

From disrespect to recognition: the state's legal-ethical transformation in ensuring the constitutional rights of Lombok's Ahmadiyah refugees

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This study analyzes forms of discrimination and the transformation of state recognition toward Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok across five basic service rights, namely population administration, education and health, marriage registration, psychosocial services, and adequate housing. It employs Axel Honneth's recognition dimensions integrated with the dimensions of Jasser Auda's *maqāṣid* system. This qualitative study employs in-depth interviews as its primary data source, complemented by national and international legal documents, books, and relevant articles as secondary data. The data were analyzed using reflective thematic analysis. The findings show two main points. First, prior to 2014, there was no form of state recognition of Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok. They lived in displacement without population administration services, without marriage registration, experienced discrimination in education and health services, lacked psychosocial services, and lived in inadequate housing. This situation indicates the absence of recognition across three dimensions: love, right, and solidarity. Second, the transformation of recognition began in 2014 through population administration services, followed by marriage registration in 2015, psychosocial services in 2018, and limited relocation for Ahmadiyah refugees in East Lombok in 2021. This transformation marks a shift from Honneth's linear assumption, as recognition began through structural state policies that restored self-respect, fostered self-esteem, and built self-confidence. This transformation also reflects an ethical shift toward public policy informed by *maqāṣid al-shari'ah*, which this study conceptualizes as *recognition of maqāṣid*. While this study contributes to broadening the horizons of recognition theory and *maqāṣid al-shari'ah* in the context of religious minorities, further research is needed because the study locus is limited to Lombok.

Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis bentuk diskriminasi dan transformasi pengakuan negara terhadap pengungsi Ahmadiyah Lombok, dalam lima hak layanan dasar, yaitu administrasi kependudukan, pendidikan dan kesehatan, pencatatan perkawinan, layanan psikososial, dan hunian layak. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan dimensi rekognisi Axel Honneth yang diintegrasikan dengan dimensi sistem *maqāṣid* Jasser Auda. Penelitian kualitatif ini, menggunakan wawancara mendalam sebagai data primer dan dokumen hukum nasional, internasional, buku, dan artikel relevan sebagai data sekunder. Data di analisis menggunakan metode *tematik reflektif*. Hasil menunjukkan dua hal. *Pertama*, sebelum tahun 2014 tidak terdapat bentuk *rekognisi* negara terhadap pengungsi Ahmadiyah Lombok. Pengungsi Ahmadiyah Lombok hidup di pengungsian tanpa layanan administrasi kependudukan, tanpa pencatatan perkawinan, diskriminasi layanan pendidikan dan kesehatan, tanpa layanan *psikososial* dan hidup di tempat tinggal yang tidak layak. Situasi ini menunjukkan tidak adanya pengakuan terhadap pengungsi Ahmadiyah Lombok dalam tiga dimensi yakni *love*, *right* dan *solidarity*. *Kedua*, transformasi pengakuan dimulai negara pada 2014 melalui layanan administrasi kependudukan, pencatatan perkawinan tahun 2015, layanan *psikososial* tahun 2018 dan relokasi terbatas untuk pengungsi Ahmadiyah Lombok Timur tahun 2021. Transformasi negara tersebut memperlihatkan pergeseran dari asumsi *linear* Honneth. Dimana, *rekognisi* justru dimulai dari kebijakan struktural negara dengan memulihkan *self respect* yang menumbuhkan *self esteem* dan membangun *self confidence*. Transformasi pengakuan negara tersebut juga mencerminkan pergeseran *etis* menuju kebijakan publik yang berdimensi *maqāṣid al-Syari'ah* dan dalam penelitian ini penulis sebut sebagai *rekognisi maqāṣidi*. Meskipun penelitian ini berkontribusi dalam memperluas *horizon*

teori rekognisi dan *maqasid al-Syari'ah* pada konteks minoritas agama. Studi lanjutan di perlukan mengingat *locus* penelitian terbatas hanya di Lombok.

Keywords: *Ahmadiyah refugees; constitutional rights; discrimination; recognition; state transformation.*

Introduction

Amid Indonesia's often-celebrated landscape of diversity (*Human Rights Watch*, 2013), a prolonged tragedy remains hidden: Ahmadiyah refugees on the island of Lombok, Indonesia—a community that for more than two decades has lived in displacement without legal certainty and state protection (Wahab & Fakhruddin, 2019; Anshori & Abdurrahman, 2024). Field data show that since the expulsion in 2006 (Budiwanti, 2012; Lathifah, 2022), 127 people from 37 households in the Transito Mataram shelter and 23 people in the former Praya General Hospital have lived without population administration documents, which has prevented them from accessing employment, opening bank accounts, or receiving social assistance (Sahidin, 2022). In 2014, six refugee children were denied enrollment at a public elementary school (*SDN 42*) in Mataram, Lombok, and faced discriminatory treatment from teachers and peers (Nusrat, 2022). In addition, until 2015, not a single refugee couple had an officially registered marriage, causing many children to lose their right to obtain birth certificates. They also lacked health services and social security provided by the state (Munawarah, 2022). The state's neglect in providing psychosocial services has left many refugees experiencing prolonged trauma without assistance.

