



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Se-Eropa : identity, encouragement for giving, and network, 1971-2009

Sujadi,

Citation

Sujadi,. (2017, June 29). *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Se-Eropa : identity, encouragement for giving, and network, 1971-2009*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/50645>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/50645>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/50645> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Sujadi

Title: Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Se-Eropa : identity, encouragement for giving, and network, 1971-2009

Issue Date: 2017-06-29



Leading Figures of PPME Amsterdam



Dutch Leading Figures of PPME the Netherlands
in Its Fortieth Anniversary



Music Groups of PPME the Netherlands



Salafi Ustadhs Invited by PPME Amsterdam:
Abu Haedar and Khoirul Muttaqin

S U J A D I

PERSATUAN PEMUDA MUSLIM SE-EROPA: IDENTITY,
ENCOURAGEMENT FOR GIVING, AND NETWORK,
1971-2009

PERSATUAN PEMUDA MUSLIM SE-EROPA: IDENTITY,
ENCOURAGEMENT FOR GIVING, AND NETWORK,
1971-2009



S U J A D I

**PERSATUAN PEMUDA MUSLIM SE-EROPA: IDENTITY,
ENCOURAGEMENT FOR GIVING, AND NETWORK,
1971–2009**

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus, Prof. mr. C. J. J. M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 29 juni 2017
klokke 10.00 uur

door

S U J A D I

geboren op 10 oktober 1970
te Cirebon, Indonesië

Promotor:

Prof. dr. C. van Dijk

Co-promotor:

Dr. N. J. G. Kaptein

Promotiecommissie:

Prof. dr. mr. M. S. Berger

Prof. dr. L. P. H. M. Buskens

Dr. W. Boender

Prof. dr. H. L. Beck (Universiteit van Tilburg)

Prof. dr. D. Douwes (Erasmus Universiteit)

This thesis was researched and written with financial support from the
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the Training Indonesia's
Young Leaders (TIYL) framework

Acknowledgments

Many people and institutions have helped me in completing my study. First, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Prof. C. van Dijk and Dr. N. J. G. Kaptein, for their critical comments and valuable suggestions from the initial to the final stage of my study. My thankfulness also goes to Prof. Wim Stokhof and Marise van Amersfoort of the Training Indonesia's Young Leaders (TIYL) programme in the Netherlands. The program has provided me with an academic environment and has assisted me in logistical matters, as well.

My thanks also go to the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, and Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University (UIN) Yogyakarta for their generous support. At Leiden University my thanks go to Prof. P. S. van Koningsveld and Prof. L. P. H. M. Buskens and at UIN Yogyakarta, my appreciation goes to Prof. M. A. Abdullah, Prof. Y. Wahyudi, Prof. Machasin, Prof. N. Ali, and J. Wahyudi. They have supported me in their own ways.

The interviewees of PPME deserve mention here as well. Here, I would like to express my sincere thanks to Maksum, Naf'an, Mujahid, Kurdi, Zofwaan, Rakhmawati, Aaman, Erfan, Hasyim, Rosyidi, Abbas, al-Hajri, Santoso, Balbaid, Bajuber, Fatimah, Kasan, De Weerd, Pourchez, Kasijo, Husni, Maesaroh, Iskandar, Listi, Atin, and others.

My thanks also go to other interviewees in the Netherlands and Indonesia. They are Fahrudin (Delft), Permana (Schiedam), Setiyono, Titus (Utrecht), Kasmoei, Rejo, Abdullah, Sumohardjo (Rotterdam) Dahlan (The Hague), Aziz (Surabaya), Abu Haedar (Bandung), Makaminan, Hadi (Jakarta), Roisah (Jepara), Anwar, Muttaqin, Fannanie (Depok), and others.

During my study in the Netherlands, I enjoyed the friendship and the togetherness of my Indonesian colleagues. Special thanks go to the TIYL's friends: Latief, Huda, Amiq, Kusmana, Wahid, Nurkholis, Azkiyah, Agung, and Pribadi. There are many Indonesian fellows whom I cannot mention all. Warm thanks go to Sunuri, Mintardjo, al-Nahdi, and Naji.

I should also appreciate Charlotte Blackburn who has edited this

thesis and Lucas Ausems who translated its summary from English into Dutch. Finally, my special thanks go to my family, my mother, Hj. Asiri and my parents-in-law H. Suhadi and Hj. Purwantini for their support in their own ways during my study – my father, H. Sukarta had passed away before I began my study. My truthful thanks go to my wife, Herawati and our children, Elbar and Elhaq for their love and patience. To them and Eladel (our last child), this dissertation is dedicated.

Note of Transliteration

Throughout the text, I have adopted the transliteration system of General English.¹ The names of personalities, organizations, and foundations, as well as the titles of books, journals and articles are rendered as locally spelled and transliterated. For plural forms of Arabic words, I simply add an “s”, like *pesantren* which becomes *pesantrens*. There are some Arabic and Indonesian terms that are used interchangeably, such as *dawra* and *dauroh*. For the translation of the Qur’anic verses, I adopt that of *The Holy Qur’an: English Translation of the Meanings and Commentary*.²

¹ See Johannes and Heijer (Comp. and Eds.), *A Guide to Arabic Transliteration* (Jakarta: INIS, 1992), 5.

² This English translation, which does not mention a year of publication, is revised and edited by the Presidency of Islamic Research, Ifta, Call and Guidance of Saudi Arabia.

Contents

Acknowledgments	iii
Note of Transliteration	v
Contents	vi

Introduction	1
I. Indonesian Muslim Organizations in the Netherlands: POI, PPME, ICMI, PIP-PKS, and PCIM	1
II. Focus, Questions and Objectives of Research.....	15
III. Research Method	16
IV. Literature Review	17
V. Conceptual Framework	20
VI. Research Organization.....	21

Chapter One: PPME: Its Historical Background	24
I. Shared Intentions of PPME's Founders	33
II. PPME: The Result of Consecutive Gatherings and Intensive Discussions	37
III. The Characteristics of PPME: Beyond Indonesia.....	39
IV. The Structure and Expansion of PPME: The Netherlands and Germany.....	44
A. PPME in the Netherlands.....	45
B. PPME in Germany	51
V. The PPME's Status in the Netherlands and Its Activities.....	56
A. Prior to May 1974.....	56
B. After May 1974	58
C. After August 1993.....	62

Chapter Two: PPME's Religious Identity Formation	66
I. Religious Practices.....	66

A.	Islam for Children (1974): From <i>Kaidah Baghdadiyah</i> to <i>Qiroati</i>	66
B.	<i>Ikhtilāf</i> in the Indonesian-Speaking Group (Early 1975): From Being an Inevitable, to an Accepted, Practice	70
C.	Islamic Marriages (1975): Islamic and Positive Laws	73
D.	Assisting Converts (the Early 1980s)	77
E.	Pengajian Remaja (the Early 1990s): <i>Pesantren Kilat</i> , <i>Iqra'</i> and an-Nasyid Remaja	79
F.	Dutch-Speaking Group (1995): From Learning Islam to Lecturing on Islam	84
G.	<i>Daurah</i> (2008): In Search of One New Religious Orientation	88
II.	Religious Discourses	94
A.	<i>Al-Ittihaad</i> (1985)	95
B.	<i>Euromoslem</i> (1992)	98
 Chapter Three: The Encouragement of PPME for Giving		104
I.	Socio-cultural Endeavours	104
A.	<i>Maulid Nabi</i> (1973)	104
B.	<i>Summer Sportdagen</i> (1973)	109
C.	<i>Halal Bihalal</i> (the Late 1980s)	111
D.	<i>Istighotsah</i> (2001)	116
II.	Infrastructural Endeavours	120
A.	<i>Al-Ittihaad</i> (1982)	121
B.	<i>Al-Hikmah</i> (1996)	125
C.	<i>Tafakkoer</i> (2003)	131
D.	<i>At-Taqwa</i> (2004)	134
 Chapter Four: The Indonesian Networks of PPME in the Netherlands		138
I.	KBRI: The Result of Cooperation in Religious and Organizational Activities	138

A. Religious Activities (1970s).....	139
1. Supporting the KBRI's Decision on the First and the Final Day of <i>Ramaḍān</i> and the Date of <i>ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā</i>	139
2. <i>ʿĀmil</i> of <i>Zakāt al-Fiṭr</i> and <i>Zakāt al-Māl</i>	142
3. Support for Performing Friday Prayers: From <i>Khaṭīb</i> to <i>Imām</i>	144
B. Organizational Activities (1996)	147
1. Stimulating the Use of <i>al-Hikmah</i> Mosque	148
2. Participation in Maintaining <i>al-Hikmah</i> Mosque	150
II. ICMI (1995): The Result of Inclusivism.....	152
III. PIP PKS (2005): The Result of Sympathizers' Support	156
IV. PCIM (2006): The Result of Reformists' Support.....	160

Chapter Five: The Non-Indonesian Networks of PPME in the Netherlands

I. RNW's <i>Indonesische afdeling</i> (1977): Sermons and <i>al-Ittihaad</i>	174
II. Rukun Islam (the Early 1980s): Providing Islamic Teachers.....	184
III. Al-Jami'atul Hasana (the Late 1980s): the Quest for a Centre of Activities.....	190
IV. Haremeyn Vakfi (2008): Paving the Way to Perform Pilgrimage to Mecca	195

Chapter Six: The Individual Networks of PPME in Indonesia

I. PPME's Almsgiving and Voluntary Donations	203
A. The Madrasah Aliyah/Tsanawiyah of Petta (1990s): The Network of a Former Member of PPME.....	205
1. The Link of Makaminan to PPME Amsterdam and the Profile of MTs/MA Muhammadiyah.....	205
2. Caring for the Poor and the Weak	209
B. Construction of Rainwater Containers (PAHs) and a Future Educational Institution (2000s): The Network of PPME's <i>Ramaḍān</i> Preachers	217
1. PAH (2007)	218

2. A Future Educational Institution (the End of 2008).....	226
II. PPME's <i>Ramaḍān</i> Programmes (2000s): Islamic Preachers, PKS Members and Former PPME Members.....	231
A. Networks of PPME The Hague (2004): Islamic Preachers for <i>Ramaḍān</i> Programme.....	232
B. Networks of PPME Branches in Amsterdam (2005): PKS Activists and Former Members.....	240

Chapter Seven: The Organizational Network of PPME in

Indonesia	251
I. Roisah Foundation: Its History and Characteristics	251
II. Almsgiving and Voluntary Donations to Roisah	268
A. <i>Zakāt al-Fiṭr</i> Distributed to Roisah (2005)	269
B. Voluntary Donations for Renovations and Plans for a Religious School (2007)	274
C. Running the Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa' of the Roisah Foundation (Mid-2008): Caring for Orphans and Needy Children.....	277
Conclusion	283
Bibliography	291
List of Abbreviations	326
Glossary	331
Samenvatting	337
Curriculum Vitae	353

Introduction

I. Indonesian Muslim Organizations in the Netherlands: POI, PPME, ICMI, PIP PKS, and PCIM

The number of Muslims in the Netherlands numbered 907,000 by 1 January 2010. This amounts to six per cent of the total Dutch population. Among this number are Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Afghan, Iraqi, Somali, Pakistan, and Iranian, as well as a group of 62,000 ‘others’ that includes Indonesian Muslims.¹ There are no exact figures for the number of Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands. Until 2011, the Indonesian Embassy for the Netherlands did not provide such a statistic. Umar Hadi, the Vice-Ambassador of the Indonesian Embassy has asked Indonesian researchers to research the number of Indonesian people living both permanently and temporarily in Netherlands.² Supriyono, an official of immigration affairs of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands, informed me that the number of Indonesian people in the Netherlands was approximately 12,000. This information relates to 2010 and 2011.³ These facts show that at this point, the Indonesian Embassy does not provide adequate information on the number of Indonesian people in the country.

Despite the absence of adequate statistics on the total number of Indonesians in the Netherlands, information about the number of members of Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa (PPME, Young Muslim Association in Europe), which is an Islamic organization run mostly by Indonesian people in the country, is available. While there are no exact figures, each PPME branch in the Netherlands is able to provide approximate membership figures. For example, according to Aaman Sulchan, a second-generation PPME member and the chief of PPME in The Hague between 2008 and 2010, there were more or less 150 families involved in PPME activities in The Hague in 2008.⁴ In the same year,

¹ Instituut voor Multiculturele Vraagstukken, *De positie van moslims in Nederland: Feiten en cijfers 2010* (Utrecht: Forum, March 2010), 6.

² Umar Hadi, interview, Amsterdam, 18 September 2011.

³ Supriyono, interview, The Hague, 18 February 2011.

⁴ Aaman Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008, The Hague.

according to Ruutz Purchez, the chief of PPME in Rotterdam, there were 60 families enrolled in PPME Rotterdam.⁵ Furthermore, according to Abdul Aziz Balbaid, an advisor of PPME in Amsterdam, about 268 families have membership in PPME Amsterdam.⁶ In Heemskerk, 40 families take part in the religious activities run by PPME in the city.⁷ 125 families have joined PPME al-Ikhlash, a splinter group of PPME Amsterdam.⁸ Finally, approximately 35 families are registered as members of the Breda-Tilburg PPME branch.⁹ In total, in 2008 the number of families registered as PPME members in the Netherlands was approximately 678.

The existence of PPME reflects the prevailing condition in the Netherlands which demands the existence of well-organized Islamic organizations for Muslim communities in the country. Jeroen Feirabend and Jan Rath explain:

In the country there is no legal provision stating that religious c.q. Islamic associations are natural participants in the local decision-making process. In Dutch 'pillarized' society it was, however, quite common for the state to deal with religious organizations. Indeed this was part of the politics of accommodation of religious groupings. ...with the pillarized system in decline, the local authorities have rather more freedom to decide whether or not a religious c.q. Islamic association should be co-opted to have a say in local politics.¹⁰

A policy document on *imams* and their training, published by the Dutch government in February 1988, is also indicative of the situation in the Netherlands. This policy paper provoked heated debate in response to the question: who will be in control of *imams* in future?¹¹

⁵ Ruutz Pourchez, interview, Rotterdam, 27 July 2008.

⁶ Abdul Aziz Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 July 2008.

⁷ Listi (chairperson of PPME Heemskerk), telephon interview, 2 July 2008.

⁸ DPC PPME al-Ikhlash, *PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam ledenlijst* (Amsterdam: PPME, n.y.), n.p.

⁹ Hansyah (chairman of PPME Branch in Breda-Tilburg), telephon interview, 30 June 2008.

¹⁰ Jeroen Feirabend and Jan Rath, "Making Place for Islam in Politics," in W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld (eds.), *Muslims in the Margin: The Political Responses to the Presence of Islam in Western Europe* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 246.

¹¹ Nico Landman, "Imam in the Netherlands: Home-Made Better than Import?," in *ISIM Newsletter* 2 (1999): 5.

This debate is in accordance with the statements of Shadid and Van Koningsveld:

It is widely recognized that integration of Islam within the social, political and cultural contexts of Western European states and societies cannot be brought about satisfactorily without democratic processes of negotiation between the government authorities at various levels, on the one hand, and recognized representative bodies of Islam, on the other hand.¹²

Subsequently, the fact is that Geert Wilders, the chairman of the Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV, Party for Freedom) is critical of Islam. He has issued warnings about the danger of growth of Islam:

Islam is not a religion like Christianity, but rather a totalitarian political ideology. Its goal is primarily political. Islam wants to submit the whole world. It aims to establish a worldwide Islamic state and bring everyone, including 'infidels', such as Christians, Jews, atheists and others, under Sharia law.¹³

This is another factor that must be taken into account when considering the situation of Muslims in the Netherlands. This is because Wilders, using his party in the Dutch parliament, can influence its national government policies.

The aforementioned situations are relevant to all Muslims in the Netherlands and highlight the need for them to unite, at least for certain purposes, in such a way that they can speak with one voice (which requires a degree of organization), to the Dutch government. This organization must come from within the Muslim community.¹⁴ Roy states:

...Through upward social mobility or the 'brain-drain' from the rest of the Muslim world, a Muslim intelligentsia has slowly emerged in Europe and is now more vocal in calling for recognition of the Muslim presence, triggering heated debates in European public

¹² W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, "Politics and Islam in Western Europe," in Shadid and Van Koningsveld (eds.), *Muslims in the Margin*, 6.

¹³ See Wilders, "Stopping Islamic Immigration is a Matter of Survival," accessed 22 February 2016, <http://www.geertwilders.nl/> and see "Speech Geert Wilders [in] Berlin," accessed 22 February 2016, <http://www.pvv.nl/index.php/component/content/article?id=3586:speech-geert-wilders-berlijn>.

¹⁴ Martin Custer, "Muslims in the Netherlands," in Syed Z. Abedin and Ziauddin Sardar (eds.), *Muslim Minorities in the West* (London: Grey Seal, 1995), 88.

opinion.¹⁵

If Muslim communities have representative organizations, these can provide a more formal framework for engaging in discussions relating to Islam in Europe.

The facts suggest that the need for well-organized Islamic associations is pressing. Historically, Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands have established a number of organizations in the country. Perkoempoelan Oemat Islam (POI, Islamic Community Association), founded in 1932, was the first Muslim organization to see Indonesian Muslims work together with Dutch Muslims in order to deal with socio-religious problems in the country. The main focus of POI was to establish an Islamic burial ground and to provide a structure for performing Friday prayers. However, there were no other significant programmes carried out by this organization. Indeed, this organization did not attempt to attract Indonesian Muslims and in particular, young Indonesian Muslims.¹⁶ This contributed to the establishment of the above-mentioned PPME. Founded in 1971, the PPME soon became the main organization for Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands. Its establishment was a response to the absence of any organization for Moluccan Muslims who arrived in the country in the 1950s prior to the founders of PPME who generally came to the Netherlands in the period between the end 1960s and the early 1970s.

The following is a brief history of PPME. The successful establishment of this new Muslim organization, Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa, can be attributed to the progressiveness of its founders. In a series of meetings between early January and mid-April 1971, Indonesian Muslims living in Europe, including the Netherlands and Germany,¹⁷ were able to strengthen their idealism and their efforts to establish a European Muslim organization. On 11 April 1971 a gathering attended by 21 participants agreed on the name PPME for

¹⁵ Oliver Roy, "Muslim in Europe: From Ethnic Identity to Religious Recasting," in *ISIM Newsletter* 5 (2000): 1.

¹⁶ Nico Landman, *Van mat tot minaret: De institutionalisering van de islam in Nederland* (Amsterdam: VU Press, 1992), 20.

¹⁷ See Muhammad Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Se Eropa* (The Hague: PPME, 1996), 23.

their new organization.¹⁸ This name was favoured over two others, Gerakan Pemuda Islam Eropa (Islamic Youth Movement in Europe) and Organisasi Pemuda Islam Eropa (Islamic Youth Organization in Europe).¹⁹ It was claimed that this was due to the word *persatuan*, which was deemed relevant to the needs at that moment, i.e. strengthening unity among Indonesian Muslims in Europe. In addition, the choice of the word *Eropa* accommodated the presence of the Dutch founder, Rachmat Zitter²⁰ whose house was frequently used for the gatherings of Indonesian Muslim youths in the Netherlands, and another founder, Amir al-Hajri, who at that time possessed South Yemen nationality.²¹ In other words, the choice of name could not be dissociated from their existence in Europe rather than Indonesia. Kadungga, a former private secretary to Moh. Natsir [a reformist Muslim],²² and son-in-law of Kahar Muzakar, a former key figure of the Darul Islam (Abode of Islam) movement in South Sulawesi, was elected as the organization's first chairperson.²³ He was one of its founders. Another founder of the new organization was Abdurrahman Wahid, a traditionalist Muslim who would eventually become the president of the Republic of Indonesia.

Since its inception in 1971, the PPME in the Netherlands has grown steadily enabling its members and sympathizers, who are mostly Indonesian, to perform their socio-religious activities, both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia. Examples of this include: the provision of religious education for children and PPME's new converts; providing assistance to those who want to convert to Islam; *daurah* (intensive Islamic studies); *istighotsah* (appeal for God's protection and assistance); the publication of periodicals; organizing a programme for the pilgrimage to Mecca; the purchase of locations that function as places of worship and centres of activity; increasing attempts to encourage members to give financially or non-financially; inviting

¹⁸ Ibid., 24. One of the attendants, Rahmat Zitter, had Dutch nationality. A. H. Maksum, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008.

¹⁹ See DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP Musyawarah I* (The Hague: PPME, 1973), n.p.

²⁰ Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

²¹ Saleh al-Nahdi, a relative of Amir al-Hajri (a founder of PPME), interview, The Hague, 12 August 2008.

²² Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

²³ Ibid.

ulamas from Indonesia for *Ramaḍān* programmes; the commemoration of the Prophet's birth; sport days; and *halal bihalal* (a gathering for forgiving one another). Today, PPME branches are found not only in large cities in the Netherlands such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague, but also in smaller cities such as Breda, Tilburg, and Heemskerk. It is worth noting that each PPME branch routinely carries out its activities in such a way that the number of its members and sympathizers continues to grow. Another key characteristic of the organization and one that has proved very attractive to Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands is that it is politically neutral.

In addition to POI and PPME, a number of other organizations and a *da'wa* political party have played significant roles for Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands. Firstly, Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (ICMI, Association for Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals) in the Netherlands, founded in the early 1990s,²⁴ initially drew the attention of many Indonesian Muslims in the country. Leading Muslim figures, officials, and students²⁵ involved themselves in running this new intellectual association. Due to scholarships provided by Badan Pengkajian dan Penerapan Teknologi (BPPT, Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology),²⁶ between 1994 and 1996

²⁴ "Laporan Kegiatan ICMI Orsat Belanda Periode 1995-1997," in *Visi* 1, 1996, 3.

²⁵ The examples were Sufyan Olong (an official Friday prayer leader of KBRI) and Azhari Kasim (the head of Administrative Affairs Department of KBRI) from a group of officials, A. H. Maksum, Surya Alinegara and Sofyan Sauri Siregar from a group of leading Muslim figures, and from a student group, for instance, Husnan Bey Fannanie and Hasan Basri (Leiden University) and Dody Darsiyan and Siti Wurian Hutomo (Delft University of Technology). Ibid.

²⁶ BPPT was a governmental institution under the coordination of the Ministry of Research and Technology. The task of this institution was to carry out governmental tasks in the fields of assessment and application of technology. The BPPT was established in 1978 and was initially led by B.J. Habibie. The idea to establish the BPPT came from President Suharto in correspondence with B.J. Habibie on 28 January 1974. See Humas, "Sejarah," accessed 2 January 2009, http://portal.bppt.go.id/menu_kiri/index.php?id=1. See also "Aeronotika and Astronotika," accessed 17 February 2009, http://www.ae.itb.ac.id/wp/?page_id=36. In order to fulfil the need for skilled and qualified human resources for industry, Habibie, as the Minister of Research and Technology, initiated an overseas scholarship programme, organized by the BPPT's Centre of Education and Training. This scholarship programme began in 1979 and facilitated not only governmental officers, but also students. Ibid. See also Yuni Ikawati, "Beasiswa dan Kebutuhan Regenerasi," accessed 3 January 2009, <http://64.203.71.11/kompas->

many Indonesian students studying in graduate programmes in the fields of science at Delft University of Technology joined Keluarga Islam Delft (KID,²⁷ Delft Muslim Family) founded in the mid-1980s. KID organized a number of activities, such as organizing Friday prayers, the organizing of almsgiving, weekly general Islamic preaching, establishing a library, dawn preachings, short Islamic studies, and establishing a *baitul maal* [*bayt al-māl*] (division of financial affairs).²⁸ However, this Muslim organization experienced a degree of instability because many of its members returned to Indonesia on completion of their studies. This instability became worse as the scholarships came to an end in the mid-1990s. Consequently, KID was forced to join the ICMI²⁹ which was already providing its own scholarships to Indonesian students in the Netherlands³⁰ and playing an active role in improving

cetak/0605/03/PendDN/2626498.htm.

²⁷ KID was founded primarily to organize Friday Prayers. In 1996, KID organized more activities in response to the arrival of another group of Indonesian students to study at Delft University of Technology. See: KID, "A Brief History of KID," accessed 5 January 2009, http://www.geocities.com/kid_delft/. Many Indonesian Muslim students taking either undergraduate or graduate programmes in the fields of science at Delft University of Technology (thanks to the BPPT scholarship) kept in regular touch with the KID. Yuni Ikawati, "Beasiswa dan Kebutuhan Regenerasi," accessed 5 January 2009, <http://64.203.71.11/kompas-cetak/0605/03/PendDN/2626498.htm>, accessed 3 January 2009. See Also: Eddi Santoso, "Aktifis Islam Delft Bereaksi Keras," accessed 3 January 2009, <http://www.library.ohiou.edu/indopubs/1999/08/13/0118.html>.

²⁸ *Baitul maal* was formed to collect *zakat* (annual almsgiving) among Indonesian Muslims in Delft and to distribute it to *mustahiq* (deserving), who lived in both the Netherlands and Indonesia. Moreover, this *baitul maal* organized *infāq/ṣadaqa* (voluntary financial donations) to fund the activities of KID, such as the leasing cost of Friday prayers, the provision of foods for the breaking of the *Ramadhān* fast, and the performing of the 'īd al-ḥiṭr and 'īd al-aḍḥā prayers. See *Baitul Maal* KID, "Zakat," accessed 5 January 2009, http://www.geocities.com/kid_delft/.

²⁹ See Hasyim Gautama, "A Brief History of KID," accessed 5 January 2009, http://www.geocities.com/kid_delft/.

³⁰ This scholarship provision was a programme of Gerakan Beasiswa and Orang Tua Bimbing Terpadu (Orbit, Movement for Scholarship and Integrated Foster Parents). This programme aimed to provide scholarships, which were donated directly to the students, with the donors acting as *orang tua asuh* (foster parents) to the chosen children. The scholarship also functioned as *dana abadi* (fund) for highly qualified students. This was organized by the boards of Organisasi Wilayah (Orwil, Regional Organization), and Organisasi Satuan (Orsat, Unit Organization). In respect to the central board of ICMI, this programme was coordinated by Orbit's Foundation of Dana Abadi. See Panitia Pelaksana Muktamar II dan Simposium Nasional, *Rancangan Program Kerja ICMI period 1995-2000* (Jakarta: ICMI, 1995), 21.

the quality of faith and piety of Indonesian Muslims. For example, ICMI already had a programme of expanding businesses in order to improve their economic prosperity. In addition, it had plans to build a dormitory for Indonesian students in the Netherlands.³¹

Another organization has the characteristics of a political party, but identifies itself as a *da'wa* party, thus its activities are similar to other Indonesian Muslim organizations. The organization is Pusat Informasi dan Pelayanan Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PIP PKS, Centre of Service and Information of Prosperous Justice Party) whose contributions to the party led it to achieve fifth place in the Indonesian general election of 1999 held in the Netherlands and was the winning party in the same election in 2004.³² However, this section does not concentrate on its political, but rather its socio-religious activities, in particular its *da'wa* (Islamic propagation) which parallels the main activities of PPME. Founded in Jakarta in 1998, Partai Keadilan (PK, Justice Party) established representation in the Netherlands in 2001.³³ The result of the Indonesian general elections in 1999 showed that the party was unable to achieve the minimum number of electoral votes, i.e. two per cent of the 500 seats of House of People's Representatives, which was necessary to participate in the next general election. The rules for the Indonesian general election of 2004 demanded a threshold of three per cent of the votes. Consequently, the PK renamed itself Partai Keadilan-Sejahtera (PKS, Prosperous Justice Party), founded on 20 April 2002,³⁴

The scholarship provision was also part of ICMI's programmes for Europe. See Achmad Mochtar, *Rincian Acuan Program Kerja ICMI ORWIL Eropa Masa Bakti 1995-2000* (Bonn: ICMI Europe, 1995). n.p.

³¹ "Laporan Kegiatan ICMI Orsat Belanda Periode 1995-1997," in *Visi* 1, 1996, 5-6.

³² "PKS Ingin Kuasai Belanda," accessed 24 February 2009, <http://pk-sejahtera.nl/>. See Eddi Santosa, "PKS Unggul Telak, PDIP Gembos," accessed 24 February 2009, <http://movie.detikhot.com/read/2004/04/16/024733/127728/10/pks-unggul-telak-pdip-gembos>.

³³ Deden S. Permana, Interview, 24 August 2008, The Hague. He has lived in the Netherlands since 1992 and finished his undergraduate studies in informatics at the Hogeschool Inholland in The Hague.

³⁴ Pengurus Harian, "PIP PKS," accessed 6 January 2009, <http://pk-sejahtera.nl/pip-pks-belanda/>. See "Article 9 No. 1.a. of Undang-undang Republik Indonesia No. 12 Tahun 2003 tentang Pemilihan Umum, Anggota Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, Dewan Perwakilan Daerah dan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat," accessed 24 February 2009, <http://www.cetro.or.id/undang2.html>. See also "Article 39 No. 3 of Undang-

in order to participate in the 2004 election. Representatives of the new PKS party abroad employed the name Pusat Informasi dan Pelayanan Partai Keadilan dan Sejahtera,³⁵ thus confirming it as an extension of the PKS, albeit without recognition under Dutch law.³⁶

Unlike representatives of other Indonesian parties overseas which concentrated solely on political activities, the PIP PKS in the Netherlands has apparently been more concerned with *dakwah* [*da'wa*] (Islamic propagation) and *tarbiyah* [*tarbiyya*] (education). This is in accord with the vision of its party which strongly emphasizes its role as “the *dakwah* party; intensification of justice and prosperity in the framework of the unity of *umma* [Indonesian Muslim community] and the nation [of Indonesia]”³⁷ thus leading to form a *madani* society (civil society).³⁸ This centre prepares itself as a vehicle for *da'wa* activities and a training centre for its cadres and as an agent of change using the *manhaj tarbiyyah* (*tarbiyya* method),³⁹ a system of improving their faith and forming cadres for the party.⁴⁰

Referring to the *tarbiyyah* method, principally there are two

undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 3 Tahun 1999 tentang Pemilihan Umum Presiden Republik Indonesia,” accessed 24 February 2009, <http://legalitas.org/incl-php/buka.php?d=1900+99&f=uu3-1999.htm>. Information on the full results of *Partai Keadilan* (Justice Party) in the Indonesian Public Election of 1999 can be found at <http://translate.google.nl/translate?hl=nl&sl=id&u=http://pk-sejahtera.nl/about/&ei=GuajSeL6jCG1Ab8peC6Dw&sa=X&oi=translate&resnum=2&ct=result&prev=/search%3Fq%3DHasil%2Bpemilu,%2BPK%2Bdi%2BBelanda%2B1999%26hl%3Dnl%26sa%3Dg>, accessed 24 February 2009.

³⁵ The use of this new name cannot be divorced from the Indonesian political rule that permitted parties to use their own names for their representations abroad.

³⁶ Deden S. Permana, interview, Schiedam, 24 August 2008.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Schiedam, 11 November 2008.

³⁸ Navis, “Visi dan Misi,” accessed 7 January 2009, <http://pk-sejahtera.org/v2/index.php?op=isi&id=110>.

³⁹ See Majelsi Syuro, “Anggaran Rumah Tangga of PKS,” accessed 8 January 2009, <http://pk-sejahtera.org/v2/download/pdf/ad.art.pks.pdf>. From this *manhaj*, concepts of self-improvement, *da'wa*, societal affairs, including concepts of social orders, culture and arts, economy, law, technology, and environment, in addition to the religious doctrines that the PKS has been calling for, are elucidated. See Kader PKS, *Paduan Lengkap Manhaj Tarbiyah*, 1st ed. (Solo: Media Insani Press, 2005), 5 and 13.

⁴⁰ Navis, “Visi dan Misi,” accessed 8 January 2009, <http://pk-sejahtera.org/v2/index.php?op=isi&id=110>.

kinds of programmes designed by the PIP: internal and external.⁴¹ The internal programme is provided for the cadres and members of the centre, whereas the external programme is aimed towards PIP sympathizers and the public. The internal programme involves the centre facilitating weekly Islamic preaching and the monthly *malam bina insan takwa* (*mabit*, night for making a person pious). This *mabit* consists of a series of activities, beginning with *tawṣiyya* (delivering Islamic messages). Subsequently, various subjects are studied, a number of Quranic verses are recited and memorized, and *qiyām al-layl* (night-time devotion) and *muhāsaba* (reflection) are performed consecutively. This *mabit* programme ends with participants having breakfast together.⁴² Another internal programme is carried out during *Ramaḍān*, focusing on training to improve their faith and resulting in morally and intellectually qualified cadres. To achieve these objectives, the PIP has introduced eight programmes: 1) online and offline *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) studies through discussion groups; 2) dialogues with leading local figures with heterogeneous expertise in order to strengthen the quality of thinking and competence; 3) reciting, listening to, and studying the Quran; and 4) *mabit*. Unlike the monthly *mabit*, the *Ramaḍān mabit* is opened with Islamic preaching, discussions on Islamic, political and social affairs, and it closes with reflection on the self and the reasons why humans were created; 5) *i'tikāf* (retreat in the mosque) during the last ten days of *Ramaḍān* with a view to increasing personal and social piety; 6) breaking the *Ramaḍān* fasting together with leading figures of society, its cadres, and [Muslim] neighbours; 7) watching films, such as *Sang Murabbi* (The educator) and *Ustadz* [Ustadh] (Islamic teacher) about Rahmat Abdullah.⁴³ These films

⁴¹ It has frequently been said that the programmes and activities of PKS are in line with those of the Ikhwān al-Muslimīn (Muslim Brotherhood) movement. This statement is not entirely mistaken. The programmes of PKS are similar, with some modifications, to those of the Ikhwān. Cf. Saïd Hawwā, *al-Madkhal ilā Da'wat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* (Beyrut and Amman, Dār Ummār: 1988), 61-66.

⁴² Didin Fahrudin (the secretary of PIP PKS in the Netherlands), interview, Delft, 28 May 2008.

⁴³ “*Sang Murabbi*” (The Educator) is a movie produced by Majelis Budaya Rakyat (Folk Culture Council) and presenting the spiritual property, *da'wa* experiences and the humanism of *ulamā* struggling in Indonesia. See: www.sangmurabbi.com/, accessed 23 February 2009. In the movie, “Ustadz” Rahmat frequently reads

about leading Muslim figures are aimed at providing good role models and lessons in order to foster a strong spirit and strengthen values of justice, prosperity, and professionalism; and 8) collecting alms and providing financial aid.⁴⁴ These programmes show that the *da'wa* party undertakes constant and intensive improvement of its cadres and members – like PPME, it is much concerned with *da'wa* activities. This representation of the political party has resulted in approximately 50 core cadres in the Netherlands.⁴⁵ These cadres are involved in various segments of Indonesian communities in the Netherlands such as the Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia (PPI, Indonesian Student Association), PPME, and Pimpinan Cabang Istimewa Muhammadiyah (PCIM, Board of Special Branch of the Muhammadiyah).⁴⁶

Meanwhile, this PIP has also created programmes for sympathizers and the public. Initially, it sent paper or electronic *surat cinta* (literally meaning ‘love letter’); messages aimed at providing support to Indonesian people living in the Netherlands. So, for example, congratulatory notes and parcels were delivered to the community on occasions such as welcoming the fasting month of *Ramaḍān*, *‘id al-fiṭr* (feast after the *Ramaḍān* fasting), and *‘id al-aḍḥā* (sacrifice feast). This programme costs thousands of Euros. The financial donations of the cadres enable the implementation of this programme.⁴⁷ In addition to *surat cinta*, there is *de zomerkamp* (camping for a few days in Summer), which is a relaxed activity aimed at refreshing the mind and restoring the physical vitality of participants. Participants and their families are encouraged to build familial relations while learning about the natural environment through diverse activities.⁴⁸ Most of the activities of this

Ikhwān al-Muslimīn books, including *Da'watunā* (Our Islamic Propagation) by Hasan al-Banā. Majelis Budaya Rakyat, “Sinopsis Sang Murabbi,” accessed 23 February 2009, <http://www.sangmurabbi.com/synopsis/>.

⁴⁴ Didin Fahrudin, “PKS Mainkan 8 Jurus Unggulan,” accessed 6 January 2009, <http://pk-sejahtera.nl/pks-mainkan-8-jurus-unggulan/>.

⁴⁵ Fahrudin, interview, 28 May 2008.

⁴⁶ Permana, interview, 24 August 2008.

⁴⁷ See Pengurus, “PKS Tebar Surat Cinta,” accessed 6 January 2009, <http://pk-sejahtera.nl/pks-tebar-surat-cinta>.

⁴⁸ Pengurus, “PIP PKS Belanda Adakan Summer Camp,” accessed 6 January 2009, http://www.denpatrol.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1024&Itemid=81.

programme are games and sports, as well as hiking.⁴⁹ This summer camp programme attracted more than 200 participants.⁵⁰ Moreover, *halal bihalal* is an annual programme organized by PIP PKS. The participants are cadres and members, as well as outsiders. Members of PPME, PCIM, PPI, Forum Komunikasi Alumni (Alumni Communication Forum) of ESQ (Emotional Spiritual Quotient)⁵¹ and its sympathizers are also invited to attend.⁵² In fact, the centre organized *halal bihalal* of 2005 in cooperation with PPME.⁵³ Finally, the centre provides regular Islamic lectures for its members, sympathizers, and other interested parties. These lectures are particularly aimed at men; women can participate in Pengajian Umum Bulanan Kota (PUBK, City-Based Monthly Islamic Lecture).⁵⁴ Still in the context of Islamic lectures, the PIP held trainings for Manajemen Sholat menuju Khusu' dan Nikmat (MSKN, Management for Earnest and Contented Prayer) in cooperation with PPME on 30-31 August 2008.⁵⁵ One result of these programmes is that the PIP activists can be found in various student and socio-religious organizations.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Fahrudin informed me that 225 people took part in this programme. Fahrudin, interview, 28 May 2008.

⁵¹ The alumni were those who participated in the leadership training held by ESQ Leadership Centre. The "ESQ Leadership Centre is a training provider in Indonesia, based on Islamic teaching. In 2008, there were already ten ESQ branches throughout Indonesia. Currently, the ESQ Leadership Centre has reached six countries overseas: Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, the Netherlands, the USA, and Australia. It has trained more than 500,000 participants and its organizers commit to developing and delivering world class training programmes to the world." P.T. Arga Bangun Bangsa, "ESQ Way 165," accessed 23 February 2009, <http://id.jobstreet.com/jobs/2008/10/default/40/64178.htm?fr=c>.

⁵² See PKS, "Halal Bihalal PIP PKS Belanda 2007," accessed 6 January 2009, http://pkibelanda.multiply.com/photos/album/8/Halal_Bihalal_PIP_PKS_Belanda_2007#84.

⁵³ Permana, interview, 11 November 2008.

⁵⁴ Anonymous, *Kiprah dan Apa Kata Mereka tentang PKS* (Schiedam: PIP PKS Belanda, n.y.), n.p.

⁵⁵ See Human MSKN, "MSKN Goes to Europe," accessed 6 January 2009, <http://manajemensholat.com/2008/09/11/mskn-goes-to-europe/>.

On 12 August 2006, following Friday prayers in a mosque belonging to PPME Amsterdam,⁵⁶ PCIM in the Netherlands was founded⁵⁷ by Din Syamsuddin, the chairman of the central Muhammadiyah board. This event was witnessed by more than a hundred members and sympathizers. The elected chairman of this new socio-religious organization was Surya Alinegara⁵⁸ and his secretary was Arifin Hudaya.⁵⁹ Five months later, on Sunday, 28 January 2007, Din Syamsuddin officially inaugurated the board of PCIM in the Netherlands in a hall at the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ In Amsterdam, there are two PPMEs: PPME Amsterdam whose main activities take place in a mosque located at Ekingenstraat 3-7, and PPME al-Ikhlash, which has been using the El-Amien School for its activities, located at Saaftingestraat 312. The PPME Amsterdam follows the *ulama* of Mecca when deciding the first day of *Shawwāl* (tenth month of the Muslim year) in which the *īd al-fīr* prayers are performed. Similarly, the PPME follows the *ulama* for *īd al-aḍḥā* prayers. Meanwhile al-Ikhlash follows the pronouncements of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands for the dates of Islamic feasts. Al-Ikhlash was founded in 2005, and was previously part of the PPME Amsterdam. A. Naf'an Sulchan (a leading PPME figure), interview, The Hague, 18 October 2008.

⁵⁷ Deliar Noer has classified Muhammadiyah, one of the biggest socio-religious organizations in Indonesia, as a modernist socio-religious movement, and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU, Awakening of Ulama), the largest socio-religious organization, as a traditionalist socio-religious organization. See Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movements in Indonesia 1900-1942* (London-New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 30-31 and 94-96. The establishment of PCIM was a programme of the *Lembaga Hubungan dan Kerjasama Luar Negeri* (LHKLN, Institute for Foreign Relation and Cooperation) part of the central board of Muhammadiyah. See Arif Nur Kholis, "Kabar Jejaring Muhammadiyah Internasional," accessed 22 December 2008, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=614&Itemid=2.

⁵⁸ He is the owner of an Indonesian restaurant "Asli Indonesia" in The Hague and is the former chairman of PPME in the Netherlands, the former chairman of ICMI in the Netherlands, the former treasurer of ICMI in Europe, and he studied in Medina, Saudi Arabia. See "Penafsiran Bebas Ajaran Islam," accessed 13 February 2009, http://www.ranesi.nl/dialog/penafsiran_bebas_islam0505018.

⁵⁹ Administrator, "Peresmian PCIM Belanda," accessed 29 December 2008, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=250&Itemid=2. See also Harrisa, "Ceramah Din Syamsuddin: Muhammadiyah dan Dinamikanya," accessed 21 December 2008, <http://harrisa.multiply.com/photos/album/23>. Arifin Hudaya is a project analyst at Indover Bank and a student at Erasmus University, Rotterdam. "Arifin Hudaya, Rotterdam Area, the Netherlands," accessed 13 February 2009, <http://www.linkedin.com/in/ahudaya>.

⁶⁰ Miftachul Huda, "Din Syamsuddin Lantik PCIM Belanda," accessed 28 April 2008, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_

PCIM is a new structure of the Muhammadiyah and is positioned directly under the organization's central board. This differs from the structure of Muhammadiyah branches in Indonesia which come under the regional boards. The aim is to unite members and sympathizers living abroad⁶¹ in order to be able to build a network and foster cooperation. To this end, they have also provided a web-based forum.⁶² Regarding the aims, in his inaugural address Syamsuddin told his audience that, in order to develop *da'wa* and unite the congregation of Muhammadiyah abroad, the central board would form PCIMs, including in the Netherlands, following their establishment in Cairo, Jeddah, Damascus, Sudan, Teheran and Kuala Lumpur.⁶³ Furthermore, he emphasized: "Muhammadiyah has currently gone international through PCIMs...overseas."⁶⁴ He delivered a strong message: "Bear the message of Islam as a peaceful and tolerant religion, and present the image of Indonesian modern and moderate Islam."⁶⁵ He went on to say that PCIM in the Netherlands should participate in carrying out Islamic *da'wa* in the Netherlands both for Indonesian and European Muslims.⁶⁶ This runs parallel to his assertions, during a seminar jointly held by Uni-Europe and Indonesia in Brussels, that Islam was *rahma* (benevolence) for the universe. Therefore, the *umma* had to show its advancement and excellence in civilization, which would serve as an

content&task=view&id=319&Itemid=2.

⁶¹ Administrator, "Peresmian PCIM Belanda," accessed 28 April 2008, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=250&Itemid=2.

⁶² See Arif Nur Kholis, "Kabar Jejaring Muhammadiyah Internasional," accessed 22 December 2008, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=614&Itemid=2.

⁶³ Novel, "PP Muhammadiyah Resmikan Perwakilan di Belanda," accessed 21 December 2008, <http://eramuslim.mobi/berita/nasional/pp-muhammadiyah-resmikan-perwakilan-di-belanda.htm>.

⁶⁴ Arifin Asydhad, "Muhammadiyah Berkibar di Belanda," accessed 21 December 2008, <http://jkt5.detiknews.com/read/2006/12/08/162550/717872/10/muhammadiyah-berkibar-di-belanda>.

⁶⁵ Novel, "PP Muhammadiyah Resmikan Perwakilan di Belanda," accessed 21 December 2008. <http://eramuslim.mobi/berita/nasional/pp-muhammadiyah-resmikan-perwakilan-di-belanda.htm>.

⁶⁶ El and Ant, "Pimpinan Cabang Muhammadiyah Belanda didirikan," accessed 21 December 2008, <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/muhammadiyah2002/message/14163>.

example and enlighten world civilization.⁶⁷ Finally, this PCIM should be able to connect the Muhammadiyah with others, both Muslim and non-Muslim, and to extract various beneficial resources from them, such as scholarships and economic cooperation, in order to advance the Muhammadiyah in Indonesia.⁶⁸ Having listened to Syamsuddin's speech, the members of PCIM's board welcomed proposals and articulated their desire to offer various programmes to meet the challenges and demands of *da'wa* in Europe.⁶⁹

The facts show that PPME is a non-political, European-oriented, independent Muslim organization. The existence of PPME branches in cities throughout the Netherlands appears to be a response to the religious and socio-cultural needs of Indonesian Muslims in the country. This confirms the importance of further research on PPME.

II. Focus, Questions, and Objectives of Research

Referring to the above introductory facts about PPME in the Netherlands, this research focuses on the PPME's identity formation, attempts to encourage its members to give financial and non-financial support, and networks. With this in mind, I have formulated the following research questions:

- A. How did PPME come into existence?
- B. How did PPME shape its religious identity?
- C. How did PPME encourage its members and sympathizers to give support to its programmes?
- D. To what extent did PPME establish its networks in the Netherlands?
- E. To what extent did PPME establish its networks in Indonesia?

Based upon the research questions, this research aims to describe the process of PPME's establishment and development. It then explores its activities in the Netherlands and Indonesia. The description and

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid. See also Miftachul Huda, "Din Syamsuddin Lantik PCIM Belanda," accessed 28 April 2008, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=319&Itemid=2.

⁶⁹ Arifin Asydhad, "Muhammadiyah Berkibar di Belanda," accessed 21 December 2008, <http://jkt5.detiknews.com/read/2006/12/08/162550/717872/10/muhammadiyah-berkibar-di-belanda>.

exploration aim to elicit patterns of PPME identity formation and attempts to encourage its members and sympathizers to give both financial and non-financial support to enable PPME to realise its plans and to reveal the networks it has created. This research focuses on the period from 1971 to 2009, when PPME Amsterdam did not yet separate itself from PPME the Netherlands.

III. Research Method

This research is a social history of PPME – the history of “everyday life in...the community.”⁷⁰ Therefore, an historical method is used. The first step is a *heuristic* approach that involves searching for material in order to reveal sources of information. This is followed by a *critical* approach in the form of an appraisal of the material or sources to assess their evidential value. The final step involves producing formal statements about these *heuristic* and *critical* findings, including assembling a body of historical data and presenting this in terms of objective truth and significance (*synthesis and exposition*).⁷¹

Data were collected using the following steps. Initially, data were gathered from both written and non-written documents. In terms of written documents, research data were collected from bulletins, reports, statutes and by-laws, relevant official records, books, and articles. With regard to non-written documents, data were gathered from artefacts, such as buildings used for gatherings, objects, and photographs.

Then, data were also collected from oral sources via in-depth interviews with the members of PPME’s board, PPME members and sympathizers, and people involved in its activities or considered relevant to the subjects under discussion, including former members, officials of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands, board members of other, connected Muslim organizations and PIP PKS activists. It should be noted that these oral sources played a significant role in

⁷⁰ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History* (London and New York: Longman, 1984), 82.

⁷¹ Gilbert J. Garraghan, *A Guide to Historical Method*, 4th ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1957), 410. Kuntowijoyo divides the last step into two. In this way, the steps are heuristic, critical, interpretation and historiography. Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah*, 2nd ed. (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, August 2003), xix.

this research due to the lack of data available from written documents and artefacts.⁷²

Moreover, data were collected about how the impact of disintegration of PPME in Rotterdam at the end of 1980s and PPME Amsterdam following the schism in 2005. This aimed to know programmes developed by the branches and to identify their religious orientations.

The results of the research are presented in topical forms of organization. This organization constructs not so much “a historical sequence leading up to a particular event, but weaving a fabric composed of the many separate lines of historical development that form the background to the main topic”⁷³ – historical events are written not in a tight sequence but based on particular events forming a topic concerned.

