bagi peneliti selanjutnya untuk meneliti lebih lanjut mengenai dinamika penyesuaian pada perkawinan pasangan yang melibatkan anggota Jemaat Ahmadiyah (keturunan Ahmadi) yang menikahi pihak bukan keturunan Ahmadi dan mengalami konflik yang menjurus perpisahan. Bagi pengurus Jemaat Ahmadiyah, perjodohan yang difasilitasi oleh Jemaat Ahmadiyah perlu memperhatikan faktor kepribadian sebagai faktor yang memprediksi perilaku adaptasi atau penyesuaian satu sama lain. Bagi mereka yang ingin menikahi individu yang berasal dari komunitas marjinal dengan keyakinan berbeda dan mendapat stigma, sebaiknya mempersiapkan diri dan keluarga besar sehingga terwujud pemahaman dan penerimaan di internal pasangan maupun antara pasangan dengan keluarga besar masing-masing.

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**Conflict of Interest**

All authors declare no conflict of interest in this study.

**Konflik Kepentingan**

Semua penulis menyatakan bahwa tidak ada konflik kepentingan dalam studi ini.

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