These field realities indicate that violations of Ahmadiyah refugees' basic rights are not merely administrative problems, but part of structured exclusion. They have lost five basic services: population administration, education and health, marriage registration, and adequate housing. This indicates that the state has not carried out its cognitive function as mandated by Articles 28A–28I of the 1945 Constitution (*UUD 1945*). Denial of access and neglect of rights are not simply bureaucratic dysfunction; they constitute state disrespect toward human dignity and the constitutional rights of its citizens. These realities also show that discrimination against Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok is not an anomaly, but part of an entrenched structure of injustice that negates the principle of civic equality within a national polity that should be inclusive and moderate (Budiwanti & Eidhamar, 2024; Qodir

et al., 2023; Irawati & Da Silva, 2025).

This prolonged discrimination does not stand alone; it is rooted in state policy configurations that favor the majority and structurally reproduce discrimination. This study is a critical response to the paradox of Indonesia's rule-of-law state. Normatively, the state guarantees equality and the protection of human rights. In practice, however, the state has played an active role in reproducing structural injustice (Hafner, Burton & Tsutsui, 2007; Collins et al., 2021) the actual number of HF hospitalizations remains >1 million annually. More than 80% of patients who are hospitalized are initially seen in the emergency department (ED; Miswar & Baginda, 2025; Mahajan, 2021).

This inequality is visible in discriminatory policies (Mahardhika, 2023; Ahyar, 2015; Pramai et al., 2023) such as the 2008 Joint Ministerial Decree of Three Ministers (*SKB Tiga Menteri*), the West Lombok Regent Decree No. 35/2001, and the East Lombok Regent Circular Letter No. 045.2/134/KUM/2002. These measures have intensified structural harm and prolonged the alienation of Ahmadiyah citizens in displacement (Budiwanti, 2012). In other words, the state has not acted as a neutral institution, but as a producer of inequality through exclusionary regulation, reinforced by religious *fatwa* issued by the Indonesian Ulema Council (*MUI*) (MUI, 2005; Alnizar et al., 2023; Wahyudi, 2020; Gaffar, 2013).

These policies show that state disrespect is closely related to injustice against its citizens. Practices of expulsion and denial of public services are not only violations of constitutional rights; they also reflect the state's structural failure to fulfill the recognition dimensions articulated by Honneth: love, right, and solidarity (El Guyanie & Baskoro, 2021; Wahab & Fakhruddin, 2019; Noor et al., 2013). Similar situations have occurred in South Africa and Iraq, where formal recognition without a strong judicial system produces only an illusion of justice (Guelke, 2014; Al-Billeh et al., 2024). Therefore, the integrative approach proposed in this study—combining the recognition perspective (Honneth, 2004; Zein et al., 2025) and the *maqāṣid* perspective (Auda, 2007; Umami & Ghofur, 2022; Sunaryo & Fahmi, 2024)—is needed as a theoretical framework that not only explains discrimination, but also offers a pathway for ethical restoration while uncovering the roots of the inequalities experienced by Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok.

Nevertheless, in 2013, an initial milestone in the transformation of state policy toward refugees became visible, marking a shift from structural neglect to limited administrative recognition. This early turning point was marked by the issuance of the electronic National Identity Card (e-KTP), followed by the acceptance of Ahmadiyah children in several public schools, despite earlier instances of discrimination. Other affirmative measures included population administration services in 2014, marriage registration in 2015, social assistance in 2019, and relocation to adequate (permanent) housing chosen by the refugees themselves (FGD, 2022).

Previous studies have indeed examined discrimination against the Ahmadiyah community using various approaches, but none have offered a transformative normative-ethical approach. For example, the Setara Institute reported that during 2007–2022, there were 591 cases of violations of religious freedom against the Ahmadiyah community, followed by 437 cases against Christians (Hasan et al., 2023). Other authors also argue that Indonesia's religious pluralism is often compromised by assimilation demands from majority groups, producing distorted values, systemic discrimination, and favoritism policies toward dominant identities (Soedirgo, 2018; Muntaqo et al., 2025; Fuqoha et al., 2024).

Budiwanti's ethnographic study effectively shows how exclusionary mechanisms against Ahmadiyah have evolved from theological conflict into an institutionalized social structure (Budiwanti & Eidhamar, 2024; Nggilu et al., 2024). However, the study stops at the descriptive level within an anthropological approach. Meanwhile, juridical studies by Asriyani and Qodir as well as Zainul Mun'im, although successful in identifying the paradox of state policy trapped between constitutional guarantees and majoritarian political pressures (Asriyani & Qodir, 2016; Arifin et al., 2025), have not addressed the philosophical roots of recognition and the rights of Ahmadiyah refugees as individuals, as social entities, and as legitimate and believing citizens.