IV. Literature Review

Books and articles that elaborate the emergence of Indonesian Muslims communities, particularly non-Moluccan Muslim communities, and their organizations in the Netherlands are very rare. Nevertheless, the following literature provides significant information from which preliminary research was conducted.

In het land van de overheerser 1600-1950 I by Poeze et al. (1986) elaborates who, how, when and why Indonesian people came to the Netherlands during the period in question. From this historical source, the history, roles, policies, strategies and other great endeavours of two well-known Indonesian student associations in the Netherlands, De Indische Vereeniging (Indonesian Association) and Roekoen Peladjar Indonesia (Harmony of Indonesian Students) are elaborated. However, in the context of the present research, we must note that PPME was established in 1971, whereas the book portrays Indonesian Muslims and non-Muslims in the Netherlands in the period until 1950. This book, then, serves as an historical reference when dealing with the

⁷² See Kwa Chong Guan, “The Value of Oral Testimony: Text and Orality in the Reconstruction of the Past,” in P. Lim Pui Huen, et al., *Oral History in Southeast Asia: Theory and Method* (Singapore: ISEAS, 1998), 24.

⁷³ Jules R. Benjamin, *A Student's Guide to History*, 6th ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 77.

period of research from 1971 to 2009.

Muslim Minorities in the World Today (1986) by Kettani has greatly inspired me in terms of examining the socio-political problems encountered by Muslim organizations in the Netherlands. This book states that the first Muslims in the country came from the former colonies of Indonesia and Surinam. The author also notes the historical socio-political problems faced by Muslim communities as a minority in Europe. However, he does not specify those problems faced by Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands. The introduction to the book emphasizes the significance of understanding socio-political and organizational problems for Muslim minority groups and this has enabled me to obtain general information on these issues prior to dealing with the difficulties and socio-religious problems encountered by PPME.

An article entitled “Islam in Present-Day Dutch Society” by Kaptein forms part of a book entitled *Beberapa Kajian Indonesia dan Islam* (1990) by W. A. L. Stokhof and N. J. G. Kaptein (eds.). This article tells us about Muslim communities living in the Netherlands from an historical point of view. It examines Muslims from Ambon and the Moluccas (eastern part of Indonesia) and does not discuss PPME. Nevertheless, this article serves as a reference for a preliminary study on Indonesian Muslims in Dutch society.

The following books or articles directly pertain to PPME. First, an anthropological article by Shadid and Van Koningsveld entitled “Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in the Netherlands” in the book *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe* (1991) by the same authors. PPME is discussed in this article in relation to Muslim organizations at a national level in the Netherlands. PPME has played a coordinating role in relation to prayer halls for Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands, but it also examines how Indonesian Muslims organized their places of worship. However, they do not discuss, for instance, how Indonesian mosques were established, an issue that is discussed in the present research. This source functions as an introduction to the present research.

Second, Nico Landman’s book, *Van mat tot minaret: De*

Institutionalising van de Islam in Nederland (1992) provides limited but direct information on PPME in relation to its establishment and characteristics, the origin of its founders, and its members and sympathizers in The Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. These issues also form part of the present research, which goes further and also discusses PPME branches in Breda-Tilburg and Heemskerk. In addition, this anthropological and historical source provides a lot of information on the origin of Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands, especially Moluccan Muslims.

A socio-historical book entitled *Young Moslem Associations in Europe* (1996), by Hisyam, deals with PPME's historical background, briefly tackling its establishment and functions until 1996. This book primarily utilizes The Hague-oriented sources and does not use sources from, for instance, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Breda-Tilburg, and Heemskerk. This work discusses the association up to 1996; there was no research conducted on the period after this date. Furthermore, the work does not deal with PPME activities outside the Netherlands or organizational development.

An unpublished historical article by Karel Steenbrink, entitled "Colonial and Postcolonial Muslims from Indonesia in the Netherlands," deals with the characteristics of PPME and some of its founders, including Abdul Wahid Kadungga, the first chairman of PPME, and A. H. Maksum, a close friend of Abdurrahman Wahid, the fourth president of the Republic of Indonesia. This article does not deal with the Indonesian and non-Indonesian networks of PPME in the Netherlands and Indonesia, or PPME's domestic and non-domestic activities. These issues form part of the present research.

An article entitled "The Contextualization of Fiqh al-Ibādah among Indonesian Religious Teachers and Their Communities in the Circle of PPME in Amsterdam and The Hague" (2007) by M. Ali deals with Islamic legal opinions of the PPME's *imams* and members on means of purification (*ṭahara*), keeping a dog as a pet, the time of Friday prayer, the circumstances allowing for the combination of two mandatory prayers, almsgiving (*zakāt*) and tax, and breaking fasting because of harsh condition. Some of the subjects discussed, i.e. Friday prayers and

almsgiving, are part of the present research. While the article deals with the time of the prayer and the essence, amount and medium of almsgiving, the present research discusses efforts of PPME to facilitate the performing of the Friday prayer and how to distribute the alms to Indonesia. Therefore, Ali's work serves as preliminary research before discussing subjects of the present research.

Finally, Shadid and Van Koningsveld's work, *Islam in Nederland en België* (2008), provides important information on the main objectives of PPME and its members, i.e. to truly learn Islam. In addition, this anthropological book mentions the contemporary existence of Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands, in particular in relation to education. All of the information serves as an important source when discussing the existence of Indonesian mosques in the Netherlands.

The aforementioned books and articles, which adopt historical, anthropological, or socio-historical approaches, discuss a number of the subjects that are featured in the present research. This signifies that the research, which discusses PPME's identity formation, its attempts to encourage members and sympathizers to contribute financially and non-financially to enable PPME to realise its planned activities, and the networks from 1971 to 2009 can fill the gaps in the literature. This fact also shows that Indonesian researchers in the field of Muslim minorities are still rare and has encouraged me to do research on Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands.

V. Conceptual Framework

The present research deals with the daily life of PPME's members and sympathizers and focuses on PPME's identity formation, attempts to encourage its members and sympathizers to give financial and non-financial support to realise its plans, and its networks. To discuss the focus, it is important to understand the existence of PPME in general. This, in turn, means understanding the background of its founders, including their travel to and stay in the Netherlands, their religious characteristics, and their diverse socio-religious backgrounds as reformists and traditionalists. In addition, it is important to understand the significance of the socio-religious, rather than political, activities of

its members and sympathizers, which have led to its legal recognition.

This understanding of PPME's background will underpin subsequent chapters. I will begin by discussing PPME's foundation, taking into account Dutch and Indonesian circumstances and development, and the religious and ethnic backgrounds of its members. This allows us to comprehend the way PPME has shaped its religious identity. This will also reveal whether the basis and the background of PPME have made a decisive contribution to its formation. Furthermore, understanding PPME's background, especially in relation to the socio-religious and ethnic backgrounds of its members, will demonstrate the rationale for PPME's endeavours in respect to increasing attempts to encourage its congregations to support its plans through socio-cultural and infrastructural activities. Moreover, it is necessary to deal with PPME's ethnic background, the socio-religious development of Muslims in the Netherlands, and its attempts to encourage its congregations to give financial and non financial assistance to realise its programmes before discussing PPME's Indonesian networks, i.e. Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia (KBRI, Embassy of Republic of Indonesia), ICMI, PIP PKS, and PCIM, and its non-Indonesian networks, i.e. Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (RNW), Surinamese Rukun Islam, Surinamese al-Jami'atul Hasana, and Turkish Vakfi Haremeyn in the Netherlands. This contributes to our knowledge of how far PPME has established its networks in the Netherlands. Finally, a discussion of the religious background of PPME members and the circumstances of Muslims in the Netherlands and Indonesia in relation to the individual and organizational networks of PPME in Indonesia will tell us how far PPME has established its networks with individuals and a selected educational institution, *pesantren*.

VI. Research Organization

The present research consists of seven chapters. A discussion of Indonesian Muslim organizations founded in the Netherlands, such as POI, ICMI, PIP PKS, and PCIM, forms the introduction to the following chapters.

Chapter 1 starts with a discussion of the background of PPME. This

discussion enables us to comprehend the socio-religious background of its founders, the dynamic process of its establishment, and the characteristics and objectives of the organization. This is followed by a discussion of its expansion into Germany and its dilemma about whether to be a proponent of *da'wa* or political activities. Furthermore, the chapter concludes with a discussion about the legal status of PPME and the impact of this status prior to May 1974, (when PPME was first legally recognized) and after August 1993 (after a prolonged period of recognition).

Chapter 2 deals with PPME's religious identity formation. This is explored by understanding religious practices, which begin understanding teaching Islam to children using the text books called *Kaidah Baghdadiyah* [*Qāida Baghdādiyya*] (The Baghdad Method), *Iqra'* (Read) and *Qiroati* (My reading). Furthermore, this chapter discusses practices such as *ikhtilāf* in Indonesian-speaking groups, explaining about what Islamic marriages are about to men who want to convert before marrying a Muslim women, *da'wa* activities including the establishment of a group for learning Islam called Pengajian Remaja (Islamic Teaching for Youths) holding *pesantren kilat* (short Islamic courses), issuing the bulletin *Iqra'* (Read) and forming the music group an-Nasyid Remaja (Youth's Islamic Song). Explaining about Islam to Dutch-speaking members and *daurah* (intensive Islamic studies) are also part of this chapter. In addition to the religious practices, the shaping of its religious identities is also explored using religious discourses available in the organization's bulletins, *al-Ittihaad* and *Euromoslem*.

Next, chapter 3 presents PPME's endeavours to encourage its members and sympathizers to give their, especially, financial support through socio-cultural and infrastructural activities. The former includes *Maulid Nabi* (the Prophet's birthday), summer *sportdagen* (sport days), *halal bihalal* (a gathering for forgiving one another), and *istighotsah* (appeal for God's protection and assistance); the latter includes efforts to provide places of worship called *al-Ittihaad* [*al-Ittiḥād*] (Unity), *al-Hikmah* (Wisdom), *Tafakkoer* (Reflection), and *at-Taqwa* [*al-Taqwā*] (Piety).

Chapters 4 and 5 discuss PPME's Indonesian and non-Indonesian networks in the Netherlands. Chapter 4 deals with networks of PPME with Indonesians in the Netherlands. These include the Indonesian Embassy, ICMI, PIP PKS, and PCIM. Religious and organizational activities are discussed, thus enabling us to know reasons for the networks and to identify people who were involved in the establishment of them .

Then, Chapter 5 examines networks of PPME with non-Indonesians in the Netherlands. They are RNW's *Indonesische afdeling* (1977-late 1980s), Rukun Islam (early 1980s-2009), al-Jami'atul Hasana (late 1980s-2007), and Turkish Haremeyn Vakfi (2008-2009). PPME's Islamic sermons, socio-religious activities, and *hajj* program are subjects discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 6 deals with individual PPME networks in Indonesia from the 1990s to the early 2000s, whereas chapter 7 discusses its organizational networks in the same country. In chapter 6, the individual networks are investigated by examining donations made in the 1990s and distributed to the Islamic Junior and Senior Muhammadiyah High School of Petta in North Celebes. Its individual networks from the *Ramaḍān* programme of the 2000s held in The Hague and Amsterdam are also discussed.

Chapter 7 explores PPME's organizational network and its activities relating to the Islamic Foundation Called Ar-Robithoh al-Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah (Roisah, Obedient Islamic Bond) in Jepara, Middle Java, through *zakāt al-fiṭr* (almsgiving) in 2005, voluntary donations in 2007 for physical renovations, and the building of a Madrasah Diniyyah (Madin, Religious School), as well as assistance to run Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa' (the House for Orphans and the Poor) in mid-2008. Lastly, the research is closed with concluding remarks.

Chapter One:

Persatuan Pemuda Muslim Se-Eropa:

Its Historical Background

This chapter examines the process of founding the Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se Eropa (PPME, Young Muslim Association in Europe) and its development over time. To this end, its founders' ideals and wishes will be discussed, along with the structure, expansion, status and certain activities of the organization. In order to gain a better understanding of these issues and to become acquainted with PPME's key figures, their impulses that led them to travel to the Netherlands, and their reasons for establishing the organization, we will begin by examining their previous socio-religious and educational backgrounds.

The persons who established PPME were mostly Indonesian youths. They were M. Suyuthi Suhaib, Abdul Wahid Kadungga, Imam, Ozir M. Isa, Rusli Bena, A. H. Maksum, Ujang H. S., Azmihardi, T. Razali, Husni Basuni, Ali Khalik, S. Abidin, I. Idram, M. Rais Mustafa, A. Muiz, Suwardi, Abdurrahman Wahid, Moh. Syukur, Y. Machfud Muchtar, M. Amir al-Hajri, Ade Baharuddin, Moch. Chaeron and Rahmat Zitter.⁷⁴ Only two of them were not Indonesian. One was Dutch and the other came from Yemen. Nevertheless, they both had historical ties to Indonesia. Rahmat Zitter was born Robert Geoffrey Zitter in Kudus, Central Java, Indonesia. His father, a Dutchman, worked in Kudus as an official of the Dutch government in the Dutch East Indies. During this time he converted to Islam. Afterwards, he married an Indonesian woman from West Java, Ratu Titing Aeni.⁷⁵ Meanwhile, the man from Yemen was a son of Mubarak 'Abdullah Nahdi ibn Thabit al-Hajri from Ḥaḍramawt, who had joined Hizbullah (God's party) and, then, troops of Pembela Tanah Air (Peta, Indonesia's Defenders)⁷⁶ in the struggle for defending

⁷⁴ DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP Musyawarah I* (The Hague: PPME, 1973), n.p.

⁷⁵ Adi Zitter (a son of Rahmat Zitter), e-mail to author, 10 October 2012.

⁷⁶ Hizbullah, formed on September 14, 1944 in Jakarta, was a Muslim force aimed at assisting in Perang Asia Timur Raya (the Pacific War) and serving as God's servants who devoted themselves to defending their land and nation for the sake of forming a new society. The forming of this force was initiated by leading figures of Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia (Masyumi, the first Islamic party which

Indonesia's independence since 1948. His mother, 'Aliyah al-Hajri, came from Temanggung, Central Java, Indonesia.⁷⁷ The founders were also young.⁷⁸ Indeed, some of them were high school graduates, while others had studied at university. These young men wanted to preserve and strengthen Islamic brotherhood among Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands by means of *da'wa* (Islamic propagation), networks, joint activities, and social endeavours.⁷⁹

The first one who deserves to be mentioned is Abdul Wahid Kadungga, who was born on 20 May 1940 in Indonesia and was later elected as the first leader of the new organization. He travelled to Germany at the end of the 1960s to pursue higher education at Cologne University.⁸⁰ He had previously graduated from the Sekolah Menengah Ekonomi Atas (SMEA, Senior High School for Economics) of Makassar, South Sulawesi,⁸¹ and had also studied at the law faculty of the Indonesian University (UI) in Jakarta between 1962 and 1964.⁸² He

was forced to dissolve itself in 1960), including K.H. Mas Mansur, Moh. Adnan, H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, H. Cholid, K.H. Abdul Majid, H. Ya'kub, K.H. Junaedi, H. Moh. Sadri, H. Mansur, M. Natsir and K.H. Wahid Hasyim. Tashadi, et al. (eds.), *Sejarah Perjuangan Hizbullah Sabilillah Divisi Sunan Bonang* (Surakarta: Yayasan Bakti Utama, 1997), 29, 120, 144 and 169.

⁷⁷ Amir al-Hajri, interview, The Hague, 12 February 2012.

⁷⁸ The definition of youth varies. The United Nations defines a youth as a person between the ages of 15 and 25 years old. However, according to Angel, in some countries the definition of youth has been extended downwards, to include young people who are 11 or 12 years old, and upwards, to include people as old as 30 or even 35 years old. William D. Angel, *Youth Movement of the World* (UK: Longman, 1990), xii. Angel's parameters differ to those set by the Indonesian government, particularly in the Reformation Era, which emerged after the collapse of Suharto regime. People between the ages of 18 and 40 were categorized as youth. See Achmad Fedyani Saifuddin, "Menjaga Persatuan dan Kesatuan Bangsa: Pemuda Kita dalam Dunia yang Semakin Contested," in Zulkifli Akbar, et al., *Dialog Pemuda dalam Membangun Bangsa: 80 Tahun Sumpah Pemuda* (Jakarta: Kementerian Negara Pemuda dan Olahraga, 2009), 46. When the PPME was founded in 1971, A. H. Maksum was 33 years old whereas al-Hajri was born on 21 June 1941 (30 years old). Therefore, they were, referring to Angel and Ministry of Youths and Sports, still youths.

⁷⁹ *Anggaran Rumah Tangga PPME*, n.d. and n.p. and see also DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976* (The Hague: PPME, 1976), 2

⁸⁰ <http://counterterrorisminfo.wordpress.com/2002/12/24/abdul-wahid-kadungga>, accessed 23 July 2008.

⁸¹ Herry Nuhdi, "Berdiri Melawan Amerika," in *Sabili* 16, Year XII, February 27, 2004, 62.

⁸² Abdul Wahid Kadungga, "Gerakan Ba'asyir Dipenuhi Intelijen," accessed 11

was a former activist of Pelajar Islam Indonesia (PII, Indonesian Muslim Students).⁸³ His involvement in the PII started during his studies at SMEA and he participated in the organization's national congress held in Medan in 1962 as the leader of PII's Makassar branch. It was here that he met Adam Malik, a future Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia.⁸⁴ It is worth mentioning that the PII was one of the Muslim organizations involved in a demonstration on 13 September 1965 in solidarity with Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI, Muslim Students Association),⁸⁵ which had been discredited as being anti-Sukarno by the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI, Indonesian Communist Party).⁸⁶ After a few years in Europe – in both Germany and the Netherlands, Kadungga returned to Indonesia and devoted himself to Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia (DDII, Council of Indonesian Islamic Propagation).⁸⁷

November 2012, http://arsip.gatra.com/2003-01-16/versi_cetak.php?id=24216.

⁸³ Maksum, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008. PII was founded on May 4, 1947 in Yogyakarta. Its founders were Yoesdi Ghazali, Anton Timur Djaelani, Amien Syahri (of Gerakan Pemuda Islam Indonesia [Movement of Indonesian Muslim Students]) and Ibrahim Zarkasji (of Persatuan Pelajar Islam Surakarta [Association of Surakarta Muslim Students]). Its foundations were built on the dualism of the education system in Indonesia; namely, the Dutch public school heritage and Islamic education organized by *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). This resulted in Muslim students being divided into two groups, i.e. secular and religious. Another motivation for its establishment was to protect Indonesian integration after independence. Therefore, PII aimed to accommodate the aspirations of Muslim students. Djayadi Hanan, *Gerakan Pelajar Islam di bawah Bayang-bayang Negara: Studi Kasus Pelajar Islam Indonesia Tahun 1980-1997* (Yogyakarta: UII Press, 2002), 54-60. See also "Sejarah PII," accessed 18 September 2012, <http://dunia.pelajar-islam.or.id/dunia.pii/blog/sejarah-pii.html#>.

⁸⁴ Nuhdi, "Berdiri Melawan Amerika," 61-62.

⁸⁵ This association was founded on 5 February 1947 in Yogyakarta. Lafran Pane, a student of Sekolah Tinggi Islam (STI, Islamic Institute), now called Universitas Islam Indonesia (UII, Indonesian Islamic University), initiated its establishment with a view to defending the state of the Republic of Indonesia and enhancing the dignity of Indonesian people as well as performing and developing Islamic teachings. See Agussalim Sitompul, *Pemikiran HMI dan Relevansinya dengan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa Indonesia* (Jakarta: IKAPI, 1986), 22 and 35-36. See also Agussalim Sitompul, "Tafsir Historis Kebangsaan dan Keindonesiaan," in Wahyu Hamdani, et al. (eds.), *Menemukan Kembali Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (Jakarta Timur: Adalde, 2008), 3. Its establishment was also directed towards shielding students of higher education and Indonesian people from communist ideology and teachings. Hamdani, *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*, 9.

⁸⁶ Dwi Purwoko, *Pemuda Islam di Pentas Nasional* (Jakarta: Bonafida Cipta Pratma, 1993), 122-124.

⁸⁷ DDII, which has often been called Dewan Dakwah, was founded on 26 February

In 1974, he was arrested and imprisoned, together with some other Islamic activists, on the instructions of the New Order government.⁸⁸ This arrest was made because the government blamed the former followers of Masyumi and of Partai Sosialis Indonesia (PSI, Indonesian Socialist Party) as those who were responsible for the riot in Jakarta on 15 January 1974, known as Malapetaka Limabelas Januari (Malari, 15 January Disaster).⁸⁹ The Intelligence Group of Ali Murtopo, a Special Presidential Assistant of President Suharto, arrested the main student leaders regarded as those who were involved in the Malari.⁹⁰ Kadungga himself had connections with the ex-Masyumi people at DDII, and was the former leader of PII. Therefore, it seems that he was arrested because of these links. On his release, he became the private secretary of M. Natsir, the former chairman of DDII and Masyumi, and studied Islam from Ahmad Hassan (the main figure of Persatuan Islam [Persis, Islamic Unity] between 1975 and 1980).⁹¹ He then decided to return to the Netherlands as an asylum seeker due to the treatment he received from the Indonesian government. Consequently, the regime no longer recognized him as an Indonesian. Kadungga himself responded: "Actually, I do not wish to be a black Dutchman [like those Moluccans in the colonial time in the Dutch East Indies who entered into service with the Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger (KNIL, Royal Dutch East Indies Army)]."⁹² I do not rebel against the state and I am not an enemy

1967 in Tanah Abang, Jakarta, by followers of Masyumi, including M. Natsir and M. Rosyidi. This Dewan was founded as a vehicle for exercising Islamic ideals by means of *da'wa* (Islamic propagation) activities, and was a response to the refusal of New Order government to allow Masyumi to re-emerge as a political party. Its first elected chief was Mohammad Natsir, the former chief of Masyumi. Thohir Luth, *M. Natsir: Dakwah dan Pemikirannya*, (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1999), 53-62. See also "Berdirinya Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia," accessed 18 September 2012, <http://www.dewandakwah.com/content/blogcategory/13/27/>.

⁸⁸ Luth, *M. Natsir*, 29, 42 and 55.

⁸⁹ M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, 3rd ed. (London: Palgrave, 2001), 362.

⁹⁰ Adrian Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 166.

⁹¹ Luth, *M. Natsir*, 29, 42 and 55.

⁹² Antje van der Hoek, *Religie in ballingschap* (Amsterdam: VU, 1994), 4; see also Ben Allen and Aart Loubert, "History and Identity: Moluccans in the Netherlands," accessed on 6 November 2012, <http://www.safecom.org.au/dutch-moluccans.htm>.

of the [Indonesian] nation.”⁹³ Kadungga was a son-in-law of Kahar Muzakkar, the leader of the Darul Islam (DI, Darul Islam)⁹⁴ for the region of Sulawesi. He had been accused of being a leader of Jama’a Islāmiyya (JI, Islamic Community) together with Abu Bakar Ba’asyir,⁹⁵ the leader of Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI, Council of Indonesian Muslim Warriors). Kadungga was to remain a stateless person until 24 April 2008 when he gained a Dutch passport. Kadungga, who had treated the DDII as his second family,⁹⁶ passed away on 12 December 2009⁹⁷ and was unable to fulfill his intention to see Abdurrahman Wahid who had had different political ideas (see the following discussion on Wahid), one of those who founded PPME,⁹⁸ when he held the office of President of the Republic of Indonesia.

The second central figure to PPME, A. H. Maksu, was born on 13 June 1938 in Indonesia. He was to become the first secretary of the PPME board. After completing his primary school education, he studied Islam in *pesantrens* (Islamic boarding schools) such as the traditionalist Pesantren Tebuireng, East Java, and the modern Pesantren Gontor, Ponorogo, East Java.⁹⁹ In 1957, he continued his Islamic education in the Pesantren Jamsaren, Surakarta, Central Java.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ Nuhdi, “Berdiri Melawan Amerika,” 61–63.

⁹⁴ It is important to mention here that, in the 1940s, Kahar Muzakkar was one of South Sulawesi’s leaders of the Pemuda Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah’s Youth) and the Hizbul Wathon (the Muhammadiyah’s boy and girl scouts). C. van Dijk, *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam: The Darul Islam in Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 155. In 1954, he founded Pemuda Islam Jihad (Muslim Youths for Holy War). This foundation took place after he proclaimed Sulawesi to be part of Negara Republik Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islam Republic) in 1953. Ibid., 189. This foundation, therefore, cannot be divorced from his struggle for the Islamic Revolution to establish a new Islamic state.

⁹⁵ Choirul Aminuddin, “Abdul Wahid Kadungga, Tokoh Islam, Asal Sulawesi Selatan Tutup Usia,” accessed 15 October 2012, <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2009/12/12/058213459/Abdul-Wahid-Kadungga-Tokoh-Islam-Asal-Sulawesi-Selatan-Tutup-Usia>.

⁹⁶ Siti Maesaroh (the wife of Abdul Wahid Kadungga), interview, Rotterdam, 12 December 2010.

⁹⁷ See <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2009/12/12/058213459/Abdul-Wahid-Kadungga-Tokoh-Islam-Asal-Sulawesi-Selatan-Tutup-Usia>, accessed 15 October 2012.

⁹⁸ Maesaroh, interview, Rotterdam, 12 December 2010.

⁹⁹ Maksu, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008.

¹⁰⁰ See Ali, “The Contextualization of Fiqh al-‘Ibādah” among Indonesian Religious

Subsequently, he travelled to Mecca in order to further his study at a senior high school called Dār al-‘Ulūm (the House of Knowledge). It was here that he studied Islamic jurisprudence relating to various *madhāhib* (differing schools of law). His eagerness to become involved in organizational activities can be seen from his involvement in an Indonesian Student Association in Mecca called Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia (PPI, Indonesian Student Association). Furthermore, he enrolled himself in an undergraduate programme, al-Jāmi‘a Baghdad (Baghdad University). During his stay in Baghdad he joined a Muslim organization known as Keluarga Pemuda Nahdlatul Ulama (KPNU, Awakening of Ulama’s Youth Association).¹⁰¹ He eventually graduated from Baghdad University in 1969. Having completed his study, he chose to live in the Netherlands where he found employment as a teacher at the Sekolah Indonesia Nederland (SIN, Netherlands Indonesian School).¹⁰² He taught part-time at SIN from 1971. In addition, he also worked for a Dutch insurance company. In 1974, he moved to Cologne, Germany, where he lived for a year and half, to study philosophy and German at Cologne University. Then, following the regulation of the company obliging its officials to work full-time, he made the decision to leave his job as a teacher at SIN in 1975. After focusing on solving PPME’s internal problems in the 1980s (discussed in the following section), he joined ICMI¹⁰³ in the Netherlands in the mid-1990s. From

Teachers and Their Communities in the Circle of PPME in Amsterdam and The Hague,” in *Hamdard Islamicus* 30, no. 2 (April-June 2007): 68.

¹⁰¹ Maksum, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008.

¹⁰² This school was founded on 15 June 1965 and was inaugurated by His Excellency, the Indonesian Ambassador, Mr. Soedjarwo Tjondronegoro on 17 August 1965. The name ‘SIN’ was made official by a Decision of the Minister of Education and Culture, dated 15 August 1995. It aimed to provide official education to Indonesian children and youth in the Netherlands. It comprised primary, junior high and senior high school and followed the curriculum of Indonesia’s national education system. Indonesian was the primary language of students at the school. In practice, the school is managed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands, but it is technically supervised by the Attaché of the Department of Education and Culture. See Abdul Manan Zaibar, *The Indonesian Program for the Islamic Religious Education of the Indonesian Children in the Netherlands* (Thesis, Leiden University, 2003), 151-153. Recently, primary school education at the school was abolished. S. Atikah Zofwaan (a retired teacher of the SIN), interview, The Hague, 11 August 2008.

¹⁰³ ICMI was established on 7 December 1990 in Malang, East Java. B. J. Habibie,

the outset of his stay in the Netherlands, he had no intention of ever living permanently in this country. However, Maksum has been living in the Netherlands since the early 1970s and today is enjoying his life as a pensioner,¹⁰⁴ Islamic preacher, and *imam* for the Indonesian community in the Netherlands.

The third person to be mentioned is Mochammad Chaeron who was born on 13 January 1943 in Indonesia. During his studies at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, he had joined Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (IMM, Muhammadiyah Student Association). He graduated from Gajah Mada University in August 1967 with a major in publicity (communication science). He became a journalist for *Abadi* (Eternal), the newspaper of Masyumi, which gave him the opportunity to travel, together with his colleagues, to Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries. He travelled to the Netherlands in early 1970 via Saudi Arabia in order to further his tertiary education and to find employment in Germany for a better future. His intention to study could not be realised because of his job as a teacher at the SIN, which took a lot of time and energy. In fact, he became the headmaster of the school in 1972 after his involvement in the process of founding PPME. In the early 1990s, Chaeron was also a member of ICMI in the Netherlands. In 2003, at the age of 60, he resigned from his position as a teacher at the school. He had hoped to continue teaching students at the school on a part-time basis during his retirement; however this was not in line with the retirement regulations of the Indonesian Embassy. Two years after his resignation, in 2005, he passed away.¹⁰⁵

The last person to be discussed is Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) who was born on 7 September 1940 in Jombang Indonesia. He was a son of Wahid Hasyim, a former Minister of Religious Affairs before the New Order began in 1966, and a grandson of Hasyim Asy'ari, a founder of the biggest socio-religious Islamic organization in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU, Awakening of Ulama). He was a pivotal figure

the Minister of Research and Technology, was its first elected leader. M. Dawam Rahardjo, "Visi dan Misi Kehadiran ICMI: Sebuah Pengantar," in Nasrullah Ali-Fauzi, *ICMI: Antara Status Quo dan Demokratisasi* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 25.

¹⁰⁴ Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

¹⁰⁵ Zofwaan, interview, 11 August 2008.

for PPME because he was regarded as a person capable of leading the PPME. Therefore, he gained significant votes when the election to elect a leader was held (this will be discussed later on). In the mid-1960s, soon after he arrived in Cairo for study at al-Azhar University, he was elected the chairperson of Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia (PPI, Association of Indonesian Students) in Egypt. This enabled him to build social networks of Indonesian students across the Middle East. Another influential experience was his regular work at the Indonesian Embassy in Cairo. His tasks were to follow the developments in Indonesia; to translate reports from Jakarta about socio-political events taking place in Indonesia from Indonesian to Arabic or English; and to inform upon Indonesian students in Cairo who were under the influence of the communist ideology. Wahid did not finish his study at *al-Azhar* because he frequently did not attend his classes and did not pass certain main courses. Instead, he embarked on another undergraduate programme at Baghdad University. Having completed his studies at Baghdad University, he travelled from Iraq to the Netherlands in early 1970 in order to pursue his graduate studies. He was keen to enroll at Leiden University, however, the university could only admit him as an undergraduate student because of his Middle Eastern diploma. This frustrated Wahid's plans to proceed with his tertiary education in Europe. Consequently, he returned to Indonesia in May 1971 a month after the establishment of the PPME,¹⁰⁶ where he would lead not only a socio-religious organization and a political party, but would also go on to lead the nation. At the end of December 1984, he was elected executive chief of Nahdlatul Ulama. Then, in the middle of 1998, he was mandated to be the chief of Dewan Syuro (Advisory Board) of Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB, Party of the Awakening of the Nation). Finally, on 20 October 1999 he was elected the President of the Republic of Indonesia. He passed away in December 2009, the same year when Kadunnga passed away.

The above-mentioned facts show that the central founding figures of PPME had different organizational and religious orientations. They possessed, in principle, relations to traditionalist and reformist Muslim

¹⁰⁶ Barton, *Gus Dur*, 83-101, and see also DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

organizations in Indonesia. The traditionalists are associated with the *pesantren* and the NU,¹⁰⁷ whereas the reformists are associated with the Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam (Persis), al-Irsyad (The Guidance, a Muslim organization of Arabs in Indonesia).¹⁰⁸ Due to his involvement in the DDII and his closeness to Natsir, Kadungga can be classified as a reformist Muslim who was interested in political affairs. Unlike Kadungga, Chaeron, who was involved in a Muhammadiyah-affiliated organization, was not interested in politics. Gus Dur, who seems to have had interests in political affairs, was the leader of NU, the traditionalist organization. Contrary to Gus Dur, Maksum was also involved in an NU-affiliated organization and was not interested in politics.

Hines classifies immigrant populations in the Netherlands into three groups. They are, firstly, “guest workers recruited to fill low to unskilled occupations starting after World War II; secondly, migrants from former colonies; and lastly, post-Cold War refugees from newly independent Eastern Europe.”¹⁰⁹ The PPME key founders cannot be grouped into the second classification of Hines precisely. In spite of the intentions of a number of PPME’s founders to look for work in the Netherlands, they cannot be categorized as guest workers as this required the presence of bilateral agreements between the Netherlands and the countries of the guest workers, which were “arranged for less developed nations to supply Europe’s [the Netherlands’] labor force,”¹¹⁰ No such agreement existed between the Netherlands and Indonesia. At the same time, the young men could not be classified precisely as part of the second group defined by Hines; namely, migrants that had a “historical, social, cultural, and political relationship with the

¹⁰⁷ See Noer, *The Modernist*, 42-43 and 94-95 and Martin van Bruinessen, *Traditionalist Muslims in a Modernizing World: The Nahdlatul Ulama and Indonesia’s New Order Politics, Fictional Conflict and the Search for a New Discourse* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1994), 24-26.

¹⁰⁸ See Noer, *The Modernist*, 42-43 and 94-95, James Peacock, *Purifying the Faith: The Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*, 2nd ed. (USA: Arizona State University, 1992), 20, and Howard M. Federspiel, *Labirin Ideologi Muslim: Pencarian dan Pergulatan PERSIS di Era Kemunculan Negara Indonesia (1923-1957)*, trans. Ruslani dan Kurniawan Abdullah, 1st ed. (Jakarta: P.T. Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2001), 112 and 116.

¹⁰⁹ Twanna A. Hines, “The Myth of Ethnic Equality,” in Maura I. Toro and Marixsa Alice, *Migration and Immigration: A Global View* (USA: Greenwood Press, 2004), 149-150.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Netherlands due to its colonial past.”¹¹¹ While they certainly fall into this second group in terms of their Dutch East Indies origins, they were also migrants, looking for employment or with a desire to further their studies without the bilateral agreement. The only relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia was historical, namely, between the colonizer and the colonized prior to Indonesian independence. Dassetto and Nonneman’s depiction of Muslim immigrants in Europe as “mostly men, and usually without families, in the early 1960s and the mid-1970s,”¹¹² can also be applied to those who founded PPME, most of whom were unmarried, despite some of them being over 30 years old.¹¹³ Thus, PPME’s central figures are mostly unrestricted young migrants seeking a better life or future in Europe, specifically the Netherlands.

I. Shared Intentions of PPME’s Founders

Prior to the establishment of PPME, those who established it had little political and legal knowledge of the Netherlands and the dominant Muslim and/or student organizations in the country.¹¹⁴ They also had no permanent residence permits.¹¹⁵ These conditions hardly seemed conducive to becoming pioneering youth leaders, i.e.

[those] who challenge the existing civilization by injecting ideas, values, actions to promote a new and more equitable order and to promote unity, integration and understanding between tribes [ethnics] and civilizations of different socio-economic, cultural and/or religious backgrounds.¹¹⁶

In fact, they did not make such endeavours, but were inspired by the following concerns.

Firstly, the founders were committed to performing Islamic teaching, propagating Islam (*da’wa*), and protecting the religion of the *umma* (Indonesian Muslims worldwide, in this case, Europe and

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Felice Dassetto and Gerd Nonneman, in “Islam in Belgium and the Netherlands: Towards a Typology or ‘Transplanted’ Islam,” Gerd Nonneman, et al., *Muslim Communities in the New Europe* (UK: Garnet Publishing, 1996), 191.

¹¹³ Al-Hajri, interview, The Hague, 8 February 2012.

¹¹⁴ See DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP*, n.p.

¹¹⁵ Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

¹¹⁶ Angel, *Youth Movement*, 8.

the Netherlands). This commitment was not hampered by their lack of knowledge of the political and legal situation in the Netherlands.¹¹⁷ Therefore, they paid attention to their fellow Indonesian Muslims, living in their host country, the Netherlands, who were experiencing difficulties in performing their religious obligations. That is to say, the non-Islamic atmosphere in their new non-Muslim society, coupled with a dearth of Indonesian experts on Islam in the Netherlands, had prevented many of them from performing their Islamic duties and consulting experts about their religious problems.¹¹⁸ Another focus for them was addressing the concerns of Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands, who were unhappy with the fact that they had not concluded their marriages according to Islamic ritual, even though they had concluded their marriages officiated by the Dutch administration. Therefore, they still wanted to renew their wedding vows on the basis of Islamic tenets. In addition, the persons establishing PPME were concerned with those who, when they died, wanted to be buried with Islamic rites.¹¹⁹

The socio-religious conditions encountered by those who founded PPME and their peers differed greatly from those encountered by the Muslims of the Moluccas, a group of Indonesian islands, who had previously been affiliated with the KNIL. These Moluccan Muslims lived in Friesland, and subsequently in Waalwijk and Ridderkerk. This group of Muslims appeared to be socio-religiously well-organized in the Netherlands. For example, their religious problems were being taken care of by their Moluccan Muslim leader, Akhmad Tan. Furthermore, they already had their own mosque and their funerals were conducted in an Islamic way.¹²⁰

It is worth mentioning that the difficulties experienced by the fellow Indonesian Muslims who turned to the founders for assistance

¹¹⁷ Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

¹¹⁸ See Muhamad Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se Eropa* (The Hague: YMAE, 1996), 21.

¹¹⁹ Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

¹²⁰ See N. J. G. Kaptein, "Islam in Present-Day Dutch Society, in W. A. L. Stokhof and N. J. G. Kaptein (eds.), *Beberapa Kajian Indonesia dan Islam* (Jakarta: INIS, 1990), 201-202.

and advice apparently were not shared by other Indonesian students in Europe. Unlike other Muslims who may be permanent residents of the Netherlands, these students, almost by definition, return home a few years after finishing their study. In general, in addition to having no relatives there, the students mostly thought that they had no opportunity to directly involved in developments taking place in Indonesia. They were of the opinion that they encountered the unfamiliar cultural, political and social structures in their European host countries.¹²¹ This situation might not matter for them because it would take place temporarily and their concerns suggest that religious affairs were not a priority for this group who devoted their energies to social and political activities.¹²² Currently, such subjects still become the concern of Indonesian students in the Netherlands.¹²³

Secondly, the founders of PPME who believed their spirit and faith would assist them in achieving their goal¹²⁴ wanted to establish a vehicle for their Islamic *da'wa* activities in Europe, and specifically the Netherlands, rather than create an organization comprising “a large number of people banding together in order to alter, supplement, or preserve some portion of the existing order.”¹²⁵ It appears that the political situation in Indonesia and the Netherlands had encouraged their belief in their dream. During the early years of the New Order regime, *da'wa* activities had been strictly controlled and required official permission. Take, for example, the establishment of Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII) in 1967. The name Yayasan Dakwah (Da'wa Foundation) was chosen, rather than one indicating a political party or a mass organization, because the activities of some of DDII's founders had been censored by the government. They had been accused of being

¹²¹ Anonymous, *Konperensi Pelajar Indonesia se-Eropa* (Hennef: n.p., 1955), 62-64.

¹²² Basuki Gunawan, *Indonesische studenten in Nederland* (The Hague: N.V. Uitgeverij W. van Hoeve, 1966), 169 and see also *Majalah Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda*, No. 3, October 1976: pp. 10-12.

¹²³ See the current online magazine of Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia (Indonesian Student Association) in the Netherlands at <http://dokumen.tips/download/link/jong-indonesia-edisi-01-2009> and at <http://dokumen.tips/documents/majalah-jong-indonesia-edisi-4-september-2010.html>, accessed 09 November 2015.

¹²⁴ Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, ii.

¹²⁵ Angel, *Youth Movement*, xii.

involved in a revolt organized by the Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (PRRI, the Republic of Indonesia's Revolutionary Government) in Sumatra since February 1958.¹²⁶ Establishing a new organization required obtaining permission from the regime. By contrast, establishing a foundation only required approval from a notary¹²⁷ as, technically, it had no membership, but rather founders, supporters and sympathizers – in this case they were called Keluarga Dewan Dakwah (Family of Islamic Propagation Council). These political circumstances had contributed to an uncomfortable political atmosphere for some Islamic preachers in Indonesia. By contrast, in the Netherlands there were no external obstacles to achieving their aims.¹²⁸ Moreover, the existence of non-Muslim Indonesian organizations such as Persekutuan Kristen Indonesia (Perki, Indonesian Christian Association) encouraged those who established PPME in their goals.¹²⁹ Another factor that should be considered is that between the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, Muslims in the Netherlands had been attempting to unite under a single Islamic organization.¹³⁰ Such an effort was in line with the objective of the Dutch government that people should “take their own initiatives and do not depend on the government incentives.”¹³¹

In respect of the founders' shared intentions, we can conclude that they were aware of their fellow Indonesian Muslims in Europe who were in need of religious guidance. This awareness was central to the founders being part of a minority group, which had no significant political capital or access¹³² that could be employed to change the prevailing socio-political situation. This awareness could be the starting

¹²⁶ M. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*, trans. A Team of Serambi, 4th ed. (Jakarta: PT Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2009), 544-545.

¹²⁷ See Asna Husin, *Philosophical and Sociological Aspects of Da'wah: A Study of Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia* (USA: UMI, 1998), 31.

¹²⁸ Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ M. Ali Kettani, *Muslim Minority in the World Today* (London and New York: Manshell Publishing Limited, 1986), 44.

¹³¹ See Ruben Gowrichan and Bim Mungra, “The Politics of Integration in the Netherlands,” in W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Muslims in the Margin* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 126.

¹³² Kettani, *Muslim Minority*, 1-3.

point for the founders to perform their *da'wa* activities among their fellow Indonesian Muslims encountering socio-religious difficulties in the new non-Muslim environment.

II. PPME: The Result of Consecutive Gatherings and Intensive Discussions

The establishment of the new Muslim organization known as PPME took place as a result of a series of monthly gatherings held from early January to mid-April 1971. At each gathering, the ideas underpinning the founding of a Muslim organization progressed and their desire to establish such an organization in Europe was discussed intensively by the participants of the gatherings.

The first meeting was held in early January of 1971 at Barenstraat 4, The Hague, a house belonging to Zitter. In fact, Indonesian young men gathered frequently in Zitter's home and it had become a sort of 'headquarters' for their activities.¹³³ Thirteen people participated in this inaugural meeting, which commenced just before midnight.¹³⁴ A number of those attending lived in Rotterdam and The Hague, while others, such as Kadungga, Ali Baba and A. Doni had travelled from Germany.¹³⁵ They discussed a series of ideas that required consideration before establishing a new Muslim organization. For instance, issues such as the Dutch rules of association in relation to socio-religious organizations, the possibilities of founding a new Muslim organization, the existing Muslim organizations, and the connections between the planned organization and PPI in the Netherlands. They eventually reached an agreement that their plans to found an organization in Holland for Indonesia-affiliated Muslim young men should continue and the meeting came to an end at 3 am.¹³⁶

A second gathering was held at the beginning of February 1971. The number of participants was less than at the first meeting and Kadungga was the only participant from Germany to attend this gathering.¹³⁷

¹³³ See DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 23.

¹³⁶ DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

This meeting resulted in an agreement to form a commission to draft the statute and by-laws of the new organization.¹³⁸ This commission consisted of four people: Suhaib, Chaeron and Zitter (who would later be included in the first PPME board) and Kadungga.¹³⁹

After further discussions in February and March of 1971, the commission, assisted by Maksum, finally accomplished their task and presented the statute and by-laws of the new Muslim organization. The last meeting was held on 11 April 1971 at 12 pm.¹⁴⁰ This gathering was attended by 21 participants and culminated in an agreement to use the name the Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa (PPME, Young Muslim Association in Europe). Besides the name PPME, there had been other suggestions put forward, including Gerakan Pemuda Islam Eropa (Islamic Youth Movement in Europe) and Organisasi Pemuda Islam Eropa (Islamic Youth Organization in Europe).¹⁴¹ Two arguments were presented opting for PPME. Firstly, the first word 'Persatuan' (Unity) was relevant to their situation at that moment; and secondly, the word 'Eropa' (Europe) accommodated not only the Dutchman, Zitter,¹⁴² but also another person, al-Hajri, a citizen of the Republic of South Yemen.¹⁴³ There was a clear need to acknowledge the various nationalities of the people who founded PPME. This historical gathering ended with a declaration of the establishment of the new organization whose headquarters were at Volmarijnstraat 54 A, Rotterdam:

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim (in the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful)

Pernyataan (Declaration)

Kami yang hadir dalam pertemuan yang diadakan pada saat dan tempat ini, menyatakan berdirinya organisasi yang bernama Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se Eropah (We, attending this gathering which is currently being held in this place, declare the establishment of an organization called the Young Muslim Association in Europe). *Barenstraat 4, Den Haag, 12/4-71.*¹⁴⁴

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se Eropa*, 24

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

¹⁴³ Al-Hajri, interview, 8 February 2012.

¹⁴⁴ DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

While there were 21 people who took part in this meeting, two important figures were unable to attend. One of them was Chaeron. He had been an active and creative figure in the new organization and he was actively involved in the founding of the PPME. He was both a founder and a member of the commission for the statute and by-laws and had designed a logo for the organization. Unfortunately, he was unable to attend the meeting due to his job, which had led him to move to Groningen. The other one was Zitter, a member of the board who was in charge of welfare affairs for the new organization. Zitter was unable to attend as he was in Brussels.¹⁴⁵

Kadungga became the chairman of the PPME. He was elected by the PPME founders following *musyawarah* (a mutual discussion on an equal footing).¹⁴⁶ Each person at the meeting could put forward the name of the person they wanted to chair the PPME. After each participant cast his vote, by writing the name of their choice on a piece of paper, the outcome of the vote was that 14 votes went to Kadungga, 10 to Wahid, 8 to Suhaib, 7 to Muchtar, and 3 to Maksum. The board members of PPME were as follows: Abdul Wahid Kadungga (the chairman), M. Suyuthi Suhaib (the deputy chairperson), A. H. Maksum (secretary), Y. Machfud Muchtar (the coordinator of affairs), Rachmat Zitter (the coordinator of logistics affairs), and T. Razali (the coordinator of art affairs). Gus Dur, who wanted to return to Indonesia, refused to become a member of the PPME.¹⁴⁷

III. The Characteristics of PPME: Beyond Indonesia

To identify the characteristics of PPME we must understand not only its statutes and by-laws, but also its members' nationality and socio-religious backgrounds. The PPME's official statutes elucidated that the sole basis of its struggle was Islam, not Indonesian Nationalism.¹⁴⁸ The exclusion of Indonesian Nationalism can be understood in the

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. the concept of 'syūrā', i.e. to be in an equal position in discussions. See John L Esposito and John O. Voll, *Islam and Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 27-28.

¹⁴⁷ DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

¹⁴⁸ A Dutch text about the PPME's basis can be found in the *Bijvoegsel van de Nederlandse staatscourant*, 14 August 1974.

context of PPME's goals. As mentioned in the statute, the organization was founded with the aim of performing Islamic teaching through Islamic propagation, networks, and (joint) socio-cultural activities.¹⁴⁹ This indicates that PPME did not want to engage in political activities and was autonomous, i.e. that it had no affiliation with the Indonesian government. The exclusion of 'Indonesian Nationalism' from PPME's statute signifies a transcending of ethnic and national boundaries. This is in line with the arguments that without such nationalism it reached a broader audience and would not prevent Muslims of different nationalities from becoming members. With Islam at its foundation, a wide range of values, including even nationalism, could be represented.¹⁵⁰

Given the PPME's objectives, non-political orientation, and independence, it made it difficult to classify the organization according to the four categories posited by Waardenburg:

[firstly,] a spiritual association (the first category), which was concerned with the spiritual well-being of its members and better knowledge of religion, and tended to keep a distance from politics and the state; [secondly, an association aimed at] improving the social, cultural and educational conditions...[which] will be keen on obtaining subsidies...; [thirdly, an association that] expresses dissatisfaction with public affairs and government policies in... [its member's countries]; [or fourthly, as an association that] is concerned with bringing about more than incidental changes in laws existing in the European country....¹⁵¹

The PPME is not 'a spiritual association' in the same way as, say, the Jamā'atu'l-Tabligh (Community for Preaching), a Muslim organization which was founded in Northern India and began running on 2 August 1934.¹⁵² This is because the PPME also aims at improving the social

¹⁴⁹ See Article 4 par. 1, 2, and 3 of the *Bijvoegsel van de Nederlandse staatscourant*, August 14, 1974, No. 156, 1; article 4 par. 3 of the PPME's statute, and DPP PPME, *The Statute of PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 1979), n.p.

¹⁵⁰ See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 26.

¹⁵¹ J. D. J. Waardenburg, "Muslim Associations and Officials Bodies in Some European Countries," in W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld (eds.), *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1991), 32.

¹⁵² F. Dassetto and G. Nonneman, "Islam in Belgium and the Netherlands: Towards a Typology of 'Transplanted' Islam," in Gernad Nonneman, et al., *Muslim Communities*, 206-207 and Muhammad Khalid Masud (ed.), *Travellers in Faith: Studies of the Tablighi*

and cultural conditions of its members. As a consequence, PPME may be located in Waardenburg's second category, but with a caveat, i.e. the absence of its link to the Indonesian or Dutch governments and the fact that it is not keen on seeking subsidies. In addition, to some extent, the PPME has served as the vehicle for the dissatisfaction of its founders with the restrictive policy of the New Order government in connection with the freedom to perform *da'wa* activities. This function is characteristic of Waardenburg's third category of Muslim organizations in Western Europe. In short, PPME does not fit precisely into Waardenburg's first, second or third classification, but rather is a combination of all three. PPME is an association intended to improve its members' religious and socio-cultural conditions without turning to the government for making its decisions.

The logo of the PPME is explained in its by-laws.¹⁵³ The logo was created in 1972 and launched in 1973, during the first General Meeting, held on the 25-26 of August at the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague.¹⁵⁴ It shows a crescent facing the European continent framed by a circle. Chaeron, who designed the logo, linked this crescent, a symbol for Islam,¹⁵⁵ with Europe and PPME accordingly to indicate that intellectuals in Europe started to discuss Islam.¹⁵⁶ Then, Chaeron explained that the circle meant the strong commitment of PPME's young men in performing and presenting Islamic teaching in their daily lives, whereas the European continent represents the target of the PPME's *da'wa* activities.¹⁵⁷ Lastly, the logo contains specific colours, each with a different meaning. For instance, the white of the crescent

Jamā't as a Transnational Islamic Movement for Faith Renewal (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2000), 11.

¹⁵³ DPP PPME, *the Bylaws of PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 1979), n.p. The PPME's logo was designed by Mochammad Chaeron. This logo was agreed on by the participants of the General Meeting, the highest level gathering, attended by representatives of the regional and executive branches of the boards of PPME. Zofwaan, interview, 11 August 2008. Similarly, Kadungga recognized him as the logo's designer. See DPP PPME, *Laporan*, n.p.

¹⁵⁴ See Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ To know more about the symbol, you may see Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2012), xxii and xxxix.

¹⁵⁶ See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 27.

¹⁵⁷ See Ibid.

signifies the holy and perfect Islamic tenets; the light blue is for Europe and indicates that few of the inhabitants of the continent have begun to recognize the truth of Islam; and the dark blue symbolizes the high morality of those who spread Islam on the European continent.¹⁵⁸ Thus, the symbols are focused on Europe, rather than Indonesia.

Having discussed its statute and by-laws, we will now turn to the nationalities of the PPME members. From the outset, the founders and members of PPME came from diverse backgrounds and differing islands, such as Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Borneo. This diversity was not limited to ethnicity. As was mentioned above, Zitter was Dutch, whereas al-Hajri came from Yemen. Recently, there has been an increase in Dutch Muslims registering as members, and actively participating in the branches of PPME in The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Breda-Tilburg and Heemskerk.¹⁵⁹ Another group that must not be neglected are from Suriname.¹⁶⁰ They originated from there and are mostly Surinamese-Javanese. Lastly, there are PPME members of Arab descent,¹⁶¹ some of whom hold a Dutch passport, but all of whom have historical ties with Indonesia. In this regard, the observation of Shadid and Van Koningsveld that PPME belonged to the Indonesian community¹⁶² was not mistaken for the period prior to the mid-1990s. Indeed, in this period, the majority of PPME members were Indonesian. This observation is, however, no longer valid due to the presence of the PPME's al-Moekminun (the Believers) group in The Hague since 1996. This is a group comprising the Dutch husbands of Indonesian wives and Dutch converts to Islam.¹⁶³ Despite the fact that

¹⁵⁸ See: Ibid., 28

¹⁵⁹ Listi (chairperson of PPME Heemskerk), telephone interview, 2 July 2008.

¹⁶⁰ The examples were Riboet Kasan, a member of PPME Amsterdam's board, Amin Dijo, a member of PPME al-Ikhlash (Sincerity) Amsterdam), and Johnny Kasijo, a member of PPME Rotterdam.

¹⁶¹ The examples were Abdul Aziz Balbaid (the advisor and central figure of PPME Amsterdam), and al-Hajri, himself.

¹⁶² Shadid and Van Koningsveld, "Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in the Netherlands," in Shadid and Van Koningsveld (eds.), *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 100-101.

¹⁶³ See "Hennie Hammink, Ik heb mezelf in Islam gevonden," in *Al-Ittihaad* 44, December 1995, 23, Ruud, "Een bekentenis van een nieuwe muslim," in *Al-Ittihaad*, November-January 93-94, 4, and see also T. Thoha Machsuni, *Laporan Pertanggung-*

no information is available about the number of PPME's members with a nationality other than Indonesian,¹⁶⁴ there are a considerable number of non-Indonesian members in PPME branches in the Netherlands. This diversity is a result of PPME's basis in Islam, i.e. that all Muslims are welcome, regardless of ethnicity or nationality.

In addition to PPME's members being ethnically and nationally diverse, their professions are also heterogeneous. In the course of its early development, the main actors of this new association, Kadungga, a graduate of secondary school and Chaeron, Maksum and Wahid, graduates of universities, were those who would like to further their study in Europe. However, this has changed as the membership of the organization has developed. Today, members of PPME include professionals,¹⁶⁵ unskilled labourers,¹⁶⁶ business people,¹⁶⁷ and pensioners.¹⁶⁸ In addition, the organization continues to welcome students.¹⁶⁹ Up to now, the students who have registered are, generally, family of existing PPME members.¹⁷⁰ Thus, the opinion that the majority of those using PPME prayer halls are Indonesian students living temporarily in the Netherlands¹⁷¹ is not correct. From the outset, PPME was not established specifically for Indonesian students, but had a wider goal of attracting membership from Muslim communities,

Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 2000-2002 (The Hague: PPME, 1 September 2002), Appendix 5, p. 1.

¹⁶⁴ Asief Ishom (the former coordinator of the Dutch speaking group of PPME in The Hague), interview, The Hague, 9 February 2012.

¹⁶⁵ The examples for this group are William Satriaputra de Weerd, working at the Korean company, Samsung, and Ruutz Pourchez, working at Akzo Nobel.

¹⁶⁶ For instance, members of PPME who are employed in jobs, such as cleaning service, or as waiters/waitresses.

¹⁶⁷ Budi Santoso, the central figure of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam and the owner of an Indonesian restaurant, Warung Aji, and Abdul Aziz Balbaid, an importer of Indonesian foods and goods and the manager of the Indonesian restaurant, Selera Anda, are examples.

¹⁶⁸ Maksum (retired from a Dutch insurance company), Zofwaan (a retired teacher at SIN), and Riboet Kasan (retired from the Marilu Engineering) are examples.

¹⁶⁹ Pourchez, interview, Rotterdam, 27 July 2008.

¹⁷⁰ William Satriaputra de Weerd (chairperson of PPME in the Netherlands), interview, Rotterdam, 25 May 2008.

¹⁷¹ Shadid and Van Koningsveld, "Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in the Netherlands," 100-101.

especially Indonesians, living in the Netherlands.¹⁷²

Finally, since its establishment, PPME's membership has never relied on religious affiliations.¹⁷³ As previously mentioned, both traditionalist and reformist Muslims worked together to found PPME as a socio-religious association. Among its members are also Muslims who have no relation with Indonesian Muslim organizations with either a traditionalist or reformist background. They may not be *santris*, i.e. Muslims who pay great attention to Islamic doctrines and have gained Islamic knowledge in the *pesantren* system¹⁷⁴ or they may be new Muslims (*mu'allafs*), i.e. those who may just know Islam and have no Islamic religious background. These new Muslims can become members of its board. Therefore, though its members might opt for NU, Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam or any other Islamic organization, this has never been the main focus of PPME. This flexible stance allowed PPME to maintain its unity from 1971 until the end of 2005, when discord among PPME members led to a schism in the PPME branch in Amsterdam in mid-2010 (discussed in chapter 2).

In sum, there are three key points to emerge from this discussion. Firstly, PPME has attained members other than Indonesians. Secondly, the backbone of this socio-religious association consisted of graduates of secondary schools and university alumni, professionals, and businessmen living in Europe, especially in the Netherlands, rather than Indonesia. Lastly, PPME has members with diverse religious backgrounds.

IV. The Structure and Expansion of PPME: The Netherlands and Germany

The endeavours of the PPME board to expand their new organization drew little attention from Indonesian young men in Europe, except in the Netherlands and Germany. It was claimed by PPME that personal contacts had been established in various cities

¹⁷² Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ See: Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 126-127; and see also Ricklefs, *Modern Indonesia*, 285-286 and 460.

in Europe, such as Brussels, Helsinki, Paris, and London.¹⁷⁵ However, PPME has never managed to establish itself in these cities.¹⁷⁶ Less than two years after the establishment of PPME in the Netherlands, on 13 January 1973, Indonesian Muslims in Germany established their own PPME. As a result, for a while there existed two PPMEs – PPME in the Netherlands and PPME in Germany. The establishment of the PPME in Germany and its consequences for the PPME in the Netherlands, along with the structural development of the two organizations, their leading figures, and membership will form part of the present discussion.

A. PPME in the Netherlands

Following the establishment of PPME in Germany in 1973, PPME's board in the Netherlands was repositioned as Dewan Pimpinan Pusat (DPP, Central Executive Board). Subsequently, in 1974, the Dewan Pengurus Wilayah (DPW, Regional Executive Board) of the Netherlands was formed. The DPW was under the leadership of M. Surya Alinegara, a prominent PPME figure and preacher who had studied at al-Azhar University, Egypt.¹⁷⁷ The DPW then founded PPME branches in The Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam in 1975.¹⁷⁸ Today, there are also branches in Heemskerk and Breda-Tilburg.

PPME in The Hague was founded in 1975 and legalised in 2002.¹⁷⁹ Leading figures of PPME, including A. H. Maksum, the late Mochammad Chaeron, Naf'an Sulchan (the former chief of PPME in the Netherlands), and Yani Kurdi (the former coordinator of PPME's youth division in the Netherlands) have been members and advisors to this branch. As a result, this branch has been pivotal for PPME's other branches whose boards frequently consult with PPME The Hague on religious or organizational matters such as the date of the beginning of the fasting month (*Ramaḍān*), the date

¹⁷⁵ See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 29-30.

¹⁷⁶ DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*, 5; and see also Maryadie, M. F. A., *Sumbangan Pemikiran kepada Musyawarah Umum PPME II*, 21 July 1976, 1-3.

¹⁷⁷ See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 29-30.

¹⁷⁸ <http://www.PPME.nl/Nederland/Geschied.htm>, accessed July 20, 2008.

¹⁷⁹ Koch Notarissen, *Akte van oprichting P. P. M. E. Den Haag*, 's-Gravenhage, 13 May 2002.

of *‘id al-fiṭr* (the feast after the fasting month) and PPME by-laws. Furthermore, PPME The Hague has also established an Indonesian-speaking group, a group of second-generation Muslims, and al-Moekminun (a Dutch-speaking group for learning Islam). Al-Moekminun is organized by Dutch members, the majority of whom are Dutch husbands of Indonesian wives who are PPME members in The Hague. As a result, there are some native Dutch-speaking cadres in PPME, such as Ludo Jongmans and Rene Hendriks (discussed in chapter 2). Finally, up to 2010 there was no written information available on the exact numbers of PPME members in The Hague. The only available data comes from a report in 1997 that states that 83 families had registered as active members.¹⁸⁰ In 2008, this number had risen to more or less 150, according to Aaman Sulchan, a second-generation PPME member and chief of The Hague branch between 2008 and 2010.¹⁸¹

In 1975, a PPME branch was established in Rotterdam. In addition to the late Kadungga, Husny Abdul Razak, the former chief of the Board tasked with establishing PPME's first *muṣallā* (place of worship) and the late Henk Tjen A Kwoei, a Surinamese in origin and a former teacher of Islam for PPME's Dutch-speaking members, also lived in Rotterdam. As previously mentioned, PPME was a socio-religious, rather than a political, organization; therefore, its branches, including PPME Rotterdam could not engage in political activities. However, this rule was apparently ignored by Hisyam Pula, alias Abu Jihad, the leader of PPME Rotterdam in the 1980s. This resulted in a split among branch members, i.e. one group under the leadership of Hisyam Pula and another under the leadership of Tjen A Kwoei.¹⁸² The group under the leadership of Pula, who originated from Thailand, were keen to become a political organization. Consequently, it was not recognized by the DPW. This was due to his absence, although he

¹⁸⁰ DPC PPME, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban PPME Cabang Den Haag 1996-1997* (The Hague: PPME, December 1997), 14.

¹⁸¹ Aaman Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008.

¹⁸² DPW PPME the Netherlands, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986* (The Hague: PPME, 1986), 23.

was invited in an *islāh* (reconciliation) meeting held by a team of PPME for reconciliation between the two leaders. In the meeting, the members of the team wanted to gain information from the two sides on what happened in PPME Rotterdam. However, Pula and his people who had continued to try to use PPME as their political vehicle, for instance, for supporting the struggle of Muslims in Thailand¹⁸³, did not respond to the invitation and gave no explanation for their absence. This made the DPW recognize the branch under the leadership of Tjen A Kwoei, who steered clear of politics and attended the gathering.¹⁸⁴ Lastly, according to Ruutz Pourchez, the present chief of PPME Rotterdam, only 60 families were registered in 2008.¹⁸⁵ Consequently, PPME in Rotterdam frequently cooperated with the Surinamese-Javanese Association in order to meet the needs for accommodation for their worship and socio-religious activities (discussed in chapter 3).¹⁸⁶

In respect to PPME's branch in Amsterdam, it is important to note that a split occurred among the congregation at the end of 2005 due to differing religious orientations (discussed in chapter 2) resulting in two groups, PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash (Sincerity) Amsterdam. This section will discuss PPME Amsterdam, which was founded in 1975, and legally registered in 2001,¹⁸⁷ whereas PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam will be dealt with later on. The advisor of PPME Amsterdam is Abdul Aziz Balbaid, a former member of PPME's board in the Netherlands and also active in a PPME committee for providing places of worship. Prior to the

¹⁸³ At least up to 2009, Pula, claiming to represent PPME, continued to support the struggle of Malay insurgents in southern Thailand. In doing so, he used the English translation of PPME (Young Muslim Association in Europe, YMAE) and not its Indonesian name. For instance, he, on behalf of the YMAE, organized a seminar on the Suffering of Pattani Muslims held at Islamitische Universiteit Rotterdam (Rotterdam Islamic University) on 26 June 2009.

¹⁸⁴ DPW PPME the Netherlands, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Nederland 1992-1994* (The Hague: PPME, 1994), 7.

¹⁸⁵ Pourchez, interview, 27 July 2008.

¹⁸⁶ DPC PPME, *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque for the Indonesian Community in the Netherlands*, (Rotterdam: PPME, 2004), 12.

¹⁸⁷ Koch Notarissen, *Akte van oprichting P.P.M.E. Amsterdam*, 's-Gravenhage, 19 April 19 2001.

conflict in 2005, PPME Amsterdam was considered a progressive branch. Its members' contribution to developing their PPME branch was crucial in this regard and can be seen from the success in organizing a series of socio-cultural activities and purchasing their own place of worship in 2005 (the only accommodation owned by PPME till 2011, discussed in chapter 3) in Amsterdam.¹⁸⁸ Members of PPME Amsterdam were able to meet the organization's monthly mortgage payments by means of diverse endeavours, such as annual donations (especially during Ramadan) and sport days programmes (discussed in chapter 3). By 2008, membership of PPME Amsterdam had reached 268 families.¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately, there is no exact information on the membership including the number of Indonesians with Arab descent.

On 18 April 1998, a new branch of PPME was established in Heemskerk. This branch evolved out a group of women interested in knowing more about Islamic subjects. The group then joined in with PPME activities.¹⁹⁰ The involvement of A. Naf'an Sulchan, a key PPME Islamic teacher, facilitated the development of the branch in Heemskerk, under their female leader. Up to now, no other leading PPME figures are connected to this branch, which has advanced. Initially, the women, who are mostly the wives of Dutchmen, held their meetings to discuss Islamic subjects in their homes. Their husbands, who are mostly converts to Islam, usually accompanied their wives to the place where the meeting took place. The Heemskerk branch has recently expanded and added a men's group for those husbands wanting to learn to recite the Quranic verses under the guidance of Sulchan. They meet separately, not only because of the different languages, i.e. Indonesian for the women and Dutch for their husbands, but also because of their different focus of learning. Their activities take

¹⁸⁸ http://www.achmad-supardi.blogspot.com/2005_10_01archive.html, accessed 21 July 2008. The writer was a journalist at an Indonesian newspaper called *Rakyat Merdeka* (Independent People).

¹⁸⁹ Abdul Aziz Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 July 2008.

¹⁹⁰ DPW PPME in the Netherlands, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999* (The Hague: PPME, Juni 2000), 6.

place monthly in a leased church hall.¹⁹¹ There are 15 families actively participating in the religious activities organized by the PPME branch in Heemskerk.¹⁹²

On 30 December 2005, PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam was founded.¹⁹³ This branch was legalised in 2006.¹⁹⁴ Initially, A. Ramli (a former PPME board member), Budi Santoso, (the former vice-chief of PPME Amsterdam) and Mustofa Sulchan (the younger brother of the aforementioned A. Naf'an Sulchan) were leading figures in this splinter group. This branch came into existence as a result of differing views among the members of PPME Amsterdam on the religious traditions of *yasinan* (reciting a Quranic chapter called *Sūra Yāsīn*) and *tahlilan* (a package of prayers usually aimed at dead persons by reciting *tawassul* (reciting a Quranic chapter al-Fātiḥa (The opening) for the Prophet Muhammad, his companions, certain well-known ulama, and ancestors), a part of the Quranic chapter al-Baqara (The cow), *istighfār* (asking for apology to God), *ṣalawāt* (to the Prophet Muhammad), *tahlīl* (no God but Allah), *tasbīḥ* (glorification of God) and a closing prayer).

These practices were performed on certain occasions (discussed in chapter 2). The dissenting members organized these recitations and conducted activities in their homes. A critical conflict erupted when PPME Amsterdam purchased a building for their religious and socio-cultural activities in Osdorp, a suburb of Amsterdam. The purchase was financed largely by members' donations. The conflict arose when members of al-Ikhlash Amsterdam wanted to hold their activities in the new building. However, their request was not supported by those members affiliated with the present PPME Amsterdam who had the opinion that only selected activities (i.e. those arranged by members of the board of PPME

¹⁹¹ Listi, telephone interview, July 2, 2008.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Siti Fatimah, Laporan Notulen Rapat ke-Empat Pengurus Majelis Dzikir, 31 December 2005, PPME Majelis Dzikir, Amsterdam.

¹⁹⁴ Koch Notarissen, *Akte van oprichting PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam*, 's-Gravenhage, 10 January 2006.

Amsterdam) should be held in the building.¹⁹⁵ One of the members argued that activities such as Quranic recitation should not be performed there because not all members wanted to participate in such events.¹⁹⁶ Similarly, another elucidated that these traditions should take place at home, rather than in the new building as there were differing views on the Islamic legal foundations of such activities [traditions] (discussed in chapter 2).¹⁹⁷ PPME's board in the Netherlands finally came to the decision that both sides should go their separate ways on the grounds that the two groups were set firm in their own points of view and could not be united under the umbrella of PPME Amsterdam.¹⁹⁸ In 2008, membership of PPME al-Ikhlash, the majority who were former members of the PPME Amsterdam branch, reached 125 families.¹⁹⁹

Lastly, the PPME branch in Breda-Tilburg was founded in 2005 and legalised in 2008.²⁰⁰ It had its origin in a group of people assisting families who had experienced hardship following bereavement – this took place in 2000. Members would visit bereaved families in their homes, holding the *yasinan* and *tahlilan*. They had the support of Hansyah, a former leader of PPME's second generation. Hansyah is a Dutch-speaking graduate of Delft University who took over leadership of this branch from his mother-in-law, Tuti.²⁰¹ Its monthly activities and discussions of Islamic subjects frequently took place in Dutch, rather than in Indonesian. Indeed, in the process of learning Islam, there has been no separation between Indonesian and Dutch speakers in the Breda-Tilburg branch.²⁰²

¹⁹⁵ DPW PPME Nederland, *Keputusan PPME Wilayah Nederland*, no. 2/PPMENL/XII/2005 (The Hague: DPW PPMW, December 18, 2005), appendix 2, n.p.

¹⁹⁶ Kasan, interview, Amsterdam, 10 May 2008.

¹⁹⁷ Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 May 2008.

¹⁹⁸ DPW PPME Nederland, *Keputusan PPME Wilayah Nederland*, appendix 1.

¹⁹⁹ DPC PPME al-Ikhlash, *PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam ledenlijst* (Amsterdam: PPME, n.y.), n.p.

²⁰⁰ <http://www.PPME.nl/Nederland/Geschied.htm>, accessed 20 July 2008 and see: *Nieuw uittreksel handelsregister etc. Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken PPME wilayah Breda ar-Rahman*, ref: 2007.041801/T, Notariskantoor Staden, Oosterhout, 8 January 2008).

²⁰¹ Hansyah (chairman of PPME Breda-Tilburg), telephone interview, June 30, 2008.

²⁰² Ibid.

This implies that the leader and preachers of this branch should speak Dutch. In addition, there has been no separation of men and women at branch meetings to learn Islam as had been the case in Heemskerk. 15 to 20 families have actively participated in the monthly programmes held in members' homes. Up to 2008, there were approximately 35 families registered as members of PPME Breda-Tilburg.²⁰³

B. PPME in Germany

Motivated by the establishment of PPME in the Netherlands, Indonesian Muslim youths in Germany founded their own PPME. Unlike those who established the PPME in the Netherlands who were no longer students, those who established PPME Germany were university students in Germany.²⁰⁴ During a meeting attended by 14 Indonesian students and chaired by Rasyid Suparwata, they established a PPME in Giessen on 19 January 1973. Present were Suparwata Rasyid, Akias A. M., Romdhon Bermah Kusumah, Hasbi Tirta Praja, Hasnan Jalal, Hendra Cahya, Madkar O. H., Marzuan Umar, A. M. Saefuddin, Saiful A. Rangkuti, Sofyan Sadeli, Taty Permana Kusumah, Syamsuddin, and Masykur Abdullah²⁰⁵ who issued the following statement:

*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim (in the name of Allah, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful),
Kami yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini, pendukung perintis pembentukan organisasi Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropah Jerman Barat, menyatakan kesediaan dan tanggung jawab terhadap kelangsungan hidup organisasi ini sejak didirikan pada tanggal 19 Januari 1973 atau 9 Dzul Hijjah 1392 H, di Giessen. Semoga kami tetap beriman, Islam dan mudah-mudahan Allah SWT melindungi organisasi ini serta kami dalam melaksanakan tugas kewajiban sebagai Muslim[,] amien* (We, the undersigned, supporters of the establishment of PPME in West Germany, declare our readiness and responsibility for the existence of the organization from its inception on 19 January 1973 in Giessen. May we remain faithful and perform Islamic teaching. May Allah protect this

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 26.

²⁰⁵ DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP*, n.p.

organization and us in performing our duties as Muslims).²⁰⁶

The headquarters of PPME was in Germany. While establishing its branches in Dortmund, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Offenbach, Giessen, Berlin Heidelberg,²⁰⁷ in Clausthal, and Bochum, taking place from 1973,²⁰⁸ it became a DPW on 21 December 1975. The German DPW remained under the leadership of Rasyid Suparawata.²⁰⁹ In spite of the fact that the German DPW organized only a few activities, such as publishing a newsletter called *al-Falāḥ* (The Success), which actually appeared first in Rotterdam,²¹⁰ supporting the purchase of a place of worship in The Hague,²¹¹ and publishing a new newsletter known as *Insan* (Human eing), the headquarters of PPME was there, in Giessen, from 1979. This was largely due to the fact that the elected chief of DPP PPME, S. A. Rangkuti, lived there. However, this move did nothing to bring PPME in Germany and the Netherlands closer. This was due to their perspectives. As previously mentioned, PPME in the Netherlands had been non-political, whereas PPME in Germany had gone in the opposite direction.²¹² The PPME in the Netherlands was *da'wa* oriented, whereas the PPME in Germany wanted to respond to the political situation in Indonesia. For instance, the magazine *Insan*, published by PPME Berlin in October 1982, included an article discussing the presence of communists in the Syarikat Islam (SI, Islamic Union) in the 1910s and 1920s which called into mind the coup d'état of 30 September 1965 and warned against the dangers of communist ideology.²¹³ In the same magazine, Sukarno's and Natsir's differing

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 29-30 and DPW PPME Germany, *Laporan Kerja DPW PPME* (Darmstadt: PPME, July 1976), 2.

²⁰⁸ DPP PPME, *Daftar Peserta Musyawarah Umum IV* (The Hague: PPME, November 1982), n.p.

²⁰⁹ See DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja*, 4-5.

²¹⁰ See DPP PPME, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Mandataris Musyawarah Umum PPME/Ketua Umum DPP PPME Periode 1989-1982* (Aachen: PPME, November 1982), 11.

²¹¹ See A. Naf'an Sulchan, "Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittihaad," in *Al-Ittihaad*, 1985, 13.

²¹² Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 34-35.

²¹³ See: Damanhuri Djamil, "Kita Merdeka Berkat Rakhmat Allah," in *Insan*, October [19]82: 4, 5, and 6.

views on national policy pertaining to, for instance, Irian Jaya (Papua) were also presented.²¹⁴ Natsir's cabinet preferred to use a diplomatic way of giving certain concessions, such as making Irian Jaya an autonomous region and forming a Badan Perwakilan Rakyat (Body of People's Representatives) in the region; and giving economical advantages to the Netherlands in exchange for the takeover of its sovereignty from the Netherlands. This approach was regarded as a too soft and weak diplomacy by the cabinet opposition parties, especially, Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI, Indonesian National Party), including Sukarno.²¹⁵ Including these subjects may indicate the political orientation of PPME in Germany. The different orientations of the PPME in the Netherlands and Germany also triggered differences among members of PPME. That is to say, those Indonesian Muslim students living temporarily in Europe favoured PPME Germany, whereas Muslim graduates living permanently in the Netherlands were the backbone of PPME there. These differences contributed to a distance between the two organizations and a weakening of the connection between PPME in Germany and the Netherlands that continued for almost a decade (1973-1982). This relation was eventually severed in 1982 and the DPP in Germany no longer held any activity.²¹⁶

In order to reactivate the DPP PPME in Germany after it had been dormant for almost 13 years (1982-1992), the DPW in the Netherlands took the initiative to hold a *Sidang Umum* (General Meeting) in Rotterdam in September 1992. At this meeting, M. Zubaidi, a member of the board of the PPME in Germany, was elected to replace Rangkuti as the new leader of PPME Germany.²¹⁷

²¹⁴ Mohammad Roem, "Peralihan ke Negara Persatuan," in *Insan*, October [19]82: 7-11. Roem's writing was written on 15 June 1982. See *Ibid.*, 11 and at http://pustakadigital-buynatsir.blogspot.co.id/2010_05_01_archive.html, accessed 10 November 2015.

²¹⁵ See M. Natsir, "Keterangan Pemerintah tentang Irian Barat," in D. P. Sati Alimin (ed.), *Capita Selecta 2* (Jakarta: Pustaka Pendis, 1957), 21-35, Nuura N. Fasa, "Perjuangan M. Natsir dalam Merebut Irian Barat," in *Avatara* 1, no 1 (January 2013): 145-146 and Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 295.

²¹⁶ DPW PPME, *Ikrar Musyawarah Wilayah Luar Biasa* 1982 (Germany: PPME, November 1982), n.p.

²¹⁷ DPW PPME in the Netherlands, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME*

However, five months after the DPP was reactivated, Zubaidi crossed out in the translated Qur'ans the words '*Berdasarkan Pancasila*' (on the Basis of *Pancasila*, Indonesian State Philosophy) in a foreword by the Indonesian Minister of Religious Affairs, Munawir Syadzali. The Qur'ans were gifts by the government of Saudi Arabia to that of Indonesia and were distributed among the members of PPME after the words had been crossed out.²¹⁸ In fact, Zubaidi's action shows his opposition to the *Pancasila* as *Azas Tunggal* (the Sole Basis) for Indonesia. This was in accord with his religious orientation. He called himself a *dā'ī mujāhid* (militant preacher) refuted *jihād* in the sense of great effort and did not repudiate Islamic revolution. This was his clarification of attitude of *dā'īs* (Islamic preachers) affiliated to Dār al-Iftā' (the Riyadh-based Presidency for Scientific Research and Religious Edicts) toward *jihād*.²¹⁹ This attitude was similar to that of Kadungga, affiliated to Masyumi and the DDII, declaring at the end of 1980s: "...There was no state, except Islamic [state] [and] there was no government, except Islamic [government]."²²⁰ In fact, since 1970s, the DDI itself had dealt with discourses upon the implementation of *Sharī'a* (Islamic Law).²²¹ In performing his *da'wa*, Zubaidi argued that the Qur'an and *Ḥadīth* were the only guidance. He also prohibited Muslims, with the exception of Islamic preachers, those given mission for Islamic tasks and those seeking beneficial knowledge, to live in non-Muslim countries because they could not keep strictly to Islam themselves. In addition, he refuted financial donations from

Periode 1992-1994 (The Hague: PPME, November 1994), 6-7.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, 14-15.

²¹⁹ Mohammad Zubaedi to DPW PPME Nederland, letter "Menangkal Fitnah," pp. 7-11, n.d. See also Dār al-Iftā' is an affiliate of the Council of Senior Islamic Scholars, headed by Saudi Arabia's Grand Mufti Sheykh 'Abdul Azīz Alī. One prominent Islamic scholar who joined this Dār is Sheykh Muhammad Ibn Salih ibn 'Uthaymin [a Sheikh often linked to Salafi groups]. See "Saudi Arabia Launches Website for Authentic Fatwas," accessed 30 May 2011, <http://muslimtoday.wordpress.com/2007/10/07/saudi-arabia-launches-website-for-authentic-fatwas/>.

²²⁰ Abdul Wahid Kadungga, *PPME/YMAE sebagai Badan Perjuangan dan Lembaga Da'wah*, Rotterdam, PPME, 1989, 7.

²²¹ Remi Madinier, "Masyumi antara Demokrasi Islam dan Islam Integral," Paper presented at Séminaire IISM/EHESS for Indonesian Master and PhD Students of Leiden University, 7 May 2008, 8.

non-Muslim countries, but accepted fees from the Saudi Arabian government for his task as the preacher of the Saudi Arabian Dār al-Iftā'. Lastly, he was critical of the Indonesian government because of its dislike of Islamic preachers who doggedly kept to Islamic ideology. In addition, he disliked those who hated the Saudi Arabian government.²²²

Zubaedi's action invited a response of the DPW PPME in the Netherlands. In a letter sent to Zubaedi acting as the chairman of the DPP PPME in Germany, A. Naf'an Sulchan, on behalf of the DPW in the Netherlands, informed Zubaedi that he had acted of his own accord and in breach of the statute of PPME, article 3 which states that PPME was an independent organization that concentrated on educational development and performing *da'wa* (Islamic propagation). It was not a political organization.²²³ As a result, since M. Zubaidi's actions, no joint activities between DPW in Germany and DPW in the Netherlands have taken place.²²⁴ Zubaedi was an Indonesian preacher who was given the task by the House to propagate Islam in Europe.²²⁵ This House, which has existed since the early 1950s, seemingly plays a significant role in disseminating the official religious orientation of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It not only issues the *fatwas* and publishes books, but also 'socialises and sustains the religious narratives' of Saudi Arabia.²²⁶ Until 2010, a few members of board of PPME in Germany still lived there, but the majority had returned to Indonesia after finishing their studies. This is the main reason for the dissolution of the PPME in Germany – there were no activities performed on

²²² Mohammad Zubaedi to DPW PPME Nederland, letter "Menangkal Fitnah," pp. 7-11, n.d.

²²³ DPW PPME Nederland to Mohammad Zubaedi, letter no. 0X/KWN/01/93, 8 January 1993.

²²⁴ Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se Eropa*, 38-39.

²²⁵ Mohammad Zubaedi to DPW PPME Nederland, letter "Menangkal Fitnah," pp. 7-11, n.d. and Kadungga, *PPME/YMAE sebagai Badan Perjuangan dan Lembaga Da'wah*, 7.

²²⁶ Afshin Shahi, *The Politics of Truth Management in Saudi Arabia* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 73-75 and 87-89, and see also at <http://www.alifta.net/Fatawa/Scientists.aspx?language=en>.

behalf of PPME in Germany including those of its branches there.²²⁷

We can conclude that even though PPME expanded into Germany, the PPME there did not follow the same policy as the PPME in the Netherlands. This cannot be separated from the fact that the leaders of the two PPMEs had a different orientation. In addition, their inability to agree on whether to run PPME as a non-political organization or as a vehicle for political aspirations contributed to their inability to connect and work together.

V. The PPME's Status in the Netherlands and Its Activities

Having dealt with the structure of PPME and its efforts to expand in Europe, we have to note that the PPME in the Netherlands still exists, whereas the PPME in Germany has been disbanded. This section will concentrate on the legal status and activities of the PPME in the Netherlands. Until mid-2010, the legal status of PPME in the Netherlands had changed two times. These took place in May of 1974 and August 1993. Along with these changes, certain activities had been organized by the board of PPME.

A. Prior to May 1974

The PPME board made a strategic decision to propose the legalization of the new organization. In order to do this, they had to accomplish certain legal and organizational requirements. Firstly, PPME should change the contents of its statute in connection with article 1 par. 2, concerning the timeframe of PPME's existence in the Netherlands.²²⁸ Secondly, it should replace its board members who did not possess a permanent residence permit for the Netherlands.²²⁹ Lastly, it should form a new PPME team to meet the requirements. As a result, based upon PPME's letter no. 004/PPME/SEK/73, a team was formed to ensure that PPME met the requirements. Led by Jus M. Muchtar, one of those who founded PPME, it aimed to accomplish two tasks - preparing the required documents for the legalization; and writing a letter requesting

²²⁷ Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

²²⁸ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat pada 2 Februari 1974, PPME, The Hague.

²²⁹ Maksum, interview, The Hague, 30 June 2008.

PPME's legal recognition.²³⁰

The letter was sent to the Ministry of Justice in February of 1973²³¹ and the Ministry responded within two months.²³² Firstly, the Ministry wanted more information on the statute and by-laws of PPME. Therefore, the Ministry asked to meet Muchtar in order to know about the headquarters and the requirements to become a member. This was because there was no information about them and that should be clearly stated.²³³ It also assented the requirement that the PPME should replace its board members who did not have a permanent residence permit for the Netherlands. Besides, the Ministry requested further information on the timeframe for PPME's existence in the Netherlands.²³⁴ According to the statute, PPME was established for '*onbepaalde tijd*' (without a time limit). This meant that the time limit on PPME's existence should be determined. PPME was able to respond to this second request and adopted the Ministry's suggestion to limit PPME's existence to 29 years.²³⁵ This was to determine whether PPME would or would not be needed after the determined time.²³⁶ In addition, the Ministry requested clarification regarding the sentence in the statute about *da'wa* (Islamic propagation).²³⁷ Having clarified that the *da'wa* referred to the delivering of Islamic speeches to those attending PPME gatherings and through its newsletters, the Dutch Ministry had no objection to the words.²³⁸

In the meantime, the board had organized a number of activities which gave the PPME a clear identity and strengthened charity. These included producing Newsletter *al-Falāḥ* in March 1972; commemorating the Prophet's birthday in April 1972; and

²³⁰ See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 30-31.

²³¹ DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP*, n.p.

²³² Maksum, interview, 30 June 2008.

²³³ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat pada 2 Februari 1974, PPME, The Hague.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ This restriction of 29 years can only be found in the Dutch version of PPME's basis. In the English and Indonesian versions, it is absent.

²³⁶ The *Bijvoegsel van de Nederlandse staatscourant*, 14 August 1974, p. 1.

²³⁷ See DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP*, n.p.

²³⁸ See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 31-32.

collecting *zakāt* (alms) together with the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands.²³⁹ The newsletter stimulated the publication of two other bulletins: *al-Ittihaad* (Unity), published by the central PPME in the 1980s, and *Euromoslem* published by the Amsterdam branch in the 1990s, both of which provided a clear picture of PPME's religious identity (discussed in chapter 2). Meanwhile, the commemoration and the *zakāt* collection were activities used by the PPME board to promote charity (discussed in chapter 3).

We can conclude that the desire of the PPME board to legalise the organization's presence in the Netherlands demonstrates a concern for PPME's continued existence in Europe. Moreover, its activities show that it tried to socialise itself to other sides, especially, the Indonesian Embassy.

B. After May 1974

In 1974, the Ministry of Justice recognized the existence of PPME on the basis of the Dutch Queen's Letter no. 38 of 6 May 1974.²⁴⁰ In this letter, it was written:

...Wij Juliana, bij de gratie Gods, Koningin der Nederlanden, Prinses van Oranje-Nassau, enz., enz., enz.,...hebben goedgevonden en verstaan: de overgelegde statuten der navolgende verenigingen goed te keuren en deze verenigingen mitsdien te erkennen, te weten:... 'Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa' (Vereniging van Islamitische Jongeren in Europe), gevestigd te 's-Gravenhage. Onze Minister van Justitie is belast met de uitvoering van dit besluit. (We Juliana, by the grace of God, Queen of the Netherlands, Princess of Oranje-Nassau, etc., etc., etc., ...have approved of and understood: to endorse the consulted regulations of below associations and, therefore, to recognize these associations, namely: 'Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa' (Young Muslim Association in Europe), established in s'Gravenhage. Our Minister of Justice is responsible for the implementation of this decision).

This letter shows that PPME was awarded the status of a

²³⁹ DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP*, n.p.

²⁴⁰ In Hisyam's book (1996: 32) the letter was numbered 58 and dated May 4, 1974. However, in the sources he refers to, i.e. *Bijvoegsel* of 1974 and the Queen's Letter on the legalization of PPME, it is clearly written that it was legalised on the date mentioned in the main text.

‘vereniging’ (association). This status was different from other Muslim organizations in the Netherlands, which were a *stichting* (foundation).²⁴¹ This new status placed PPME in a complicated position. For example, important PPME decisions, strategies and programmes were dependent on decisions being made in General, Regional, Branch or Extraordinary Meetings. Thus, the association was subject to long procedures when making fundamental decisions and strategic steps.²⁴² This is in contrast to the nature of a *stichting* (foundation), which requires no membership.²⁴³ Another problem confronting the PPME was the absence of a clear definition in its statutes of the main concerns influencing the activities of PPME.²⁴⁴ Therefore, it was hard for PPME to gain Dutch government subsidies. In fact, subsidies were frequently awarded to non-government organizations or foundations on the basis of specific socio-cultural needs, rather than religious ones.²⁴⁵ For example, the Surinamese-Javanese foundation known as Setasan which was abbreviated from Setoedjoe Anggawe Santoso (Agree to Be Peaceful), situated at Van Eversdijkstraat 31 in Rotterdam, focused on the improvement of Javanese socio-cultural activities and for this it had been awarded an annual subsidy from the Dutch government, specifically for its Santoso Centre.²⁴⁶ According to its statute, PPME should remain an independent organization and not be tied to a donor.²⁴⁷ Therefore, any assistance should be assessed in terms of whether it would harm the fundamental characteristics of the association or not.

Nevertheless, the status of association seemed to be the

²⁴¹ See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 32.

²⁴² See “Chapter V-VII,” in DPP PPME, *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga PPME*, Giessen, 1979, n.p.

²⁴³ See C.H.C. Overes, *Van vereniging en stichting, coöperatie en onderlinge waarborgmaatschappij*, 4th ed. (Deventer: Gouda Quint, 2002), 18-22.

²⁴⁴ See “Vereniging of stichting,” accessed 14 December, <http://www.netwerk-notarissen.nl/mijn-notaris/vereniging-of-stichting>.

²⁴⁵ W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 53.

²⁴⁶ Rudie Somohardjo (the former chief of Stichting Setasan), interview, Rotterdam, 16 January 2001.

²⁴⁷ See “Article VII tentang Keuangan,” in DPP PPME, *Anggaran Dasar*, n. p.

best choice for PPME. Firstly, it allowed for the establishment of foundations.²⁴⁸ PPME itself would establish a foundation called al-Ittihaad (Unity) with a view to organizing activities in PPME's place of worship, purchased in 1982, and known as *Muṣallā of al-Ittihaad*. A place of worship was needed to absorb increasing numbers of PPME members.²⁴⁹

Having gained its new status, PPME held certain activities. At the end of 1974 and in 1975 PPME organized a *hajj* (pilgrimage) programme for its members.²⁵⁰ This programme later resulted in PPME boards establishing networks with non-Indonesian partners, including a Turkish foundation known as Haremeyn Vakfi (discussed in chapter 5). By the end of 1974, Islamic lessons for children were provided. Then, in 1975, Islamic lessons for the wider congregation were introduced.²⁵¹ These last activities drew great attention from the board of branches of PPME which placed them as weekly religious activities at the heart of their programmes and presented them in such a way that their religious priorities and identity clearly came to the fore (discussed in chapter 2). Also in 1975, alms, in the form of cash money, were collected and allocated to selected people and institutions in Indonesia.²⁵² Recently, this almsgiving has been a primary vehicle for the PPME board in its efforts to take care of the poor and orphans in Indonesia. In addition, this activity has proven to be an entry point for establishing institutional networks in Indonesia, i.e. with Roisah Foundation in Central Java (discussed in chapter 2). In August 1976, the statute and by-laws of PPME were revised. As a result, PPME could not only operate with social concerns, but also with scientific and cultural activities. The revision also created the opportunity to include certain people of other Islamic

²⁴⁸ See "Vereniging of stichting," accessed 14 December 2008, <http://www.netwerknotarissen.nl/mijn-notaris/vereniging-of-stichting>; and see also Overes, *Van vereniging en stichting*, 18-22.

²⁴⁹ See Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim*, 32-33

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

organizations in the Netherlands, along with its protectors and donors as honorary members.²⁵³ In May of 1979, the statute and by-laws were revised. For instance, this revision dealt with the possibility to form autonomous bodies or special committees to deal with urgent activities.²⁵⁴

There were a number of activities in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1982, PPME's board in the Netherlands purchased the *al-Ittihaad Muṣalla* (a place of worship). Its cost, € 27,430,²⁵⁵ was covered largely through donations by members - a great achievement for PPME (discussed in chapter 2).²⁵⁶ In early 1985, the Regional Executive Board of PPME in the Netherlands published *al-Ittihaad*.²⁵⁷ As previously mentioned, *al-Ittihaad* was one of PPME's most successful bulletins. Until the mid-1990s, it was the PPME's vehicle for providing written Islamic knowledge originating from both traditionalist and reformist sources. Consequently, we can view it as a medium for comprehending PPME's religious identity (discussed in chapter 2). Following a revision of the PPME constitution in September 1992, in early 1993 a magazine called *Euromoslem* was published by the board of PPME in Amsterdam.²⁵⁸ Contrary to *al-Ittihaad*, *Euromoslem* held few contributions by traditionalist Muslims. Following the schism of 2005 resulting in the splitting of PPME Amsterdam into two groups, the writings of Salafi ulamas, i.e., those who, according to al-Bānī, an inspiring figure to the *da'wa* movement in Indonesia, follow the manners of companions of the Prophet Muhammad, their followers, and the followers of the followers,²⁵⁹ have dominated the pages of

²⁵³ DPP PPME, *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga PPME* (The Hague: PPME, August 1976), 2.

²⁵⁴ DPP PPME, *Anggaran Dasar* (The Hague: PPME, 1979), n.p.

²⁵⁵ The conversion is according to the conversion rate of 31 December 1999, i.e. € 1 was equivalent to fl 2.2. See "The Euro Europe's New Currency," accessed 1 January 2016, <http://fx.sauder.ubc.ca/euro/>.

²⁵⁶ See Sulchan, "Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittihaad," in *Al-Ittihaad*, 13.

²⁵⁷ *Al-Ittihaad* 19, March-April 1988.

²⁵⁸ See *Euromoslem*, May 1994, 1 and *Euromoslem* 22, July 1995.

²⁵⁹ See Amrun Abd al-Mun'im Salim, *Al-Manhaj al-Salafi 'inda Shaykh Nāsir al-Dīn al-Albānī* (n.p.: n.p., n.d.), 13-14, and see also: Noorhaidi Hasan, "From Apolitical Quietism to Jihadist Activism: Salafis, Political Mobilization and Drama of Jihad

Euromoslem. The writings tended to focus on “the correction of belief and of religious rituals”²⁶⁰ (discussed in chapter 2).

In sum, having gained legal recognition from the Ministry of Justice in May of 1974, PPME’s boards initially paid great attention to the basic religious needs of its members. Furthermore, in addition to providing an infrastructure for the worship for its members, from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, PPME’s boards were concerned with providing media for the dissemination of Islamic knowledge, thus facilitating their goal to improve the understanding of Islam.

C. After August 1993

Since 1 September 1993, PPME has been registered as a *vereniging* (association) without a time limit on its existence.²⁶¹ Since then, it has held the following activities. Having become an active member of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) in October 1994 as a result of its representatives regularly having participated in WAMY’s gatherings since 1977,²⁶² on 2 July 1995, PPME formed *al-Moekminun* [*al-Mu’minūn*, the Believers].²⁶³ This group aimed to accommodate its Dutch-speaking members who wanted to study Islam. Consequently, Dutch speaking members instructed Dutchmen improving the Islamic knowledge of those who did not speak Indonesian (discussed in chapter 2). Then, from September 1995 to April 1996, PPME was involved in purchasing a mosque specifically for the Indonesian Muslim community in the Netherlands. The Mosque *al-Hikmah* (Wisdom) was bought in 1996. Since July of 1996, it has been under the management of the

in Indonesia,” in Azyumardi Azra, Kees van Dijk, and N. J. G. Kaptein, *Varieties of Religious Authority: Changes and Challenges in 20th Century Indonesian Islam* (The Netherlands and Singapore: IIAS and ISEAS, 2010), 40.

²⁶⁰ Samir Amghar, “Salafism and Radicalization of European Muslims,” in Samir Amghar, et al. (eds.), *European Islam* (Brussels: CEPS, 2007), 42-45.

²⁶¹ Kamer van Koophandel (Kvk, Chamber of Commerce and Industry) to the Board of PPME, letter, file 0703287 609, 14 December 1994.

²⁶² DPW PPME in the Netherlands, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland 1992-1994* (The Hague: PPME, 27 November 1994), 22.

²⁶³ DPC PPME Den Haag, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja 2000-2002* (The Hague: PPME, September 2002), 5.

Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands,²⁶⁴ however, PPME uses it for its weekly activities (discussed in chapter 3). Furthermore, the *jeugdkamp* (or *pesantren kilat*, short Islamic courses), part of PPME's second-generation programme,²⁶⁵ was organized in 1995 and 1996. Islamic tenets and subjects close to PPME principles were discussed intensely during this programme.²⁶⁶ As a result, participants became acquainted not only with Islam, but also with the PPME, an important factor for the second generation. PPME's central figures were involved in this *pesantren kilat*, which resulted in the emergence of PPME's second-generation cadres (discussed in chapter 2). Lastly, on 10 August 1997, PPME Amsterdam conducted its annual sport days for members with the intention to strengthen social relations.²⁶⁷ This programme has recently been continued, and it functions as an exercise to raise solidarity, and in particular, to gather donations for the monthly mortgage payments (discussed in chapter 3). The achievements of the PPME in the 1990s can be viewed as more internally-oriented.