Furthermore, several researchers have unpacked the complexity of identity politics that exploits the Ahmadiyah issue for electoral interests and power consolidation. They convincingly show how the Ahmadiyah community becomes a site of symbolic struggle in contemporary political contestation at both local and national levels (Inasshabihah, 2020; Alnizar et al., 2023; Taufiqurrohman et al., 2024). This literature has mapped the

landscape of discrimination in a fragmentary way, but has not offered an integrative and transformative analytical framework.

Therefore, this study seeks to move beyond discussions of discrimination toward a cognitive and normative reading grounded in *maqāṣid*. It employs a critical analytical framework that integrates Axel Honneth's recognition theory with Jasser Auda's *maqāṣid* system. This epistemological synergy enables a dialectical reading of practices of state disrespect against Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok as a multidimensional phenomenon that goes beyond constitutional violations and instead reflects the state's absence in ensuring the fulfillment of its citizens' rights. The analysis employs an integrative approach that combines Honneth's recognition dimensions with Auda's *maqāṣid* system dimensions, resulting in an evaluative framework capable of tracing the structural and moral inequalities in public policy that hinder the realization of *al-maṣlahah al-‘āmmah* within Indonesia's rule-of-law framework.

Method

This study is qualitative research using a case study approach that combines positive law analysis, a sociological approach, and empirical facts from the research site (Chowdhury & Shil, 2021). The study focuses on evaluating and tracing the transformation of state policies in fulfilling the constitutional rights of Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok, Indonesia. The research sites include Mataram City, Central Lombok Regency, and East Lombok Regency, which, since 2002, have been the main centers of Ahmadiyah displacement. Fieldwork was conducted over the course of one year, from January to December 2022. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and legal documentation review. In total, there were 11 key informants, consisting of five Ahmadiyah administrators and *muballigh*, seven Ahmadiyah refugees from Mataram City, Central Lombok, and East Lombok, and three civil society activists from the Nahdlatul Ulama Institute for Human Resource Studies and Development (*Lakpesdam NU*) and the West Nusa Tenggara Community Welfare Development Foundation (*YPKM NTB*) who were involved in advocacy for refugees' rights.

The legal documentation data show a sharp contradiction between legal norms that guarantee freedom of religion and administrative practices that restrict that right.

Normatively, protection of human rights and freedom of religion is guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution (*UUD 1945*), Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights, Law No. 23 of 2006 on Population Administration, and international instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which Indonesia ratified through Law No. 12 of 2005. However, in West Nusa Tenggara, especially Lombok, the state has shown a pattern of systematic restriction through several local policies, including the West Lombok Regent Decree No. 35/2001, the East Lombok Regent Circular Letter No. 045.2/134/KUM/2002, and the West Nusa Tenggara Governor's Letter No. KW.19.1/4/HU.00/1353/2006. These policies later gained stronger legitimacy following the issuance of the 2008 Joint Ministerial Decree of Three Ministers (*SKB Tiga Menteri*).

The data were analyzed using the reflective thematic analysis method developed by Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, which provides a systematic framework for identifying, analyzing, and interpreting patterns of meaning (themes) in empirical data. According to Braun and Clarke, thematic analysis is flexible and enables researchers to connect empirical experiences to specific theoretical frameworks through coding, theme development, and interpretation. In its reflective version (reflective thematic analysis), the analysis does not stop at data categorization; it emphasizes the researcher's role as a reflective subject who consciously interprets data based on the epistemological position and values underpinning the study (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Evaluation of access to basic services and the transformation of state recognition

Access to five basic services serves as the indicator used in this study to evaluate state recognition of Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok. This indicator is grounded in national law and international human rights principles (UUD RI, 1945; Robina et al., 2020; Hariyanto et al., 2024). The five basic service rights are the right to population administration, education and health, psychosocial services, marriage registration, and adequate housing (UUD RI, 1945; UU No. 39, 1999; UU RI No. 23, 2006; UU No. 20, 2003; UU No. 20, 2003; Pramai et al., 2023). Under international law, these rights are guaranteed through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant on Economic,

Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (Mukharrom & Abdi, 2023; Howie, 2018; Mulyo et al., 2025). Accordingly, fulfillment of these five basic services reflects the extent to which the state carries out its constitutional obligations and global commitments to ensure citizens' dignity and equality without discrimination on the basis of belief (Karp, 2025; Purnomo et al., 2023; Panjaitan et al., 2024).

Evaluation of state recognition of the right to access basic services

The discussion of Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok departs from the view that the fulfillment of citizens' basic rights is the most tangible measure of the state's presence. These basic rights reflect the extent to which the state carries out its constitutional responsibilities. In other words, the state's capacity to provide basic services is an important indicator in ensuring recognition of every citizen's rights and dignity. In the context of Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok, the right to basic services covering the five elements above does not merely represent administrative needs, but also serves as a key indicator of state recognition of the refugees' existence as legitimate legal subjects (El Guyanie & Baskoro, 2021).