Unlike the 1990s, when the activities of PPME were more internally-oriented, in the 2000s they were more outward-oriented. Between 2000 and 2002, the Islamisation of non-Muslims who wanted to convert was facilitated, especially by PPME The Hague. During these two years, 135 Islamic converts were guided by PPME Islamic scholars so that they could take part in an Islamic marriage, usually between Indonesian-Dutch couples.²⁶⁸ Thus, assisting Islamic conversions, especially of Dutch non-Muslims to facilitate their mixed-nationality marriages, has been a part of PPME's activities (discussed in chapter 2). Moreover, since 2001

²⁶⁴ See Azhari Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan Ketua Pengurus Sementara Masjid al-Hikmah* (KBRI: The Hague, 1997), 3-5.

²⁶⁵ The fate of Persatuan Oemat Islam (POI, the predecessor of PPME – see introduction) was not what PPME's boards and members wanted. It only still existed on a paper. DPW PPME in the Netherlands, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland 1997-1999* (PPME: The Hague, 2000), 8.

²⁶⁶ See Ibid.

²⁶⁷ DPC PPME Amsterdam, *Laporan Kegiatan Musim Panas Barbeque dan Budaya Periode 1996-1997* (Amsterdam: PPME, 1997), n.p.

²⁶⁸ DPC PPME Den Haag, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban*, Appendix 4, pp. 1-3.

PPME has held monthly *istighotsah* [*istighātha*],²⁶⁹ i.e., intercessory prayers to appeal for God's protection and assistance to prevent ruin and to solve worldly matters.²⁷⁰ This activity has strengthened charity among members and sympathizers. Mention should also be made of the effort of the PPME to assist people in difficult circumstances in Indonesia (discussed in chapter 3). Since 2005, PPME Amsterdam's board has established an institutional network with Roisah, Jepara, Central Java, Indonesia,²⁷¹ a traditionalist *pesanteren* that was turning into a Salafi one; more puritanical religious orientation. Through this network, PPME's joint socio-religious activities with the Roisah have concentrated on assisting the poor and orphans (discussed in chapter 7). Lastly, in 2007 PPME The Hague assisted poor people in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in constructing Penampung Air Hujan (PAH, rainwater containers) to assist them during the annual drought. Thus, PPME's external activities in the 2000s aimed not only at people in the Netherlands, but also in Indonesia.

The PPME's care for others in the 2000s does not mean that it neglected its internal activities. In October of 2004, *dauroh* [*dawra*] (intensive Islamic study) for learning Islam was introduced by Islamic teachers at PPME Amsterdam for its members.²⁷² This included Islamic subjects such as theology, Islamic jurisprudence and ethics, and has been held twice a year for two weeks.²⁷³ The result was that members of PPME Amsterdam have adopted a more puritanical religious orientation (discussed in chapter 2). In addition, since the outset, PPME has been busy trying to establish two mosques, one in Amsterdam and the other one in Rotterdam.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ *Mededeling*, PPME Majelis Dzikir, 2005, n.p.

²⁷⁰ Muhammad ibn Salih al-'Uthaymin, *Ulasan Tuntas tentang Tiga Prinsip Pokok: Siapa Rabbmu? Apa Agamamu? Siapa Nabimu?*, trans. Zainal Abidin Syamsuddin and Ainul Haris Arifin, 10th ed. (Jakarta: Darul Haq, 2008), 95; and see also Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 4-5.

²⁷¹ Nurul Furqon (the head of the Roisah Foundation), interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

²⁷² *Jadwal Kegiatan pada Minggu Ketiga dan Minggu ke-Empat Ramadhan Th. 2004*, PPME Amsterdam, 2004, n.p.

²⁷³ Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 May 2008.

²⁷⁴ PPME Rotterdam, *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque for the Indonesian*

As previously mentioned, PPME Amsterdam's board succeeded in purchasing a place of worship in 2005, while PPME Rotterdam's efforts could not be realised yet till 2011 (discussed in chapter 3). Lastly, as discussed, PPME in Amsterdam has been establishing networks with a Turkish foundation since the end of 2009.²⁷⁵ This network was established to facilitate members and sympathizers in performing their *hajj* (pilgrimage). Thus, the internal activities of the 2000s show PPME's awareness in terms of providing intensive study on Islam for its adult members and its success in providing a suitable location for its socio-religious activities, something that has been its aim since the 1970s. Moreover, establishing networks with non-Indonesian partners is viewed as meeting the religious needs of its members.

To sum up, the new status of PPME gained after August 1993 has stimulated PPME's boards to conduct more activities. In spite of the fact that the activities held in the 1990s were more internally-oriented, the formation of Dutch-speaking groups and holding the *pesantren kilat* demonstrate the boards' awareness of the importance of providing cadres from Dutch and second-generation members. Meanwhile, the activities of the 2000s indicate that the PPME's care for others, both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia, has become more apparent. This period is marked by the purchase of a place of worship for PPME members, the establishment of institutional networks, and intensive Islamic studies for its adult members.

Community in the Netherlands (Rotterdam: PPME, January 2004), 15-16.

²⁷⁵ Dzanun Mujahid (a leading figure of PPME The Hague's, who established cooperation with Haremeyn Vakfi prior to Said Badjuber of PPME Amsterdam), interview, The Hague, 13 February 2011.

Chapter Two: PPME's Religious Identity Formation

Islam was selected as the foundation of PPME.²⁷⁶ Opting for Islam, along with the differing Islamic, ethnic, and national backgrounds of its members, has influenced the boards that run the organization. Consequently, these factors have also become a compass for PPME's religious identity formation. While Indonesian Islamic achievements and Islamic practices remain influential, there have been adjustments to the local context, as can be seen from its religious practices and articles in its bulletins.²⁷⁷

I. Religious Practices

A. Islam for Children (1974): From *Kaidah Baghdadiyah* to *Qiroati*

PPME has provided Islamic teaching to the children (4-12 years old) of its members and sympathizers since 1974 in the apartments of its members.²⁷⁸ Basic subjects such as Islamic faith, Islamic pillars, Quranic recitation,²⁷⁹ Islamic history, Islamic etiquette, Islamic jurisprudence, and short prayers were taught.²⁸⁰ Sources frequently recommended for similar lessons in Indonesia have also been used to teach the children.

The ability to recite Quranic verses and to understand their meaning is considered very important by most Muslims.²⁸¹

²⁷⁶ See Article 4, *Bijvoegsel van de Nederlandse staatscourant van 14 augustus 1974* 156, 1, and see also *Uittreksel uit het verenigingenregister van de Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken voor 's-Gravenhage*, V 410668, 13 December 1994, 1.

²⁷⁷ Cf.: Ahmet Yukleyen, "Localizing Islam in Europe: Religious Activism among Turkish Islamic Organizations in the Netherlands," in *Muslim Minority Affairs* 29, no. 3 (September 2009): 294.

²⁷⁸ DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP Musyawarah I* (The Hague: PPME, 1973), n.p.

²⁷⁹ Quranic recitation was not a part of Quranic education or in schools that include other Islamic subjects. W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Muslims in Nederland* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Samson Stafleu, 1990), 121.

²⁸⁰ A. Firdaus Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan Periode 1997-1998* (The Hague: PPME, 7 November 1998), 16.

²⁸¹ Ruud Strijp, *Om de moskee: Het religieuze leven van Marokkaanse migranten in een Nederlandse provinciestad* (Amsterdam: Thesis/Thela Publishers, 1998), 151.

Furthermore, the children of PPME members are considered crucial to the future of PPME.²⁸² Therefore, since the end of 1974, PPME saw the Quranic lesson for children as a way of meeting both these needs.²⁸³ The lessons were set up as part of the weekly PPME activities and took place on either Saturday or Sunday afternoon.²⁸⁴ Little is known about the text books used for the lesson before the mid-1990s,²⁸⁵ except that used most was the text book *Kaidah Baghdadiyah* [*Qāida Baghdādiyya*] (The Baghdad Method),²⁸⁶ which was written by Abu Mansur Hifzu al-Fikri al-Baghdādī and consisting of the thirtieth part (*juz'un*) of the Quran²⁸⁷ and composed of short chapters, i.e. no more than 46 verses. This method for teaching children to recite the Quran, which was generally used in Indonesia until the end of the 1980s,²⁸⁸ emphasizes the ability to recognize and pronounce Arabic from single characters to sentences with its diacritical marks.²⁸⁹ This is a time-consuming method;²⁹⁰ children can spend up to five years learning the Quran this way.²⁹¹ Of course, the duration depends on the pupil's diligence and capacity. A fast learner may only need

²⁸² T. Thoha Machsun, *LaporanPertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 2000-2002* (The Hague: PPME, 1 September 2002), Appendix 8, n.p.

²⁸³ DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976* (The Hague: PPME, 1976), 8.

²⁸⁴ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME*, Appendix 8, n.p.

²⁸⁵ A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1986-1988 pada Musyawarah PPME Wilayah Nederland ke-5, 26-27 November 1988* (The Hague: PPME, 27 November 1988), 19-20, A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999* (The Hague: PPME, 2000), 9, and see also Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan Periode 1997-1998*, 16-17.

²⁸⁶ A. Naf'anSulchan, interview, The Hague, 11 December 2011.

²⁸⁷ Dirjen Bimbaga, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Depag, 1986), 51.

²⁸⁸ Mahmud Yunus, *Metodik Khusus Bahasa Arab* (Jakarta: P. T. Hida Karya Agung, 1983), 33; and see also Mangun Budiyo, "Efektifitas Metode Iqra' dalam Pembelajaran Membaca al-Qur'an di TKA-TPA AMM Kotagede Yogyakarta," accessed 4 January 2011, <http://mangunbudiyo.wordpress.com/2010/07/26/efektivitas-metode-iqro%E2%80%99-dalam-pembelajaran-membaca-al-qur%E2%80%99an-di-tka-%E2%80%93-tpa-%E2%80%99Camm%E2%80%9D-kotagede-yogyakarta/>.

²⁸⁹ Yunus, *Metodik Khusus*, 6-7.

²⁹⁰ Shahrin Awaludin, "Kaedah Pengajaran al-Qur'an Masa Kini," accessed 26 June 2011, <http://az-zair.blogspot.com/2010/09/kaedah-pengajaran-al-quran-masa-kini.html>.

²⁹¹ Yunus, *Metodik Khusus*, 35.

two or three years.²⁹²

In the mid-1990s, as time consuming as using the Baghdad Method, another book for the Quranic lesson was introduced in the PPME branches in the Netherlands. The children of PPME members in The Hague were taught the *Cara Cepat Belajar Membaca al-Qur'an* (The Fast Method of Learning Recitation of the Quran) called *Iqra'* (Read),²⁹³ produced by an Indonesian writer, As'ad Humam. In Indonesia, *Iqra'* had been used to teach children since 1988.²⁹⁴

The *Iqra'* method was also used by the Quranic teachers of PPME Amsterdam. At the end of 1998, it was Siti Atma, a member of PPME Amsterdam who brought a copy of *Iqra'* from Indonesia and presented it to the board of PPME Amsterdam suggesting they give it a try. This trial was deemed a success. According to Siti Fatimah, the chairperson of the education section of the association, the *Iqra'* provided a simpler and easier method to teach Muslim children living in the Netherlands.²⁹⁵ Budiyanto, a researcher of the *Iqra method* argued that it is an effective and not time-consuming method of reciting the Quran. Using the *Iqra'* method children were able to recite the Quranic verses between 6 and 18 months.²⁹⁶ Because of this time efficiency, the *Iqra'*

²⁹² Dirjen Bimbaga, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*, 51.

²⁹³ Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 11 December 2011.

²⁹⁴ Budiyanto, "Efektifitas Metode Iqra," accessed 4 January 2011, <http://mangunbudiyanto.wordpress.com/2010/07/26/efektivitas-metode-iqro%E2%80%99-dalam-pembelajaran-membaca-al-qur%E2%80%99an-di-tka%E2%80%93tpa-%E2%80%9Camm%E2%80%9D-kotagede-yogyakarta/>; see also As'ad Humam, *Cara Cepat Belajar Membaca al-Qur'an* (Yogyakarta: Team Tadarus AMM, 1994) and Muhammad Amin, *Kemampuan Anak-anak Membaca al-Qur'an* (Suatu Studi di Kabupaten Aceh Tenggara) (Banda Aceh: Pusat Pengembangan Penelitian Ilmu-ilmu Sosial Universitas Syiah Kuala, 1993), 25-27. This *Iqra'* method has been copyrighted, and has been internationally sold. Therefore, it has been known in Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei. See Mitsuo Nakamura, *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2012), 274; and see also Mangun Budiyanto, "Pedoman Penyelenggaraan Taman Pendidikan al-Qur'an," accessed 16 May 2013, <http://mangunbudiyanto.wordpress.com/2010/07/26/efektivitas-metode-iqro%E2%80%99-dalam-pembelajaran-membaca-al-qur%E2%80%99an-di-tka-%E2%80%93tpa-%E2%80%9Camm%E2%80%9D-kotagede-yogyakarta/>.

²⁹⁵ Siti Fatimah (a former chairperson of education division of PPME Amsterdam), telephone interview, 23 December 2011.

²⁹⁶ Budiyanto, "Efektifitas Metode Iqra," accessed 4 January 2011, <http://>

programme was implemented until 2005 for children of PMME Amsterdam (*Euromoslem*) members and until 2011 for the children of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam.

Following the conflict in PPME Amsterdamin 2005, yet another method was used. PPME al-Ikhlash decided to use *Iqra'* to teach the Quran to the children of its members,²⁹⁷ but PPME Amsterdam was of the opinion that using *Iqra'* did not produce correct pronunciation and also did not succeed in having children recite the verses fluently – a prerequisite to achieve a higher level of the recitation study.²⁹⁸ Consequently, PPME Amsterdam opted for another method, *Metode Praktis Belajar Membaca al-Qur'an* (The Practical Method of Learning to Recite the Quran) from *Qiroati* written by another Indonesian author, Dachlan Salim Zarkasy.²⁹⁹ At least until November 2011, PPME teachers in The Hague and at PPME al-Ikhlash still used *Iqra'*³⁰⁰ whereas the *Qiroati* was used by PPME Amsterdam after a visit by an imam of *tarāwīḥ* prayers from Indonesia, Khoirul Muttaqin³⁰¹ during *Ramaḍān* in 2005. He told them that the *Qiroati* has been used for teaching Quranic recitation at his family *pesantren* in Jepara, Middle Java, called Roisah,³⁰² a *pesantren* at which Quranic recitation is one of the main subjects taught and to which PPME Amsterdam gives its donations (discussed in chapter 7). His good Quranic recitation, acquired at the *pesantren*, was evident while leading the *tarāwīḥ* prayers in PPME Amsterdam that were followed not only by its members, but also

mangunbudiyanto.wordpress.com/2010/07/26/efektivitas-metode-igro%E2%80%99-dalam-pembelajaran-membaca-al-qur%E2%80%99an-di-tka-%E2%80%93-tpa-%E2%80%9Camm%E2%80%9D-kotagede-yogyakarta/.

²⁹⁷ Astin (Da'wa Coordinator of PPME Amsterdam), interview, Almere, 10 December 2009.

²⁹⁸ Dachlan Salim Zarkasyi, *Qiroati Metode Praktis Belajar Membaca al-Qur'an* (Semarang: Roudlatul Mujawwidin, January 1990), n.p.

²⁹⁹ Astin, interview, 10 December 2009.

³⁰⁰ Majlis Dzikir, *Mededeling* (Amsterdam: PPME Amsterdam, 3 November 2005), n.p.

³⁰¹ Muttaqin is able to recite the Quran by heart and is a graduate of the Institute for Islamic Knowledge and Arabic (LIPIA) of Jakarta. Khoirul Muttaqin, interview, Depok, West Java, 9 March 2010.

³⁰² A. Aziz Balbaid (an advisor of PPME Amsterdam), interview, Amsterdam, 28 July 2008.

by other Indonesian, Moroccan, and Egyptian people (discussed in chapter 7) also seem to have inspired the PPME Amsterdam's decision to use the method. Astin, a co-ordinator of *da'wa* activities for PPME Amsterdam, asserted that the main reason for the change in method used was that the *Qiroati* method emphasized aspects of pronunciation and fluency when teaching children to recite the Quran. Teachers of the Quranic recitation in PPME Amsterdam needed to have a Quranic pronunciation (*makhārīj*) test. As a result, the teachers would have a similar viewpoint on how to teach the children Quranic recitation.³⁰³ Up to now, the children of PPME Amsterdam members are given Quranic lessons using the *Qiroati* method, used at the Roisah, every Sunday afternoon.³⁰⁴

B. *Ikhtilāf* in the Indonesian-Speaking Group (Early 1975): From Being an Inevitable, to an Accepted, Practice

The meeting for PPME's Indonesian-speaking group has been held on the last weekend of the month since early 1975. In the 1970s, meetings were held in the members' houses in The Hague and environs. No specific topic was selected in advance for this monthly activity. As a result, a diversity of topics was discussed at a meeting.³⁰⁵ Following the purchase of a building which was then used as a *muṣalla* (place of worship) called *al-Ittihaad* in October 1982 (discussed in chapter 3), an agenda was set determining the Islamic subjects to be discussed during the group's monthly meetings. After 1993, guest speakers were invited to the meetings and asked to talk on a specific Islamic topic.³⁰⁶ From the late 1990s this monthly activity became more organized and a wide range of Islamic subjects was presented by a number of speakers. For example, Islamic jurisprudence was taught by A. H. Maksum, M. Isyak gave a talk on Islamic etiquette, Islamic history was taught by M. Chaeron, and A. Naf'an Sulchan spoke on Islamic faith. Other

³⁰³ Astin, interview, 10 December 2009.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ DPP PPME, Laporan Kerja 1973-1976, 8.

³⁰⁶ Mohammad Isyak, *LaporanPertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1994-1996* (The Hague: PPME the Netherlands, 21 June 1997), 7.

PPME members, including Asief Ishom and A. F. Mas'udi, were also involved in supporting these events by covering for the teachers who were unable to attend.³⁰⁷ This improved arrangement can be directly linked to the purchase of the Indonesian *al-Hikmah* (Wisdom) Mosque in 1996. The PPME was given permission to use the mosque for the activities of its members, especially those in The Hague, and thus enabled them to hold such meetings weekly.

The meetings, which currently take place every Saturday, are attended by both men and women. They share the same space and are not separated by a *sātir* (a cloth dividing a room in two). They are in the same room, but their seats are separated – women were on the right side and men on the left one. This practice is known as *ikhtilāṭ* and means the mingling of men and non-*maḥārim* (a plural form of *maḥram*, i.e. a relative with whom marriage is prohibited) in one place without a *sātir*.³⁰⁸ For reformist Muslims, such as Ibn Taymiyyah and A. Hassan (Persis), *ikhtilāṭ* is forbidden. Ibn Taymiyyah stated in his *Majmū' al-Fatāwā* (The Collection of Formal Legal Opinions) that, “the mingling of man and woman will initiate temptation (*fitna*). Men who mingle with women are like fire close to wood,”³⁰⁹ whereas Hassan asserted, “Islamic viewpoints forbid male Muslims from seeing female Muslims and they are required to separate the two different sexes in their social interaction.”³¹⁰ These viewpoints suggest that it is unlawful and, therefore, must be avoided.

However, the reformist viewpoints contradict with the gathering of PPME to learn Islam, in this case via *ikhtilāṭ*. The phenomenon of *ikhtilāṭ* is also found in branches other than PPME in The Hague, including at PPME al-Ikhlash in Amsterdam (not PPME Amsterdam) and PPME ar-Rahman [*al-Raḥmān*] (the Merciful) in Breda. Initially, the *ikhtilāṭ* was chosen due to the

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 19.

³⁰⁸ “Bahaya Laten Ikhtilat,” *As-Sunnah* 3, Year XI, 2007, 12.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

³¹⁰ A. Hassan, *Soal-Djawab tentang Berbagai Masalah Agama*, 2nd Ed. (Bandung: C. V. Dipenegoro, 1969), 661-681.

lack of facilities for PPME gatherings.³¹¹ This seems to be in line with Waardenburg's observation that Muslims in Western Europe, especially in the 1970s, encountered financial problems that influenced the running of their activities and associations, and also their survival.³¹² In the case of PPME, prior to the purchase of the *Muṣalla* of *al-Ittihaad* in 1982, meetings to acquire Islamic knowledge from PPME preachers took place in members' homes. This meant that male and female members met under the *ikhṭilāṭ* conditions. This practice continued, despite the board of PPME purchasing a *muṣallā* in 1982³¹³ which has a big gathering room that can be divided into two by a *sātir* (discussed in chapter 3).

PPME The Hague holds the *ikhṭilāṭ* gatherings after the Indonesian *al-Hikmah* Mosque was purchased in September 1996 despite the fact that there are, at least, three rooms available for religious gatherings. This means that the reason for the *ikhṭilāṭ* was no longer the lack of facility. Maksum asserted that the *ikhṭilāṭ* was sustained in order to avoid separating PPME's female and male members radically and to adjust to the prevailing conditions of Dutch society. He added that these integrated gatherings would not lead people to commit sins (*ma'ṣiyya*) because of the sheer number of people who attend, i.e. around a hundred; the meetings held in the *muṣalla* or mosque were not small, intimate gatherings.³¹⁴ Though his analogy is questionable, Maksum also stated that the practice of *ikhṭilāṭ* could also be found during the *hajj* (pilgrimage). This adjustment relied upon the common good (*maṣlaḥa ḥājiyya*)³¹⁵ – a term of al-Ghazali which means a common good that is necessary for the raising of goodness and for adjustment to prevailing conditions.³¹⁶ It “has, according to Ramadan (the writer

³¹¹ Maksum, telephone interview, The Hague, 20 December 2011.

³¹² J. D. J. Waardenburg, “Muslim Associations and Official Bodies in Some European Countries,” in. Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 31.

³¹³ Maksum, telephone interview, The Hague, 20 December 2011.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ See Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Ghazali, *Al-Mustaṣfā min 'Ilmi al-Uṣūli*, 1st ed. (Beirut: Dar al-Fikri, n.y.), 286-290, and see also Tariq Ramadan,

of *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam*), to do with the prevention of anything that could be a source of difficulty in the life of the community....”³¹⁷ Thus, avoiding separating men and women in a gathering (which is not familiar to Dutch society) seems to be Maksum’s focus. Similarly, A. Naf’an Sulchan stated that when propagating Islam, Islamic teachings needed to be delivered in accordance with the PPME members’ differing ethnic and religious backgrounds. Radical change should be avoided. Separating men and women would be a radical change. He even went on to argue that if a member, male or female, were to ask him, for instance, to dance with people attending an *ikhtilāṭ* gathering, he would accept the request. This is a strategy of *da’wa*.³¹⁸

In sum, the facts suggest that *ikhtilāṭ* was practiced at PPME The Hague, and elsewhere, primarily due to a lack of accommodation and also because of the backgrounds of the members, as well as the prevailing conditions in the Netherlands. These factors will also contribute to the continued existence of this practice.

C. Islamic Marriages (1975): Islamic and Positive Laws

The PPME board has presided over Islamic marriages in the Netherlands since 29 March 1975.³¹⁹ Indeed, facilitating the marriages of its members has been a key part of PPME’s incidental activity.³²⁰ Available data suggest that PPME presided over the marriage of 15 couples between 1976 and 1979,³²¹ five couples between 1984 and 1986,³²² four couples between 1997 and 1998,³²³ 15 couples between 2000 and 2002,³²⁴ 12 couples between 2002 and

Western Muslims and the Future of Islam (Oxford: University Press, 2004), 39.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Sulchan, interview, 11 December 2001.

³¹⁹ DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*, 9 and 16.

³²⁰ DPP YMAE, *Laporan Kerja 1976-1979* (Aachen, West Germany: YMAE, 1 June 1979), 6.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986* (The Hague: PPME, 23 November 1986), 34.

³²³ Mas’udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 27.

³²⁴ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 4, 2-3.

2004,³²⁵ and seven couples in 2005.³²⁶ In 2008 a couple was married by the PPME The Hague and in 2009 a couple was married by the PPME Amsterdam. Those married were not just Indonesian couples, but also couples of mixed nationalities such as an Indonesian with a Dutch, Malaysian, or British spouse. All of the abovementioned marriages took place in The Hague, Amsterdam, or Rotterdam, usually in the bride's home, *al-Ittihaad Muşalla*, *al-Hikmah* Mosque, or the place of worship of PPME Amsterdam.

The members of PPME's boards acted as the *waliyy ḥakīm* (the authoritative marriage guardian); the witness or the registrar³²⁷ at these marriages. There were no complicated requirements for Muslim couples who wanted to marry under the board's arrangements. This ease reflected the PPME's stance on marriage, namely, "making the performing of marriage easy and making the performing of divorce difficult" – a principle that supports the goal of the marriage, i.e. "preventing fornication."³²⁸ These marriages were primarily based on the principles of Islamic Law such as the attendance of a Muslim (or People of the Book) bride and bridegroom, a *waliyy* (a woman's closest adult male relative who has authority and responsibility with respect to the marriage of the bride), two Muslim male witnesses, and offer-acceptance (*ījāb-qabūl*) declaration.³²⁹ They were also based on the official

³²⁵ Sio Raboen, et al., *Het jaarverslag van het bestuur PPME Den Haag*, Appendix of Secretariat, n.p.

³²⁶ Aaman Sulchan, *PPME Den Haag: Het verslag 2005 en vooruitzicht 2006* (The Hague: PPME, 29 May 2006), n.p.

³²⁷ DPP YMAE, *Laporan Kerja 1976-1979*, 6.

³²⁸ Maulana Abul A'ala Maudoodi, *the Laws of Marriage and Divorce in Islam*, 3rd ed. (Kuwait: Islamic Book Publishers, 2000), 6.

³²⁹ See Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji, *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Perkawinan di Luar Negeri* (Jakarta: Depag RI, 1989), Appendix 1, 35-37. This *ījāb-qabūl* declaration contains agreement between a *waliyy* of bride and bridegroom. Principally, the declaration is to offer the bridegroom, by the *waliyy*, to marry with her with the fulfillment of a requirement, i.e. giving *mahr* (property or money) to her. Ibid. See also Chapter I about Marriage Principles, Article 2: Each marriage should be registred according to prevailing Marriage Law and Chapter XII about Other Regulations, Part 2, about Marriage Overseas, Article 1. In Article 1, in principal, marriage which is concluded overseas is legal as long as it does not break Marriage Law of a country where it is concluded (for non-Indonesian) and Marriage of Law of Indonesia (for Indonesian). *Undang-undang Republik Indonesia*

administrative requirements of the Netherlands such as having a valid birth certificate and proof of citizenship.³³⁰ When these requirements were met, the marriage could be conducted. As a result, the marriages were valid according to Islamic law and the married couple was then given their marriage certificate by the board.³³¹

With regard to marriages involving Indonesians living in the Netherlands, since 1975 PPME has used Indonesian Law Number 1 of 1974³³² as a guiding principle for the marriages.³³³ Indeed, in the 1980s, many marriages were conducted by PPME in cooperation with authorized staff from the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands.³³⁴ In practice, this could be as simple as Embassy staff being informed and invited to attend the marriages.³³⁵ Then, in the late 1990s, a more serious effort to follow Indonesian Law was made when conducting marriages. The officiating of Islamic marriages became part of PPME activities.³³⁶ Since the early 2000s, in order to avoid breaking the positive law on marriage prevailing in Indonesia,³³⁷ couples would be given legal documents relating to their Islamic marriage not only from the PPME, but also from the authorized officer of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands.³³⁸ This meant that the PPME, in conducting Islamic marriages of Indonesian couples, has to involve officials of the embassy acting as the registrar, the official recorder, and the supervisor of the

Nomor 1 Tahun 1974 tentang Perkawinan, Issued on 2 January 1974 by the President of Republic of Indonesia.

³³⁰ Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 23.

³³¹ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 4, 4.

³³² See Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji, *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Perkawinan*, 3-5.

³³³ DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*, 9.

³³⁴ Sufjan Ollong, interview, Ridderkerk, 5 May 2009.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 23.

³³⁷ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 4, 2.

³³⁸ Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 23, and see also Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji, *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Perkawinan*, 16-17.

performance of marriages.³³⁹

Currently, PPME's arrangements are in such a way that a conflict with the marriage laws of the Netherlands is avoided. A Dutch person living in the Netherlands, when he or she intended to get married, has to do so in front of a Dutch marriage registrar³⁴⁰ whereas the Indonesian government only recognizes the marriage of an Indonesian couple overseas on the condition that it is conducted according to the marriage law of the country in which the ceremony is taking place.³⁴¹ Therefore, the marriage certificate that PPME issues to the couple is not a legal document, but rather proof of their Islamic marriage. In addition, when the couple is of mixed nationalities (say, Dutch-Indonesian), the couple is also recommended to marry both under the arrangement of PPME and in front of a Dutch marriage official.³⁴² Thus, this is in line not only with the regulation on marriage of the Indonesian Embassy,³⁴³ but also with the prevailing procedure of marriage in The Netherlands.

The following experience of an Indonesian girl serves as an example of her marriage in front of a Dutch marriage official and of her marriage process conducted under the arrangement of PPME. The coordinator of PPME's an-Nasyid Remaja, Siti Rakhmawati (Indonesian), married Saleh Safiruddin (a Dutchman of Pakistan descent). Before the couple married under the arrangement of PPME, they had married in front of a Dutch marriage official accompanied by their witnesses, i.e. their mothers. After they were legally stated by the official as a married couple, they were asked to sign their *uittreksel* (letter statement) of marriage, signed

³³⁹ The tasks of supervisor are to check the identity of bride, bridegroom, and *waliyy hakim*; to examine marriage barriers and marriage requirements based upon both Islamic Law and prevailing regulations; to investigate administrative requirements; and to attend and witness the marriage ceremony. Ibid., 3-5.

³⁴⁰ See also Nathal M. Dessing, *Rituals of Births, Circumcision, Marriage, and Death among Muslims in the Netherlands* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 90.

³⁴¹ Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji, *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Perkawinan*, 5.

³⁴² Maksum, telephone interview, 20 December 2011.

³⁴³ Hasyim (the marriage registrar of Indonesian Embassy for the Netherlands, interview, 6 December 2008, The Hague.

by the official, themselves, and the two witnesses. They were then given the *uittreksel*.

Having married at Stadsdeelkantoor Amsterdam West on Monday, 18 August 2008, their Islamic marriage was concluded under the arrangement of PPME on 24 October 2008 at *al-Hikmah* Mosque, The Hague. Afterwards, during the ceremony they were presented with marriage certificates prepared by the PPME's registrar. The role of the PPME may be to supervise, witness, record and ensure that the marriage complies with the legal requirements – roles that at other occasions were carried out by an official from the Indonesian Embassy in a marriage ceremony.³⁴⁴ Finally, the ceremonial marriage speech (*khutbatu al-nikāḥ*), the Islamic speech, and closing prayer are delivered by the officials of PPME.³⁴⁵

D. Assisting Converts (the Early 1980s)

Since the early 1980s, PPME has provided assistance to non-Muslims wanting to convert to Islam.³⁴⁶ This incidental assistance takes place at a number of locations where PPME activities are held, including the *Muṣallā of al-Ittiḥād* and *al-Hikmah* Mosque (The Hague), at PPME Amsterdam (later called *at-Taḳwa*), the Mosque of *Baiturrahman* (the House of the Merciful) in Ridderkerk, and at the homes of the converts. The assistance to be given would depend on the converts' needs. In the 1980s, the main reason for conversion under the guidance of PPME was for marriage.³⁴⁷ For instance, between 1984 and 1986 five out of nine converts became Muslim because they wanted to marry a Muslim.³⁴⁸ There is no

³⁴⁴ Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji, *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Perkawinan*, 3-5.

³⁴⁵ A. Naf'an Sulchan, interview, 11 December 2011.

³⁴⁶ A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, 23 November 1986), 34.

³⁴⁷ Roald calls the reason of conversion to Islam for marriage an individual choice whereas Abdel Razaq names it a personal objective. See Anne Sofie Roald, *New Muslims in the European Context* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), 80 and Salah Salem Abdel Razaq, *Neo-Muslim Intellectuals in the West and Their Contributions to Islamic Thought and the Formation of Western Islam* (PhD Thesis, Leiden University, 2005), 13.

³⁴⁸ Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984*, 33-34.

information relating to Islamic marriages overseen by the boards of PPME in the 1990s whereas in the 2000s, the situation reflected that of the 1980s, i.e. the majority of converts became Muslim for marriage. For instance, 12 out of 15 converts at the *al-Hikmah* Mosque between 2000 and 2002 became Muslim for marriage, whereas in 2005 the figure was four out of nine converts.³⁴⁹

In addition to marriage, there is another reason for people converting to Islam under the guidance of PPME. For instance, Hennie Hammink, chairperson of PPME in The Hague (2011-2012), converted to Islam on 3 September 1995 at *al-Ittihaad Muṣalla* under the guidance of Sa'ad Syamlan, a preacher invited from Indonesia for the commemoration of the Prophet's birth. Hammink converted to Islam as the result of a journey to find his own consciousness and search for a meaningful life. He found the meaning he was looking for by attending the weekly gatherings held in the *muṣalla* and he asserted in his writing entitled "*Ik heb mezelf in Islam gevonden* (I have found myself in Islam)"³⁵⁰ – that is to say, there was a psychological rationale behind his conversion.

Then, one of the 15 people PPME who converted to Islam in the 2000s did not do so for the reason of marriage or a psychological reason. The convert became a Muslim in order to avoid complications in Indonesia. This included having an Islamic marriage officiated by the PPME. The convert believed that having the PPME's Islamic marriage document would make it easier to respond to questions frequently raised by families in Indonesia about their Islamic marriage.³⁵¹ In Java, especially in Yogyakarta, such questions also will be raised by the head of Rukun Tetangga (RT, Neighbourhood), who requires the copy of the couple's marriage status document when they want to spend the night in the same house or room in his village.

³⁴⁹ Sulchan, *PPME Den Haag*, n.p.

³⁵⁰ Abdul Hamid (the Muslim name of Hennie Hammink), "Ik heb mezelf in islam gevonden," in *Al-Ittihaad* 44, December 1995, 23.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

E. Pengajian Remaja (the Early 1990s): *Pesantren Kilat, Iqra'* and an-Nasyid Remaja

In the early 1990s, the second generation of PPME members in the Netherlands, i.e. the children of its founders and congregations, founded their own group called Pengajian Remaja (PR, Islamic Teaching for Youths). The group (of children between 15 and 18 years old) was led by Hansyah Iskandar,³⁵² an Indonesian and Dutch-speaking graduate of Delft University. Iskandar was later the chairperson of PPME Arrahman Breda. The group's Secretary was Aaman Sulchan,³⁵³ an Indonesian and Dutch-speaking graduate of Leiden University, as well as the chairperson of PPME The Hague between 2005 and 2010. This PR, the majority of its members being Dutch speakers, emerged from dissatisfaction with the weekly Islamic teaching delivered in the PPME's Indonesian-speaking groups where the working language was Indonesian and only a summary of the Islamic teachings was provided in Dutch.³⁵⁴ In response to this situation, Yani Kurdi and Moch. Chaeron were appointed as advisors to the PR in the 1990s.³⁵⁵ In the 2000s, the PR's coordinators were René Hendriks, the coordinator of the Dutch-speaking group called al-Moekminun and Taty Suhartono, the vice-chairperson of PPME The Hague.³⁵⁶

There were two main reasons for forming the PR, namely to stimulate PPME youth to be able to do self-study about Islam and to provide a space for them to discuss their religious lives in a non-Muslim society.³⁵⁷ To achieve these ends, the PR held Islamic teaching and *pesantren kilat* (short Islamic courses). It also issued

³⁵² A. Na'fan Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994* (The Hague: PPME, 27 November 1994), 16-17.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 6.

³⁵⁵ Yani Kurdi, *Laporan Kerja Seksi Pendidikan dan Kaderisasi PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1992-1994* (The Hague: PPME, 28 March 1994) 3-4; see also Hansyah Iskandar, et al., *Handleiding Pengajian Remaja PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 1998-1999), 5.

³⁵⁶ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 2.

³⁵⁷ Yani Kurdi and Dewi Hendriks, *Acara Rapat Evaluasi I Dep. Pendidikan dan Da'wah* (The Hague: PPME, 29 September 1996), 13.

a bulletin called *Iqra'* and formed a music group called an-Nasyid Remaja (Youth's Islamic Song).

Initially, the PR provided bi-monthly Islamic teaching on the second and fourth Sunday of the month on subjects such as Islamic faith, etiquette, and law. For example, on the subject of faith, they learned about principles such as the existence of Allah, the mission of the Prophet Muhammad for human beings, and human beings according to Islam. With regard to morals (*akhlāq*), pupils were taught about things such as why Islamic morals are important, that the Prophet Muhammad is the best representation of Islamic *akhlāq*, and the relations between Muslims with adherents of other religions and other societies. In respect to *Shari'a* (Islamic Law), pupils learned, for instance, about obligatory prayers, Islamic marriage, and Islamic attitudes towards sexual intercourse.³⁵⁸

Subsequently, PR held *pesantren kilat*, which is unique to PPME and crucial to the development of second-generation PPME members. No other Muslim organizations in the Netherlands offer this kind of non-formal Islamic education; they prefer to regularly provide religious instruction via their Islamic schools or mosques.³⁵⁹ The organizer of *pesantren kilat*³⁶⁰ asked for its participants to stay a few days in a certain place – not necessary at mosque – to study Islam and receive information about PPME both during the day and in the evening. The language used was Dutch. It was first held on 5-6 August 1995 in the building at Van Eversdijckstraat 31, Rotterdam.³⁶¹ The second *pesantren kilat* was held at a campsite,

³⁵⁸ Anonymous, "Activiteiten Pengajian Remaja," in Hansyah Iskandar, et al., *Handleiding Pengajian Remaja PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 1998-1999), n.p.

³⁵⁹ See S. van de Wetering, "The Arabic Language and Culture Teaching Program to Moroccan Children," in W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Islam in Dutch Society: Current Developments and Future Prospects* (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1992), 89-100; see also Dick Douwes, Martijn de Koning, and Welmoet Boender (eds.), *Nederlandse moslims: Van migrant tot burger* (Amsterdam University Press: Salomé, 2005), 57-59.

³⁶⁰ It was developed in Indonesia for children in order to teach them the principles of Islam and improve their Islamic knowledge. See Direktorat Pendidikan Agama Islam pada Masyarakat dan Pemberdayaan Masjid, *Panduan Pesantren kilat* (Jakarta: Depag, 2004), 1-3, 5-6, 9-10 and 15.

³⁶¹ Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME*, 8.

Camping Duinhoeve, Rotterdam. It took place from 28 to 30 June 1999 and was attended by 62 participants from all the branches of PPME in the Netherlands.³⁶² In the 2000s, the *pesantren kilat* was held many times: on 11 September 2002 at the Mosque of *an-Nur* belonging to a Moluccan community in Waalwijk; in 2003 it was held at the Mosque of *Baiturrahman* belonging to the Moluccan community in Ridderkerk; in 2004 it was held on 30 April and 1-2 May at the Mosque of *Baiturrahman*;³⁶³ and in 2005 it was held at the Mosque of *al-Hikmah* during the last week of Ramadan.³⁶⁴ As a result, participants of these courses gained not only diverse Islamic knowledge, but also organizational knowledge of PPME, both of which will assist them in their roles as future PPME leaders.

An example from 1995 highlights the achievements. The *pesantren kilat*, as run by the PR in the Netherlands, tends to have similar content with those held in Indonesia.³⁶⁵ Thirty-five participants from all of the PPME branches in the Netherlands attended.³⁶⁶ Participants were taught Islamic jurisprudence, worship practices, Islamic history, Islamic faith, Islamic *akhlāq*, Quranic exegesis, and the Traditions of the Prophet. Lectures on PPME's history, roles, functions, and orientation were also delivered. It is worth noting that in addition to the subjects on Islam and PPME, participants were also given an opportunity to explore and discuss any problems experienced in both their private and public lives in the Netherlands.³⁶⁷ As a result, the participants

³⁶² Ibid.; see also Husny Abdul Razaq, et al., *Programma PPME Jeugdkamp* (Rotterdam: PPME, June 1996), n.p.

³⁶³ Raboen, et al., *Het jaarverslag van het bestuur PPME Den Haag*, 10-11.

³⁶⁴ Sulchan, *PPME Den Haag*, n.p.

³⁶⁵ In Indonesia, *pesantren kilat* is seen as an Islamic education activity for students and young people. It is held at schools, universities, mosques, Islamic educational institutions, and *da'wa* institutions during their free days. Dirjen Kelembagaan Agama Islam, *Panduan Penyelenggaraan Pesantren Kilat* (Jakarta: Depag, 2005), 3, 7 and 8. In Indonesia, 35 percent of the *pesantren kilat* was allocated to Islamic thought; 25 percent to Quranic studies; 20 percent to Islamic leadership; 15 percent was allocated for problem solving; and 5 percent of the course was spent on role playing. Dirjen Kelembagaan Agama Islam, *Panduan Penyelenggaraan Pesantren Kilat*, 3, 7 and 8.

³⁶⁶ Isyak, *LaporanPertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME*, 8.

³⁶⁷ Ifa Chaeron, "Kiprah Remaja Muslim di Belanda," in, *Al-Ittihaad* 44, December

were provided not only Islamic and organizational subjects, but also solutions to problems important for the cadres of the PPME.

In addition to *pesantren kilat*, in 1996 the PR published a Dutch bulletin called *Iqra'*.³⁶⁸ This bulletin was published bi-monthly, alternating with PR's programme of Islamic teaching.³⁶⁹ The viewpoint of Eickelman and Anderson that "...means of communication have multiplied the possibilities for...opening new grounds for interaction..."³⁷⁰ seems to be relevant considering the *Iqra'*. It can offer its writers' ideas to its readers, especially to PPME's first generation. *Iqra'* served as a means for PPME youth to express their religious ideas and experiences and most of the contributions to the bulletin were written by young PPME members. One example is Rachmawati (a daughter of PPME's founder, Moch. Chaeron) who discussed the story of Isrā' Mi'rāj (Midnight Journey to the Seven Heavens) of the Prophet Muhammad and Aaman Sulchan (a son of the leading PPME figure and Islamic expert, A. Naf'an Sulchan) dealt with the significance of the fasting month. No less important was Hansyah Iskandar who interviewed Naf'an Sulchan. The latter argued that PPME's youth had to be able, for instance, to benefit from their existence in the Netherlands to seek for both Islamic and secular knowledge in order to develop the existence of Muslims in the Netherlands. Besides, he hoped that the PR could provide assistance to teach Islam to the Dutch-speaking children of PPME.³⁷¹ This suggested that Naf'an Sulchan was optimistic about the future of the children in the Netherlands. The examples show that *Iqra'* was adopted as a vehicle for PPME youth not only to express their own Islamic points of view, but also to discuss their own life experiences in the context of Islamic teaching. Unfortunately, the publication

1995, 30.

³⁶⁸ Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME*, 14, and *Euromoslem* 46, July 1997, 11.

³⁶⁹ Hoofdbestuur, *Handleiding PR PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 1998-1999), 8.

³⁷⁰ See Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson, "Redefining Muslim Publics," in Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson, *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, 2nd ed. (USA: Indiana University Press, 2003), 3.

³⁷¹ *Iqra'* 3, January-February 1998, 5-12.

ceased to exist after 2000.³⁷²

Finally, music, which has been judged by some ulama as lawful and by others as unlawful, was a feature of the PPME youth.³⁷³ The PR formed the music group an-Nasyid Remaja in 2006.³⁷⁴ This date shows that the band that sings *nasyids* [*nashīds*] (songs of praise to God or spiritual songs about the glory of Islam)³⁷⁵ came into existence much later compared to those in Indonesia that had already become popular at the end of the 1990s.³⁷⁶ The group have a distinctly Indonesian style, i.e. its male members frequently wear *koko* (a long-sleeved white shirt) and *kopiah* (a black, rimless cap). It played its *nasyid* music using guitars – it is not acapella as many bands in Indonesia and Malaysia are (sung by a group of people without any musical instruments). Sometimes female vocalists³⁷⁷ are featured. The music was performed beyond PPME's congregations. For instance, an-Nasyid Remaja took part in a commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad on 11 April 2009 held in The Hague,³⁷⁸ they also participated in a night of cultural events called 'Initiatives of Change' held in Caux, Switzerland on 22 September 2009³⁷⁹ and at the anniversary of the

³⁷² Hoofdbestuur, *Handleiding PR PPME*, 4-9.

³⁷³ Yusuf al-Qardawi, *Fiqh al-Ginā wa'l-Mūsīqā fī Daw'i al-Qur'ān wa'l-Sunna* (Cairo: Maktaba wa Hiba, 2004), 25.

³⁷⁴ Ilman Sulchan (one of Nasyid Remaja's vocalists), interview, The Hague, 11 December 2011.

³⁷⁵ See Adjie Esa Poetra, *Revolusi Nasyid* (Bandung: MQS Publishing, 2004), 16, 49, and 51.

³⁷⁶ *Nasyid* music has existed in Jakarta since the mid-1980s. The public performance of *nasyid* music in Indonesia has been taking place since 1995. Harmony Voice (Bandung), Snada (One Tone, Jakarta), Suara Persaudaraan (Voice of Brotherhood, Surabaya) and Izzatul Islam (Glory of Islam, Jakarta) are well-known *nasyid* groups. However, *nasyid* reached its popularity in Indonesia when a well-known Malaysian *nasyid* group called Raihan (literally, Sweet Basil) performed their *nasyid* at Sasana Budaya Ganesha Sabuga, Bandung at the end of the 1990s. *Ibid.*, 57, 71-72, and 117; see also Bart Barendregt, "Transnational Soundscapes in Muslim Southeast Asia", in Todd Joseph Miles Holden and Timothy J. Scrase, *Medi@sia: Global Media/tion in and out of Context* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 175.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 173.

³⁷⁸ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zetx7VP3XUo&feature=related>, accessed 7 November 2011.

³⁷⁹ Anonymous, "Islam, jongeren en vrede," accessed 6 November 2011, in Rudy van der Aar, <http://www.iofc.nl/node/44122>.

mosque of *Baiturrahman* on 10 October 2009. The existence of this music group and their performances at diverse events indicate that the board of PPME and its Islamic experts have allowed the music group to progress, and even endorsed the use of instruments to play their music.³⁸⁰ This suggests that PPME leans towards the view of *ulama* such as the Jurist Ibn Hazm al-Andalusi and the Sufi Imam al-Gazali that singing with musical instruments is 'recommended'.³⁸¹

The facts demonstrate PPME's tolerance of the diverse characteristics of its members. This, in turn, has enabled its youth members to develop their own programmes. Both Islamic teaching and the backgrounds of members have been taken into consideration when forming the content of these programmes. The PR has been labelled the junior PPME³⁸² and the breeding ground for future PPME leaders³⁸³ who are developing their interpretation of Islam according to their own characteristics.

F. Dutch-Speaking Group (1995): From Learning Islam to Lecturing on Islam

Islamic teaching is also provided for PPME's Dutch-speaking groups, which have been established in all its branches in the Netherlands. The focus of this section is the Dutch-speaking group of PPME The Hague, mostly consisting of the Dutch husbands of PPME female members. The reason for this choice is the changes two of its participants underwent, i.e. from learning Islam to teaching and delivering speeches on Islamic subjects.

Before a Dutch-speaking group were formed by PPME The Hague, the Dutch-speaking men attended a group called Islamic teaching for Indonesian-speakers. Many attended at the request of their wives. However, it was only possible to provide a summary of the Indonesian Islamic teaching sessions in Dutch. Many of

³⁸⁰ A. Naf'an Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 11 December 2011.

³⁸¹ See Fathuri, et al, *Kiai, Musik dan Kitab Kuning* (Depok: Desantara, 2009), xxix-xxxii; and see also al-Qardawi, *Fiqh al-Ginā wa'l-Mūsīqī*, 84-94.

³⁸² Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME*, 7.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 14.

the husbands were dissatisfied with this situation and the lack of detailed information. This proved to be a catalyst for the emergence of the Dutch-speaking group on 2 July 1995. Sessions were held at the PPME's *Muṣallā al-Ittihaad*. Given that the working language was Dutch, Tjen A Kwoei, a Dutch-Surinamese member who had been the chairman of PPME Rotterdam at the end of the 1980s³⁸⁴ and a writer of a number of articles in PPME's bulletins in Dutch,³⁸⁵ was requested to be the group's teacher.³⁸⁶ Accordingly, he delivered lectures on basic Islamic knowledge³⁸⁷ such as Islamic pillars and the pillars of faith (*aqīda*).³⁸⁸

Since the middle of August 1996, the Dutch-speaking group moved to *al-Hikmah* Mosque in The Hague, which was under the supervision of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands. By now, the group had expanded to include Islamic converts and PPME's sympathizers speaking Dutch. In the same year, a member of the group, Ludo Jongmans, proposed that the group adopted the name *al-Moekminun*. Asief Ishom who studied Islam at al-Azhar University, Egypt (a reformist-oriented coordinator of the group and leading PPME figure, see chapter 6) suggested that they should invite other teachers on their own initiative in order that they could choose Islamic teachers they needed and would be responsible for their own activities.³⁸⁹ Sulchan (a traditionalist-oriented leading PPME figure) supported Ishom's suggestion "as far as such a move would not challenge the foundations of the PPME and the diverse backgrounds of its members. This move should not lead to discord among members of the Dutch-speaking group. The disintegration that happened to PPME Amsterdam because of the challenge to the diversity should not occur in

³⁸⁴ See *Al-Ittihaad* 19, March-April 1988, 13.

³⁸⁵ See *Al-Ittihaad* 10, May-June 1986, 34-38.

³⁸⁶ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 1.

³⁸⁷ Mas'udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 22.

³⁸⁸ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 1.

³⁸⁹ Asif Ishom, interview, The Hague, 12 February 12, 2012.

other PPME branches.”³⁹⁰ The group followed Ishom’s suggestion to invite teachers from outside the PPME on the basis of their own arrangements. As a result, different teachers taught at different occasions.

From 1996 to the 2000s, the following were the teachers included in different programmes. For the biweekly programme, in addition to Tjen A Kwoei, other teachers were involved. Two times a month the Moroccan Abdul Azizi gave the group lessons on *tajwīd* (knowledge of reciting the Quran correctly) and Rafiq de Vries taught the group *Ḥadīth* (the Tradition of the Prophet Muhammad). Then, for a monthly programme, in addition to A. Naf’an Sulchan (a traditionalist teacher from the PPME) who taught the group Quranic exegesis,³⁹¹ Islamic teachers from outside the PPME such as Abdul Wahid van Bommel and Ibrahim Spalburg were asked to give talks to the group in the last week of every month.³⁹² In addition to those teachers, Remi Soekirman, a scholar of Islamic theology who graduated from Madina University, Saudi Arabia and who was also from outside the PPME, participated later.³⁹³ In the same period, under the guidance of Ishom and Rafiq de Vries, the group set up a weekly programme. Every Saturday afternoon, for example, lectures were held on the basic teachings of Islam, including better understanding of the pillars of Islam and the pillars of faith, the recitation of short chapters of *Juz ‘Ammā* (The thirtieth part of the Quran), the Prophet’s Traditions, and Quranic exegesis. These subjects were taught by teachers from both inside and outside the PPME. Sometimes, members of the group were asked to deliver the talks.³⁹⁴ Consequently, participants of al-Moekminun have been exposed to a range of teachers and gained Islamic knowledge, at least, from both traditionalist and

³⁹⁰ Sulchan, interview, 11 December 2011.

³⁹¹ Mas’udi, *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan*, 22.

³⁹² G. E. Rijono Soedarso, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Ketua PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 1996-1997* (The Hague: PPME, 6 December 1997), Appendix 4, n.p.

³⁹³ See Docenten Trainers at <http://www.daralilm.nl/het-instituut--2/docenten-trainers>, accessed 31 May 2014.

³⁹⁴ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 1-2.

reformist perspectives.³⁹⁵

The providing of Islamic knowledge from such diverse Islamic teachers, rather than through formal education or by attending intensive Islamic courses offered by Islamic organizations and educational institutions, reflects the characteristics of PPME. René Hendriks and Ludo Jongmans (the senior participants of al-Moekminun) have ever been invited to deliver lectures on Islam to both PPME members and others. For instance, Hendriks taught basic Islamic history in Dutch to the second generation at the *pesantren kilat* (short Islamic courses) held in Rotterdam in 1996. This stimulated the board of PR at the end of 1997 to ask the board of PPME to support more teaching by Dutch-speaking teachers from al-Moekminun.³⁹⁶ Consequently, in 2006 he was asked to deliver an Islamic lecture in Dutch on the Prophet Muhammad at an event commemorating the Prophet's birth.³⁹⁷ He has also lectured on Islamic jurisprudence in English in relation to *zakāt al-fiṭr* (almsgiving during Ramadan) and *zakāt al-māl* (annual almsgiving) at a workshop held in The Hague in 2009 organized by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The theme of the workshop was the remittances sent back to Indonesia by Indonesians living abroad. Ludo Jongmans frequently talked on diverse Islamic subjects at al-Moekminun meetings. He was also sometimes invited to give speeches in Dutch in the weekly meeting of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam. Furthermore, he was one of the Islamic preachers in the marriage ceremony of Rachmawati (mentioned above) on 24 October 2008 in *al-Hikmah* Mosque – it was in Dutch. Thus, Hendriks and Jongmans are regarded as “Western

³⁹⁵ From these ways of acquiring Islamic knowledge, it would be difficult for the Dutch-speaking group to gain religious authority, as defined by Kramer and Schmidtke, i.e. the forms of religious authority can be “the ability to define correct belief or practice...or to shape and influence the views and the conduct of others accordingly.” Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke, “Introduction: Religious Authority and Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies: A Critical Review,” in Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 1.

³⁹⁶ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, Appendix 5, 2.

³⁹⁷ Sulchan, *PPME Den Haag*, Appendix 5, n.p.

intellectuals who truly believe in the Islamic faith, ...[and who] made great efforts to preach Islam...,”³⁹⁸ and who are valuable to PPME because of their Islamic knowledge, as well as their Dutch language.

In sum, the members of the PPME Dutch-speaking group have been given opportunities to deliver speeches on Islamic subjects that are important not only for PPME members, especially PPME’s young generation, but also for Muslim audiences outside PPME. These lectures are based on Islamic knowledge acquired from teachers with diverse Islamic backgrounds. This, once again, reflects the basis and characteristics of the association with an emphasis on a diversity of religious backgrounds.

G. *Dauroh* (2008): In Search of One New Religious Orientation

A *dauroh* [*dawra*]³⁹⁹ (intensive Islamic studies) is held twice a year by PPME Amsterdam and has been occurring since 2008.⁴⁰⁰ This activity takes place over two weeks in May-June and in December-January. It is led by a preacher invited from Indonesia. Courses taught every day in each *dauroh* are principally the same, i.e. *aqīda* (faith) and the Traditions of the Prophet using the same Islamic books as long as the discussion on these subjects is not finished yet, whereas courses that are taught weekly follow the needs of its congregation.

The following is an example of *dauroh* held at the end of 2008 led by a Salafi⁴⁰¹ preacher, Abu Haidar, who was invited

³⁹⁸ Cf.: Razaq, *Neo-Muslim Intellectuals*, 68.

³⁹⁹ *Dauroh* literally means ‘course of instruction,’ Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Ed. J. Milton Cowan, 3rd ed. (Wiesbaden: Spoken Language Service Inc., 1976), 299.

⁴⁰⁰ A. Aziz Balbaid, *Jadwal Dauroh Amsterdam via e-mail* (Amsterdam: PPME, December 11, 2009), n.p.; see also *Euromuslim*, 1 June 2011, n.p., and Abu Haedar, *interview*, Bandung, 11 April 2009.

⁴⁰¹ To make it clear, Reformist Muslim organizations and the Salafis in Indonesia have a similar interest, i.e. “calling for creed purification and ritual cleansing” by returning to the Qur’an and the Ḥadīth. The difference is that the Salafis absolutely follow the manners of the pious predecessors (*al-salaf al-sāliḥ*) while the Reformists endeavour to “grasp the spirit of the Salaf” and adjust it to modern life. See Din Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia,” (PhD Thesis, Leiden University), 2014, p. 52. Therefore,

from Indonesia by the PPME branch.⁴⁰² It took place in the main room of the PPME Amsterdam centre, which in mid-2010 was renamed *at-Taḳwa* [*al-Taḳwā*] (Piety). Male and female participants sat separately on the floor and listened to the preacher's talks which were arranged according to a specific schedule. The talks were given in the evening (after '*ishā*'), at dawn (after *ṣubḥ*), and in the afternoon (after '*aṣr*'). A cloth two metres high called the *sātir* separated the men from the women. This is in contrast to the practice of *ikhṭilāṭ* implemented at gatherings by other PPME branches. In this case, the preacher sat together with the men. To have the women follow his sermon, it was filmed and projected on a wall. This video link also offered them the opportunity to pose questions orally.

The *dauroh* of 2008 lasted for two weeks. It began by mid-December 2008 – the date was chosen considering the possibility of a preacher invited from Indonesia. It aimed at enhancing Islamic knowledge among members⁴⁰³ and had the title “Towards an Understanding of True Islamic Faith”.⁴⁰⁴ Subjects ranging from Islamic faith to issues relating to women were discussed every day. A book entitled *Arbaʿīn Nawāwī* (The Forty Traditions of the Prophet) by Imam Nawawi was used to facilitate the first session from 15:00 to 16:00 after '*aṣr*'. Then, between 19.00 and 21.00 a talk called “The Comprehension of True Islamic Faith” was given referencing *Sharḥ Thalāṭhati'l-Uṣūl* (Commentary on

Salafi orientation has much been inspired by a Salafi *manhaj* (method), i.e. a *manhaj* following the manners, as was stated in chapter 1 by al-Bani, of three generations: companions of the Prophet Muhammad (*ṣahāba*), their followers (*tābi'un*), and the followers of the followers (*tabi'un al-tābi'in*).

⁴⁰² Abu Haidar comes from Bandung, West Java and is an alumnus of the State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN, now, called the State Islamic University), Bandung. He is also a graduate of the Institute for Islamic Knowledge and Arabic (LIPIA) Jakarta. LIPIA was founded in Jakarta in 1980 and is under the coordination and the supervision of Al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. See “Profil dan Sejarah LIPIA,” accessed 11 June 2010, http://www.lipia.org/in/articles.php?article_id=1.

⁴⁰³ Balbaid, e-mail to author, 11 December 2009.

⁴⁰⁴ This is the translation of Indonesian version of the *dauroh* theme *Menuju Pemahaman Aqidah yang Benar*.

Three Principles) written by Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-‘Uthaymin. Finally, another book, entitled “*Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* (The Gardens of the Righteous),” by Imam Nawawi was discussed from 07:00 to 08:00 after dawn prayers.⁴⁰⁵ Other sessions held during this *dauroh* course included sessions every Sunday, between 13:00 and 16:00, to discuss a book entitled *al-Wasāil al-Mufīda Lil-Ḥayāt al-Sa’ida* (Effective Media for Achieving Happiness) by Qasim ‘Abd al-Rahman. In addition, Islamic preaching specifically for women was held on Wednesdays from 13:00 to 16:00. These sessions made use of a book called *Wājibāt al-Mar’at al-Muslima fī Nazrat al-Qur’ān wal-‘Sunnah* (Obligations for Muslim Women according to the Quran and the Tradition of the Prophet Muhammad) by Ummu ‘Amr.⁴⁰⁶ Thus, within two weeks the *dauroh* participants had received both an intensive and a diverse range of Islamic courses.

Seemingly, the *dauroh* had a special aim which has been mentioned before. It was to purify the *aqīda* (faith) of PPME members. Two groups that emerged after the split – PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash – had different stances on interpreting *aqīda* (faith) in relation to performing *istighotsah*.⁴⁰⁷ Participants of the *dauroh* study the Traditions of the Prophet using the works Salafi people use such as *Arba‘īn Nawāwī* and *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*. Unlike the study of the Traditions which lasted only one hour, the study of the *aqīda*, which was a core part of the *dauroh* in 2008, lasted three hours and was offered in the evening. As a result, most of PPME Amsterdam members who had to work during the day could attend the session. The theme – “Towards an Understanding of True Islamic Faith” seemingly reflects the schism that occurred in the Amsterdam branch in mid-2005.

Istighotsah are intercessory prayers asking for God’s protection and assistance.⁴⁰⁸ *Istighotsah* involves the recitation of a given

⁴⁰⁵ Balbaid, *Jadwal Dauroh Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: PPME, December 6, 2009), n.p., and see also *Euromoslim*, June 2011, n.p.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag*, 7.

⁴⁰⁸ See Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat (Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia)* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 277 and Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 4-5.

package of prayers. These prayers are longer and more varied than those of the *tahlilan* (part of the *istighotsah*). For example, it also includes reciting God's names (*Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*). *Yasinan* and *tahlilan* are frequently performed as an introduction to PPME's *istighotsah* activities. All the intercessory prayers are recited loudly in the same way that the prayers of *Qādiriyya* are recited in the Sufi tradition.⁴⁰⁹

Instead of performing the *istighotsah* (including *tahlilan* and *yasinan*) members of the board of PPME Amsterdam preferred to practice *dauroh*, which is used for improving Islamic knowledge of its members. They went so far as to raise objections against accommodating *istighotsah* in the PPME's new building at Ekingenstraat at the end of 2004.⁴¹⁰ These objections were in line with the viewpoint of Yazid ibn Abdul Qadir Jawas, author of *Mulia dengan Manhaj Salaf* (Noble with Salaf Method), and who has studied Islam with Muhammad ibn Ṣālih al-'Uthaymin. He refers to a point made by Abu Abdu'l-Salam Hasan ibn Qasim al-Hasani, the writer of a book entitled *Irshādu'l-Bariya* (The Guidance for Creatures), asserting that "...a Salafi does not gather with those performing *bid'a* (innovation)...."⁴¹¹ Similarly, PPME Amsterdam's members argue that *istighotsah* leads to *shirk* (polytheism) and is not based upon Islamic teaching and therefore is *bid'a*.⁴¹² This was in contrast to the view of members of PPME al-Ikhlash. For instance, Hasanah Iman (a pseudonym), frequently attended the *istighotsah* of Majlis Dzikir (Gathering for Remembering God), organized by PPME al-Ikhlash and a group that later became the proponent of PPME al-Ikhlash). He explains that,

All good deeds are allowed, even though there is no Prophet Tradition dealing with them; that is to say, they are not against *Shari'a* (Islamic Law)... However, they [current members of PPME Amsterdam who are anti-Majlis Dzikir] regard us [who

⁴⁰⁹ See Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat*, trans. Farid Wajidi and Rika Iffati (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012), 266.

⁴¹⁰ Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 July 2008.

⁴¹¹ Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawas, *Mulia dengan Manhaj Salaf* (Bogor: Pustaka-Taqwa, 2009), 253.

⁴¹² Astin, interview, 10 December 2009.

regularly recite *istighotsah*] as polytheists. Remember and be careful, there is a Prophet Tradition asserting that a Muslim who claims another [Muslim] to be a polytheist is a polytheist!... [Consequently], if you [the anti-Majlis Dzikir] do not want to recite the *dzikir* [*istighotsah*] together with us because your *ulama* prohibits it, we [the participants of Majlis Dzikir] have no objection and won't judge you because it is your business. Do not force and oblige Muslims all over the world not to recite [*istighotsah*]! Do not judge them [these Muslims] as infidels, as people losing their way and as people doing wrong. ...Your *imam* himself, al-Bānī, asserted in his book *Tamām al-Minna* (The Perfection of Benevolence): a weak Prophet Tradition [*ḥadīṣun ḍa'īfun*] will reach a higher level, i.e. it will become a *ḥadīṣun ḥasan* (a good Prophet Tradition), and so it may be applied. This is because one supports another.⁴¹³

The emotional responses of PPME al-Ikhlash and the apparent urgency to enlighten the PPME Amsterdam's members on *istighotsah* drove PPME Amsterdam's board to use the *dauroh* as the media of introducing Salafi religious orientation. In fact, PPME was established on the basis of the diverse religious backgrounds of its founders – traditionalists and reformists have always been the backbone of PPME. Such diversity has been evident among the members of PPME in The Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Breda-Tilburg. However, the PPME Amsterdam board members tend to use the *dauroh* to introduce to its members a new religious orientation that they consider to be the proper way.⁴¹⁴ Amghar, a sociologist of *l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales* (EHESS), Paris, calls it a Salafi focusing on “the correction of belief and of religious activities” – the second tendency of Salafism in Europe,⁴¹⁵ with a

⁴¹³ Hasanah Iman, e-mail to the members of PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash, pp. 2-5, 27 July 2005.

⁴¹⁴ A. A. Balbaid, interview, The Hague, 7 April 2011.

⁴¹⁵ There are, according to Amghar, three tendencies of Salafism in Europe, i.e. “revolutionary or jihadist Salafism, pursuing the objective of conversion and predication, and emphasizing political activism.” The first tendency emphasizes that political and social actions have to meet an Islamic perspective whereas the third one invites Muslims to establish Islamic state and society. Dissimilar to the mentioned tendencies, the second one emphasizes on “purification of the religion from innovations that sullied its dogma and its precepts, in order to return to the religion as it was taught by the Prophet and the education of Muslims, so that believers may conform to this religion and abandon their bad habits.” Samir

view to perfecting their belief. This effort has been highlighted by the presence of Abu Haedar, a Salafi preacher,⁴¹⁶ at the *dauroh* in 2008. Then, Salafi texts in the programme were used. For instance, *Sharḥ Thalatsati'l-Uṣūli* (Commentary on Three Principles), written by a well-known figure in the Salafi world, Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-'Uthaymin,⁴¹⁷ has been used in the programme to teach Islamic faith.⁴¹⁸ The Indonesian translation of this Arabic book was even available for participants to buy. This book contains information on, among other things, the types of polytheism, i.e. the great polytheism that results in exclusion from Islam, and the small one that does not result in exclusion. It also talks about *Istighotsah*⁴¹⁹ which is classified into four categories. They are an appeal for aid from Allah directly; an appeal for aid from the dead who are incapable of providing assistance; an appeal from the living who are capable of providing assistance; and an appeal for aid from the living incapable of providing assistance. The second and fourth categories are forbidden. Appealing for aid from the dead leads to polytheism (*shirk*) and appealing for aid from those alive who are unable to help is seen as mocking others.⁴²⁰ PPME Members (with the exception of the congregation of PPME Amsterdam) appealing for Allah's aid by mentioning the names of a particular *ulama* (*wasīla*), for instance 'Abdul Qādir al-Jīlāni (Sufi), are not welcome at activities organized by PPME Amsterdam who have been consolidating their new religious orientation.

To conclude, the *dauroh* programme has been a vehicle for the board of PPME Amsterdam to improve and increase levels of comprehension of Islam by its members, in particular their knowledge of Islamic faith. This has served as a means to shape

Amghar, "Salafism and Radicalization of European Muslims," in Samir Amghar, et al. (eds.), *European Islam* (Brussels: CEPS, 2007), 42-45.

⁴¹⁶ See Anonymous, "Menebar Kesejukan dan Memupuk Kelemahlembutan," at <http://www.abuhaedar.net>, accessed 9 June 2013.

⁴¹⁷ Amghar, "Salafism and Radicalization of European Muslims," 43.

⁴¹⁸ Haedar, interview, 11 April 2009.

⁴¹⁹ Muhammad ibn Salih al-'Uthaymin, *Ulasan Tuntas tentang Tiga Prinsip Pokok*, 52-55 and 95-97.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

their Salafi religious orientation. This new religious orientation actually may not detract from the characteristics of PPME, which favour a diversity of religious backgrounds among its members. This new religious orientation may extend the PPME's identity when there is still space for diversity among members. However, the disintegration of PPME in Amsterdam indicates the opposite and signifies that one religious orientation has deliberately been singled out for members of PPME Amsterdam.

II. Religious Discourses

Publishing bulletins has been a part of PPME's activities in the Netherlands since early 1972.⁴²¹ There were at least six bulletins available to the association's congregations. For instance, *al-Falah* [*al-Falāḥ*] (The Success) was published from 1972 to the end of the 1970s;⁴²² *al-Ittihaad* [*al-Ittiḥād*] (The Unity) was published from 1985 to the late 1990s;⁴²³ and *Iqra'* was issued from 1996 to the late 1990s.⁴²⁴ In addition to the bulletins published by the centre PPME, its branches in the Netherlands have also published such bulletins. For instance, since 1993 PPME Amsterdam has issued *Euromoslem*;⁴²⁵ from 1995 to the late 1990s, PPME The Hague has published *Zikra* (Remembrance); and from early 1999 to 2000 PPME Rotterdam issued *Afdeling* (Division) Rotterdam.⁴²⁶ In the following section, the author's Islamic backgrounds, writings, and viewpoints in *al-Ittihaad* and *Euromoslem* will be discussed. These two publications are chosen because they were well-read.

⁴²¹ See Dewan Pimpinan Pusat, *Laporan DPP PPME pada Musyawarah Umum I dari Tanggal 25-26 August 1973* (The Hague: PPME, n. y), n.p. In early 1972 Muslims issued their first newspaper in Western Europe. Issabelle Rigoni, "Access to Media for European Muslims," in Amghar, et al. (eds.), *European Islam*, 118.

⁴²² Sjaiful A. Rangkuti, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawab Mandataris: Musyawarah Umum PPME/Ketua Umum DPP PPME Periode 1987-1982* (Aachen: PPME, 12-14 November 1982), 11; see also Dewan Pimpinan Pusat, *Laporan DPP PPME pada Musyawarah Umum I dari Tanggal 25-26 August 1973* (The Hague: PPME, 1973), n.p.

⁴²³ A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999* (The Hague: PPME, 1999), 7.

⁴²⁴ See *Iqra'* 3, January-February 1998, 1.

⁴²⁵ See *Euromoslem* 22, July 1995, n.p.

⁴²⁶ See *Bulletin Afdeling Rotterdam* 6, November 1999, n.p.; see also *PPME Rotterdam* 1, Year 2, 1 March 2007, n.p.

A. *Al-Ittihaad* (1985)

Al-Ittihaad containing the information on activities of PPME has served as a resource for PPME's *da'wa* activities⁴²⁷ both in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1980s, both traditionalist and reformist authors were given space in the bulletin. For instance, in the foreword of *al-Ittihaad* of July (1985: 2-4), Maksun, a traditionalist, discussed the law of *halal bihalal* [*ḥalāl bī ḥalāl*] (a gathering for forgiving one another) and inauguration of the *al-Ittihaad* *Muṣallā* – laws on subjects which cannot be found in the life of the Prophet. He was of the opinion that it was lawful to hold them. Furthermore, pertaining to the gathering for forgiving each other, he opined that it served as a vehicle for performing the Islamic teachings of *silaturahmi* [*ṣilatur-raḥim*] (human links) (discussed in chapter 3). This point of view was absolutely contrary, for instance, to that of the Salafis arguing that apologies should be made when necessary and not be limited to an annual event.⁴²⁸ It is worth noting that as far as socio-cultural activities of PPME are concerned, the *halal bihalal* is the one which draws a lot of attention from its members and invited guests. Another example was the article by Syafi'i Ma'arif, an important leader of Muhammadiyah. In the *al-Ittihaad* of July-August (1989: 15-16), he discussed a question from Yusuf Hasyim of NU: "Can a member of either Muhammadiyah or NU become a member of both socio-religious organizations?" delivered in a seminar held in the Surabaya Muhammadiyah University (UMS) on 9 July 1989. Ma'arif's opinion was that it was significant to establish bridges between Muhammadiyah and NU

⁴²⁷ *Al-Ittihaad* 10, May-June 1986, 2. Information on the socio-cultural events of PPME and other Islamic associations in the Netherlands was featured in the *al-Ittihaad*. For instance, it reported on the programs of performing prayers of 'īd al-ḥajj and 'īd al-aḍḥā; the schedule of *halal-bihalal*; and the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday along with the inauguration of *al-Hikmah*, an Indonesian mosque in The Hague. See *Al-Ittihaad*, 1985, 11, *Al-Ittihaad* 10, May-June 1986, 26-27, *Al-Ittihaad* 25, July-August 1989, 56 and 59, and *Al-Ittihaad* 44, December 1995, 31.

⁴²⁸ See Anas Burhanuddin, "Pengertian Halal Bihalal dan Sejarahnya," accessed 31 December 2011, <http://kampungsalaq.wordpress.com/2011/09/04/menyingkap-keabsahan-halal-bi-halal/>. See also Hasan, "From Apolitical Quietism to Jihadist Activism," 140.

and encouraged the youths of both organizations to support each other (*kompak lahir batin*). He also supported Amin Rais' point of view of the significance of cross-organizational marriage between members of the two organizations. Ma'arif highlighted that these ideas were to accelerate the unity of the Indonesian Muslim community (*umma*). Ma'arif's suggestions are crucial for PPME which, since its inception, has been supported by people who have different ethnic backgrounds and religious orientations.

Articles presenting authors who had different religious backgrounds still could be found in *al-Ittihaad* of the 1990s. Moch. Caheron, a former journalist at Masyumi's newspaper, *Abadi*, in *al-Ittihaad* of December (1995: 21) discussed PPME's Islamic teaching for children. He argued that when Islamic teaching was integrated with the Islamic education of Sekolah Indonesia Nederland (SIN, Indonesian School in the Netherlands), its portion was less than enough as a supplement for their religious need. This was, especially, because of the lack of qualified religious teachers and the absence of a syllabus of Islamic teaching. Therefore, it needed a clear objective, syllabus, and schedule of teachers along with the establishment of a good institution for it. Such an integrated approach and an arrangement in education are applied by the schools affiliated with Muhammadiyah. In these schools, religious teaching is given to their students, alongside non-religious subjects and they are well managed.⁴²⁹ Another example was *al-Ittihaad* of November (1996: 17-18). In the bulletin, PPME published its interview done in The Hague in mid-1996 with Zainuddin, frequently called a preacher of a thousand audiences and who learned Islam from Idham Khalid, the former chairman of NU.⁴³⁰ During the interview, he explained much about ways to train the

⁴²⁹ See Nakamura, *The Crescent*, 263-271.

⁴³⁰ See Stevy Maradone, "Zaenuddin M. Z. Sejak Kecil Bakat Dakwahnya Sudah Terlihat," accessed 29 December 2011, <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/11/07/05/lnueen-zainuddin-mz-sejak-kecil-bakat-dakwahnya-sudah-terlihat> and see also Zainuddin M. Z. was also involved himself in Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) from 1977 to 1982 following an invitation from Idham Khalid. See Anonymous, "Referensi Biografi Tokoh dan Public Figure," accessed 1 June 2013, <http://biografi.rumus.web.id/biografi-k-h-zainuddin-m-z/>.

young generation of PPME as cadres of *da'wa* in Europe. He said that it was important to change the focus of *da'wa* activity for the young generation of Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands. He argued that they needed to keep their Indonesian identity while conducting their daily activities in the Netherlands. He furthermore highlighted that they could become the cadres of *da'wa* in a non-Muslim country in which an Islamic atmosphere is less apparent. Therefore, *da'wa* should no longer focus on the preachers' interest, but on that of the audience.⁴³¹ As an example he mentioned the involvement of a male member of PPME's *nasyid* who wore earrings (which was against Islamic teaching) during the inauguration of the Indonesian mosque in the Netherlands in 1996. He argued that the person in question required an organization for his religious expression. It seemed that the *nasyid* group were his place. The last of his statement clearly shows that music for him was lawful, which is in line with the practices of traditionalist *pesantrens* endorsing *qasidah* music using musical instruments. As a result, he supported the music group being used as a medium of *da'wa* for youths.

The facts of the 1980s and 1990s show that the authors who contributed to the bulletin had connections to differing religious organizations in Indonesia, both traditionalist and reformist. In this way, readers who had no formal Islamic education were able to acquire Islamic knowledge from a variety of sources within the different religious orientations. In other words, the bulletin served not only as a new source for studying Islam,⁴³² but also as the media accommodating the differing religious organizational backgrounds consistent with its name, *al-Ittihaad* (Unity), which was unfortunately no longer issued in the following periods (discussed in chapter 5).

⁴³¹ The *da'wa* whose message is needed by the audience and whose method and medium should bring out in the heart of the audience. Moh. Ali Aziz (a preacher of PPME al-Ikhlash), *Ilmu Dakwah*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Kencana, 2009), 348.

⁴³² Cf. Jajat Burhanudin, "Traditional Islam and Modernity: Some Notes on the Changing Role of the Ulama in Early Twentieth Indonesia," in Azra, Van Dijk, and Kaptein, *Varieties of Religious Authority*, 55.

B. *Euromoslem* (1992)

Another bulletin is *Euromoslem* published by PPME Amsterdam. This bulletin has been published for more than two decades (from 1992 up to now) and serves as a vehicle for transmitting its *da'wa*.⁴³³ The paper-based version of this bulletin still appeared until 2003 and in order that the *da'wa* of PPME Amsterdam could reach a larger audience, Islamic discourses in *Euromoslem* have seemingly been published in digital form since the early 2000s.⁴³⁴ From the early 1990s to 2005, Islamic discourses in *Euromoslem* originated from both traditionalist and reformist authors.

For instance, in the *Euromoslem* of January (1995: 5-7), Maksum discussed Islamic Law on women's *aurat* [*'awrāt*] (the parts of the body that must be covered up in public). He mentioned that there have been two main lines of thought on this law. There were firstly those who believe that it is obligatory for women to cover all parts of the body, even when not performing the five-times-a-day prayers. Then, there were those who did not consider it obligatory for women to cover up except when praying. According to him, *ulama* in favour of a woman covering herself are textualists, whereas those who hold the opposing view are contextualists, i.e., those who really consider *asbāb al-nuzūl* (the history of the sending down of the Quranic verses) of Chapter Al-Nūr: 31 and al-Ahzāb: 59.⁴³⁵ Thus, based upon the contextualist approach, the aim of covering the *'awrāt* and the dress code of the women in a society should be taken into account during the discussion. His point of view absolutely differs, for instance, with that of the reformist Persis which only underpins the first mainstream approach. It

⁴³³ Issues of other Islamic organizations in the Netherlands are not really represented in *Euromoslems*. Apart from its religious articles, its other contents are similar to those of *al-Ittihaad*.

⁴³⁴ Fatimah, telephone interview, 23 December 2011. *Euromoslem* of 2002, for instance, published an issue on recommended prayers (*ṣalāt al-sunna*) by Said ibn Ali ibn Wahf Al-Qaṭṭānī, which was sent to members of the PPME Amsterdam and to those of PPME branches in the Netherlands through euromoslem@hotmail.com on 22 November 2002.

⁴³⁵ A. H. Maksum, "Hukum tentang Aurat Wanita," in *Euromoslem* 16, January 1995, 5-7.

argues that women should cover all parts of their body, except their face and palms, in their daily life.⁴³⁶ Up to now, female members of PPME, themselves, have dressed in the way of the two different streams. In *Euromoslem* of July-August (1999: 11), the writing of A. M. Fatwa, the deputy of Lembaga Hikmah Pimpinan Pusat (Division of Wisdom of Central Executive) of Muhammadiyah, one of the founders of the Reformist Muslim-Based Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN, National Mandate Party) and a former chairman of *Muballighāt* (Preachers) Corp of Muhammadiyah Jakarta,⁴³⁷ on the obligation of performing *da'wa* was presented. Fatwa argued that in order to defend and sustain the life and the common good (*kemaslahatan*) of society, every Muslim must serve as a primary agent of *da'wa*. Hence, it is essential that individual Muslim should engage in *amar ma'rūf wa nahy munkar* (commanding good and forbidding wrong).⁴³⁸ Such an idea is *da'wa* of Muhammadiyah orientation, i.e. each member of Muhammadiyah must become an *al-Ṣāliḥ al-Muṣliḥ* (a reforming-pious person), namely, a good individual who is prepared to reform mistakes.⁴³⁹ According to Moh. Ali Aziz, a traditionalist preacher who has been invited by PPME al-Ikhlash for its *Ramaḍān* programme, such an idea can only be implemented when a Muslim has Islamic knowledge.⁴⁴⁰ In contrast, the *da'wa* which PPME is concerned with is performed by its members who feel a need to do so. Moreover, *Euromoslem* of

⁴³⁶ See Federspiel, *Labirin Ideology Muslim*, 385-386. This practice is similar to the point of view of the textualist al-Bānī. See: Maulana Wahiduddin Khan, *Women between Islam and Western Society*, 1st ed. (New Delhi: Islamic Centre, 1995), 226-227.

⁴³⁷ Fatwa is also a member of advisory board of Perhimpunan Keluarga Besar of Pelajar Islam Indonesia and of the advisory board of Alumni Corp of HMI (KAHMI).

⁴³⁸ A. M. Fatwa, "Kewajiban Berdakwah," in, *Euromoslem* 67, July-August 1999, 11.

⁴³⁹ Nashir (ed.), *Manhaj Gerakan Muhammadiyah*, 35, and see PP Muhammadiyah, "Gerakan Muhammadiyah adalah Gerakan Pencerahan dan Dakwah Muhammadiyah adalah Dakwah Pencerahan," accessed 10 July 2014, <http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/id/news-3780-detail-gerakan-muhammadiyah-adalah-gerakan-pencerahan-dan-dakwah-muhammadiyah-adalah-dakwah-pencerahan.html>. See also Moh. Ali Aziz, *Ilmu Dakwah*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Kencana, 2009), 39.

⁴⁴⁰ Moh. Ali Aziz, *Ilmu Dakwah* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2004), 148-153.

July-August (2001: 3-11) issued a topic about the domestic life of the Prophet Muhammad written by ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Qasim. He was, among others, of the opinion that Muslims were prohibited to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet and to visit sites of his legacies like his cemetery and the *Ḥirā* cave where the first revelation was sent to him. They were innovations (*bid‘a*). These viewpoints are reformist-oriented and obviously contrary to those of traditionalist Muslims who tended to not only allow, but also encourage others to do such activities.

It is worth mentioning that since the late 1990s, Salafi-oriented works have been the primary contents of *Euromoslem*. The authors of this period used the works of Salafis such as Muhammad ibn Shalih al-‘Uthaymin (a student of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz ‘Abd Allāh ibn Bāz) for their viewpoints⁴⁴¹ and the works of those who inspired the emergence of the Salafi *da‘wa*, i.e. *da‘wa* calling upon Muslims to return to the Quran and the Prophet’s Tradition, as well as to follow the Salafi *manhaj*,⁴⁴² in Indonesia such as Ibn Taymiyya, al-Albani and Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah.⁴⁴³ The *Euromoslem* editions of July-August (1999: 5-9) and September-October (2000: 2-3) presented writings of Ahmad Faiz Asifuddin, an Indonesian Salafi leader.⁴⁴⁴ Both discussed attributes of God. The former dealt with significance and principles of understanding of the attributes. In reference to a book entitled *Al-Qawā‘id al-Mutlā fī Ṣifātillāh wa Asmāihī al-Ḥusnā* (Perfect Principles in God’s Attributes and His Good Names) by Ibn Utsaymin, he argued that perfect attributes of God were unlike those of human beings. In addition, the attributes should be understood only according to divine proof (*dalīl naqlī*). In a similar sense, it is more clearly discussed in the latter writing. It discussed the point of view of al-Firqat al-Nājiya (The Rescued Group) about Allah’s attributes in reference to a book entitled *Al-Aqīdat al-Wāsiṭiyya* (The Mediating Faith) of Ibn Taymiyya.⁴⁴⁵ He

⁴⁴¹ See Syamsuddin and Arifin, *Ulasan Tuntas tentang Tiga Prinsip Pokok*, 4.

⁴⁴² Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj,” 53.

⁴⁴³ Hasan, “From Apolitical Quietism to Jihadist Activism,” 140 and 143.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ Ahmad Faiz Saifullah, “Bagaimana Membangun Imam yang Benar,” in

stated that the *al-firqa*, which is one of the names Salafi groups like to use,⁴⁴⁶ was a Muslim group that would be rescued by Allah from the fire of hell. He added that according to the *al-firqa*, it was important to well know and comprehend the names and attributes of Allah in order to be able to truly perform worship to Him. The *al-firqa* determined all His names and attributes on the basis of the Qur’anic verses and the Prophet’s Traditions because they were beyond rational capability; only God knew their essence.⁴⁴⁷ Then, between July and August, *Euromoslem* (2003: 7-12) presented a translated article⁴⁴⁸ of Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah on the avoidance of *zinā* (adultery) by Muslims. Beginning with the need to control their speech and maintain a commitment to avoiding *zinā*, the author informed his readers of the consequences of *zinā* on both its actors and their families, as well as to any child born as a result of it.⁴⁴⁹ The author based his information upon the Quranic verses and the Prophet’s Traditions from sources, usually used by Salafis such as *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (al-Bukhārī’s Sound Collections of the Prophet’s Traditions), *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Muslim’s Sound Collections of the Prophet’s Traditions) and *Jāmi’ al-Tirmidhī* of Ibn Mūsā al-Tirmidhī (al-Tirmidhī’s Comprehensive Collections of the Prophet’s Traditions).⁴⁵⁰ Additionally, the author does not discuss them intellectually – a Salafi way.

Euromoslem, September-October 2000, 2-3.

⁴⁴⁶ Other names of the Salafi groups are, for instance, al-Jamā’a (the Congregation), Ahl al-Sunna wa’l-Jamā’a (the People Following the Prophet’s Traditions and the Congregation), and Ahl al-Ittibā’ (the Followers). See Jawas, *Mulia dengan Manhaj Salaf*, 35-36. In fact, Ahl al-Sunna wa’l-Jamā’a is a term also used for the religious orientation of NU. However, the Salafis and the traditionalists identify the term differently (discussed in chapter 6).

Astin, interview, 10 December 2009.

⁴⁴⁷ Ahmad Faiz Saifullah, “Bagaimana Membangun Imam yang Benar,” in *Euromoslem*, September-October 2000, 2-3.

⁴⁴⁸ There is no information about a source from which the article is quoted.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya, “Jangan Dekati Zina,” trans., in *Euromoslem* 91, July-August, 2003, 7-12.

⁴⁵⁰ See Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj,” 215 and see also Muhammad Rifqi, “Keteladanan al-Imam at-Tirmidzi [al-Tirmidhī] dalam Menuntut Ilmu,” accessed 18 July 2014, <http://www.darussalaf.or.id/biografi/keteladanan-al-imam-at-tirmidzi-dalam-menuntut-ilmu/>.

The internal conflict among the congregation of PPME Amsterdam at the end of 2005 strengthened the emergence of a digital version⁴⁵¹ via its e-mails such as euromoslem@hotmail.com, euromoslem@PPME-amsterdam.org, muslimnl@yahoogroups.com, and media@euromoslim.org. These e-mails only contain the writings of Salafi authors and this means that there was no longer space for authors of not only traditionalist, but also reformist backgrounds. This was in line with the performing of the *dauroh* in which the Salafi orientation had deliberately been arranged.

The following are examples of Salafi authors' writings of the period. *Euromoslem* of 31 March 2006 issued the true ethics of a Muslim in his relation to God by Arif Syarifuddin. He was of the opinion that a Muslim should establish God's revelation; conduct His laws; and be patient with and accept the fate He has decided. His viewpoints were based mostly on a *Kitāb al-'Ilm* (The Book of Knowledge) by Ibn 'Uthaymin. *Euromoslem* of 20 November 2009 issued the significance of Islamic knowledge and its experts.⁴⁵² This was an article which was written by 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Bāz, a leading figure of Salafi *da'wa* and translated by Abu Mushlih Ari Wahyudi, the chairman of Ma'had al-'Ilm (Boarding of Islamic Knowledge) in Yogyakarta.⁴⁵³ The author presented the importance, for instance, of the *dawra* [which was regularly held by PPME Amsterdam] as the medium for those who wanted to study Islam. Moreover, he added that the seekers of Islamic knowledge should be patient in their learning and want to spread the knowledge to other Muslims, as al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ did.⁴⁵⁴ *Euromoslem* of January 2010 presented an article on understanding the position of the *imam* (prayer leader) and *ma'mūm* (the follower), in collective prayer (*jamā'a*). It was written by Abu Asma Kholid Syamhudi, a member

⁴⁵¹ Siti Fatimah (chairperson of the Educational Division of PPME Amsterdam), telephone interview, 23 December 2011.

⁴⁵² *Euromoslem*, 20 November 2009, n.p.

⁴⁵³ Ma'had al-'Ilm is a centre of Salafi cadres of *da'wa* recruited from students of universities in Indonesia. See "Donasi Ma'had al-'Ilm," accessed 18 July 2014, <http://abumushlih.com/donasi-ma%E2%80%99had-al-%E2%80%99ilmi/>.

⁴⁵⁴ *Euromoslem*, 20 January 2010, n.p.

of editorial board of the Salafi magazine Assunnah, Solo, Central Java. In this article, the author discussed, for instance, the validity of becoming the follower of a *fāsiq* (sinner) and *mubtadi'* (heretic) in the collective prayer. This is in reference to the opinions of Ibn 'Uthaymin and Ibn Taymiyya. It is worth mentioning that after the internal conflict in 2005, religious orientation of a leader prayer was a heated topic with which PPME Amsterdam was much concerned. Prayers of its congregation should be led by a person who had a similar religious orientation – by a Salafi. As a result, the PPME branch preferred its younger members knowledgeable of Islam who were Salafi to Islamic preachers whose religious orientation differed from that of its congregation to become their prayers leader even though the preachers were elder and leading figures of the central PPME. We see, then, that after 2005 there has been no diversity in *Euromoslem* and a tendency to reflect a narrow set of religious sources, i.e. Salafi-oriented authors. This suggests that PPME Amsterdam has set aside its previous principle reflecting diverse religious backgrounds – it is still attempting to make its own religious orientation known.⁴⁵⁵

To sum up, the Islamic discourses that have developed in *al-Ittihaad* and *Euromoslem* and that can be used as sources for studying Islam by the members of PPME reflect the diverse religious orientation of the organization. *Al-Ittihaad* has accommodated traditionalist and reformist works. By contrast, the articles presented in *Euromoslem* have undergone a change of religious orientation, i.e. from diversity to a single Salafi religious orientation. The schism in PPME Amsterdam's congregation in mid-2005 can be seen as a factor in *Euromoslem*'s shift to the Salafi publication.

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Rigoni, "Access to Media for European Muslims," 119.

Chapter Three: The Encouragement of PPME for Giving

In Islam, giving practices refer to the payment of both *zakāt al-fiṭr* and *zakāt al-māl*, both of which are obligatory for Muslims. The practices can also refer to *infāq* or *ṣadaqa* as voluntary donations. This sense can also be found in the Indonesian context in the terms *infāq* and *ṣadaqa* having similar meanings, i.e. voluntary gifts.⁴⁵⁶ In fact, “in the later history of Islam, *ṣadaqa* is traditionally used to mean only voluntary charitable donations....”⁴⁵⁷ In a wider sense, the term *ṣadaqa* can be regarded as giving both material (money, land, and buildings) and non-material (support, dedication, and commitment).⁴⁵⁸ “Giving” as the term used in this section refers to the usage of *ṣadaqa* in the wider meaning and as voluntary gifts, which are both material and non-material. The PPME itself has endeavoured to encourage its members and sympathizers to give their financial and non-financial assistance to realise its plans. This took place through both socio-cultural and infrastructural endeavours.

I. Socio-Cultural Endeavours

A. *Maulid Nabi* (1973)

The commemoration of *Maulid Nabi* (the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad) has always been flexible. That is to say, Muslims are not obliged to commemorate it on the exact date on which the Prophet was born, the 12th of *Rabīʿu'l-Awwal* (the third month in the Islamic calendar). The decision about when to hold the commemoration is a pragmatic one. This is unlike the day on which the fast of *Ramadan* (for the feast of *ʿīd al-fiṭr*) is broken,

⁴⁵⁶ M. Dawam Rahardjo, “Manajemen Zakat,” in Ditjen Bimas Islam dan Urusan haji, *Pedoman Pembinaan Bazis* (Depag: Jakarta, 1992), 5-6, Pengurus, *Lazis Paramadina* (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1992), 8. See also Arskal Salim, *The Shift in Zakat Practice in Indonesia* (Thailand: Asian Muslim Action Network: 2008), 38.

⁴⁵⁷ Yusuf al-Qardawi, *Fiqh az-Zakat: A Comparative Study the Rules, Regulation and Philosophy of Zakat in the Light of the Qur'an and Sunna*, trans. Monzer Kahf (London: Dar al Taqwa Ltd., 1999), xlv-xlvi.

⁴⁵⁸ Hilman Latief, “Islamic Charities and Social Activism: Welfare, Dakwah and Politics in Indonesia,” (PhD Thesis, Utrecht, 2012), 33.

taking into consideration the decisions to be made on when the final day of *Ramaḍān* falls, and the sacrificial feast (*ʿīd al-aḍḥā*) that must be conducted on a fixed date, i.e. 10 *Dhu'l-ḥijja* (the 12th Islamic calendar month).⁴⁵⁹ Muslims follow the decisions of the Saudi Arabian government or those of their own government for the fixed festivals (this will be discussed in chapter 4).

There are Muslims who oppose celebrating the *maulid* which they consider *bid'a madhmūma* (a blameworthy innovation),⁴⁶⁰ for instance, reformists and adherents to the Maliki, rather than the Syafi'i, school of Islamic jurisprudence.⁴⁶¹ However, there are many Muslims, residing in both Muslim and non-Muslim countries, who celebrate the event.⁴⁶² The Prophet's birthday is frequently celebrated in the Javanese-Suriname Muslim community in the Netherlands.⁴⁶³ Likewise, the congregations of PPME The Hague, PPME Rotterdam, PPME al-Ikhlash in Amsterdam, PPME Heemskerk, and PPME Breda-Tilburg, hold festivities to mark the event.

PPME congregations sometimes celebrated the event by reciting a *kitāb* (Islamic book) known as *al-Barzanji Mawlid*, written by Ja'far ibn Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Karim.⁴⁶⁴ The recitation was led by those who were "well acquainted with *al-Barzanji* and have a good chanting voice."⁴⁶⁵ In 1973 the PPME celebrated the birth

⁴⁵⁹ See A. van Bommel, "The History of Muslim Umbrella Organizations," in Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Dutch Society*, 128.

⁴⁶⁰ See Ahmad Haris, *Bid'ah dalam Literatur Islam*, 1st ed. (Ciputat: Referensi, 2012), 162.

⁴⁶¹ See N. J. G. Kaptein, *Perayaan Hari Lahir Nabi Muhammad SAW: Asal Usul dan Penyebaran Awalnya, Sejarah di Maghrib dan Spanyol Muslim sampai Abad ke-16/ke-10* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994), 43, 48 and 50; see also Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat (Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia)* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 97-98.

⁴⁶² See Kaptein, *Perayaan Hari Lahir Nabi Muhammad SAW*, 1.

⁴⁶³ See Van Bommel, "The History of Muslim Umbrella Organizations," 128.

⁴⁶⁴ See N. J. G. Kaptein, "The Berdiri Mawlid Issue among Indonesian Muslims in the Period from Circa 1875 to 1930," in *Bijdrage tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149, no. 1 (1993): 125-126 and see "The Barzanji Mawlid," accessed 19 December 2011, <http://www.manaqib.com/v2/barzanji/imambarzanji/imambarzanji.html>.

⁴⁶⁵ See Muhaimin Abdul Ghoffir, *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat among Javanese Muslims* (Jakarta: Litbang, 2004), 183.

of the Prophet Muhammad for the first time in the hall of the Indonesian Embassy (KBRI) in The Hague. As part of the events, the association presented a theatrical show with the theme “Umar ibn Khattab Embracing Islam and Becoming a Khalifa (Caliph)”. T. Rusli, a founder of the PPME, played the role of Umar,⁴⁶⁶ a brave and firm caliph who believed in justice and rights (*al-ḥaqq*). This theme was chosen in order that the PPME would inherit his character, thus stimulating it to implement Islamic principles in running its programs⁴⁶⁷ – as a reflection and an affirmation of PPME’s Islamic principles. To some extent, the choosing of such a theme can be seen as a response to the early Indonesian New Order’s strict control of *da’wa* activities (giving Islamic speeches) by Muslims, especially in Indonesia.⁴⁶⁸ Muslim activists in the beginning of Suharto Era were being marginalized by him, although they had cooperated with the government to fight against the Communist Party (PKI) in the Old Order (Sukarno Era) and in the murder of communists at the beginning of the New Order.⁴⁶⁹ On the other hand, the theme can be seen as a response to the socio-religious problems encountered by Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands, among them, their need for Islamic teaching⁴⁷⁰ as previously discussed in chapter 1.