First, population administration services. Since 2002, Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok—127 people from 37 households in the Transito Mataram shelter (51 women, 41 men, and 35 children)—have lived in displacement. There are also refugees at the former Praya General Hospital in Central Lombok, comprising 23 people from 7 households. They have experienced legal identity uncertainty due to the absence of population administration documents such as the National Identity Card (*KTP*), the Family Card (*KK*), and the Child Identity Card (*KIA*) (Jayadi, 2022; Suandi, 2022; Sahidin, 2022; Faruq, 2021).

This situation reflects state disrespect toward the legal existence of Ahmadiyah refugees, contrary to Article 28D paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution (*UUD 1945*) and Article 16 of the ICCPR. Although Indonesia has ratified the ICCPR through Law No. 12 of 2005, administrative recognition of these refugees remains partial and sporadic. Within Honneth's recognition framework, this indicates denial of the right dimension (self-respect), as the state neglects to guarantee the civil dignity of its citizens (Deranty, 2022; Kretz, 2022; Guadalupe et al., 2023; Piroddi, 2022). As a result, this administrative exclusion has systemic impacts on access to basic services and on the citizenship legitimacy

of Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok (ICCPR, 1976; Mahajan, 2021; Howie, 2018; Hafner, Burton and Tsutsui, 2007).

Second, education and health services for women and children among Ahmadiyah refugees in Mataram reflect social exclusion institutionalized through discriminatory bureaucracy. The rejection of six Ahmadiyah refugee children from enrolling at SDN 42 Mataram in 2014 shows that educational spaces can become tools for repressing religious identity (Sahidin, 2022; Insani et al., 2024; Aslati et al., 2024). Beyond administrative rejection, they also experienced discriminatory treatment from teachers who treated them differently. Anggun Nusrat, who has lived in Transito since childhood, also described her experience in elementary school: because she was an Ahmadiyah child, she was frequently bullied by classmates, and teachers treated her differently as well (Nusrat, 2022; Zuhriah et al., 2024). Furthermore, the state failed to provide social protection such as the Indonesia Smart Card (*KIP*), the Indonesia Health Card (*KIS*), and the Social Security Administration Agency (*BPJS*) for Ahmadiyah refugee children (Lisma & Nikmah, 2021). Sahidin notes that in 2014 around 24 children did not have birth certificates, *KIP*, or *KIS* because they were not given equal access to obtain these documents (Sahidin, 2022).

From the perspective of international conventions, these practices deviate from Articles 18, 24, and 26 of the ICCPR and General Comment No. 15 on minority rights to education and social security. Likewise, constitutionally, this contradicts Articles 28B, 28C, 28H, and 28I of the 1945 Constitution (*UUD 1945*) as well as the Child Protection Law and the Human Rights Law (UU RI, 1945; UN. CRC, 2013). In Honneth's perspective, this represents the collapse of self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem simultaneously due to the state's failure to perform its ethical role as a protector of citizens (Stensen, 2024; Hasbi et al., 2025; Zaidah & Abdullah, 2024).

Third, marriage registration services. The absence of this service for Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok reflects fundamental administrative exclusion and state disrespect in ensuring citizens' constitutional rights in full (Sukataman et al., 2025; Sulistyowati et al., 2023; Arifin et al., 2025). Constitutionally, the absence of marriage registration services prior to 2015 for Ahmadiyah refugees normatively contradicts Article 28B paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution (*UUD 1945*) and Article 23 of the ICCPR, which guarantee the

right to form a family without religious discrimination (UUD RI, 1945; ICCPR, 1976; CRC, 1976). Constitutional Court Decision No. 97/PUU-XIV/2016 provides legal space for the administrative recognition of belief groups, but implementation remains constrained by local bureaucracy and cultural resistance. In this context, recognition is important to emphasize that civil rights such as marriage registration cannot be separated from the restoration of citizens' spiritual, social, and legal dignity as a whole (Mun'im, 2022; Wahyudi, 2020; Umairoh et al., 2025).

In an interview, Khairudin and Saleh Ahmadi stated that between 2007 and 2022, 12 Ahmadiyah refugee couples married in Transito Mataram. Since 2015, seven refugee couples have married in the presence of a marriage registrar (*Penghulu*) from the Office of Religious Affairs (*KUA*) Pejanggik, who then registered their marriages. However, before 2015, as Khairudin emphasized, Ahmadiyah refugee marriages were never officially registered because they did not have *KTP* documents. Saleh Ahmadi also noted that marriage registration was denied because they were considered a group outside Islam, in line with the *MUI fatwa* (Khaerudin, 2022; Ahmadi, 2022; Wibowo & Fathiyaturrahmah, 2025).