The celebration in 1973 was attended by 359 people from the Netherlands and some from West Germany.⁴⁷¹ Many of those from the Netherlands were members of the PPI in the Netherlands. Others were teachers of Pajajaran University (West Java) and the University of Gajah Mada (Yogyakarta) who had been participating

⁴⁶⁶ See Van Bommel, “The History of Muslim Umbrella Organizations,” 8.

⁴⁶⁷ See A. Wahid Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME pada Musyawarah Umum I*, 25-26 August 1973, PPME the Netherlands, The Hague, p. 7, and A. Hambali M., interview, 18 January 2011, The Hague.

⁴⁶⁸ See George Mct. Kahin, In Memoriam: Mohammad Natsir (1907-1993), in *Indonesia*, no 56 (October 1993): 165.

⁴⁶⁹ See A. M. Fatwa, “Taqwa dan Azas Islam hingga Titik Darah Terakhir,” in Panitia Pelaksana Hari-hari Besar Islam/Panitia Sholat Idul Fitri 1430 H., *Khotbah Idul Fitri 1430 H.*, Jakarta Pusat, 1983, 4-5.

⁴⁷⁰ A. H. Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008, The Hague.

⁴⁷¹ Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME*, 7.

in educational training hosted by Dutch universities.⁴⁷² In addition, members of PPME in the Netherlands and Muslim officials of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands also attended the celebration. Those from Germany were all PPME members.⁴⁷³ Thus, the participants were not only insiders (the members of the association), but also outsiders (Indonesian students, embassy staff and university teachers).

Given that there was no budget allocated by the PPME board for the commemoration,⁴⁷⁴ it was facilitated from other sources. For example, the event was held in the hall of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands.⁴⁷⁵ This was also seen as an endorsement by the embassy, despite there being no official or structural relationship between the two. Besides, celebrating such a commemoration was not part of the Embassy's tasks, especially, connected to educational and cultural affairs.⁴⁷⁶ Furthermore, the students and staff who attended the commemoration demonstrated a willingness to take part in events organized by the association's board. For example, a group of students participated in sport activities, which included such things as table tennis and chess; and the universities' staffs acted as judges in essay competitions with Islamic themes.⁴⁷⁷ Their contributions requiring time and skills are all evidence of their non-material support for the celebration.

Subsequently, on 3 September 1995, the PPME board in the Netherlands celebrated the commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet.⁴⁷⁸ This commemoration, which was broadcast on a Dutch television by the Nederlandse Moslim Omroep (NMO, Broadcasting Organization for Muslims in the Netherlands),⁴⁷⁹ aimed to elicit

⁴⁷² See Sujatmo Martosuhardjo, *Laporan Tahunan 1971 KBRI Den Haag* ('s-Gravenhage: KBRI, 1972), 118-119.

⁴⁷³ Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME*, 7.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ See Martosuhardjo, *Laporan Tahunan*, 111 and 127.

⁴⁷⁷ Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME*, 7.

⁴⁷⁸ See PPME, *Proposal Pelaksanaan Peringatan Maulid Nabi Muhammad SAW*, 1416 H/1995, The Hague, n.p.

⁴⁷⁹ See M. Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-jawaban Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland*

financial donations for an Indonesian mosque in the Netherlands⁴⁸⁰ – Basri, a student of Leiden University acting as a member of PPME board in the Netherlands and committee of the commemoration, stated that it was a fund-raiser affair of PPME and therefore, it had to be an impressive event. No less than 500 people were invited to the celebration at the Grote Kerk in The Hague.⁴⁸¹ Speeches were made by Sa‘ad Syamlan, a member of HMI and of Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP, Party of Unity and Development). Quranic verses were performed by a well-known female reciter from Indonesia, Maria Ulfah and food was provided for all. Consequently, PPME hoped that much money could be collected from those who attended.⁴⁸² Having announced the aim of the event, together, especially with the officials of KBRI and the members of ICMI in the Netherlands, the PPME board led the collecting of donations from the attendants.⁴⁸³ The result was that € 909 were collected. Even though this amount fell short of what was needed to fund a place for worship – the cost of mosque was later known to be more or less € 534,090 (discussed in the following section of this chapter), the donations indicate a willingness of the guests to contribute and are another endorsement of the endeavors of the association.

Finally, a commemoration was held on 8 September 1996 to celebrate 25 years of the PPME’s existence. This event was held in conjunction with the celebration of the new Indonesian *al-Hikmah* Mosque and the 51st anniversary of Indonesian independence.⁴⁸⁴ A well-known Indonesian preacher, Zainuddin M. Z. was invited and *qasidah* music (religious chants sung to the rhythm of a *gambus*)⁴⁸⁵ was presented by Lembaga Seni dan Qasidah Jakarta Raya (Lasqi

Periode 1994-1996 (The Hague: PPME of the Netherlands, 1997), 9.

⁴⁸⁰ See PPME, *Proposal Pelaksanaan Peringatan Maulid Nabi Muhammad SAW*, 1416 H/1995, n.p.

⁴⁸¹ Hasan Basri, *Panitia Peringatan Maulid Nabi Muhammad SAW Tahun 1416 H/1995*, PPME The Hague, August 1995. n.p.

⁴⁸² Rudy Erfan, interview, 8 June 2009, The Hague.

⁴⁸³ Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, (The Hague: KBRI, 31 July 1997), 1.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵ Religious chant [usually] in Arabic, sung to the rhythm of a *gambus*, a six-stringed, plucked instrument of Arabic origin.

Jaya, Association for Arts and *Qasidah* of the Greater Jakarta). Furthermore, the best participant of the *Musābaqa Tilāwatil-Qur’ān* (MTQ, National Contest in Reciting the Qur’an) held by the Indonesian government, Nasrullah Djamaluddin, was also invited. As a result, about 1,500 people attended the celebrations which were held at the new Indonesian mosque⁴⁸⁶ that was under the supervision of the KBRI. This fact shows that the ambassador assisted PPME in providing a place for the celebration.

B. Summer *Sportdagen* (1973)

Recreational sports have long been a part of the socio-cultural activities of Muslim organizations in the Netherlands⁴⁸⁷ and have formed part of the PPME’s programmes since 1973. Sport as part of its commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet (1973) in cooperation with the Indonesian Embassy was an example.⁴⁸⁸ Up to present, sport remains a part of PPME’s activities.

PPME Amsterdam is much concerned with this sport programme and in fact, the board of PPME Amsterdam even developed a sport programme which has been running since 1997. Originally, the programme was called *barbeque dan budaya* (barbeque and culture),⁴⁸⁹ but in 2009 the board converted the name into *sportdagen* (sport days) and this is the name used today. The following is the comparison between the former and the latter sport programme.

The programme of *sportdagen* 1997 was held for two objectives. It had been mainly aimed at facilitating the children of PPME members to do sports together in a bid to improve their well-being, which, in turn, would improve their relations at home.⁴⁹⁰ For this aim, activities in the programme should be in accord with needs of the children from year to year. According to the

⁴⁸⁶ A. Supardi Adiwidjaya, “Wajah Indonesia dalam Milad PPME ke-25,” in *al-Ittihaad*, November 1996, 14.

⁴⁸⁷ Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 62-63.

⁴⁸⁸ See Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME*, n.p.

⁴⁸⁹ Sie Acara, *Laporan Kegiatan Musim Panas Barbeque dan Budaya Periode 1996-1997 PPME Cabang Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: PPME Amsterdam, 1997), 1.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

organizer of the *sportdagen*, this programme was a materialization of the Quranic verse of Chapter al-Nāzi‘āt (Those who tear out): “A provision for you and your cattle,” which encouraged the enjoyment of an environment in which sports were done while remaining focused on useful activities. This indicates the hope of PPME Amsterdam was that the *sportdagen* could make children more open to accepting their parents’ religious guidance,⁴⁹¹ but it is actually hard to achieve. This is because it is an annual program rather than, for instance, a routine monthly programme that may be more influential for the relation between the children and their parents. Alongside this first objective, the sports programme was a continuation of a previously organized family program called *berkumpul pada musim panas* (gathering on the summer weekends) aimed at enhancing the *silaturahmi* (human links) between PPME members and sympathizers. This meant that not only children, but also adults did sports. The facilitation of sports, along with an arts programme, have been important aspects of PPME’s endeavours. In addition to PPME members, sympathizers such as M. Luthfie and Zaenal, the Chief and Assistant Defence Attaché of the Indonesian Embassy for the Kingdom of the Netherlands, attended the gathering.⁴⁹² The chairman of PPME Amsterdam, Balbaid, highlighted that the attendance of officials from the Embassy in the *sportdagen* could go on in the following years to create familiarity between them and members of PPME Amsterdam.⁴⁹³

Unlike the one held in 1997, PPME Amsterdam’s *sportsdagen* programme held in 2009 was concerned much more with fund raising. It was advertised online and in the *at-Taqwa* Mosque. It called on men and women, young and old, to come and play their favourite sports such as football and volleyball. Outsiders were also welcome to participate. Consequently, officials from the Indonesian embassy, PCIM members and PIP PKS supporters joined the PPME members and took part in the day. It is worth

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., 2.

mentioning that in addition to the sports on offer at this 2009 event, the board of PPME Amsterdam also organized selling foods, beverages, Islamic books and CDs, and herbal medicine. Traditional foods and beverages such as *rujak cingur* (raw fruit with peanut sauce), *bakso*, *soto ayam/kambing* (soup with chicken or goat), *siomay* (steamed ravioli filled with meat), *sate ayam and kambing* (sate made of chicken and goat), *cendol* (beverage made from coconut milk) and *bubur campur* (porridge).⁴⁹⁴ This was a marked difference with the 1997 event which focused much more on playing sports,⁴⁹⁵ rather than on making an effort to raise funds. For the *sportsdagen* programme of 2009, the board distributed tasks among its board and volunteers in order to put on a well-organized programme. It was seen as a fundraising opportunity. The profits gained from selling the foods and other products went to the organization and were used to contribute to the monthly mortgage payments (€ 2,700-3,000)⁴⁹⁶ on the recently purchased *at-Taqwa* (Piety) Mosque and its operational costs and maintenance (€ 500-700).⁴⁹⁷ Their commitment to providing assistance to the organization can also be seen from the statements of Rib Kasan (the former PPME treasurer) who told how his family went to the event early in order to deliver their food (*bubur campur*) to the organizers before the visitors arrived.⁴⁹⁸

C. *Halal Bihalal* (the Late 1980s)

According to Mas'udi of NU and Ahmad Zahro of the State Islamic University of Surabaya, the term *halal bihalal* was posed by Wahab Hasbullah of NU. This took place when Sukarno invited him during *Ramaḍān* of 1948 to solve a heated political situation in Indonesia, i.e. politicians blaming each other, thus, becoming disunited. Hasbullah's first advice was to hold *silaturahmi*, an Indonesian Muslim tradition in *ʿīd al-fīṭr*, but this term, according

⁴⁹⁴ A. Aziz Balbaid, interview, Spaarnwoude, 21 June 2009.

⁴⁹⁵ Kadungga, *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME*, n.p.

⁴⁹⁶ Nina Maasdam, interview, Yogyakarta, 23 August 2011.

⁴⁹⁷ A. Aziz Balbaid, interview, 21 June 2009.

⁴⁹⁸ Rib Kasan, interview, Spaarnwoude, 21 June 2009.

to Sukarno, was commonly known. Therefore, Sukarno preferred another term. Hasbullah then posed the term *halal bihalal* as realization of the *silaturahmi*, which aimed to be an effort to end the blaming of each other among the politicians; they should get together and forgive each other.⁴⁹⁹ It is clear that this *silaturahmi*, with the aim of forgiveness, is not an Arabic, but Indonesian, tradition.⁵⁰⁰

Today in Indonesia, the *halal bihalal*, which includes shaking hands and asking for forgiveness, is annually performed by Muslims (both men and women) in places of worship, offices, at home or other buildings.⁵⁰¹ It is a practice not without controversy; indeed, there is some debate among those knowledgeable of Islam about whether the activity is recommended or unlawful. Those who argue it is recommended believe that *silaturahmi* and the activity of forgiving one another, which are parts of the *halal bihalal*'s activities, are in accordance with Islamic teaching,⁵⁰² whereas others see it as prohibited, arguing that apologies should be made when necessary and not be limited to an annual event. Opponents also argue against the physical contact and shaking hands between men and women citing writings in the Salafi magazine, *as-Sunnah* (The Way of the Prophet Muhammad) and the thoughts of Ibn Taymiyya and al-Albani,⁵⁰³ both central figures in the Salafi *da'wa* movement.⁵⁰⁴

⁴⁹⁹ Masdar Farid Mas'udi, "K. H. Wahab Hasbullah, Penggagas Istilah Halal Bihalal," accessed 9 December 2015, <http://pondoktrema.com/2015/07/17/kh-wahab-hasbullah-penggagas-istilah-halal-bi-halal/> and Edy M. Ya'kub, "Guru Besar UIN Surabaya: Patenkan Halal Bihalal," accessed 9 December 2015, <http://www.antaranews.com/berita/508946/guru-besar-uin-surabaya-patenkan-halalbihalal>.

⁵⁰⁰ Nikolaos van Dam, "Makna Halal Bihalal," accessed 9 December 2015, <http://www.nikolaosvandam.com/pdf/interview/20071109nvdaminterview01id.pdf>.

⁵⁰¹ See Basit Wahid, "Bagaimana Merayakan Hari Raya Idul Fithri," in Abdullah Sabda et al. (eds.), *Suara 'Aisyiah*, no. 1, year 76, Yogyakarta, January 1999/Syawal 1419 H, p. 6.

⁵⁰² See M. Quraish Shihab, *Membumikan al-Qur'an: Fungsi dan Peran Wahyu dalam Masyarakat*, 23rd ed. (Bandung: Mizan, 2002), 318-320.

⁵⁰³ See Anas Burhanuddin, "Pengertian Halal Bihalal dan Sejarahnya," accessed 31 December 2011, <http://kampungsalaf.wordpress.com/2011/09/04/menyingkap-keabsahan-halal-bi-halal/>.

⁵⁰⁴ Hasan, "From Apolitical Quitism to Jihadist Activism," 140 and 143.

In Indonesia, *halal bihalal* takes place during the ‘*id al-fiṭr*’ celebration (in the month of *syawwāl*, the Islamic month after *Ramaḍān*), after the fasting, in order to establish *silaturahmi* and to ask for forgiveness.⁵⁰⁵ There is no evidence (*dalil*) of this practice in the period of the Prophet Muhammad and is regarded as being beyond Arabic tradition. Also it is absent among other Muslim communities in the Netherlands, with the exception of those of Indonesian and Surinamese-Javanese origin. It has not been part of ‘*ibāda maḥḍa*’ (pure worship), i.e. Islamic worship in the narrow sense of the meaning.⁵⁰⁶ This means that there are no sacred religious ceremonies or rituals related to the *halal bihalal*, which is an adjustment to the socio-cultural and ethnic background of those who participate in it.

There have been, in principal, two sorts of *halal bihalal* activities. The main one includes reciting Quranic verses, Islamic lectures on subjects usually associated with the significance of fasting during *Ramaḍān*, forgiving each other, and about good deeds in the future, whereupon people approach each other, shake hands and state: “...*Mohon maaf lahir dan batin* (Forgive me for intentional and unintentional mistakes).”⁵⁰⁷ In addition, there are complementary activities. In the case of PPME in the Netherlands, entertainment and art performances are usually part of the *halal bihalal*; for example, the playing of Indonesian music with Islamic lyrics, the recitation of poems, and the performance of traditional dances are common additional activities.⁵⁰⁸

Halal bihalal has been held separately by each of the PPME branches since the late 1980s.⁵⁰⁹ Consequently, more than one

⁵⁰⁵ See Shihab, *Membumikan al-Qur’an*, 320.

⁵⁰⁶ A. H. Maksum, *Ukhuwwah Islamiyyah*, in *Al-Ittihaad*, 13 July 13, 1985, 2-4.

⁵⁰⁷ See Wahid, “Bagaimana Merayakan Hari Raya Idul Fithri,” 6.

⁵⁰⁸ *Al-Ittihaad*, no. 10, May-June 1986, 27; see also Seksi Publikasi dan Dokumentasi, *Ceramah Akbar dan Pagelaran Seni dalam Rangka Syukuran 40 Tahun PPME dan Halal Bihalal 1432 H.* (The Hague: PPME the Netherlands, September 2011), 2.

⁵⁰⁹ Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus*, 8; see also: A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1986-1988 pada Musyawarah PPME Wilayah Nederland ke-5*, 26-27 November 1988, 27 November 1988 (The Hague: PPME the Netherlands, 27 November 1988), 17-18.

celebration takes place in the Netherlands every year.⁵¹⁰ However, this has not always been the case. In 1986, for instance, a joint celebration was organized by PPME Rotterdam who invited PPME members from other branches to take part in the *halal bihalal*.⁵¹¹ On 21 February 1998 in a hall of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, the celebration was hosted by PPME Amsterdam,⁵¹² and on 20 November 2005 PPME Breda organized an event in Oosterhout. More recently, the board of PPME the Netherlands organized a celebration in Osdorp, Amsterdam on 18 September 2011 where all PPME members, with the exception of PPME Amsterdam, which is now called Euromuslim, were invited.

The 2005 *halal bihalal* meeting in Breda was an unusual one – it took place at a time when the conflict in the PPME Amsterdam came to the fore. In addition to its neutral position in the conflict, PPME Breda always liked to have a big *halal bihalal*, thus, becoming more interesting.⁵¹³ As was mentioned in chapter 1, its membership is small in number. It was held at Wilhelminalaan 57-59 in Oosterhout. It was attended by more than 300 people, including the congregation of PPME *ar-Rahman* Breda, PPME’s central board, and the boards of PPME branches throughout the Netherlands as well as PPME sympathizers.⁵¹⁴ The working languages of the event, whose theme was “Through Halal Bihalal We Enhance Silaturahmi and Togetherness among Us,” were Indonesian and Dutch.⁵¹⁵ The PPME preacher, A. Naf’an Sulchan, strengthened the theme with an Islamic speech encouraging the audience: “Not to judge others, especially *mu’minun* (believers) as unbelievers or polytheists [the theme underlining the significance of unity among the congregation of PPME Amsterdam].”⁵¹⁶ He went on to stress: “Not to say that good deeds we have conducted are the best according to

⁵¹⁰ See *Zikra*, April 1998, 18.

⁵¹¹ *Al-Ittihaad*, no. 10, May-June 1986, 27.

⁵¹² See *Zikra*, April 1998: 18; see also *Iqra’*, January-February 1990, n.p.

⁵¹³ Hansyah (chairman of PPME Breda-Tilburg), telephone interview, 30 June 2008.

⁵¹⁴ PPME Breda, *Gastenboek Halal Bihalal ar-Rahman* (Breda-Tilburg: PPME, 2005), n.p.

⁵¹⁵ *Halal Bihalal ar-Rahman 20 November 2005 PPME Breda*, CD-ROM.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Allah. Therefore, even though you [the congregation of the PPME] have chosen me as *imam*, this by no means guarantees that my deeds are better than those of you [those who have been learning Islam from him]. The judgement is the right of Allah, The Real Judge.”⁵¹⁷ While delivering his statements, the *imam* cited a Quranic verse (Al-Mulk: 2): “...Wa-*l-ḥayāta li-yabluwakum ayyukum aḥsanu ‘amalan...* (...And life that He may try you which of you is best in deed....”⁵¹⁸ His speech clearly aimed at emphasizing the significance of respect for others, which would lead to togetherness, something that was threatened at that time regarding PPME Amsterdam.

The disunity among the followers of PPME Amsterdam did not prevent PPME’s congregations or disputing members of PPME Amsterdam boards from endorsing Breda as hosts of the *halal bihalal* in Breda. They were still willing to assist the Breda board. Firstly, the organizing committee (made up of PPME Breda members) took the initiative to continue with the *halal bihalal* tradition and PPME’s boards and members donated their financial assistance and provided food beyond PPME Breda’s disposal (€ 2,500), for instance, *semur* (dish of meal stewed with chicken), *gado-gado* (vegetables), *rendang* (stewed beef), *sambal terasi* (sauce made with shrimp paste), fried rice, and *lemper* (sticky rice) were served. They were under no obligation to be involved, but they wanted to ensure the success of the event and to maintain this PPME tradition. In addition to the financial donations made by PPME Breda’s congregation, the boards and the members of PPME Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Heemskerk also provided donations in order to ensure the success of the tradition. As a result, € 980 were collected in a box especially put there for this purpose. This amount certainly reduced the expenses of the committee; for instance, they were able to cover the cost of leasing the hall, which were more than € 800.⁵¹⁹

Finally, in addition to traditional dances performed by the

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

PPME's younger generation, a *qasidah* group, *as-Salaam* (Peace), which was recommended by the members of PPME Rotterdam, and al-Jama'atul Hasana – an Islamic organization of a Surinamese-Javanese congregation, formed in 2003 by Johnny Kasijo, a PPME Rotterdam member keen to develop cultural activities⁵²⁰ – played music and songs with Islamic lyrics. Playing tambourines and a guitar, the group started with playing the music of *ṣalawāt* (praise for the Prophet Muhammad), followed by a Sundanese song entitled *Es Lilin* (Popsicle). The original lyrics of this traditional song about a lady who is ashamed to tell a man that she had fallen in love with him were partly replaced by the *ṣalawa*: “*Allāhumma ṣalli ‘alā sayyidinā wa mawlānā Muḥammadin* (God, bless the Prophet Muhammad).” Another song was the Javanese *Gambang Suling* (Xylophone-and flute-like instrument) whose original lyrics tell about the nice sound of the instruments when it was played. The lyrics were, then, replaced with those inviting listeners to recite the Quran and learn about Islam.⁵²¹

It is worth noting that the music group did not receive money for their performance. The idea of commercializing *qasidah* was not in line with the ideals of the group's founder, Kasijo, who wanted to propagate Islam through music and found the idea of obligatory payments for the group's performance distasteful.⁵²² He believed in culturally developing PPME's activities, especially in Rotterdam, rather than financially.

D. *Istighotsah* (2001)

Istighotsah in the form of intercessory prayers asks not only for God's protection, but is also an appeal for His assistance in solving problems experienced in the here and now by the reciters themselves, their families, or those experiencing difficulties.⁵²³

⁵²⁰ Johnny Kasijo, interview, Rotterdam, 15 January 2011.

⁵²¹ *Halal Bihalal ar-Rahman PPME Breda 2005*, CD-ROM.

⁵²² Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

⁵²³ See Munawwir Yamin, *Istighotsah dalam Perspektifas-Sunnah* (Jakarta: MUI, 2007), 21 and 63, Muḥammad ibn Salih al-‘Uthaymin, *Ulasan Tuntas tentang Tiga Prinsip Pokok*, 95, and see See Ronald Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java* (New York and England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 4-5.

Istighotsah is the recitation of a given package of prayers; it is longer and more varied than *tahlilan* (reciting a certain package of intercessory prayers including the words of *lā ilāha illā Allāh*, usually performed to pray for the deceased). It also includes reciting God's names (*asmā' al-ḥusnā*). PPME's *yasinan* and *tahlilan* activities are frequently performed as an introduction to the *istighotsah*. In the *istighotsah*, the names of those who serve as the *wasīla* (the spiritual mediator) such as the Prophet Muhammad, his companions, certain saints, well-known *ulama*, and teachers, a ritual known as *tawassul*, are recited. According to Abdurrahman Wahid, this *wasīla* is exerted in the hope that the intercessory prayers recited directly to God will be accepted by Him.⁵²⁴ In addition, attendants of this ritual recite the *sholawats* (praise for the Prophet Muhammad) of the so-called *munjiyya* (*sholawat* to be safe from disaster and achieve goals both in the worldly life and the hereafter) and *nāriya* (*sholawat* to solve a problem, relieve sadness, and achieve a goal). These kinds of *sholawats* are frequently practiced by those who are fond of performing *yasinan*, *tahlilan*, and *istighotsah*. The *munjiyya* has a more general content and is recited as an introductory *sholawat* for any prayer, whereas the *nāriya* is mainly recited when confronted with problems.⁵²⁵ The *istighotsah* takes more time and, according to the tradition of *Qadiriyya* Sufism, it is performed loudly.⁵²⁶ Such a ritual does not signify that the performing of the traditionalist practice should adhere to the way of a certain Islamic sufism or mysticism strictly. In PPME, it is guided only by a knowledgeable person and is not necessarily guided by a *murshid* (guide) such as the Turkish *Sūlainmanli* sufis who lead in the Netherlands adhering to *Naqshabandi* brotherhood and using

⁵²⁴ See Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat (Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia)* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 20-21 and 262-263.

⁵²⁵ See Mahrus Ali, *Mantan Kiai NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik (Nariyah, al-Fatih, Munjiyat, Thibbul Qulub)* (Surabaya: Laa Tasuk!, 2007), 33-38, 69-72, and 153-156; see also Tim Bahtsul Masail PC NU Jember, *Membongkar Kebohongan Buku Mantan KIAI NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik (H. Mahrus Ali)* (Jember: LBMNU, 2008), 4-21, and 126-136.

⁵²⁶ See Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 20-21 and 262-263.

spiritual genealogy,⁵²⁷ i.e. mentioning their spiritual ancestors.

Muslim reformists in Indonesia considered the recitation of *tawassul* and *sholawats* as a religious activity that leads to *shirk* (polytheism).⁵²⁸ The debates surrounding this subject remain heated, as can be seen from two recent publications on the issues of *tawassul*, *istighotsah*, and reciting the *sholawats*. The first book, entitled *Mantan Kiai NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik: Nariyah, al-Fatih, Munjiyat, Thibbul Qulub* (A Former Kyai of NU Criticizes the Reciters of *Sholawat* and Polytheist Chants: Solving, Opening, Salving, and Peace-making *Sholawat*), was published in 2007 and written by Mahrus Ali.⁵²⁹ The second book is entitled *Membongkar Kebohongan Buku Mantan KIAI NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik* (Revealing the Lies of the Book “Mahrus Ali Criticizes the Reciters of *Sholawat* and Polytheist Chants”) and was published in 2008. It was written by a team from the Jember branch of the NU – a team devoted to the *Baḥth al-Masāil* (Discussion on Cases) – and is a response to the first book that is said to discredit the traditions of the NU.⁵³⁰ In fact, these issues have been a source of tension between Indonesian traditionalists and reformist Muslims since before Indonesian independence in 1945.

Consequently, the reformist-oriented followers of the PPME have never accepted the tradition of *istighotsah*. For this reason, following the schism in PPME Amsterdam in 2005, the ritual was no longer performed by the branch of PPME. This branch’s opponents of the ritual believe it leads to *shirk* and they refused to allow the activity to take place in their new building purchased in 2005. Their repudiation of the traditionalist ritual was in accord with their Salafi-oriented Islamic preacher, Khoirul Muttaqin living in Depok, West Java, who was invited for their *Ramaḍān* programme of the year (discussed in chapter 6). Afterwards, the practice

⁵²⁷ Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 91.

⁵²⁸ See Ali, *Mantan Kiai NU*, 33-38, 69-72, and 153-156; see also Tim Bahtsul Masail PC NU Jember, *Membongkar Kebohongan*, 4-21, and 126-136.

⁵²⁹ See Ali, *Mantan Kiai NU*, 33-38, 69-72, and 153-156.

⁵³⁰ See Tim Bahtsul Masail PC NU Jember, *Membongkar Kebohongan*, 4-21, and 126-136.

was no longer found in the branch activity. They suggested its proponents to perform it elsewhere – a suggestion refuted by the latter resulting in a rift. Consequently, those PPME followers who joined PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam and who still wanted to perform *istighotsah* had to do so in another place.

In the beginning of 2001, various PPME congregations performed the intercessory prayers.⁵³¹ This was done during a period when Abdurrahman Wahid, the President of the Republic of Indonesia and a proponent of traditionalist devotions,⁵³² was facing calls for impeachment in the Indonesian Legislative Assembly (DPR) during its session in July 2001.⁵³³ The congregations in the Netherlands, in accordance with the aims of *istighotsah*, used the opportunity to appeal for God's help in providing a solution to the political difficulties Wahid was encountering. The congregation of PPME The Hague performed it at the end of each month, whereas others, including members of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam, conducted their prayers at the beginning of each month.⁵³⁴ The timing was generally dependent on the arrangements of the boards of the branches. In performing the *istighotsah*, the congregations were sincere because they were seriously concerned about the destiny of the president. The rationale for this enthusiastic non-material support of Wahid is the fact that he is a founder of the PPME.

PPME al-Ikhlash also used to exert the *istighotsah* for material giving. For instance, the one that was performed on 4 December 2010. In this *istighotsah*, various refreshments were sold to elicit financial donations for the victims of the earthquake that took place in Padang, West Sumatra on 25 October 2010. Approximately 200 members of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam's congregation were invited to attend the solidarity event held at al-Ameen School in Amsterdam. After the *istighotsah* prayers had been recited, €

⁵³¹ T. Thoha Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 2000-2002* (The Hague: PPME, 1 September 2002), 7.

⁵³² A. Aziz Balbaid, interview, The Hague, 7 April 2011.

⁵³³ Andrée Feillard, "Indonesian Traditionalist Islam's Troubled Experience with Democracy," in *Archipel* 64 (2002): 126-127.

⁵³⁴ Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban*, Appendix 9, p. 2.

2,000 were collected.

II. Infrastructural Endeavours

In their early arrival, Muslim communities in Europe encountered financial difficulty to have a place of worship.⁵³⁵ PPME was not an exception in this regard. In order to alleviate the problem of its financial shortage, the PPME made efforts. To discuss these efforts, this section will deal with how the PPME endeavoured to encourage people to contribute to acquire the *Muṣalla* of *al-Ittihaad* (Unity), the Mosque *Tafakkoer* (Reflection), the Mosque *at-Taḳwa* (Piety), and to provide assistance to have the Mosque *al-Hikmah* (Wisdom). It is worth noting that other sides who were involved in the effort to have the places of worship originated from the Netherlands, as well as Indonesia.

On 11 November 1972, a plan to establish a mosque for the Islamic Umma in The Hague was proposed by a PPME team under the coordination of Idris Bakri.⁵³⁶ This team was also tasked with investigating ideas for developing links with other Muslim communities in the city and searching for international donors.⁵³⁷ While they were not particularly successful in this regard, contacts were made with Islamic institutions in Saudi Arabia and with DDII between 1973 and early 1974. This resulted in a promise from A. Harjono of the DDII to submit the plan to establish the mosque to *Rābiṭatu al-‘Ālam al-Islāmī* (The World Muslim League).⁵³⁸ When in early 1974 there still had been no positive response from the DDII, plans for an *muṣallā* or *gebedsruimte* (prayer room) came to the fore on 14 July 1974. To realise this, in mid-October 1974, PPME’s board organized the performing of *‘id al-fiṭr* prayers at Daguerrestraat 60 in The Hague. This event resulted

⁵³⁵ W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, “Blaming the System or Blaming the Victims? Structural Barriers Facing Muslims in Western Europe,” in Shadid and Van Koningsveld (eds.), *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 16-17 and J. D. J. Waardenburg, “Muslim Associations and Official Bodies in Some European Countries,” in *Ibid.* 31.

⁵³⁶ Sekretaris, *Laporan Kegiatan PPME Akhir ini*, April 30, 1973 (The Hague: PPME, 1973), n.p. and see Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 20 April ’74, 2, PPME, The Hague.

⁵³⁷ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 11 November 1972, PPME, The Hague.

⁵³⁸ Sekretaris, *Program Kerja dan Pelaksanaan DPP PPME September 73-Maret 74*, April 1974 (The Hague: PPME, 1974), 2.

in donations of € 364 from the congregation and sympathizers who attended (more than 150 people), both Indonesian and non-Indonesian. The latter were people of Surinamese-Javanese origin.⁵³⁹

The October meeting stimulated PPME's board to do more to provide a mosque.⁵⁴⁰ For a start, on 10 November 1974, the central board of the PPME took over the task of establishing the mosque from the original team that had not made a major contribution to the plan for establishing a place of worship. This change also meant that the mosque would also eventually function as the secretariat of the PPME.⁵⁴¹ The idea of providing a mosque had made progress by 1975. A decision to fund the project by taking out a mortgage was made at a meeting on 29 March 1975.⁵⁴² In spite of the fact that only € 2,273 had been raised from members and donors by July 1976, the PPME board reasserted that The Hague was to be the central city for the organization's activities and its worship.⁵⁴³ Then, the board materialized its mortgage from a bank in the Netherlands in the beginning of the 1980s. This realization stimulated the board to provide places of worship, or centres of activities, for its branches in other big cities in the Netherlands such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the following years.

A. *Al-Ittihaad* (1982)

Al-Ittihaad, which no longer exists, was a *muṣallā* in The Hague. Originally, it had been utilized as a café. The building at the Daguerrestraat in The Hague was bought on 1 October 1982 for € 27,430. € 5,455 had been donated by members and sympathizers and the rest was borrowed from the ABN AMRO Bank. The *muṣallā* was inaugurated on 13 July 1985.⁵⁴⁴ The property is one floor of 75

⁵³⁹ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 26 Oktober '74, 1, PPME, The Hague.

⁵⁴⁰ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 10 November 1974, 9, PPME, The Hague.

⁵⁴¹ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 26 Oktober '74, 2, PPME, The Hague and see also Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 10 November 1974, 9, PPME, The Hague.

⁵⁴² Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 29 Maret 1975, PPME, The Hague.

⁵⁴³ Sekretaris, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*, 13.

⁵⁴⁴ This late inauguration of the *muṣalla* was because PPME members heatedly debated the law of the inauguration, *bid'a* (innovation) or *mubāḥ* (allowed). A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, 23 November 1986), 13.

square metres and consists of three rooms: a kitchen, a secretariat room, and a meeting room. This space was considered insufficient, in particular for Friday prayers and the prayers of *‘īd al-ḥiṭr* and *‘īd al-adḥā*.⁵⁴⁵ It is worth mentioning that the organization for this *muṣalla* was not the responsibility of the PPME board in The Hague, but its own board made up of members of the The Hague branch. As a consequence, the congregation of this branch and its sympathizers frequently made use of the space for their religious and socio-cultural activities.



Picture 1. The prayer hall of the *Muṣallā of al-Ittiḥād*. Source: Collection of Muhammad Hisyam.

As mentioned, the *muṣallā* was purchased at the end of 1982; the culmination of the efforts by PPME boards since the 1970s including the collecting of *infāq* (donations), which is, in sense of time, easier than the obligatory *zakāt* (almsgiving) to spend⁵⁴⁶ from among the congregations in The Hague in this period. In 1975, €

⁵⁴⁵ A. Naf'an Sulchan, "Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittiḥād," in *al-Ittiḥād*, 1985, 13 and see A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, 23 November 1986), 13.

⁵⁴⁶ See Edien Bartels, "Ritueel en religieuze beleving," in Douwes, De Koning, and Boender (eds.), *Nederlandse moslims*, 60.

2,272 could be collected. This amount resulted from the donated funds during their participation in the prayers at *tarāwīḥ*, *‘īd al-fitr*, *‘īd al-aḍḥā* and during the Friday prayers organized by the board of PPME.⁵⁴⁷ As a result, around € 5,455 could be collected by the early 1980s.⁵⁴⁸ Subsequently, the project to provide a place of worship was placed in the PPME’s short programme for the period 1981-1983 and was confirmed in a meeting on 2 May 1982 that was also attended by representatives of other Islamic organizations in The Hague, including POI and Djam‘iyyatul Islam al-Fatah Nederland (DIAN, Pioneer Islamic Organization in the Netherlands). This gathering took place at Jan Hendrikstraat 3, The Hague. During the meeting, a committee was formed to realise the plan. It had nine members and was chaired by Husny Abdur Razak, a leading figure of PPME Rotterdam.⁵⁴⁹

In addition to collecting donations during the regular weekly and annual religious activities mentioned above, PPME preachers, such as A. H. Maksum, Naf’an Sulchan, Surya Alinegara, and M. Syukur, donated a portion of the fees they received for participating in the *mimbar Jum‘at* (Friday forum) of a radio programme that was produced and broadcast by the *Indonesische afdeling* of Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (Indonesian Section of Radio Netherlands Worldwide) from 1977 to the early 1990s. Each preacher earned € 23 for five minutes of broadcasting; for a period of 13 years, they all donated half of these fees, i.e. about € 136 per month, to the PPME board.⁵⁵⁰ Their financial contribution was aimed at reducing the board’s financial burden of paying the monthly payment of € 364.⁵⁵¹ An agreement was made between the programme coordinator, Sudji, and the PPME for the preachers’ fees to be paid directly into PPME’s bank account. The organization then paid the preachers the remainder of their money⁵⁵² (their

⁵⁴⁷ Sekretaris, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*, 13.

⁵⁴⁸ Sulchan, “*Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittihaad*,” 13.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid. 10-11.

⁵⁵⁰ A. Naf’an Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 13 February 2011.

⁵⁵¹ Sulchan, “*Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittihaad*,” 13.

⁵⁵² A. H. Maksum, interview, The Hague, 18 January 2011.

cooperation will be discussed in chapter 5).

However, the financial support from the Islamic preachers was not enough. Therefore, PPME did an activity, which went beyond the usual socio-religious activities of *muṣallā*-based associations in the 1980s in the Netherlands,⁵⁵³ to cover the monthly obligations. The boards of the PPME decided to publish a bulletin called *al-Ittihaad* in order to raise additional funds. One thousand copies of the bulletin were published, bimonthly from 1984, and were sold for more than € 1 per copy. The bulletin was offered not only to PPME congregations, but also to sympathizers residing both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia. Many of those who bought it were Muslim officials of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands or for Islamic organizations in Indonesia; *al-Ittihaad* did not go beyond the character of ‘Muslim media’ whose main target were Muslim communities.⁵⁵⁴ This endeavour resulted in sales amounting to, on average, € 1,136 per publication; however, it cost € 1,250 to produce each issue.⁵⁵⁵ Thus, the exercise failed in terms of its aim to reduce the burden of the monthly payment to the bank.

In response to the problem, the PPME boards decided to offer some advertising space in the bulletin to Garuda Indonesian Airways. The manager of Garuda in the Netherlands agreed to the deal and in return for advertisements in the bulletin, they offered to transport 500 copies of the PPME’s Islamic calendars, which had been printed in Indonesia, to the Netherlands – a mutually beneficial arrangement. The calendars, which cost € 909 to print, were sold for € 4.5 each.⁵⁵⁶ The profit from selling the calendars amounted to € 1,363. This meant that the shortfall of € 113 for each publication of *al-Ittihaad* (or more or less € 682 per year) was covered.

⁵⁵³ Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 62-63.

⁵⁵⁴ Rigoni, “Access to Media for European Muslims,” 118.

⁵⁵⁵ See A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1986-1988 pada Musyawarah PPME Wilayah Nederland ke-5 26-27 November 1988 di Amsterdam* (The Hague: PPME, 1986), 35-36; see also: A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, 1986), 16-17.

⁵⁵⁶ Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1986-1988*, 36-38.

The facts show that it was heavy work for PPME to have a *muṣallā* requiring financial support of outsiders. This enabled PPME to meet its mortgage obligation of paying the monthly payment until it was finally paid off at the end of 1986.⁵⁵⁷

B. *Al-Hikmah* (1996)

Most of mosques in the Netherlands were established as a result of financial support from a variety of sources such as the government of a country from which Muslims originate or live, an Arab country, or individual donations.⁵⁵⁸ For example, the Moluccan Mosques of Baiturrahman in Ridderkerk (1984) and An-Nur in Waalwijk (1990), were built as a result of funding by the Dutch government.⁵⁵⁹ Unlike the Moluccan mosques, *al-Hikmah* Mosque was the effort of a single individual. This mosque, which was originally a church (*Immanuëlkerk*) situated at Heeswijkplein 170-171 in The Hague, was purchased on 1 July 1996 by Probo Sutedjo, the owner of the Mertju Buana Company in Indonesia and the younger brother of former President Suharto. It was Probo Sutedjo's *waqf* (religious endowment), not that of his elder brother Haris Sutjipto, intended to become an Islamic centre in Europe. It was purchased for Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands. It is roughly 3,250 square metres and cost € 534,090.⁵⁶⁰ On instruction of Sutedjo as the owner of the mosque, the Indonesian Embassy, rather than, for instance, Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (ICMI, Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectual) or PPME, was given authority to organize and run its activities.

The mosque is managed by the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands which has set up a board specifically for this task comprised of embassy officials and a number of leading figures

⁵⁵⁷ See Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986*, 13.

⁵⁵⁸ See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 50, and see also Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 42.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid., 36-37; see also Antje van der Hoek, *Religie in ballingschap: Institutionaliseren en leiderschap onder christelijke en islamitische Molukkers in Nederland* (Amsterdam: VU Publisher, 1994), 187-188.

⁵⁶⁰ Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 1-9.

of the Indonesian Muslim community in the country.⁵⁶¹ Thus, while the mosque does not belong to the Indonesian government, it is under the supervision of the Indonesian embassy and the chairperson of the board of the mosque is always an official of the embassy.



Picture 2. The prayer hall of *al-Hikmah* Mosque. Source: Author's collection.

Despite the fact that the mosque is under the management of the Indonesian Embassy, a number of leading PPME figures are members of the mosque's board. This is because the existence of the mosque cannot be separated from the efforts of the PPME leaders who, since the early 1970s, were determined to provide its congregations with a mosque. The chairman of ICMI in the Netherlands, Saiful Hadi, asserted that the top priority of ICMI, i.e. having a mosque, was in favour of the PPME endeavour.⁵⁶² A lack of funds, however, meant that an initial step was to purchase a *muṣallā*, the *al-Ittihaad*, in the 1980s. Subsequently, in 1992, Bintoro Tjokroamidjoyo, the Indonesian Ambassador to the Netherlands at that time, visited the *muṣallā*. During this visit, he was informed by the PPME's board of their intention to have a mosque in The Hague as the *muṣallā* was no longer adequate for their needs, especially for performing Friday prayers and the

⁵⁶¹ Ibid., 19.

⁵⁶² Saiful Hadi, interview, Jakarta, 23 June 2010.

prayers of *tarāwih*, *‘id al-fiṭr* and *‘id al-aḍḥa*. The intention of PPME to have a bigger place of worship either by acquiring a building, or even by building a new one indicates that the association would try to provide a place of worship not ‘on a temporary basis,’ in the sense of renting a building.⁵⁶³ However, this does not mean that there is a permanent solution for such a problem. When the building or place of worship is too small and no longer enough for a congregation’s socio-religious activities because of the increasing number of members, they will certainly look for, or build, a bigger one. Furthermore, the ambassador was also told that a similar project would be started in Amsterdam. Following the visit, the Vice-Ambassador, Malikus Sualim, indicated that the Indonesian Embassy was in favour of the plans.⁵⁶⁴ Following the positive response, at a regional meeting (*musyawarah wilayah*) the board formed the Kelompok Kerja Perencana/Pengembangan Mesjid (KKP2M, Committee for the Planning and Development of a Mosque), comprising of A. H. Maksum, A. Aziz Balbaid, Slamet Widjoatmodjo, G.E. Rijono Soedarso, and Rudy Erfan. The tasks of this team were: to investigate the possibility of developing the *al-Ittihaad* or purchasing a mosque or *muṣalla* for PPME’s branches; to form a committee for the building of a mosque; and if possible, to raise funds in order to realise these plans. Given the huge sum of money required to acquire a mosque (€ 590,909),⁵⁶⁵ on 1 October 1995 the team decided that PPME Amsterdam would first acquire a mosque. In addition, following consultations with the Ambassador and his deputy, the team was broadened to include Sofjan Ollong, the advisor for religious affairs at the Indonesian Embassy and Saiful Hadi, the head of the Islamic Association for Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) in The Netherlands, as advisors to the

⁵⁶³ Shadid and Van Koningsveld, “Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in the Netherlands,” in Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 89.

⁵⁶⁴ A. Naʿan Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994* (The Hague: PPME, 27 November 1994), 12.

⁵⁶⁵ PPME dan Masyarakat Islam Indonesia Nederland, *Project Proposal: Rencana Pembangunan Mesjid Masyarakat Islam Indonesia di Nederland* (The Hague: PPME, n.y.), n.p.

team. In a proposal written for the provision of places of worship, the task of the team was described as: “to purchase a *muşallā* for PPME Amsterdam as a short term object; and to purchase a mosque for PPME in The Hague as a long term one.”⁵⁶⁶

Having included the Indonesian Embassy and ICMI in its effort to have a mosque, the PPME was encouraged to realise its goal of establishing a mosque in The Hague by approaching Probo Sutedjo. This was determined in order to achieve the goal of founding a mosque in The Hague quickly. In fact, less than six months after meeting Sutedjo and a year after their campaign to raise money at the commemoration of the Prophet’s birth,⁵⁶⁷ PPME’s congregation, along with embassy staff and members of other Indonesian Muslim associations and communities, witnessed the establishment of their much craved for Indonesian mosque. Certainly, the support for the project from top embassy officials and ICMI’s board, as well as the meeting of Rosyidi (a fundraiser for the mosque committee and an official of the diplomatic protocol section at the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands)⁵⁶⁸ with Sutedjo, were all factors in the quick realization of the project. A few months after the campaign to establish a mosque in The Hague was launched at the Grote Kerk, Rosyidi said that he could arrange a meeting with the family of Sutedjo who was accompanying Haris Sutjipto to the Netherlands where Sutjipto was seeking treatment at the Leiden Hospital. In fact, as an official of the embassy, Rosyidi had facilitated the transportation of the elder brother to the hospital and was, therefore, able to communicate with the family of Sutedjo and Sutjipto. This relation intensified as Rosyidi provided religious

⁵⁶⁶ Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME* (The Hague: PPME, 21 June 1997), 11; see also: KKP2M PPME Wilayah Nederland, *Laporan/Permohonan kepada Bapak Duta Besar RI untuk Kerajaan Belanda di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, 3 November 1995), 1-2.

⁵⁶⁷ Rudy Erfan, interview, The Hague, 8 June 2009.

⁵⁶⁸ Pertaining to the effort of PPME through the Indonesian embassy to have a mosque in The Hague, Rosyidi was a key source because his position enabled him to meet important and rich persons from Indonesia. His significant contribution is acknowledged by De Weerd (the chairman of PPME), Sulchan, Maksum and Erfan (a former college of Rosyidi in the Indonesian Embassy). During my field work in the Netherlands, there were no key sources other than Rosyidi in that effort.

guidance and counselling to the terminally ill Sutjipto.⁵⁶⁹

Rosyidi's communication did not stop after Sutjipto died in Leiden in December 1995. Before the family's return to Indonesia, he said that he spoke to Sutedjo's daughter about the PPME's desire to found a mosque in the Netherlands. He begged her to deliver his message to her father: "It is a good opportunity for Pak Probo [Sutedjo] to build a mosque in the Netherlands for the Indonesian Muslim community as the *waqf* of his elder brother."⁵⁷⁰ Rosyidi's statement strengthens the fact that the mosque would belong to Sutedjo.⁵⁷¹ He then provided her with a written proposal in October 1995 which included support for the plans from, among others, the Ambassador and Vice-Ambassador, as well as the chairman of ICMI in the Netherlands.⁵⁷²

In early 1996 after Rosyidi returned from a holiday in Sumbawa, he said that he, together with Indra Gamulya (a former local official at the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands working as an attaché), would visit Rahardjo, the husband of the daughter of Sutedjo, in his house in Jakarta in order to meet Sutedjo.⁵⁷³ When Rosyidi met Sutedjo, he said to Rosyidi: "After reading the proposal, please try to search for a church [rather than a location for a new mosque] that will be sold."⁵⁷⁴ This instruction was a great opportunity for the PPME and Indonesian Muslim communities to gain a religious infrastructure regarding "diversity in policies towards the foundation and maintenance of mosques on a municipal level; contradictory attitudes of Dutch municipalities towards the subsidizing of social and cultural activities of mosques...;"⁵⁷⁵ "the

⁵⁶⁹ Rosyidi, interview, The Hague, 18 February 2011.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ This means that the mosque is the *waqf* of Sutedjo, not that of Sutjipto. The only relation of Sutjipto with the Netherlands was that he had gained medical treatment in a hospital now known as Leids Universitair Medisch Centrum (LUMC, Leiden University Medical Centre) and died there in December 1995. Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 1-9. Sutjipto was not a leader of ICMI in the Netherlands and did not live there.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

⁵⁷³ Indra Gamulya, telephone interview, 28 February 2012.