The absence of marriage registration services for Ahmadiyah refugees, grounded in the stigma that they are not part of Islam (MUI, 2005; Apipuddin et al., 2023), has serious legal implications, including the absence of legal status for spouses, uncertainty regarding children's status, and barriers to inheritance rights. This condition indicates the state's failure to fulfill the right dimension (self-respect) in Honneth's framework, in which legal recognition serves as the basis for respect for human dignity (Honneth, 2004; Deranty, 2022; Wernet et al., 2017).

Fourth, psychosocial services. This service is a crucial element in fulfilling the basic rights of Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok, yet the state neglected it for nearly two decades. The state's absence in the form of trauma counseling, group therapy, and psychological support shows state disrespect for the emotional and psychological suffering experienced by refugees due to expulsion, persecution, and religious stigma, and it appears to have been deliberately left unaddressed. Jaelani and Syukur (Ahmadiyah refugees from the former Praya General Hospital in Lombok) stated that they never received counseling or psychosocial services while living in displacement (Jaelani, 2022; Syukur, 2022; Rusydiana

et al., 2022).

Herman (a psychosocial facilitator from *Lakpesdam NU*) also confirmed that Ahmadiyah refugees living in the former Praya General Hospital, totaling nine households, never received psychosocial services during the *Peduli* program. This was due to limitations in the target group, which were also constrained by the program locus, and they also never received such services from the government (Jaelani, 2022; Syukur, 2022; Herman, 2022). The *Peduli* program is a collaborative initiative between *Lakpesdam PBNU*, the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs, and The Asia Foundation to promote social inclusion of vulnerable groups such as Ahmadiyah, Shia, Christians, Chinese Indonesians, and adherents of indigenous beliefs in 13 regions of Indonesia, including Ahmadiyah refugees in Mataram, from 2015 to 2020 (Jayadi, 2022).

Constitutionally, this disrespect contradicts Article 28G of the *UUD 1945*, Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights, and the Child Protection Law No. 35/2014 (UU RI, 1945; UU RI, 1999; UU RI, 2014), as well as Articles 7 and 24 of the *ICCPR*, which guarantee protection from inhumane treatment of vulnerable groups (ICCPR, 1976). General Comment No. 15 (2013) likewise affirms that protection of freedom of religion includes the psychological impacts of discrimination (Lisma and Nikmah, 2021; Child, 2013; Garrett, 2010; Hipni, 2019).

In Honneth's perspective, this condition reflects disrespect that produces an existential crisis and gradually weakens refugees' collective identity (Wernet et al., 2017, while also confirming state disrespect toward the love dimension, namely affective recognition that forms self-confidence. Without trauma counseling and psychological support, refugees lose a sense of safety, self-confidence, and meaning in life. That self-confidence instead grows from internal solidarity—relationships among refugees who support one another and provide a sense of humane acceptance (Cahyo Pamungkas, 2021; Rahayu et al., 2024; Fadhil et al., 2024).

Fifth, adequate housing services. Permanent relocation for Ahmadiyah refugees in Transito Mataram is one benchmark of the state's commitment to human rights, social justice, and recognition of the dignity of vulnerable groups. In fact, for more than two decades, they have lived in uncertainty in temporary shelter locations that are socially

inadequate (FGD, 2022; UNHCR, 1997; Prasetyo et al., 2025). This condition clearly contradicts Indonesian constitutional provisions and international human rights norms. Article 28H, paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution guarantees the right to housing and a decent life, as also affirmed in Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights. At the global level, Article 11 of the CESCR and General Comment No. 7 reject all forms of forced eviction without guarantees of protection and community participation (OHCHR, 1991; UNHCR, 1997; Sukron et al., 2025).

From the perspective of Honneth's recognition theory, the state's inability to provide permanent housing for Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok reflects structural disrespect that weakens the solidarity dimension, namely recognition of the community's social value (Honneth, 2004; OHCHR, 1991; Budiwanti & Eidhamar, 2024). The absence of adequate housing creates a domino effect that hinders social recovery, deepens symbolic alienation, and disrupts participation that is important for the growth of self-esteem and refugees' collective self-confidence.

The evaluation of the five basic services for Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok confirms that prior to 2014 the state neglected to carry out its cognitive function across Honneth's three dimensions of recognition (love, right, and solidarity). The absence of population administration services and marriage registration indicates a neglect of the fundamental right (self-respect), while discrimination in education and health reflects a collapse of self-confidence and self-esteem. The absence of psychosocial support shows discrimination within the love dimension, which should sustain the restoration of dignity and a sense of safety. Meanwhile, uncertainty regarding relocation and adequate housing indicates the fragility of the solidarity dimension.

Transformation of state recognition of the constitutional rights of Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok

The transformation of state recognition toward Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok has not unfolded linearly, as Honneth assumes—beginning with love, moving to the right, and culminating in solidarity. Recognition of this community has instead emerged through structural state intervention via legal policies that restore self-respect, cultivate self-esteem, and strengthen self-confidence. Although recognition remains largely legal-formal and has

not yet produced safety and social acceptance free from stigma, this process underscores that state recognition is not merely a matter of administrative recording, but also of safeguarding and embracing the dignity of its citizens.

The first transformation concerns state recognition in the right dimension, which fosters the self-respect of Ahmadiyah citizens as legitimate individuals and social entities before the law. In Honneth's theory, the right dimension emphasizes state recognition of individuals as equal and dignified legal subjects (Honneth and Bankovsky, 2021). This dimension is crucial because, since 2006, they have faced structural discrimination through the denial of population documents such as the National Identity Card, the Family Card, and the Child Identity Card. This lack of access is not merely an administrative barrier; it constitutes disrespect that delegitimizes their legal existence and diminishes their civic dignity, thereby severing the basis of self-respect.

Sahidin, the head of the Transito Mataram Ahmadiyah refugee community, explained that for more than a decade, they lived without *KTP*; 127 people from 37 *households* lost access to employment, education, and social services such as *KIP* and *BPJS* (Sahidin, 2022; Alnizar et al., 2023). This absence of legal recognition produced social and psychological alienation, because they were not acknowledged, not respected, and had no space to participate in public life. Jayadi (*Lakpesdam NU NTB*) and Sabri Gafur (*JAI NTB*) also acknowledged this discrimination, noting that the lack of legal standing nullified their social, political, and family rights (FGD, 2022).

A turning point emerged in 2013–2014, when population administration services and the issuance of the electronic National Identity Card (*e-KTP*) began, marking a phase of restoring citizens' self-respect (FGD, 2022). This step was reinforced by marriage registration at the Office of Religious Affairs in Mataram in 2016, which clarified the legal status and strengthened family rights. Even so, Jayadi stressed that this administrative recognition has not been systemic. The state still tends to patch legal gaps without building a comprehensive and sustainable system of constitutional protection (Jayadi, 2022). This confirms that the constitutional mandate in Article 28B paragraph (1) and Article 28H of the *UUD 1945*, as well as the *ICCPR* and General Comment No. 22, has not been fully implemented (UUD RI, 1945; UU RI, 1999; UU RI, 2005; *General Assembly*, 1954).

The second dimension, solidarity, became visible in 2021 when the East Lombok Regional Government provided permanent housing to 13 Ahmadiyah refugee households through a grant scheme (Jayadi, 2022). This policy corrected two decades of systemic neglect and marked a form of substantive recognition of the Ahmadiyah community's existence and contribution. The relocation reflects government efforts to treat citizens equally, even though stigma and discrimination against freedom of religion persist (Ismail, 2022; Sucipto, 2022). However, this recognition remains partial because it does not cover refugees in Transito Mataram and the former Praya General Hospital, who still live without secure housing (Munawarah, 2022; Jaelani, 2022).

Studies and civil society advocacy by organizations such as *Lakpesdam NU* and *YPKM NTB* emphasize that the Ahmadiyah community's social resilience rests on internal solidarity and shared hardship in displacement (Pamungkas, 2021; Sharp, 2024s). Through community forums and intensive accompaniment, these organizations help refugees build social networks with surrounding communities and strengthen the community's advocacy capacity (Jayadi, 2022; Herman, 2022; Jamhur, 2022). However, according to Honneth (2004), internal solidarity alone is insufficient to cultivate self-esteem (Honneth, 2004). External recognition from the majority community and public institutions remains necessary for the community's self-confidence to grow firmly. Without equal access to participation, they remain trapped in structural discrimination that constrains recognition.

The third dimension, love, emerges when state recognition begins to resonate in the domain of affection and more intimate social relations. Post-2014 transformations suggest that Honneth's theory requires re-reading: recognition for Ahmadiyah did not originate from love, as initially theorized, but from the structural right dimension. The state becomes an ethical actor that restores refugees' dignity through concrete policies such as administrative access, education, and relocation (Sharp, 2024; Deranty, 2022).

Nevertheless, the process remains incomplete. The Ahmadiyah communities in Mataram and the former Praya General Hospital have not yet received permanent relocation or psychosocial support to address trauma (Herman, 2022). This uneven implementation reveals weak affirmative policy and the absence of a comprehensive long-term strategy (Guadalupe et al., 2023). This administrative and sporadic model leaves room for the state

to be reduced to a minimal facilitator rather than a transformative agent. In Indonesia's plural context, recognition cannot rest on a culturally homogeneous European theoretical tradition. As Kretz argues, recognition theory must go beyond national boundaries and reread the needs of marginalized communities through an institution-based recognition perspective. Recognition reaches substance only when Ahmadiyah children can attend school without stigma, parents obtain equal basic services, and the community can live safely and with dignity in adequate housing (Kretz, 2022; Wahab & Fakhruddin, 2019).