⁵⁷⁴ Rosyidi, interview, 18 Februari 2011.

⁵⁷⁵ See W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Religious Freedom and the Position*

need to consult the authorities in order to gain their permission and information on permitted sites for mosques; and the need to inquire about the neighbours close to the sites.”⁵⁷⁶

After returning to the Netherlands, Rosyidi said that he contacted a female official of the Grote Kerk and obtained information about churches for sale in The Hague, including one located in the Zuiderpark and the Immanuelkerk located on the Heeswijkplein. The committee decided on the Immanuelkerk and approved of the price of the church and also its location. The price was close to the budget written in the proposal, around € 590,909, whereas the other church would have cost around € 272,727. It also had a comfortable, modern design and was easily reached by public transport. It was also near a shopping centre and a park. It would be ideal for the PPME congregation and its families.⁵⁷⁷ Following negotiations with the vendor, the church was purchased for € 534,090.

The efforts of PPME would have been meaningless if there had not been the involvement of the Catholic Indonesian Ambassador, Kadarisman and the embassy’s head of administrative affairs, Azhari Kasim, who were decisive in the successful purchase of the church. It would appear that even before Rosyidi met Sutedjo, the latter had gained news of the desire of Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands to have their own mosque from the Ambassador;⁵⁷⁸ while the PPME team were closely involved in the project, Sutedjo involved the embassy in the financial transaction.⁵⁷⁹ Subsequently, Sutedjo sent payment for the church via the bank account of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands. The reason was that the embassy represents all Indonesian Muslim organizations and communities residing in the Netherlands. This choice to deal with

of Islam in Western Europe: Opportunities and Obstacles in the Acquisition of Equal Rights (the Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1995), 31 and 33.

⁵⁷⁶ See *Ibid.*, 30-32.

⁵⁷⁷ Rosyidi, interview, 18 Februari 2011.

⁵⁷⁸ Hasyim (the Secretary of the Board of the *al-Hikmah*), interview, 11 December 2011, The Hague.

⁵⁷⁹ This was facilitated by the embassy’s head of administrative affairs, Azhari Kasim. “Masjid al-Hikmah,” in Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 1-5.

the embassy, rather than directly with the PPME, seems to reflect what he expected the mosque to become. As he said during a speech at the inauguration ceremony for the mosque on 1 July 1996: “I hope that the Islamic *umma* [of Indonesia], that has dissolved into its own organizations, can be united in this mosque.”⁵⁸⁰ Sutedjo also preferred the embassy to manage the mosque. Again, this was reflected in the message he delivered at the inauguration: “I hope that this mosque can be used by Muslims from Indonesia and other countries of ASEAN... It is hoped that it can be used as an Islamic centre....”⁵⁸¹ During a dinner afterwards, attended by the Ambassador and other leading figures of the Indonesian Muslim community in the Netherlands, he declared: “...I, the owner of the building [the mosque]...submit its organization to the Indonesian Embassy.... [Therefore], the Mosque *al-Hikmah* is under the supervision of the KBRI....”⁵⁸² The facts show that what Silvestri, the writer of “The Muslim Political Mobilisation and the EU Response,” argues that “the involvement of elite groups were crucial to the establishment of association and institutions” like a mosque is still valid⁵⁸³ in the case of PPME. Based on the above-mentioned information, PPME has made efforts to have a mosque in The Hague. It started by approaching the Indonesian Embassy and ICMI’s board, followed by the establishment of a committee comprised of representatives from all three organizations and backed by the Indonesian Ambassador. This was crucial to gain credibility and support for the project from Probo Sutedjo.

C. *Tafakkoer* (2003)

The plan to build the *Tafakkoer* (Reflection) Mosque was officially announced by the board of PPME Rotterdam on 10 December 2003. The mosque should be built over a period of five years in the south of Rotterdam. It should be the primary centre for

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., Appendix 8, p. 17.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² Kasim, “Serah Terima Masjid al-Hikmah,” in Ibid., Appendix 8, n.p.

⁵⁸³ Sara Silvestri, “Muslim Institution and Political Mobilisation,” in Samir Amghar, et al (eds.), *European Islam: Challenges for Public Policy and Society* (Brussels: CEPS, 2007), 177-178.

PPME Rotterdam's congregation and should be approximately 520 square metres and have two storeys. The first floor of the mosque should house two classrooms in addition to a storeroom and a kitchen. On the second floor should be a prayer hall, a meeting room, and lodgings for an imam. The planned Indonesian mosque, which should later be expanded into an Islamic centre, required € 787,482.50⁵⁸⁴ as the mosque, whose size should be smaller than that of *al-Hikmah*, should be built from scratch rather than renovating an existing building. Nevertheless, this does not mean that there was no need to consult the local government about the possibilities and for the necessary permits to construct a specially-designed public prayer space.⁵⁸⁵

Till 2011, the plan had yet to be realised; however, significant efforts have been made by leading figures of PPME Rotterdam such as Husny Abdul Razak, R. S. Pourchez, and D. Rengur who were members of the committee for the mosque. Since 1990, PPME Rotterdam and its partner al-Jami'atul Hasana (AJH, Good Congregation), a Surinamese-Javanese Muslim association, have hired a hall belonging to Stichting Setasan/Centrum Santosa (Setasan Foundation/Santosa Centre)⁵⁸⁶ situated at Van Eversdijckstraat 31, Rotterdam, for their activities, including Friday prayers. At a meeting on 10 August 2003, PPME Rotterdam's board was informed by the Setasan Foundation that the hall was to be used by a dance school, Nirtya Widyarini,⁵⁸⁷ as part of the intention to engage in socio-cultural activities⁵⁸⁸ that would enable the foundation to receive subsidies from the Dutch local government.⁵⁸⁹ According to one of the founders of the foundation, allowing the dance school to use the hall posed no problems

⁵⁸⁴ See Husny Abdul Razak, et al., *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque for the Indonesian Community in the Netherlands (Rotterdam)* (Rotterdam: PPME, 10 December 2003), 10-14, 16-17 and 24.

⁵⁸⁵ See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Religious Freedom*, 30.

⁵⁸⁶ See Yvonne Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers* (The Hague: Amrit, 1997), 65-66.

⁵⁸⁷ See Razak, et al., *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque*, 11-13.

⁵⁸⁸ Rudi Sumoharjo (a Surinamese), interview, The Hague, 16 January 2011.

⁵⁸⁹ Shadid and Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 53.

because the centre was built for the togetherness of its users from Suriname and Indonesia living in their new society regardless of their religions. It was provided for both religious purposes and cultural expressions,⁵⁹⁰ thus, anybody could use the hall when there were no other activities in the building going on. However, a leading figure of PPME Rotterdam protested that because PPME Rotterdam, along with AJH, had hired the hall, PPME's board considered this to be a breaking of the agreement made (albeit not explicitly), between PPME Rotterdam and the AJH (the users of the hall) and Stichting Setasan (the owner of the hall).⁵⁹¹ Since then, there has been no official communication between the board of PPME Rotterdam and that of the foundation increasing the urgency for PPME Rotterdam to have its own mosque, a possibility that was already considered by the centre PPME after the purchase of *al-Ittihaad Muşalla* (between 1984 and 1986).⁵⁹²

PPME Rotterdam has made three efforts to own a place for its socio-religious activities. When developing their plans for a mosque, PPME Rotterdam's board initially approached those PPME figures who had been involved in the successful purchase of the *Muşalla* of *al-Ittihaad*, as well as the Indonesian Ambassador who had helped secure the donation from Sutedjo for the purchase of *al-Hikmah* Mosque. Consequently, people such as A. H. Maksum, William de Weerd, Moch. Chaeron, Rosyidi, and Rudi Erfan became involved in the fund raising⁵⁹³ and became members of the committee charged with establishing an Indonesian mosque in Rotterdam. The ambassador became the adviser of the committee. In order to raise the necessary money, at the end of 2003 the board asked people to buy at least one of 3,000 *waqf* shares offered by PPME Rotterdam at a price of € 50.⁵⁹⁴ Subsequently, they invited members of their congregation and their partner

⁵⁹⁰ Sumoharjo (a Surinamese), interview, The Hague, 16 January 2011.

⁵⁹¹ See Razak, et al., *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque*, 11-13.

⁵⁹² Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986*, 15.

⁵⁹³ See Razak, et al., *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque*, 18-19.

⁵⁹⁴ Husny Abdul Razak, *Commissie voor de bouw van tafakkur moskee*, nummer 2004/PPME/TAF/0068 t/m 83, 10 December 2003,

Muslim association of Surinamese people in the Netherlands, al-Jami'atul Hasana (AJH), to donate. The response was positive and resulted in donations from around 60 PPME families (at least € 3000) and almost € 800 Euros from AJH.⁵⁹⁵ After the success of this exercise, Husny Abdul Razak and his colleagues on the committee, in cooperation with leading PPME figures, involved influential Indonesian people who visited the Netherlands. As a result, in addition to the Indonesian Ambassador, the wife of the former Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, Tuty Try Sutrisno, wanted to assist the committee for the mosque from early 2004.⁵⁹⁶ This enabled the committee to present its proposal to the Office of the Ministry for People's Prosperity in Indonesia and on 31 March 2006 the Ministry awarded the committee the amount of € 27,459.95 to assist in the mosque project.⁵⁹⁷ Unfortunately, the amount of money collected was insufficient to build the mosque.⁵⁹⁸

D. *At-Taqwa* (2004)

The PPME Amsterdam's centre, called *at-Taqwa*,⁵⁹⁹ is approximately 350 square metres and was purchased at the end of 2004 for 585,000 Euro.⁶⁰⁰ This centre is situated at Ekingenstraat 3-7, in Osdorp, Amsterdam West. The building consists of a number of rooms: for providing Islamic teaching (for children, Indonesian-speaking male adults, and Dutch-speaking male adults); a kitchen; a room for ablutions; the association's secretariat; and a storeroom. In addition, there is a main hall, used not only for prayers, but also for other religious and social activities, including for *dauroh* by

⁵⁹⁵ Eskak Abdullah (the chairman of AJH), interview, Rotterdam, 3 February 2011.

⁵⁹⁶ See Razak, et al., *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque*, 5 and 7.

⁵⁹⁷ ABN AMRO Bank N.V. K.v.K. nr. 33002587, *Rekeningafschrift voor Vereniging PPME p/a de Heer D. Rengur*, 31 March 2006.

⁵⁹⁸ The present research is up to 2009. The following brief information is beyond the scope of the research. At the end of 2012, PPME Rotterdam could afford a building at Wolphaertsbocht 453B, 3081 KM Rotterdam, functioned as the mosque of the PPME called Tafakkoer. De Weerd, e-mail to author, 22 November 2015.

⁵⁹⁹ Rib Kasan (a former treasurer of PPME Amsterdam), interview, Yogyakarta, 18 August 2010.

⁶⁰⁰ Ade Faisal Bahar, *Donaties voor ons gebouw*, no. PPME/04/04/Ind, 7 December 2004.

both male and female members of the congregation. This building is much smaller than that of the *al-Hikmah* Mosque (3,250 square metres). By mid-2010, *at-Taqwa* was the only PPME accommodation that was being used not only for pure worship ('*ibāda mahḍa*'), but also as a centre of Islamic learning – exercising the 'pure religious' and 'societal education functions'⁶⁰¹ of PPME in the Netherlands. The accommodation was officially inaugurated on 21 May 2011.⁶⁰²

PPME Amsterdam's board has made great efforts to provide accommodation for the activities of its members. Balbaid's involvement in the KKP2M led to a crucial decision for the organization. On 1 October 1995, it was decided that PPME Amsterdam would get a *muṣallā*. As we know, in addition to the short programme, the PPME had long-term plans to realise the establishment of a mosque in The Hague, not in Amsterdam. Because Probo Sutedjo donated € 590,909 to support the effort of Indonesian communities to have a mosque, not a *muṣallā*. The team supported the materialization of its long-term goal rather than its short-term one. However, this history did not discourage PPME Amsterdam, which had no money for a place of worship at that moment,⁶⁰³ from pursuing its own plan for a *muṣallā*. On 5 December 2004, a meeting of PPME members resulted in an agreement to purchase a new building for € 585,000. Accordingly, the board of PPME Amsterdam invited its congregation and sympathizers to provide financial support for the project. This involvement resulted in donations of more than € 300,000.⁶⁰⁴ In addition, the leaders consulted with the PPME's central board about available money. In response, the board gave them € 55,000.⁶⁰⁵ PPME

⁶⁰¹ See Shadid and Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 51-52.

⁶⁰² Widoyoko (Secretary of Euromoslim), Organisasi Dakwah Muslim Indonesia, Euromoslim, Diresmikan di Amsterdam, accessed 30 May 2010, <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/jurnalisme-warga/kabar/11/05/23/1ln6cp-organisasi-dakwah-muslim-indonesia-euromoslim-diresmikan-di-amsterdam>.

⁶⁰³ Cf. Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 43.

⁶⁰⁴ William de Weerd, et al., *Rapport inzake PPME Amsterdam* (Rotterdam: PPME, the Netherlands, 31 March 2006), n.p.

⁶⁰⁵ Anonymous, *Wilayah Vergadering 12 Juni 2005 in the Mosque al-Hikmah* (The Hague: PPME, 2005), n.p.

Amsterdam borrowed the remainder from a Dutch bank,⁶⁰⁶ an approach similar to the one employed by PPME in The Hague when they purchased *al-Ittihaad* as their place of worship. As a result, its board was able to buy a new building for the place of worship in 2005.⁶⁰⁷

However, the apparent success of the board in purchasing the *at-Taqwa* was not mirrored in unifying the congregation who had provided funds to buy the building. Some wanted to conduct *tahlilan*, *yasinan* and *istighotsah* in the building. In response, the board of PPME Amsterdam decided that permission should only be given for 'neutral' activities in the building and only with the approval of all members of the board⁶⁰⁸ - this was obviously a decision by the puritanical-religious-oriented members that now run *at-Taqwa* (discussed in chapter 6 and 7). This decision resulted in a few activities being held elsewhere and culminated in a formal split of the organization on 18 December 2005⁶⁰⁹ - PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash. Despite this split, PPME Amsterdam remains responsible to the board of PPME Amsterdam to make the monthly payments for its mortgage.



⁶⁰⁶ Bahar, *Donaties voor ons gebouw*, no. PPME/04/04/Ind, 7 December 2004, n.p.

⁶⁰⁷ Budi Santoso (a former vice of the chairman of PPME Amsterdam), interview, Jombang, 13 April 2010.

⁶⁰⁸ Kasan, interview, 21 June 2009.

⁶⁰⁹ William Satriaputra de Weerd and Regnerus Marinus Hendriks, *Keputusan PPME Wilayah Nederland No. 2/PPMENL/XII/2005 tentang PPME Cabang Amsterdam* (The Hague: PPME, 18 December 2005). n.p.

Picture 3. The prayer hall of *at-Taqwa*. Source: Author's collection.

PPME Amsterdam engaged in three different types of activities to raise money. As commonly found among Muslim communities in the Netherlands when they would like to give financial contribution to their organizations, PPME Amsterdam's organizers began selling meals at their weekly activities and at religious feasts or special events.⁶¹⁰ Generally, these meals were provided by the female members of the congregation. They provided dinners such as *nasi soto* (soup mixed with rice), *nasi kuning* (yellow rice), and *nasi kebuli* (*kebuli* rice) and they used the kitchen of *at-Taqwa* to prepare the food. In addition, Islamic books written by Salafi *imams* such as al-Albani and 'Utsaimin, CDs of Islamic lectures, and recordings of the *dauroh* activities held in the new building twice a year, were sold. The profits from these sales, as well as money collected during the annual sports day,⁶¹¹ contributed directly to the mortgage payments. In addition, donations were also collected in the form of *infāq* (voluntary donation) and collected during the *tarāwīḥ* prayers held every night during Ramadan from 2005 onwards. This last effort also involved approaching other Muslims from outside the PPME, especially from the Moroccan community, who also participated in performing the prayers of *tarāwīḥ* (recommended nightly prayers held after the obligatory night prayer, 'isyā) in Wellant College in Osdorp, another large building near PPME Amsterdam's centre.⁶¹² The money from this last effort has been used not only to alleviate the financial burden of the PPME Amsterdam, i.e. paying the monthly mortgage, but also to pay the maintenance needs of the new building.⁶¹³

⁶¹⁰ Cf.: Edien Bartels, "Ritueel en religieuze beleving," 58-59.

⁶¹¹ Nina Maasdam, interview, Spaarnwoude, 21 June 2009.

⁶¹² Ishak Mansjur, interview, Amsterdam, 'īd al-ḥijr of 2009.

⁶¹³ Ibid.

Chapter Four:

The Indonesian Networks of PPME in the Netherlands

PPME is not an exclusive Indonesian association. Other Muslims in Europe can participate in its activities. However, because of the Indonesian majority of its members and its leading figures, it is impossible for PPME not to have ties with other Indonesian organizations and institutions in the Netherlands, such as the KBRI (Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia), Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (ICMI, the Association for Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals), Pusat Informasi dan Pelayanan Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PIP PKS, Centre of Information and Service of the Prosperous Justice Party), and Pimpinan Cabang Istimewa Muhammadiyah (PCIM, Board of Special Branch of the Muhammadiyah).

I. KBRI: The Result of Cooperation in Religious and Organizational Activities

Since its inception in 1971, PPME has never structurally been a part of the KBRI in the Netherlands. PPME is independent and a Muslim association without politically oriented principles,⁶¹⁴ but with strong principles where it concerns *da'wa* activities. This means that PPME, which primarily serves to fulfill the religious and socio-cultural requirements of its members and sympathizers living in the Netherlands and other European countries, refuses to be dictated to by other organizations or institutions, including the KBRI. The consequence of this European orientation is that only a few PPME activities are aimed at Indonesian Muslims in Indonesia. These are epitomized by the PPME's sending of *zakāt al-fīṭr* and other financial donations collected from its members as aid for the victims of natural disasters⁶¹⁵ and doing a joint activity caring for orphans and needy people.

⁶¹⁴ The neutrality of PPME distinguishes itself, for instance, from the Turkish Milli Görüş (National Vision), which is affiliated to a religious political party in Turkey. See Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 117-127.

⁶¹⁵ DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja PPME 1973-1976* (The Hague: PPME, 1976), 9.

Furthermore Islam, rather than *Pancasila*, is the basis of PPME's activities enabling it to accept members regardless of their nationality. Consequently, Arabic and Dutch members and participants, mostly *muallafūn* (new Islamic converts), can be found in each PPME branch. Because of the presence of Dutch and Arabic members in the PPME, its boards took the view that cooperation with the KBRI was encouraged so far as it was not harmful to the unity of the PPME and its members. The cooperation between PPME and the KBRI included various activities such as deciding when the first and the final day of *Ramaḍān* should be; deciding the date of *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* (sacrificial feast); collecting *zakāt al-fiṭr* and *zakāt al-māl* (yearly obligatory almsgiving of property); supporting the performing of the Friday prayers; providing assistance to run the organization of the *al-Hikmah* Mosque; and taking part in the maintenance of the mosque.

A. Religious Activities (1970s)

1. Supporting the KBRI's Decision on the First and the Final Day of *Ramaḍān* and the Date of *ʿīd al-Aḍḥā*

In determining the beginning and the end of the fasting month, *Ramaḍān*, Muslims with a different background might decide on a different date. The process requires conducting *ru'yatul-hilāl* (the sighting of the lunar crescent) and the expertise of *ḥisāb* (the reckoning method used to determine the beginning and the end of Islamic lunar months),⁶¹⁶ in addition to the knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence relating to these rituals. These procedures also apply to the process of making a decision about the date of *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* (the sacrificial feast), even though the latter, on the face of it, appears to be more straightforward. This is because *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* takes place on the 10th of *Dhul-ḥijja* (the 12th month of the Islamic calendar), rather than on the first date of the month. However, the focus of the present discussion is not about the complexities of

⁶¹⁶ Detailed information on the methods used to determine the beginning and the end of the Islamic lunar months in an Indonesian context can be seen in Wahyu Widiana's work in Farid Ismail and Sriyatin Shadiq, *Hisab Rukyat Jembatan menuju Pemersatu Umat* (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Asy-Syakirin, 2005).

making these decisions, but it is rather about the participation of the PPME in the gatherings organized and hosted by the KBRI in the Netherlands which aimed to determine the fixed dates of start of *Ramaḍān*, *‘īd al-ḥiṭr*, and *‘īd al-aḍḥā*.

The participation of PPME’s people in these gatherings was one effort to build a relationship with the Indonesian embassy in the Netherlands. The presence of the representatives of PPME and other Indonesian Muslim groups⁶¹⁷ at these activities was in response to a formal invitation of the KBRI.⁶¹⁸ PPME sent its delegates to attend these gatherings as it was aware of the importance of the dates for its congregation, in particular, and for Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands who would follow the decision of KBRI, in general. What had been decided upon should not raise a doubt.⁶¹⁹ They, especially as Indonesian employees, needed a fixed schedule of the dates on which they could propose their days off work to their employers.

Generally speaking, PPME supported the decisions made by the KBRI in the above matters. One exception was in 1974 when, based on its own decision on when the final day of *Ramaḍān* would be, the PPME held its own *‘īd al-ḥiṭr*

⁶¹⁷ From the 1970s to 1980, other representatives came from Keluarga Islam Delft (KID, Delft Muslim Family). A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986* (The Hague: PPME, 1986), 29-30. From the 1990s onwards, in addition to KID’s representatives, this activity was also attended by ICMI’s representatives. A. Nafān Sulchan, a graduate of the institute for *imam* education in Iraq and an outspoken figure of the PPME, interview, The Hague, 22 Nov. 2008. In the 2000s, the representatives included various Indonesian Muslim leaders residing in the Netherlands. See Pengurus Masjid al-Hikmah, “Pemberitahuan tentang Awal Bulan Suci Ramdhan 1428 H,” accessed 2 February 2009, <http://www.id.indonesia.nl/content/view/41/144/>. See also Pengurus Masjid al-Hikmah, “Pemberitahuan tentang 1 Syawal 1428 H Hari Raya Idul Fitri 2007,” accessed 2 February 2009, <http://www.id.indonesia.nl/content/view/39/144/>.

⁶¹⁸ Sulchan, interview, 22 Nov. 2008. The presence of the representatives was not aimed to uniform their decision but to gain an understanding of the dates decided among the boards of Indonesian socio-religious organizations. Therefore, the decision was understood, despite their disagreement. See Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 26 October 1974, 1, PPME, The Hague.

⁶¹⁹ DPP PPME, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986* (The Hague: PPME, 1986), 30

prayers at Daguerrestraat 60.⁶²⁰ The PPME preferred to use the geographical position of Saudi Arabia and the decision of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia when deciding the date, whereas the KBRI preferred to use the geographical position of the Netherlands when making its calculations.⁶²¹ Another point of difference arose between the KBRI and PPME in 2005 when the PPME Amsterdam branch split. Again, the disagreement centered on the differing approaches between the PPME branch and the KBRI in determining the important dates in the above matters. However, these two cases did not harm relations between the PPME and the KBRI. Indeed, for many years members of PPME and KBRI officials performed the prayers of *tarāwih*, *īd al-fīṭr*, and *īd al-aḍḥā* together; initially in a leased hall and, after 1996, in the *al-Hikmah* Mosque.⁶²² With regard to the split in Amsterdam, the PPME Amsterdam branch situated on Ekingenstraat was the only PPME branch to decide the dates of key rituals differently from the KBRI. Other branches in The Hague, Rotterdam, Breda-Tilburg, Heemskerk, and also PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam, adopted the embassy's dates.⁶²³ Thus, the support of PPME was certainly an effort by the PPME to maintain this togetherness.⁶²⁴ Sulchan strongly asserts that "to embrace Islam is easy, why should we make it [Islamic teaching] difficult?" This statement can be an exception to the statement of Van Bommel who hints at the lack of cohesion among the Muslims in The Netherlands due to their differing doctrines.⁶²⁵

⁶²⁰ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 26 October 1974, 1, PPME, The Hague.

⁶²¹ Sufjan Ollong, interview, Ridderkerk, 5 May 2009. Ollong was the *imam* of the KBRI. He also had been the camp leader of Moluccan Muslims living in the Netherlands. Antje van der Hoek, *Religie in ballingschap* (Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 1994), 184-185.

⁶²² See DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja PPME 1973-1976*, 7-8.

⁶²³ Sulchan, interview, 23 June 2009.

⁶²⁴ See DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja PPME 1973-1976*, 7.

⁶²⁵ See A. van Bommel, "The History of Muslim Umbrella Organizations," in Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Dutch Society*, 140-141.

2. 'Āmil of *Zakāt al-Fiṭr* and *Zakāt al-Māl*

Every year PPME fulfills its role as an 'āmil (collector) of alms – *zakāt al-fiṭr* and *zakāt al-māl*.⁶²⁶ As an 'āmil, this Muslim organization has the right to collect these two types of almsgiving and distribute it to those in need. The *zakāts* were usually collected from members and sympathizers who wanted to pay their alms to a committee formed by the PPME and also from officials of the KBRI, as well as those who performed the *tarāwīḥ* prayers at the KBRI. It will be all right for a Muslim association if the activity of collecting almsgiving from its own members and sympathizers is carried out at its own location. However, questions can be asked about the collection of alms because it was primarily done by PPME; either in the hall of the KBRI in the 1970s and 1980s or in the *al-Hikmah* Mosque, which was under the authority of the KBRI, in the 1990s and 2000s. A key to understanding why the PPME feels justified in collecting alms in places under the authority of the KBRI is by examining the ways in which the PPME cooperates in this case with the KBRI and in which the alms are distributed.

Since 1972, PPME has cooperated with the KBRI in collecting alms.⁶²⁷ This cooperation usually occurred during *Ramaḍān* during the weekly *tarāwīḥ* prayers, held every Thursday night in the hall of the KBRI. Before prayers commenced, an announcement about the payment of alms was delivered by an almsgiving committee which was affiliated with the KBRI. The announcement included the information that alms could be paid to either KBRI or PPME almsgiving committees.⁶²⁸ This indicates that the KBRI had given the PPME permission to collect payments of both *zakāt al-fiṭr* and *zakāt al-māl* from

⁶²⁶ *Zakāt al-fiṭr* is “a payment due on behalf of all Muslims, male or female, minor or adult, slave or free, in connection with the termination of the fast of *Ramaḍān*,” whereas *Zakāt al-māl* is the obligation of a yearly payment upon a Muslim’s property having reached a certain measure. See: A. Zysow, “Zakat,” in P. J. Bearman, et al., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 11, new edition (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 408–418.

⁶²⁷ See DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP PPME 25-26 Agustus 1973*, n.d. and n.p.

⁶²⁸ Ollong, interview, 5 May 2009.

the congregation before the *tarāwīḥ* prayers at the KBRI hall in The Hague. This shows that the board of the PPME had a good connection with the officials of KBRI responsible for religious activities and with its Indonesian ambassadors.⁶²⁹ This relation was illustrated by the facts that in the 1970s, both sides cooperated in collecting alms⁶³⁰ and the difference of opinion in 1974 about the date of *ʿīd al-ḥijr* did not harm their cooperation in this respect.⁶³¹

Permission was also granted due to the fact that the PPME and the KBRI were targeting the same country in terms of distributing the collected alms. That is to say, both institutions agreed that they wanted to deliver the alms to those in need living in Indonesia, rather than in the Netherlands, Suriname, or other European countries.⁶³² This fact also fostered cooperation between the two in the 1980s. Indeed, despite the fact that since 1982, the PPME had had its own place of worship in The Hague, *al-Ittiḥād*, it remained faithful to supporting the joint weekly *tarāwīḥ* prayers in the hall of the KBRI.⁶³³ This provided the PPME with another opportunity to collect alms from both its own members and KBRI's officials.

In the 1990s and 2000s, cooperation between both sides in collecting alms continued. The good relations between the two and the shared goal of distributing alms to Indonesia remained an important factor in this continuity. In this period, a significant change occurred in respect to the form of their cooperation that cannot be separated from the presence of the *al-Hikmah* Mosque, which was already being used for PPME's *tarāwīḥ* prayers since 1996. The PPME was permitted to make use of the mosque once or twice a week,

⁶²⁹ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat DPP PPME 12 Desember 1973, 1, PPME, The Hague.

⁶³⁰ See DPP PPME, *Laporan DPP PPME 25-26 Agustus 1973*, n.d. and n.p., DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja PPME 1973-1976*, 9 and DPP PPME/YMAE, *Laporan Kerja PPME 1976-1979*, 15.

⁶³¹ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat DPP PPME 26 Oktober 2004, PPME, The Hague.

⁶³² Ollong, interview, 5 May 2009.

⁶³³ DPP PPME, *Laporan Umum PPME 1986-1988* (The Hague: PPME, 1988), 28.

on Saturdays and Sundays for its socio-cultural and religious activities. In addition, the mosque board allowed the PPME's almsgiving committee to receive those who would like to pay their alms over the weekend in the mosque.⁶³⁴ It should be noted that in addition to this arrangement, the PPME committee was also still able to benefit from the courtesy of the almsgiving committee formed by the KBRI. In fact, when the KBRI committee had reached its target for collecting alms, it suggested that anyone still wanting to pay alms should do so via PPME's committee.⁶³⁵ This situation would never have arisen had it not been for the concern of KBRI to be responsible for its Indonesian members of PPME.⁶³⁶

The on-going efforts by PPME to collect alms from those other than their own members were financially motivated. Acting as the *āmil* for almsgiving⁶³⁷ was advantageous for PPME who benefited financially from collecting *zakāt al-māl* (but not from collecting *zakāt al-fiṭr*). According to Islamic jurisprudence, for instance of the Shafi'ite school, the almsgiving workers [like PPME] could be awarded one-eighth of its total proceeds.⁶³⁸ PPME acknowledged that this was part of its sources of funding and the money was used for the organization's activities and to purchase facilities.⁶³⁹

3. Support for Performing Friday Prayers: From *Khaṭīb* to *Imām*

Van Koningsveld asserted that *imams* in the mosques or *muṣallās* (prayer halls) in the Netherlands can be categorized into three types. They are informal *imams* who voluntarily work for the mosque community; professional *imams* who

⁶³⁴ Rudy Erfan, interview, The Hague, 8 June 2009.

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

⁶³⁶ See Keputusan Menteri Luar Negeri No. S.K. 06/A/OT/VI/2004/01, 1 June 2004.

⁶³⁷ DPP PPME/YMAE, *Laporan Kerja* PPME 1976-1979, 15.

⁶³⁸ Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Fiqh al-Zakah: A Comparative Study of Zakah, Regulations and Philosophy in the Light of Quran and Sunnah*, trans. Monzer Kahf, vol. 2 (Jeddah: King Abdul Aziz University, n.y.), 28.

⁶³⁹ DPP PPME, *Laporan kerja* PPME 1973-1976, 14.

are requested and then hired by the mosque community; and professional *imams* who are sent and employed by the government of the mosque community's country of origin.⁶⁴⁰ Based on these categories, the *imams* of the PPME can be classified as belonging to the first. Despite carrying out weekly tasks such as leading religious ceremonies for its congregation and being the prayer leader, the PPME's *imams* were not employed by their *muṣhallā* or mosque communities and had other jobs in their daily life. Generally, they worked for the PPME without a written contract. This was also the case after they were recruited by the KBRI as *khaṭīb*s (preachers) for the Friday prayers held in its hall.⁶⁴¹ Their position was, therefore, worse than that described by Ghaly, who assumes that the salary of *imams* in the Netherlands is very low and that they are forced to work for periods without a written agreement from an employer.⁶⁴² Nevertheless, they continued to support the performance of weekly Islamic obligations. This reflects the founding ideals of the PPME, i.e. to propagate Islam to their congregations and other Muslim groups, in particular those living in the Netherlands.

Since the second half of the 1970s, the *imams* of the PPME have supported the performing of Friday prayers held in KBRI's hall. The *imams* who participated mainly lived in The Hague and included, among others, A. H. Maksum, Moh. Chaeron, Muhammad Syukur, M. Surya Ali Negara, and A. Naʿan Sulchan. In addition to them, there were preachers from other Indonesian Muslim groups.⁶⁴³

⁶⁴⁰ See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 62 and see also Welmoet Boender, *Imam in Nederland: Opvattingen over zijn religieuze rol in de samenleving*, PhD Thesis, Leiden University, 2007, 14-18.

⁶⁴¹ A. Naʿan Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 23 June 2009.

⁶⁴² Mohammed M. Ghaly, "The Academic Training of Imams: Recent Discussions and Initiatives in The Netherlands," in Willem B. Dress and P. S. van Koningsveld (eds.), *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe: Academic and Religious Freedom in the 21st Century* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2008), 375.

⁶⁴³ Kerohanian Islam, *Jadwal Giliran Khatib Shalat Jum'at di Aula KBRI Den Haag* (The Hague: KBRI, 1995), n.p. See also DPP PPME, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986*, 31.

The PPME *imams*' support for the Friday prayers at the Indonesian embassy became even more apparent in the 1980s. There was the *Muṣallā of al-Ittihaad*, but the Friday prayers were rarely held there and instead, took place in the hall of the KBRI. An exception formed the 1980s when Friday prayers were held in *al-Ittihaad* following a request from Surinamese-Javanese Muslims. The PPME's decision on supporting the KBRI's weekly religious programme was a deliberate decision to strengthen the unity among Indonesian Muslims in The Netherlands.⁶⁴⁴ In other words, the PPME prioritized the unity of Indonesian Muslims over other interests, such as promoting activities in the *al-Ittihaad* and performing the Friday prayers for Surinam Muslims in the prayer hall.

The involvement of PPME's people in supporting Friday prayers in the hall of the Indonesian Embassy in the 1970s and 1980s was welcomed by the *imam* of the KBRI, Sufjan Ollong, a Moluccan and former member of the Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger (KNIL, Royal Dutch East Indies Army) officially appointed by the Ambassador in 1964. He led the weekly Friday service,⁶⁴⁵ while one of the PPME people would act as the preacher. This situation went on until the early 2000s, when the Friday prayers moved from the KBRI and were held in the *al-Hikmah* Mosque.⁶⁴⁶ Following this change in venue, the official *imam* of the KBRI could no longer act as the *imam* at the Friday prayers. Instead, his position was frequently taken over by voluntary *imams*, including those affiliated with the PPME.

The decision of the Indonesian ambassador on discontinuing the performing of the Friday prayers in the hall of KBRI was a decisive factor behind the changing roles of both the official and salaried *imam* of the KBRI and the voluntary *imams* of the PPME. Despite the fact that in 1996 the *al-Hikmah* board decided to have the Friday prayers performed

⁶⁴⁴ Sulchan, interview, 23 June 2009.

⁶⁴⁵ Ollong, interview, 5 May 2009.

⁶⁴⁶ Hasyim, interview, The Hague, 5 Dec. 2008.

in the mosque, these weekly rituals were also still held in the KBRI hall. However, in the early 2000s, the Indonesian Ambassador decided to terminate the performance of the weekly Islamic obligation in the hall of the KBRI.⁶⁴⁷ This decision contradicted Ollong's view that there should be continuity in respect of the weekly religious activity in order to spread the messages of Islam among the Muslim officials of the KBRI.⁶⁴⁸ The KBRI argued that the very reason behind the decision was to increase efficiency and productivity, as the weekly religious activity demanded a lot of time and effort from KBRI officials and it wanted to support the spread of the *syi'ār* of Islam through the *al-Hikmah*,⁶⁴⁹ the first Indonesian mosque in the Netherlands, where it could reach more people because there were less barriers for Muslims to enter a mosque than an embassy. It is worth noting that the official *imam*, Ollong⁶⁵⁰ said, "I am the official *imam* of the KBRI. Therefore, the *imam* in the weekly religious activity is me."⁶⁵¹ This implies that to be an *imam* in a religious meeting in the KBRI's hall required his permission. However, permission from the official *imam* was apparently unnecessary for an *imam* at the Friday prayers held in *al-Hikmah* Mosque. Therefore, the decision reduced Ollong's role as the *imam* of KBRI. He had no authority regarding arrangements for the performing of weekly religious obligations in *al-Hikmah* Mosque because he was not in charge of its board.⁶⁵² Moreover, the mosque did not belong to the KBRI. Thus, Ollong had no authority to say who could or could not be the *imam* of Friday prayers held in the mosque.

B. Organizational Activities (1996)

As the PPME continued to build relations with the KBRI,

⁶⁴⁷ Erfan, interview, The Hague, 8 June 2009.

⁶⁴⁸ Ollong, interview, 5 May 2009.

⁶⁴⁹ Hasyim, interview, 5 Dec. 2008.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁵¹ Ollong, interview, 5 May 2009.

⁶⁵² Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 10.

it widened its cooperation with the embassy's organizational activities. As an independent socio-religious organization and a regular user of the rooms at *al-Hikmah* Mosque, the PPME had been actively involved in stimulating the use of the mosque and in maintaining the mosque. This would suggest that the status of the PPME as a lessee, rather than the owner or authoritative board of the mosque, was irrelevant and that its commitment to taking care of the mosque led to various involvements with the mosque board. The following examples illustrate this organizational cooperation.

1. Stimulating the Use of *al-Hikmah* Mosque

In Europe, the prayer-hall, *muṣallā*, or the mosque generally functioned as places for religious gatherings, basic religious education for children, multi-religious activities as well as a social-cultural centre, the place for social activities, and as a place for women to participate.⁶⁵³ Consequently, a *muṣallā* or mosque needs to function effectively. Even though *al-Hikmah* Mosque does not belong to the PPME and is organizationally structured under the authority of the KBRI, this was not an obstacle in terms of the PPME jointly stimulating activities in the mosque in cooperation with the mosque board formed by the KBRI. The following section illustrates this.

It can be said that the establishment of the Indonesian mosque was “a dream comes true” for the PPME. It had been planning to have a mosque since the early 1970s.⁶⁵⁴ After 25 years of waiting, the PPME had the opportunity to run a

⁶⁵³ See Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 57-66. The functions asserted by Landman are wider than those stated by Shadid and Van Koningsveld. They put more emphasis on the basic functions of a prayer hall or mosque, i.e. as a place for religious observances, the provider of basic religious education for children of the community and a place where the community can gather daily. See Shadid and Van Koningsveld (eds.), “Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in The Netherlands,” in Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 90-91.

⁶⁵⁴ The plan to have a mosque was proposed by the PPME in the early 1970s. See Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat PPME 14 July 1974, PPME, The Hague. See also DPP PPME, *Program kerja PPME 1971-73*, n.p.

mosque in cooperation with KBRI. In fact, PPME's enthusiasm and involvement in the mosque sacrificed its own prayer hall *al-Ittihaad*, which the association had purchased in 1982.⁶⁵⁵ The hall was deteriorating and required a large amount of money for renovation.⁶⁵⁶ However, the PPME appeared to be more concerned with the mosque than with the maintenance of the prayer hall. On 18 September 1996 the KBRI appointed an official board for *al-Hikmah* Mosque.⁶⁵⁷ The presence of A. H. Maksum, one of the founders and *imams* of the PPME, as a member of the mosque board was key to the involvement of PPME activists such as A. Naf'an Sulchan, Erna Jongsman, and Ludo Jongsman, in addition to Maksum himself, in the efforts to get the mosque functioning. However, it appears that the chairman of the *al-Hikmah* board, Azhari Kasim, a KBRI official, preferred to include other leading Indonesian Muslims, such as Sofjan S. Siregar and M. Surya Alinegara.⁶⁵⁸ This suggests that there was a possible conflict of interest among the mosque board, specifically between Maksum's and Azhari Kasim's interests. Maksum certainly secured places for himself as the coordinator of the socio-religious programme for men, for Sulchan as the coordinator of children activities, for Erna Jongsman as the coordinator for women, and for Ludo Jongsman as coordinator of the Dutch-speaking group.⁶⁵⁹

The presence of these PPME coordinators, from the beginning of September 1996, meant that PPME members, in particular those of the The Hague branch, were able to conduct their weekly socio-religious activities in the mosque.⁶⁶⁰ In addition to the weekly activities previously discussed, there was a series of discussions on Islamic subjects organized for

⁶⁵⁵ A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Pertanggungjawaban Cabang Den Haag Periode 1995-1996* (The Hague: PPME, 29 December 1996), 1.

⁶⁵⁶ Sulchan, interview, 23 June 2009.

⁶⁵⁷ Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 2.

⁶⁵⁸ Erfan, interview, 8 June 2009.

⁶⁵⁹ Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, 12.

⁶⁶⁰ A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban DPP PPME Wil. Nederland Periode 1997-1999* (The Hague: PPME, 199), 7.

second-generation PPME members. All of these activities continue today.

2. Participation in Maintaining *al-Hikmah* Mosque

As a weekly user of the rooms at *al-Hikmah* Mosque, the PPME assisted the mosque board⁶⁶¹ in the maintenance the premises in two ways, i.e. providing financial contributions and assistance in cleaning it. It is worth noting that there was no fixed amount of money that PPME should pay for the maintenance. This is because the assistance relied on the capability of PPME.

Firstly, PPME provided monthly financial contributions to the mosque board to fund the annual cleaning of the building. Starting in January 1997,⁶⁶² the PPME donated approximately € 270 and around € 400 monthly during the 2000s⁶⁶³ to the board. This contribution, paid via PPME in The Hague, was in response to a request from the board to the users of the mosque, including the PPME, to help resolve the financial problems related to the its maintenance⁶⁶⁴ - the mosque

⁶⁶¹ Shadid and Van Koningsveld say the tasks of the mosque board usually were to organize financial matters and to maintain the premises. Therefore, the board needed to be capable of managing the mosque and of dealing with the non-Muslim community residing around the mosque. Thus, they had to be able to speak Dutch and capable of understanding aspects of Dutch law and society. Shadid and Van Koningsveld, "Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in the Netherlands," 96. Referring Shadid and Van Koningsveld's assertions about the mosque board, there was ambiguity in the structure of the board of the Indonesian *al-Hikmah* Mosque. In the 1990s, Indonesian *imams* were recruited as members of the mosque board. In fact, they functioned as both coordinators of the socio-religious activities and instructors in Islamic religious matters for their congregation. Thus, they were not really suited to functioning as managers of the mosque and its relations with the community. Since the 2000s, this position has changed and the *imams* now only have an advisory role on the mosque board. Erfan, interview, The Hague, 8 June 2009.

⁶⁶² See Kasim, *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan*, Appendix 8, pp. 1-3. See also Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban PPME Cabang Den Haag*, 5, and Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban DPP PPME*, 7.

⁶⁶³ The amount fluctuated depending on the frequency that the rooms of the mosque were used. Thus, this figure is an estimation. Aaman Sulchan, the chairman of the PPME The Hague branch, interview, The Hague, 5 July 2009. The Hague.

⁶⁶⁴ See Letter no. 005/PM/*al-Hikmah*/1/97, 22 January 1997.

board, rather than the KBRI, was in charge of its physical maintenance. The amount of the financial contribution was determined based on the financial capability of PPME in The Hague branch.⁶⁶⁵ The cost of leasing rooms at the mosque was very low. PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam had to pay a monthly fee for rooms at el-Amien School (Trustworthy School) in Amsterdam-Osdorp of around 1,000 Euros a month⁶⁶⁶ for its religious and socio-cultural activities. This low cost must be understood in light of the KBRI's remit to protect and facilitate Indonesian people living in The Netherlands, including those Indonesian members participating in PPME activities. It is reflected in PPME being allowed to use one of the rooms at *al-Hikmah* Mosque as a secretariat and a library since the end of the 1990s.⁶⁶⁷

Secondly, as a user of the rooms at the mosque, the PPME was actually entitled to expect the members of the mosque board to provide for the cleaning. However, the PPME's congregation preferred to clean the rooms themselves. This was carried out regularly and collectively at the end of its weekly programme, regardless of the associations' monthly contribution.⁶⁶⁸ Erfan, the guardian of the mosque (appointed by its board following a recommendation from the PPME board), frequently joined the people of PPME in the cleaning. He cleaned the mosque's mirrors, ablutions room, and bathroom. His involvement was not only because of his function as the guardian of the mosque, but also because of his debt to PPME for recommending him to be the guardian allowing him to live in a house close to the mosque free of charge.⁶⁶⁹ Furthermore, since 1997, the PPME's members have

⁶⁶⁵ G.E. Rijono Soedarso, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 1996-1997* (The Hague: PPME The Hague, 1997), 7.

⁶⁶⁶ Budi Santoso, interview, Lelylaan, Amsterdam, 19 June 2009. See also "PPME al-Ikhlash," accessed 14 July 2009, http://www.al-ikhlah.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=19&Itemid=.

⁶⁶⁷ Soedarso, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban*, 15.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid., 10-11.

⁶⁶⁹ Erfan, interview, 8 June 2009.

also taken part in the annual cleaning of the mosque before *Ramaḍān*.⁶⁷⁰ This commitment by the PPME to keep *al-Hikmah* Mosque clean was a reflection of their consciousness of the importance of togetherness in order to maintain the physical condition of the mosque.

The abovementioned facts show that PPME has endeavored to maintain its connection with the KBRI by varied ways of its involvement in religious and organizational activities. This involvement has enabled it to have networks such as the committee of *Ramaḍān* of the KBRI, the former *imam* of the KBRI, the *al-Hikmah* board, and the mosque guardian.

II. ICMI in the Netherlands (1995): The Result of Inclusivism

The relation of PPME with ICMI in the Netherlands began in 1995 when the ICMI formed its first board in the Netherlands. The discourse of the establishment of ICMI in the Netherlands, founded in the early 1990s,⁶⁷¹ drew much attention from Indonesian Muslims in the country. Various Muslim leading figures and government officials wanted to head the new association of intellectuals. For instance, in addition to Saiful Hadi, the head of Antara (Indonesian News Agency) for Europe and a son of Idham Chalid (the former leader of NU), there were also Azhari Kasim (a KBRI official) and M. Surya Alinegara (a former activist of PPME), in competition to become the chairman of ICMI in the Netherlands.⁶⁷² In the end, Hadi was elected by the majority of around one hundred people who had been invited to attend the meeting to decide on the matter. Present were KBRI staff, Indonesian students, and Indonesian Muslim leading figures. After the election, A. H. Maksum was invited to be one of the board members of ICMI in the Netherlands. Maksum, who was regarded as a leading figure of PPME by ICMI there, accepted the offer,⁶⁷³ and was included as a member of the expert council of ICMI board for the period of 1995-1997. He stated

⁶⁷⁰ Soedarso, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban*, 10-11.

⁶⁷¹ *Visi* 1, 1996, 3.

⁶⁷² Husnan Bey Fannanie, a board member of ICMI and PPME in the Netherlands, interview, Jakarta, 5 March 2010.

⁶⁷³ Fannanie, interview, 5 March 2010.

that his involvement in ICMI at that moment could not be separated from developments in Indonesia where many leading Muslims joined the association.⁶⁷⁴ Among them were such well-known intellectuals in Jakarta as Nurcholish Madjid and Jalaluddin Rakhmat. Membership amounted to around eleven thousand in 1992 and rose sharply to forty thousand in 1993. He also asserted that many Indonesian activists in the Netherlands entered in order to strengthen the unity of Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands.⁶⁷⁵ There, ICMI, under Hadi's leadership indeed, included various elements of Indonesian Muslim communities in the Netherlands. Among those who joined were Sufjan Ollong and Azhari Kasim of the KBRI, prominent Muslims such as A. H. Maksum, M. Surya Alinegara, and Sofjan S. Siregar, as well as students such as Husnan Bey Fannanie (Leiden University) and Dody Darsiyan and Siti Wurian Hutomo (Delft University of Technology).⁶⁷⁶

During the period of 1995-1997, the relationship between PPME and ICMI in the Netherlands was close. The existence of PPME, of which most of its members were common people, was taken into account by ICMI. An indication is the cooperation in the effort to realise the aim of having an Indonesian mosque in the Netherlands. Apart from including Hadi as an adviser of the PPME committee for a mosque in the Netherlands, the PPME programme of having the mosque was adopted by ICMI as part of its main program. Pertaining to this, Hadi told me that his position was that ICMI and PPME should not compete and PPME was a part of ICMI's concern.