The post-2014 transformation of legal recognition for the Ahmadiyah community in Lombok shows a close linkage among the right, solidarity, and love dimensions in Honneth's framework. When the state began to recognize refugees through the issuance of population documents, access to public services opened, and legal status was restored. This legal recognition not only restored self-respect as legal subjects but also laid the groundwork for the solidarity dimension—social recognition of refugees' value and contributions as equal citizens, thereby opening up participation and eroding exclusionary stigma. This recognition fosters empathetic relationships that become the foundation for self-confidence in the love dimension. Thus, strong legal recognition by the state acts as a catalyst for social solidarity and the comprehensive restoration of human dignity.

Transformation of recognition in the dimensions of recognition and *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*

The fulfillment of five basic service rights for Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok—population administration, education and health, marriage registration, psychosocial services, and adequate housing—can be examined in depth through the six dimensions of the *maqāṣid* system developed by Jasser Auda (Auda, 2021; Bunyamin et al., 2025). The first dimension, cognition (intellectual awareness), emphasizes that Islamic legal policy must be built on rational awareness and contextual understanding of social realities (Auda in Kamali, 2020; Ayu & Kamsi, 2022). In this context, providing access to population documents for Ahmadiyah refugees constitutes an initial form of institutional recognition that signals the presence of *maqāṣid* awareness in public policy. Within Honneth's framework (2004), this action reflects recognition of self-respect—acknowledging them as legitimate legal subjects (Honneth, 2004; Jamrozi et al., 2022; Kyris, 2022).

The state's cognitive awareness is reflected in the fulfillment of five basic services aligned with the five principles of *maqāṣid al-shari'ah* (Al-Fatih et al., 2021; Bahri, 2022; Sormin and Ali, 2023). Issuing population documents and registering marriages protect *nasl* (lineage). Access to education and health through KIP and BPJS/KIS safeguards *al-'aql* (intellect) and *al-nafs* (life/soul). Psychosocial services restore *al-nafs*, while relocation to permanent housing reflects protection of *al-māl* (property) as well as *al-din* (religion). These interconnections among the *maqāṣid* illustrate Auda's principles of interrelated hierarchies and purposefulness, in which each legal objective supports the others in realizing refugees' rights.

The divine principle in Q.S. Al-Isra' verse 70 “*wa laqad karramnā bani Ādam*” provides a moral foundation that human dignity is universal, without distinction of religion, ethnicity, or race. Relevant to this is the *fiqh* maxim “*mā lā yudraku kulluhu lā yutraku kulluhu*” (what cannot be achieved in full should not be abandoned in full), which affirms a gradual approach to implementing Islamic law. The state must guarantee refugees' constitutional rights even in minimal forms, because structural vulnerability persists. The maxim “*al-ḥukmu yadūru ma'a 'illatibhi wujūdan wa 'adaman*” further confirms that policy must rest on real causes and societal needs, centered on the *'illat* or *raison d'être*—namely, refugees' social emergency and legal vulnerability—and cannot be based on formalistic texts alone (Karim & Islam, 2002; Ekawaty Ismail et al., 2024).

The second dimension, wholeness (integration), stresses that achieving the objectives of the *shari'ah* must be comprehensive and not fragmented (Zuhdi & Nasir, 2024; Purnomo et al., 2023). In the Ahmadiyah context, policy integration means legal protection, social security, and social acceptance must operate simultaneously. Recognizing population documents and registering marriages are not merely administrative matters; they affirm the integrity of family identity as a legal subject (El Guyanie and Baskoro, 2021). This reinforces the *maqāṣid* of *hifz al-nasl* and *maqāṣid al-usrah*, which align with self-esteem in Honneth's theory (Stensen, 2024; Sharp, 2024; Sanuri et al., 2025).

The principle of purposefulness in Auda's system also requires that each policy produce sustainable *maṣlahah* and prevent social inequality (Zuhdi and Nasir, 2024; Fikri & Khamim, 2025). Quran surah At-Tahrīm: 6 affirms the obligation to protect the family from moral

harm, making integrated public policy an ethical necessity. The maxim *al-aslu fi al-insāni al-karāmah* (the original nature of human beings is dignity) strengthens the *maqāṣid* foundation that respects every person's dignity (*karāmat al-insān*). The maxim *al-hukmu 'alā al-shay'i far'un 'an tasawwurihi* teaches that policy must arise from a deep understanding of real conditions, not sectarian bias (Al-Fatih et al., 2021). Thus, wholeness is not only a methodological principle; it is a moral basis for the state to ensure policies that are comprehensive, just, and mutually reinforcing.

The third dimension, openness, emphasizes the importance of policy inclusivity toward social and religious diversity (Robina et al., 2020). The policy of relocating 13 Ahmadiyah refugee households to permanent housing in LLK Selong in 2021 is a concrete example of the state's openness in restoring basic rights to a group that has long been excluded. Q.S. Al-Anbiyā': 107 affirms that the Prophet was sent as *rahmatan lil-'ālamīn*; therefore, *maqāṣid*-based public policy must bring mercy to all people. By providing safe and dignified space, the state simultaneously realizes *bifaz al-nafs* and *bifaz al-māl*.

The maxim *al-aslu fi al-ashya' al-ibāhah illā mā dalla dalil 'alā taḥrīmihī* reinforces that social participation is fundamentally permissible; therefore, legal recognition of Ahmadiyah refugees constitutes legitimate social affirmation. This openness marks a transition from self-respect to self-esteem (Houston, 2016; Ahmad et al., 2025), because it creates space for integration and reciprocal appreciation. Accordingly, openness is not merely passive tolerance; it is a structure of social justice that fosters inclusivity and universal *maslahah* (Purnomo et al., 2023; Alnizar et al., 2023).

The fourth dimension, interrelated hierarchy, shows that all *maqāṣid* are interdependent and operate simultaneously (Auda, 2019). Fulfilling one right, such as the e-KTP, enables access to other rights, such as BPJS, KIP, and permanent relocation. This reflects synergy among *bifaz al-nafs*, *al-'aql*, *al-nasl*, *al-māl*, and *al-dīn* in forming an ecosystem of justice. The maxim *mā lā yatimmu al-wājibū illā bihi fa-huwa wajibūn* (an obligation depends on what completes it) affirms that when one right is neglected, other rights are hindered. Therefore, policy must be vertically and horizontally integrated so discrimination does not recur and access to justice becomes comprehensive. The maxim *al-juz'u lā yatajazzza idhā ta'allqa bihi al-hukm* may also be understood to mean that one constitutional right cannot be separated

from other related constitutional rights.

The final dimensions, multidimensionality and purposefulness, form the core of Auda's *maqāsid* system. Multidimensionality emphasizes that public policy must consider spiritual, social, economic, and psychological dimensions simultaneously (Auda, 2019; Zuhdi and Nasir, 2024). In the Ahmadiyah context, issuing e-KTP, marriage books, and access to education and social security are not merely administrative measures; they represent protection of the entire *maqāsid* framework. However, if policy stops at the legal-formal level without social and emotional recovery, the result is pseudo-recognition—formal recognition without meaning (El Guyanie & Baskoro, 2021; Wijayanti, 2018).

Therefore, purposefulness-based policy must orient toward *maṣlahah ‘āmmah* and the restoration of refugees' dignity. Q.S. Al-Baqarah: 185 and 286 emphasize the principles of *yusr* (ease) and *raḥmah* (compassion), aligning with the maxims *al-masyaqah tajlib al-taysir* and *dar’ al-mafāsid muqaddam ‘alā jall al-masāliḥ*, which stress that the state must facilitate, not burden. This principle ensures that policy truly aims at substantive justice, not merely administrative compliance (Kamali, 2020; Ayu & Kamsi, 2022). Thus, purposefulness becomes the final indicator that state policy genuinely prioritizes public welfare (*maṣlahah ‘āmmah*) and the comprehensive restoration of the human dignity of Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok. Likewise, the Prophet's hadith on compassion for others—*lā yu’minu aḥadukum ḥattā yuḥibba li-akhibi mā yuḥibbu li-naṣiḥi* (reported by al-Bukhari and Muslim)—reinforces that true Islamic justice is comprehensive, compassionate, egalitarian, and mutually supportive toward shared *maṣlahah* for all humanity.

Conclusion

This study finds, first, that prior to 2014, there was no form of state recognition of Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok. For more than a decade after the expulsion in 2002, they lived without population documents and without access to education and health services, and adequate housing. This lack of access to basic services indicates the state's disrespect toward Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok. Second, the transformation of state recognition began in 2014, when the Mataram City Government started to open population administration services, followed by marriage registration by *KUA Pejanggik* in

2015, psychosocial services in 2018, and limited relocation for Ahmadiyah refugees in East Lombok in 2021. Within Honneth's recognition framework, this change marks a shift from disrespect toward legal recognition (right). The findings also differ from Honneth's linear assumption that recognition begins with love, then right, and ends with solidarity. Instead, the findings show that, in the context of Ahmadiyah refugees in Lombok, recognition began from the right dimension. The state did not build recognition through affective relations, but through structural policies that restored the community's self-respect, which in turn became the basis for the growth of self-esteem and self-confidence.

These findings expand Honneth's theory by demonstrating that, in a modern state with a history of religious discrimination, recognition does not always emerge from interpersonal relations, but can also arise from state institutional policies. This model forms what the author calls *rekognisi maqāṣidi*, namely an integration between the ethics of recognition and the systemic principles of *maqāṣid al-shari'ah*. Thus, through its legal authority, the state appears as an ethical actor capable of fostering solidarity and love in a structural sense. This pattern aligns with Jasser Auda's *maqāṣid* system, whose six dimensions—cognition, wholeness, openness, interrelated hierarchy, multidimensionality, and purposefulness—emphasize that legal policy must be systemically interconnected to restore citizens' rights. However, this study is limited to three main locations in Lombok and has not explored the role of other elements; therefore, further research is needed for a more comprehensive analysis.

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