It was necessary for ICMI [in the Netherlands] to unite its members who had diverse religious backgrounds by including them in activities organized by ICMI. The attempt of PPME to have an Indonesian mosque, mainly providing for the Indonesian Muslim communities living in the Netherlands, was encouraged by ICMI. This would be the priority of ICMI – ICMI had to be mainly concerned with the need of Muslims living in the Netherlands. It was impossible for Indonesian students in the Netherlands to become its basis because they frequently came and went. An ICMI, without the grassroots, was meaningless. Therefore, I had

⁶⁷⁴ Maksum, interview, The Hague, 17 May 2008.

⁶⁷⁵ Maksum, interview, 17 May 2008.

⁶⁷⁶ *Visi* 1, 1996, 3.

consciously included various elements of Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands. This would be a test for my leadership.⁶⁷⁷

Husnan Bey Fannanie, a student of Leiden University acting as a member of ICMI and PPME in the Netherlands, added: “The idea of PPME to have a mosque in the Netherlands was supported by ICMI, thus resulting in a committee for a mosque, which included not only ICMI’s people but also those of the KBRI.”⁶⁷⁸ As consequence, PPME and ICMI cooperated in finding donors, as they did, for instance, at the end of 1995 during the celebration of the birthday of The Prophet Muhammad⁶⁷⁹ as previously mentioned. Hadi agreed: “ICMI was established for the Islamic *umma* [of Indonesia] – not only for Muslim officials of the KBRI and Muslim students, but also for Indonesian Muslim communities living in the Netherlands. Therefore, I included, for instance, Azhari Kasim, Husnan Bey Fannanie, and A. H. Maksum as the members of the board.”⁶⁸⁰

However, since the end of 1990 when Hadi and Fannanie were no longer on the ICMI board – a period when ICMI in Indonesia no longer drew interest of Muslim politicians because of the establishment of Islamic-oriented parties,⁶⁸¹ the cooperation of PPME with ICMI in the Netherlands was discontinued. In Indonesia a variety of Muslim groups favoured the establishment of ICMI: Muslim government bureaucrats, intellectuals, and activists.⁶⁸² In the Netherlands the situation was different. There, ICMI seemingly ignored the approach of the central ICMI to include significant elements of the Indonesian community. Kurdi, a board member of ICMI in Europe (1995-2000), argues that ICMI in the Netherlands was an association of intellectuals that had only slight concern for the interests of the wider Indonesian Muslim communities living in the Netherlands and paid much more attention

⁶⁷⁷ Saiful Hadi, interview, Jakarta, 23 June 2010.

⁶⁷⁸ Fannanie, interview, 5 March 2010.

⁶⁷⁹ *Visi* 2, 1996, 70.

⁶⁸⁰ Hadi, interview, 23 June 2010.

⁶⁸¹ Yudi Latif, *Intelegensia Muslim dan Kuasa: Genealogi Intelegensia Muslim Indonesia Abad ke-20* (Jakarta: Democracy Project, 2012), 709.

⁶⁸² Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 139-152.

to scholarships for Indonesian students.⁶⁸³ In view of the statement by Siregar, the chairman of ICMI in Europe, this seems a logical consequence of ICMI's membership profile:

ICMI in the Netherlands is mostly run by students who temporarily live in the Netherlands. This does not mean that Indonesian Muslims who have been living in the Netherlands are not included in running the association. However, its main actors are the students. The problem is, then, their lack of concern in running the association since they frequently return to Indonesia for their concern [study].⁶⁸⁴

In addition to being more concerned with the students, according to Fachruddin, the secretary of ICMI in the Netherlands in the 2000s, the ICMI had no real basis and was not concerned with the needs of grass-root Indonesian communities in the Netherlands.⁶⁸⁵ Similarly, Fannanie states: "After the Hadi leadership, the board members of ICMI in the Netherlands, such as Sofjan S. Siregar, Jahir Khan [a KBRI official], and Azhari Kasim, were much more concerned with bureaucratic position than with the interests of Muslim communities in the Netherlands."⁶⁸⁶ All the statements show that key components of Indonesian communities in the Netherlands were not included in running ICMI. This exclusion definitely is at variance with the ideal image of a *cendekiawan* (intellectual Muslim) as defined in the articles of association of ICMI which speak of "a Muslim, or a group of Muslims, who continuously intensify intellectual capability; who investigate, comprehend, and apply science and technology; and who improve religious life of society for the welfare of human beings,"⁶⁸⁷ The exclusion also contradicts the words of Hoesein, the chairman of the National Symposium Committee of Muslim Intellectuals, the organization responsible for the meeting at Brawijaya University in Malang in 1990 during which ICMI was founded. He stated: "...It [ICMI]

⁶⁸³ Jani Kurdi, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008.

⁶⁸⁴ Sofjan S. Siregar, interview, The Hague, 24 August 2008.

⁶⁸⁵ Didin Fachruddin, interview, Delft, 28 May 2008.

⁶⁸⁶ Fannanie, interview, 5 March 2010.

⁶⁸⁷ Achmad Tirto Sudirdjo, "Sambutan Ketua Panitia Pelaksana Nuktamar II dan Simposium Nasional ICMI," in Mahmud F. Rakasima, et al. (eds.), *ICMI di Mata Pemuda, Mahasiswa, Dai, dan Kaum Dhuafa* (Jakarta: Amanah Putra Nusantara, 1995), 63-64.

was established to accommodate and embrace all Muslim groups and streams of Islamic thought.”⁶⁸⁸ The exclusiveness has placed ICMI in a position in which other Indonesian Islamic organizations were not much motivated to work in concert with it.⁶⁸⁹ In view of this, Sulchan suggested that the word of *cendekiawan* seemed to be proper for smart people who were not concerned with the fate of the common people.⁶⁹⁰ This signifies that the label of “exclusive” frequently used by others⁶⁹¹ is a good characterization of ICMI in the Netherlands after the Hadi period; the members of its new board were no longer PPME’s partners whom the PPME could invite to cooperate in fulfilling the needs of its members.

III. PIP PKS (2005): The Result of Sympathizers’ Support

The relation of PPME with PIP PKS in the Netherlands cannot be separated from their *da’wa* concerns. This has resulted in some cooperation. For instance, PPME Amsterdam has supported PIP PKS in holding the *halal bihalal* in 2005. This cooperation, which was initiated by PIP PKS, aimed to similarize their vision of a future Indonesia,⁶⁹² i.e. to realise a just, prosperous, and dignified civilized society (*masyarakat madani*).⁶⁹³ Some members of PPME Amsterdam were recruited as the organizer of the event, which took place at *al-Hikmah* Mosque. The members of PPME the Netherlands and its sympathizers, the activists of PIP PKS and their sympathizers, and members of other Indonesian Muslim communities in the Netherlands were invited except the members of Majelis Dzikir.⁶⁹⁴ Another example was the support of William S. de Weerd, chairman of PPME the Netherlands and sympathizer of PIP PKS, for training in *Manajemen Sholat menuju Khusu’ dan Nikmat* (MSKN, Management for Earnest and Contented Prayer) organized by

⁶⁸⁸ Abdul Azis Hoesein, “Membangun Negara Perlu Kebersamaan,” in Rakasima, et. al. (eds.), *ICMI di Mata Pemuda*, 63-64.

⁶⁸⁹ *Visi* 2, 1996, 70.

⁶⁹⁰ Sulchan, interview, 23 June 2009.

⁶⁹¹ See Muhaimin Iskandar, “ICMI Belum Membela Umat Islam,” in Rakasima, et al., *ICMI di Mata Pemuda*, 63-64 and see Taufiq Hidayat, ICMI: “Wadah Baru HMI untuk Perjuangan Umat,” in *Ibid.*, 176.

⁶⁹² Permana, interview, Schiedam, 11 November 2008.

⁶⁹³ MPP PKS, *Memperjuangkan Masyarakat Madani* (Jakarta: PKS, Maret 2008), 203.

⁶⁹⁴ Santoso, interview, Amsterdam, 22 June 2010.

PIP PKS.⁶⁹⁵ It was held on 30-31 August 2008, and took place at *al-Hikmah*. Seventy people attended. They came from PPME, PIP PKS itself, and Forum Komunikasi Alumni (FKA, Communication Forum of Alumni) of Emotional and Spiritual Quotient (ESQ, an Indonesian training centre for Character Building, founded on 6 May 2000 by Ary Ginanjar). This training of MSKN, which was part of the PIP PKS' activities, was led by Ansufr Idrus Sambo, the owner of Pesantren Ustadh (Islamic Teacher) and Imam Masjid (Prayer Leader of a Mosque) in Bogor, West Java.⁶⁹⁶

As far as the cooperation was concerned, it is worth noticing the viewpoints of PIP PKS' people from PPME Amsterdam. According to Budi Santoso, "in fact, PIP PKS always searches for sympathizers, including from PPME. However, since the outset, our cooperation has been focused on *da'wa*. Therefore, this concern motivated us [PPME and PIP PKS] to communicate with each other."⁶⁹⁷ This connection was acknowledged by Balbaid stating:

The young board members of PIP PKS in the Netherlands, such as Deden S. Permana, the chairman of the centre and Didin Fahrudin, his secretary, maintain contact with me. They frequently visit activities of PPME Amsterdam, such as *'id al-fitr* and *'id al-aḍḥā* celebrations and other gatherings, about which its members and sympathizers are informed through their e-mails.⁶⁹⁸

In fact, the PIP PKS' young leaders and members committed to develop their party and keeping their morality contributed much to its impressive performance.⁶⁹⁹ The following examples confirm what Santoso and Balbaid stated. Hatami and Agus Purwanto, other young members of the PIP PKS board, frequently visited PPME Amsterdam's *sportdagen* taking place in an open green space. De Weerd was invited as a speaker at PIP PKS' *halal bihalal* of 2009 in Schiedam, which had as

⁶⁹⁵ See Human MSKN, "MSKN Goes to Europe," accessed 6 January 2009, <http://manajemensholat.com/2008/09/11/mskn-goes-to-europe/>, accessed 6 January 2009.

⁶⁹⁶ Anonymous, "Pelatihan Salat Khusus: Kapan Ada Lagi?", accessed 24 January 2014, <https://sites.google.com/site/PPMEinetherlands/>.

⁶⁹⁷ Santoso, interview, 13 April 2010.

⁶⁹⁸ Abdul Aziz Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 July 2008.

⁶⁹⁹ Kees van Dijk, "Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Radical, Moderate and Practical," (Cleveringa Lecture, 4 December 2004, Indonesian University, Depok), 7.

its theme “Uniting Potency to Develop Beloved Indonesia.”⁷⁰⁰ At the same occasion, Maksum recited prayers to end the meeting. Winarna, another young PIP PKS’ cadre from PPME Amsterdam, even pointed out: “PIP PKS inquires about my efforts to gain more followers of the party almost every day – it rushes me to do so. It also persuades me to do my utmost to assure a good election result for their party. The face to face *da’wa*, i.e., *da’wa* by a person visiting another, is the approach of the party to gain more followers.”⁷⁰¹

However, apart from the occasional contacts and reciprocal visits, such cooperation was not carried on in the following years. The reason was PPME’s suspicion of the pragmatic approach of PIP PKS, i.e. an approach which focuses on gaining as many votes as possible for the PKS in the Indonesian general elections.⁷⁰² Santoso, who used to be a sympathizer of the PIP PKS, insists: “In each activity, the centre displays the party’s flags and uses political language – this will make participants who are not connected to the PKS feel less comfortable.”⁷⁰³ Kurdi could not agree with activists of PIP PKS trying to influence PPME members during *da’wa* activities organized jointly with PPME. She also criticized the fact that PIP PKS was very selective in offering its service. “The PIP PKS will only act as a centre of information and service when it is to the advantage of the party. The information and service will, actually, be provided to their own friends [cadres, members, and sympathizers].”⁷⁰⁴ Sulchan insists: “The PIP PKS has brought about the *afscheiding* (the separation) of PPME Amsterdam from PPME the Netherlands. It has influenced the leading figures of the PPME in Amsterdam to prohibit [performing *tahlilan*, *yasinan* and

⁷⁰⁰ Hilman Rosyad, a member of Indonesian Parliament Member of PKS also attended this meeting. He came to the Netherlands to deliver speech to the people of PIP PKS.

⁷⁰¹ Winarna, interview, Amsterdam, 31 October 2010.

⁷⁰² See Okamoto Masaaki, “The Rise of the ‘Realistic’ Islamic Party: PKS,” in Otta Atsushi, Okamoto Masaaki, and Ahmad Suaedi (eds.), *Indonesian Islam in Contention* (Jakarta, Kyoto, and Taiwan: Wahid Institute, Cseas and Capas, 2010), 220-226. See also Van Dijk, “Partai Keadilan Sejahtera,” 13.

⁷⁰³ Santoso, interview, 22 June 2010.

⁷⁰⁴ Jani Kurdi, interview, 28 December 2008, The Hague. The depiction on PCIM and PCIA will be dealt in the subsequent subsection on PCIM.

istigotsah].”⁷⁰⁵ These are the suspicions of PPME, which tend to blame the PIP PKS.

In response to the accusations by PPME, Permana, the chairman of PIP PKS, has expressed the following viewpoints. “They [the cadres of PIP PKS] have involved themselves in a variety of activities of Indonesian community organizations, especially Muslim, in the Netherlands. PIP PKS is even always prepared to assist PPME Amsterdam in inviting Islamic preachers from Indonesia.”⁷⁰⁶ Furthermore, he insists:

They [the leading figures of PPME Amsterdam] are not unintelligent people. It is impossible for us [the cadres and members of PIP PKS] to influence those who we regard as our parents and teachers. [On the contrary], they have influenced us. The point is that it is not necessary for us to claim that we are the best, but we keep learning. We regard Budi Santoso, a leading figure of PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam, as our elder brother and A. Aziz Balbaid, a leading figure of PPME Amsterdam, as our father. Therefore, their disunity [at the end of 2005] was possibly *takdir* (God’s decision). Each side possesses its own segment. [Do] *fastabiqū al-khairāt* (then strive together as in a race towards all that is good [see the Quranic verse 148 of chapter 2]), and optimise our programmes! We are not bothered by the negative issues raised by other sides that will prevent us from gaining progress. The number of us [Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands] is small. Therefore, if he or she [a Muslim activist] will take part in the activities of various Indonesian organizations, this will not surprise us.⁷⁰⁷

He adds:

Why should we hold joint activities [with PPME], if this is not of benefit to us? In order to avoid its negative perceptions like that of taking over strategic positions in PPME and of influencing the vote of its member [to elect PKS politicians in the general elections], we prefer to hold our activity without cooperation [with it]. People [of PPME] are intelligent. Therefore, we need to build their trust in the people of PIP PKS on the basis of their good understanding of the PKS.⁷⁰⁸

The facts show that it is hard for PPME to carry on its cooperation with the PIP PKS as long as the centre does not respect the differences

⁷⁰⁵ A. Naf ‘an Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 18 October 2008.

⁷⁰⁶ Deden S. Permana, interview, Schiedam, 24 August 2008.

⁷⁰⁷ Deden S. Permana, interview, Schiedam, 11 November 2008.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

in religious orientation within the PPME community. Apart from the discontinuity of its cooperation with the PIP PKS, PPME Amsterdam itself has included the PKS activists from Indonesia in its *Ramaḍān* activities discussed in chapter 6.

IV. PCIM (2006): The Result of Reformists' Support

From the outset, PPME has never been part of the organizational structure or under the coordination of reformist socio-religious organizations such as Muhammadiyah, Persis, and al-Irsyad, or of the traditionalist NU. Its neutrality means there are no barriers to Indonesian Muslims with a non-reformist or traditionalist religious orientation to become a member of the PPME. Its principles are simply based on Islam; thus, any Muslim can join its congregation. This cannot be separated from the task it had set itself from the start, i.e. to be a unifying Muslim organization for Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands and the rest of Europe. Thus, the rise of PCIM in the Netherlands, led by a former leader of the PPME at the end of 2006, raises a question. The following section will examine the connection between PPME and the PCIM.

Though a structural link is absent, reformist members of PPME have supported PCIM. The support came from PPME Amsterdam. This occurred since its traditionalist members had left in 2006. This PPME facilitated the official inauguration of the PCIM taking place in its mosque, now called *at-Taḳwa*, on 8 December 2006. The event was attended by around one hundred people, including Din Syamsuddin, the chairman of the central board of Muhammadiyah, and its sympathizers living in the Netherlands.⁷⁰⁹ The links between PPME Amsterdam and PCIM also found their expression in an exchange of *ustādhs*.⁷¹⁰ One of them was Agus Hasan Bashori al-Sanuwi, an Indonesian Salafi *ustādh* requested by both PPME Amsterdam and PCIM to deliver lectures on Islamic subjects to their congregations in February and early March

⁷⁰⁹ Administrator, "Peresmian PCIM Belanda," accessed 29 December 2008, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=250&Itemid=2.

⁷¹⁰ Yusuf Setiyono, interview, Utrecht, 16 August 2009.

2008.⁷¹¹

The interactions between PPME and PCIM could take place as a result of the relationships of leaders of both Muslim associations. Balbaid, a prominent member of PPME Amsterdam, became acquainted with the leader of PCIM, M. Surya Alinegara, who had a top position in PPME in the middle of the 1970s.⁷¹² This fact is confirmed by Yusuf Setiyono, the PCIM's treasurer. He asserts that good relationships between them fostered the abovementioned cooperation between PCIM and PPME Amsterdam.⁷¹³ The importance of this personal relationship is revealed by the fact that cooperation between the two organizations waned following the stroke suffered by Alinegara in early 2008.⁷¹⁴ In addition, Balbaid knows the main proponent behind establishing the PCIM, Jani Kurdi. She was a PPME activist in the 1990s.⁷¹⁵

Nonetheless, the link with PPME Amsterdam did not appear to be of value in terms of creating relations with other branches of PPME in the Netherlands. The reason is the fact that the traditionalist practices of reciting *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, and *istighotsah* performed in most PPME branches (other than PPME Amsterdam) were rejected by reformist-oriented members and sympathizers, thus, contributing to the rise of the new PCIM. They have criticized these practices. For instance, Setiyono, a sympathizer of PPME The Hague, is particularly critical:

⁷¹¹ See Qiblati, "Info dari Safari Belanda Pemred Qiblati," accessed 14 February 2009, <http://qiblati.com/berita/id/1/>. See also: Qiblati, "Biografi," accessed 14 February 2009, <http://qiblati.com/profil/biografi/>.

⁷¹² See DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976 PPME*, 4.

⁷¹³ Setiyono, interview, 16 August 2009.

⁷¹⁴ Agus Purwanto, the vice leader of PCIM, acknowledges the sharp drop in joint activities after M. Surya Alinegara fell seriously ill. This statement was delivered in front of some members of its board and its sympathizers on 17 July 2009 in Kurdi's house, The Hague.

⁷¹⁵ Kurdi was an advisor on religious education for the youth division of PPME The Netherlands in 1999-2000. She was one of the people who showed Minister Rita Verdonk around when the minister visited the Indonesian *al-Hikmah* mosque on 28 August 2006. Alia Baidhowi was also a former PPME activist. She was to take care of the religious education division of PPME The Hague in 1996-1998. Furthermore, Baidhowi was nominated as a candidate for the position of Secretary of *Pimpinan Cabang Istimewa Aisyiah* (PCIA, Board of Special Branch Aisyiah) of Muhammadiyah in the Netherlands (2006-2008), however she failed to secure the votes necessary to be elected.

I can feel the boredom (*kejenuhan*) of those who have distanced themselves from the PPME The Hague due to the stagnancy of the PPME in its activities, concentrating more on *zikir* (invocation of God) [rather than on *fikir* (intellectual exercises)]. There has been no programme of issuing a magazine like Suara Muhammadiyah (Voice of Muhammadiyah) [since the end of the 1990s]. In addition, the diverse religious backgrounds [of its members, such as NU, Muhammadiyah, al-Irshad, Persis, al-Washliyah] have increased the unpleasantness (*ketidaknyamanan*) in the PPME in conducting ‘*ibadah*’ (Islamic observance). At the outset, the colour of NU’s practices did not dominate its activities. However, after Gus Dur was elected as the fourth Indonesian president, these [reciting *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, and *istighotsah*] have come to the fore. The PPME’s traditionalist congregations seem to have longed for these traditionalist practices. *Istighotsah* is a salient example. This raises the question: why have these practices dominated PPME’s activities? My friends and I, [from Bina Dakwah (a Muslim group of mixed nationalities for upholding Islamic propagation)], frequently take part in its activities in the third and fourth weekend of each month, but the practices have fully dominated its activities. Some of us, [affiliated with Muhammadiyah] longed, too, for our own model of *silaturahmi* or gatherings [without performing such traditionalist practices].⁷¹⁶

Criticism also came from Asniar Harun, a member of PPME The Hague and a proponent of PCIM. She confirmed that the *istighotsah* was routinely conducted as an introduction to its main activities. I [as a reformist Muslim] indeed eschew such a practice.⁷¹⁷ Finally, Kurdi, a former activist of PPME The Hague, a former advisor to Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Aisyiah (PCIA, Board of Aisyiah Special Branch)⁷¹⁸ in the Netherlands and a key proponent of the establishment of PCIM, insists:

The practices should not serve as a routine activity of the

⁷¹⁶ Setiyono, interview, 16 August 2009. This interview took place when the chairman of PCIM was seriously ill and its secretary was not staying in the Netherlands.

⁷¹⁷ Asniar Harun, former member of the board of PCIA, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008.

⁷¹⁸ PCIA, founded at the same time as the PCIM, is aimed at the female congregation of the Muhammadiyah in the Netherlands. More on the Aisyiah can be found in James L. Peacock, *The Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*, 2nd Ed. (USA: Arizona State University, 1992), 42-45. Information on the presence of PCIA in the Netherlands can be found in a letter “Penagihan Laporan dan Pembekuan Organisasi,” no. 361/PPA/A/XII/2008, 23 December 2008, Yogyakarta.

organization. *Istighotsah* is demonstratively and massively performed. In addition, reciting the *tahlilan* and *yasinan* has routinely served as the introductory religious ritual, leading us to do *bid'a* (innovation),⁷¹⁹ whereas the compulsory tasks, such as educating those members of its congregation who do not yet comprehend the meaning of *du'ās* (prayers) recited during the performing of obligatory prayers is forgotten. This [keeping them ignorant on the Islamic obligation] is a satanic culture. [Furthermore], this criticism is aimed at balancing both the importance of performing *dhikr* and of exercising *fikr*. [However], the fact is that this PPME continues to focus more on the performing of *dhikr* rather than on the other.⁷²⁰

These criticisms and objections came from the individuals who recently had stopped attending most of the activities held by the PPME, but have supported those organized by PPME Amsterdam. It is worth noting that the death of Moch. Chaeron, who was the only person who drafted PPME's statute, was a factor in PPME becoming a more traditionalist organization. He frequently organized its religious activities of not only *dhikr*, but also *fikr*.⁷²¹ Chaeron, himself, was one of the reformist-oriented members and took great care to keep them, and traditionalist-oriented members, together.⁷²² These criticisms are extremely pertinent to the PPME al-Ikhlash (Sincerity), Amsterdam, which has committed to maintaining the practices, particularly following its split from PPME Amsterdam at the end of 2005.

PPME leaders, themselves, did not ignore the criticisms of the traditionalist practices. De Weerd, the chairman of PPME the Netherlands, asserts: "There is no coercion to attend the performing of *istighotsah* [frequently initiated with performing *yasinan* and *tahlilan*]. This is due to the diverse socio-religious backgrounds of the members, and also because of ethnic and national diversity."⁷²³ Moreover, Hasyim, a sympathizer of PPME, clarifies that PPME The Hague performing

⁷¹⁹ *Bid'a* is a religious practice which is never taught by the Prophet Muhammad. See Noer, *The Modernist Muslim*, 81.

⁷²⁰ Kurdi, interview, 28 December 2008.

⁷²¹ Erfan, interview, 8 June 2009.

⁷²² Hasyim, interview, 5 December 2008.

⁷²³ Willy de Weerd (the chairman of the PPME The Netherlands and of the Forum of Emotional and Spiritual Quotient Alumni in the Netherlands), interview, Rotterdam Alexander, 25 May 2008.

istighotsah [usually after performing *yasinan* and *tahlilan*] led by A. Naf'an Sulchan, was scheduled for the end of each month, whereas the third week of the month was allocated for a discussion programme led by Ashif Ishom (a reformist member).⁷²⁴ He adds:

The problem is that the schedule of intellectual exercise is not well announced to the members. Therefore, it seems that there is no programme of discussion. Indeed, the programme does not work because most of the PPME members who actively take part in its programmes are blue collar-workers who come to gatherings held in the PPME merely for their relaxation rather than for an intellectual exercise. The participants of PPME's programmes are mostly common Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands.⁷²⁵

Parallel to the PPME The Hague, the PPME al-Ikhlah Amsterdam regularly performed the *istighotsah* [its formula is similar to that of PPME The Hague] in the first weekend of each month led by Mustofa Sulchan, a younger brother of A. Naf'an Sulchan. The remaining weekends of the month are allocated to learning other Islamic subjects [such as Quranic recitation and its interpretation, Islamic law, Islamic traditions, and Islamic ethics].⁷²⁶ In other PPME branches, such as Rotterdam, Breda-Tilburg, and Heemskerk, the activity forms a part of their bi-weekly or monthly gatherings, in addition to discussions on Islamic subjects and understanding Quranic verses under the guidance of selected religious teachers.

In response to this dispute, both sides were strict when it concerned their own customs. On the traditionalist side, reciting the Sūra of Yāsin and performing *tahlilan* and *istighotsah*, as part of conducting Islamic observance, are always performed using *tawassul*, i.e. reciting the name of the Prophet Muhammad and the names of selected authoritative *ulamas* and reciting given *sholawats* (intercessory prayers particularly aimed at the Prophet Muhammad) such as *munjiyat* and *nariyah*. In fact, these are considered as *shirk* (ascribing partners to God) by the Indonesian reformist Muslims. Therefore, the practices have induced discomfort among those reformist-oriented members

⁷²⁴ Hasyim, interview, The Hague, 5 December 2008.

⁷²⁵ Ibid.

⁷²⁶ Santoso, interview, 30 August 2009.

who have never performed them such as those affiliated to the PCIM. “...The Muhammadiyah does not practice the *yasinan*, reciting the Sūra of Yāsīn of the Quran for a certain occasion and for a certain purpose, does not practice *tahlilan* - recite selected sūras of the Quran, *istighfār*, *shalāwat*, *tasbiḥ*, *taḥmīd* and *tahlīl* on a certain occasion and for a certain purpose, and refuse to implement the *tawassul* in prayer.”⁷²⁷ On the reformist side, in dealing with the traditionalist activities there is no effort to apply the Muhammadiyah’s *dakwah kultural* (cultural propagation), which can be exercised in domains in which cultural creation is permitted.⁷²⁸ The reformist members and sympathizers who objected to the practices preferred splitting off from the PPME to modify the activities in such a way that was proper for them. Mulkhan, a Muhammadiyah intellectual, opines that “the *dakwah kultural* relies on an assumption that each human being and society has different experiences, and goes on to change in various ways.”⁷²⁹ Therefore, the refusal of the reformist members to attend the activities of PPME and the break-up of PPME Amsterdam into two groups, PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam, are a consequence of this discomfort and disapproval of the practices among reformist-oriented members. Balbaid strongly rejected the traditionalist rituals in PPME Amsterdam. He stated:

Islamic observances, whose *Hadīths* (the Prophet’s Traditions) do not reach the level of *ṣaḥīḥ* (the most reliable) or *ḥasan* (close to the most reliable) or are based upon analogy [*qiyās*], should not be part of the programmes of PPME Amsterdam. The commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad’s birthday, *yasinan*, *tahlilan*, *istighotsah*, etc. are examples. Adopting the Islamic observances whose *dalīls* (Islamic legal foundations) are absurd will confuse its congregation. Please, conduct the observances [of the traditionalist activities] outside of the mosque [of PPME Amsterdam] due to their absurd *dalīls*.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁷ Haedar Nashir, *Manifestasi Gerakan Tarbiyah: Bagaimana Sikap Muhammadiyah?*, 4th ed. (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2006), 28 and 49.

⁷²⁸ See Jabrohim, a former member of the Culture Council of the Regional Board of the Muhammadiyah 1990-1995, *Membumikan Dakwah Kultural* (Yogyakarta: PSM, 2005), 60-61.

⁷²⁹ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

⁷³⁰ A. Aziz. Balbaid, interview, Lelylaan, Amsterdam, 28 May 2008.

This statement is in line with that of Kurdi that many reformist-oriented members of PPME's congregation claimed that they refused to attend PPME meetings due to the abovementioned religious practices of the Nahdlatul Ulama, which had dominated the religious activities of the PPME.⁷³¹

PPME Amsterdam and PCIM shared a similar view on the traditionalist practices. As a consequence for the reformist members, the presence of PCIM seems to be a solution to their predicament. This solution corresponds with the interest of the central board of Muhammadiyah which wished to extend its branches overseas. However, it was opposed to the opinion of A. Naf'an Sulchan who rejected the founding of an Indonesian Muslim association based on a specific socio-religious background, such as the NU and Muhammadiyah because of the small number of Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands and the existence of PPME.⁷³²

In response to the wish of Muhammadiyah, Siregar, a former member of the PPME in the 1980s and a preacher from Dār al-Iftā in Saudi Arabia,⁷³³ wanted to establish the PCIM soon. He led a gathering, aimed at deciding on the PCIM's structure, which was held on 25 November 2006 in Alinegara's house in The Hague and urged those who were present to elect Alinegara as the leader of PCIM.⁷³⁴ Siregar explains that he merely wanted the rapid establishment of this Muslim association so that its proponents could perform their socio-religious activities according to their own practices. Similarly, he hoped that other religious congregations would follow suit and found their own associations.⁷³⁵ His desire for the rapid establishment

⁷³¹ Kurdi, interview, 28 December 2008.

⁷³² Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 16 June 2009.

⁷³³ Ibid., The Hague, 2 June 2009.

⁷³⁴ Agus Purwanto and Yusuf Setiyono, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban PCIM Belanda Periode 2006-2008* ('s-Gravenhage: PCIM, 17 July 2009), 4.

⁷³⁵ Sofjan S. Siregar of al-Washliyah, interview, ICCN The Hague, 17 September 2009. His advice seems to be in line with the approach that al-Washliyah has taken in dealing with other socio-religious organizations in Indonesia. Its followers have frequently initiated the founding of other Islamic organizations. See Ahmad Hamim Azizy, *Al-Jam'iyatul Washliyah dalam Kancah Politik Indonesia* (Banda Aceh: Yayasan Pena, 2006), 96.

was met with objections from Kurdi stating: “Why should the PCIM be formed in a rush? Why were there no preparatory actions taken, such as determining who should sit on its boards and run it? and on what fields should it focus.”⁷³⁶ However, her reservations fell on deaf ears. The PCIM was founded in less than a month, on 8 December 2006 with Alinegara as its chairman. The fact is that Alinegara was an experienced leader; he, had studied at al-Azhar university, was a former leader of PPME the Netherlands, and ICMI in the Netherland.⁷³⁷

The PCIM was founded to unify the Muhammadiyah people and sympathizers residing overseas.⁷³⁸ Muhammadiyah believes that in order to maintain the spirit of Muhammadiyah among students and its followers abroad, and to introduce the Muhammadiyah to other people and institutions, it is essential to found new branches of Muhammadiyah. As a result, the PCIM was included in the programme of the Lembaga Hubungan dan Kerja Sama Luar Negeri (LHKLN, Institution for Foreign Relations and Foreign Cooperation) of the Muhammadiyah.⁷³⁹ Therefore, the central board rapidly issued the subsequent decrees aimed at legalizing the composition of the board of PCIM in the Netherlands. The issuance of the first decree from the central Muhammadiyah board numbered 153/kep/i.0/d/2006 was dated 4 December 2006. Another decree from the central board was issued in 2007 when the board of the new special branch proposed a change in the composition in which a vice chairman, deputy secretary, and treasurer would be added to the existing board which consisted of a chairman, secretary, members, and that an advisory board should

⁷³⁶ Kurdi, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008.

⁷³⁷ Setiyono, interview, 16 August 2009.

⁷³⁸ Administrator, “Peresmian PCIM Belanda,” accessed 29 December 2008, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=250&Itemid=2.

⁷³⁹ See Arif Nur Kholis, “Kabar Jejaring Muhammadiyah Internasional,” accessed 22 December 2008, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=614&Itemid=2. Another consideration was that PCIM was intended to serve as a mediator in providing scholarships. See Surat Keputusan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah No. 114/Kep/I.0/B/2008 tentang: Cabang Istimewa Muhammadiyah, Yogyakarta, 29 July 2008. The embryo of PCIM has been part of the central Muhammadiyah’s program since 2003. Ibid.

be instituted.⁷⁴⁰ The issuance of the first decree, which legalised the PCIM's existence and its rudimentary structure, suggests the great desire for a rapid formation of the first PCIM board. The board was officially established by a decree issued on 22 January 2007 by the central board of the Muhammadiyah.⁷⁴¹

The reformist members and sympathizers who had left the PPME were looking for support from an organization that reflected their beliefs and practices. However, the establishment of PCIM seems to have been marred by a leadership problem. The careless and hurried process of selecting members of PCIM's board appears to have had a huge impact on the running of the new association. Its board was apparently unprepared for its role as a place for all the disenchanted reformist-oriented Indonesian Muslims. A salient example of this relates to a visit to the association by three members of the Muhammadiyah central board⁷⁴² on 10 January 2009. They were coming to the Netherlands to cooperate, for instance, with the Indonesian Embassy and Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies) through the new PCIM in the Netherlands; however, the members of the new board were less than responsive. Kurdi, who has argued for a well-planned and less hurried foundation of PCIM, confirms that the PCIM responded to the e-mail from Muhammadiyah central board only a few days prior to the arrival of the delegation although already in October, the e-mail had been sent to the PCIM.⁷⁴³ In fact at that moment, PCIM

⁷⁴⁰ See Dodong Priyambodo, "Alhamdulillah PCIM Belanda dan Jerman Telah Resmi," accessed 21 December 2008, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=296&Itemid=2.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid.

⁷⁴² They were Zamroni, Haedar Nashir and Muhadjir Efendy. Kurdi was given the responsibility to organize the visit of three members of central board of the Muhammadiyah and to welcome them, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008.

⁷⁴³ In the case of PCIM's response to the visit of the Muhammadiyah deputation, the vice chairman tried to contact the central board by sending an e-mail to a member of the central board, Sofriyanto Solih Mu'tasim. The problem was the e-mail was received a week after it had been sent, but some time later Jani Kurdi, assisted by Baidhowi, not members of the PCIM board, were appointed by the central board to prepare the visit and only a few of their board members could be involved in it. Setiyono, interview, 16 August 2009.

was encountering serious problems. M. Surya Alinegara had a stroke just a few months before and was unable to respond to their request of arranging the cooperation and welcoming them. Furthermore, the secretary of PCIM was travelling to Indonesia at the time.⁷⁴⁴ However, these facts do not explain the lack of response from the other members of the board. The vice chairman (Agus Purwanto), the vice secretary (Didin Fachruddin), the treasurer (Yusuf Setiyono) and other members of its boards were capable of running the organization in the absence of the chairman and secretary. It is worth mentioning that all mentioned were activists of PIP PKS in the Netherlands.⁷⁴⁵ Kurdi, the host for the visit by the three members of the central board, emotionally sees the lack of political advantage as the reason for their reserved response.⁷⁴⁶ Refuting her accusation, a member of the PCIM board claimed: “We [the members of PCIM board], as the young generation, are involved in PCIM to assist M. Surya Alinegara in running the organization, not to seek advantages from it. We are prosperous in terms of income and are not the employees of PCIM. Thus, PCIM has never been politicked by its board affiliated with a given party [PKS].”⁷⁴⁷

It is worth noting that in Indonesia, the infiltration of PKS activists in other organizations called *tarbiyyah*⁷⁴⁸ virus takes place not only in

⁷⁴⁴ Kurdi, interview, 28 December 2008.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid. Similar opinions were expressed by Baidhowi and Asniar Harun, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008. Setiyono’s point of view is not at odds with them in this case.

⁷⁴⁶ Kurdi, interview, 28 December 2008. This restlessness emerged because the Muhammadiyah *Khittah* (Guideline) of 2002 that does not oblige its adherents to support one particular political party only but allows them free choice. See Haedar Nashir, *Khittah Muhammadiyah tentang Politik*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2008), 35–39.

⁷⁴⁷ Setiyono, interview, 16 August 2009.

⁷⁴⁸ The term *tarbiyyah* was used by a *da’wa* movement called *Jamaah Tarbiyyah* (*tarbiyyah* group) in the 1990s, whose *da’wa* was performed at universities such as Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB, Bandung Technology Institut), Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB, Bogor Institute of Agricultural Studies), Indonesian University (UI) and Brawijaya University. After the fall of Suharto, this movement was transformed into a party called Partai Keadilan (PK, Justice Party), now PKS. This transformation followed the group’s view that it was important to establish an Islamic party for their Islamic political aims in Indonesia. Yon Machmudi, *Islamizing Indonesia: The Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*, (Australia: ANU E Press, 2008), 73 and Zuli Qodir (an intellectual of Muhammadiyah), “Gerakan Salafi Radikal dalam Konteks Islam Indonesia,” in *Islamica* 3, no. 1 (September 2008): 3–7.

Muhammadiyah but also, for instance, in NU and MUI. In the case of Muhammadiyah in 2006, this infiltration gave rise to, for instance, the prohibition of a discussion on the ideological transformation in Muhammadiyah schools such as Mu'allimin (Male Islamic Junior and Senior High School) and Mu'allimat (Female Islamic Junior and Senior High School). This discussion was planned to be held in the Mu'allimin of Yogyakarta, but was prohibited by the Mu'allimin. It was then held outside the school. Still during the year, there also took place an effort to take over the Muhammadiyah Taman Kanak-kanak (TK, Kindergarten) Aisyiah Prambanan, Central Java, which would be transformed into TK Islam Terpadu (Islamic-Oriented Integrated Kindergarten) with the endorsement of Hidayat Nur Wahid, the chairman of Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People Assembly) and the former chairman of the party. This takeover failed. Recently, 60 percent of the number of lecturers at Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta (UMS, Surakarta Muhammadiyah University), Central Java, are, according to Bambang Setiaji, the Rector of UMS, affiliated with PKS and 40 percent of these PKS people have chairs at the university. This is a dilemma. Therefore, no decision is made to solve the problem.⁷⁴⁹ Since 2006, Muhammadiyah itself has been determined to rid the organization's boards of the infiltration of those affiliated with the PKS. The central Muhammadiyah prohibits politicians or members of a party from being key members in the boards of Muhammadiyah and affiliated organizations.⁷⁵⁰

Leaving aside what both sides said, the composition of the PCIM board contradicted the effort to protect the boards of Muhammadiyah against interference by the PKS. The fact that a number of the PCIM's board members were party-affiliated must be seen as the fault

⁷⁴⁹ Farid Setiawan, "Tiga Upaya Mu'allimin dan Mu'allimat," in *Suara Muhammadiyah*, 3 April 2006, Abdurrahman Wahid, *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Desantara Utama Media, 2009). 202-209 and Qadir, "Gerakan Salafi Radikal," 10-13.

⁷⁵⁰ See "Kutipan Surat Keputusan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, No.: 149/KEP/LO?B/2006 tentang Kebijakan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah Mengenai Konsolidasi Organisasi dan Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah," in Arif Giyanto dan Budi Gunawan Sutomo, *Bertaruh Citra Dakwah: Membedah Kritis Friksi Muhammadiyah-PKS* (Surakarta: Era Intermedia, 2007), 169.

of the central board of the Muhammadiyah. Their carelessness in selecting board members was not in accord with the policy of the Muhammadiyah. In response to the PCIM's passivity with regard to the visit of the members of Muhammadiyah central board, Kurdi and the candidate secretary of PCIA in the Netherlands, Alia Baedhowi, were asked by the central board to become involved in the arrangements of welcoming the members of the Muhammadiyah central board.⁷⁵¹ It is apparent that two different groups existed within the PCIM, i.e. party-affiliated and non-party-affiliated members. This led to disagreement and disunity in the organization. This fact was at odds with the ideals of its leader himself, Alinegara, who wanted to situate PCIM as a unifier, not only of Muhammadiyah's proponents and sympathizers, but also of all Indonesian [reformist] Muslims living in the Netherlands.⁷⁵² According to him, "...a lot of Islamic organizations claim themselves as the best. This claim has caused them to move away from other congregations who adhere to differing Islamic organizations. If this feeling of the best or the truest is allowed to develop, it will threaten 'ukhuwwa (brotherhood)... Such a condition opposes the vision-mission of Muslim associations that want to develop an *umma* [Indonesian Muslims]...."⁷⁵³ In short, the PCIM was unable to fulfill its role as a way out and a solution for disenchanting PPME reformist members.

⁷⁵¹ Alia Baidhowi, interview, The Hague, 28 December 2008.

⁷⁵² "PCIM Belanda: Kader Muhammadiyah Menjadi Perekat Ummat," in Arif Nur Kholish accessed 22 December 2008, http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=635&Itemid=2.

⁷⁵³ Ibid.

Chapter Five: The Non-Indonesian Networks of PPME in the Netherlands

Since the 1970s, PPME has had diverse connections with non-Indonesians both inside and outside the Netherlands. Within the Netherlands, links were made with the Stichting Federatie Islam Nederland (Islamic Federation Foundation of the Netherlands), which PPME joined in 1973;⁷⁵⁴ the *Indonesische afdeling* of Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (Indonesian Section of Radio Netherlands Worldwide [RNW]), which had broadcast a religious programme featuring PPME Islamic preachers since 1977;⁷⁵⁵ a Suriname-Javanese association called Rukun Islam (RI, Islamic Pillars) for which PPME teachers taught Islam to its members from the early 1980s;⁷⁵⁶ the Nederlandsche Islamitische Parlement (NIP, Dutch Islamic Parliament), of which PPME was a member until 1985;⁷⁵⁷ a foundation for Surinamese-Javanese Muslims known as al-Jami'atul-Hasana (AJH, Good Congregation), with which PPME had established a long-term formal network (1989-2007);⁷⁵⁸ and, since 2007, links with a Turkish *hajj* (pilgrimage) travel agency called Haremeyn Vakfi (the Foundation of Haremeyn).⁷⁵⁹ It is worth noting that a number of PPME members had been featured by the Islamitische Omroep Stichting (IOS, Islamic Broadcasting Foundation) in a television programme on the process of converting to Islam.⁷⁶⁰

In terms of PPME's links outside the Netherlands, its boards have

⁷⁵⁴ Sekretaris, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976 PPME* (The Hague: PPME, August 31, 1976), The Hague, 11, and A. H. Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wilayah Nederland ke-5, 23-11- 1986* (PPME: The Hague, 27 November 1988), 11.

⁷⁵⁵ A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994, Musyawarah Wilayah ke-VII* (PPME: The Hague, 27 November 1994), 9.

⁷⁵⁶ Fauzi Kromosetiko (the chairman of Rukun Islam), interview, 6 February 2011, The Hague, and A. H. Maksum, interview, The Hague, 18 January 2011.

⁷⁵⁷ Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1984-1986*, 27.

⁷⁵⁸ Eskak Abdullah (the chairman of AJH), interview, 18 March 2011, Rotterdam.

⁷⁵⁹ Said Badjuber (a *hajj* program organizer of PPME in Amsterdam), telephone interview, 15 December 2011.

⁷⁶⁰ Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1984-1986*, 22.

made connections with few Muslim organizations. From the early 1970s until 1994, PPME was a member of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) in Riyadh.⁷⁶¹ Furthermore, during two weeks (from the end of 1978 to the beginning of 1979), PPME preachers delivered a series of Islamic lectures to the Stichting der Islamitische Gemeente in Suriname (SIS, Foundation of Islamic Community in Suriname).⁷⁶² From 2000 to 2010, however, there were no significant connections between PPME and groups outside the Netherlands or in Indonesia. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, Aaman Sulchan, the former chief of PPME in The Hague, elucidates:

There were PPME's founders, who spoke Arabic (a prerequisite to WAMY membership allowing them to become active members) and had learned Islam formally, namely, in a *pesantren* and/or university. They also spoke Javanese (making it possible for them to deliver Islamic lectures to the Javanese communities in Suriname). They had grown old whereas the younger cadres now running PPME simply did not have these skills or such educational backgrounds.⁷⁶³

Another reason is that PPME in this period was more concerned with internal consolidation.⁷⁶⁴ There had certainly been a number of internal issues requiring attention, such as the legalization of its branches, the establishment of its branch in Breda-Tilburg, and the internal conflict among PPME's congregation in Amsterdam, which resulted in the establishment of a new branch.

The abovementioned facts suggest that in the first decade of this century, the PPME's endeavour to establish links with non-Indonesian organizations was far more successful inside than outside the Netherlands. Despite the internal consolidation, PPME did not prevent its boards from forging significant ties with other organizations within the Netherlands, i.e. the *Indonesische afdeling* of RNW, Rukun Islam,

⁷⁶¹ Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, 22.

⁷⁶² Mochammad Chaeron, *Laporan Singkat dalam Rangka Perjalanan Da'wah ke Suriname: Stichting der Islamitische Gemeente in Suriname (SIS)* (The Hague: PPME, 10 January 1979), 18.

⁷⁶³ Aaman Sulchan, interview, 17 May 2008, *al-Hikmah Mosque*, The Hague.

⁷⁶⁴ A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999* (The Hague: PPME, 4 June 2000), 6-8.

AJH, and Haremeyn Vakfi. The contacts with these four organizations appear to be independent of political orientations and contribute to the efforts of PPME to solve its financial and infrastructural problems.

I. RNW's *Indonesische afdeling* (1977): Sermons and *al-Ittihaad*

The *Indonesische afdeling* of RNW, known as *Redaksi Indonesia* (Indonesian Desk) since early 2011, was one of the divisions of the RNW. This *afdeling*, along with the others, such as the Dutch, English and Spanish Divisions, was established on 15 April 1947.⁷⁶⁵ In 1948, the *afdeling* broadcast its first programme, called Radio Nederland Siaran Indonesia (Ranesi, Radio Netherlands Indonesian Broadcast).⁷⁶⁶ Because the aim of this broadcast was to provide information on current Dutch socio-political affairs and cultural developments specifically for all those living in Indonesia, the language used was Indonesian.⁷⁶⁷ In the early 1990s, the service was expanded to include current affairs in Indonesia, using not only Dutch, but also Indonesian sources.⁷⁶⁸

Ranesi, which aimed more towards listeners in Indonesia than to those in the Netherlands, developed a number of sources and information providers for its programming. Its programmes were broadcast, via Short Wave (SW) of 31, for one hour. The timing of the broadcast varied: between 18.00 and 19.00 European time, between 18.00 and 19.00 Indonesian western time, 19.00 and 20.00 Indonesian central time, and 20.00 and 21.00 Indonesian eastern time. There was

⁷⁶⁵ RNW English Section, "History of Radio Netherlands Worldwide," accessed 17 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/history-radio-netherlands-worldwide>, and Jean van de Kok (Senior Producer in the Indonesian Department), telephone interview, 14 March 2011.

⁷⁶⁶ See "Informasi Independen," in *Redaksi Indonesia, Panduan Frekuensi Ranesi mulai 27 Maret sampai 30 Oktober 2011* (Hilversum: Ranesi, n. y.), n.p., and Van de Kok, telephone interview, 14 March 2011.

⁷⁶⁷ Indrajanti Titus (coordinator of the *Indonesische afdeling* 1995-2005), interview, Utrecht Overvecht, 22 April 2011; See also Communicatie RNW, "About Radio Netherlands Worldwide," accessed 17 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/about-radio-netherlands-worldwide>, accessed 17 May 2011.

⁷⁶⁸ RNW Communicatie, "What is RNW's Mission," accessed 21 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/what-rnws-mission>; Indrajanti Titus, interview, 22 April 2011. See also "Ranesi Berperan Penting di Zaman Soeharto," accessed 6 March 2013, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/ranesi-berperan-penting-di-zaman-soeharto>.

another shortwave broadcast of 49 between 6.00 and 7.00 Indonesian western time.⁷⁶⁹ These SW broadcasts were sent via 95 Frequency Modulation (FM) radio stations in Indonesia which transmitted all or part of the Ranesi broadcasts. For instance, it established a partnership with Radio Suara Surabaya (Voice of Surabaya, East Java) and Radio Sonora (Jakarta).⁷⁷⁰ In the 1990s, the Ranesi began using the internet to transmit its message⁷⁷¹ and in 2009, there were also video broadcasts. These resulted in cooperation with a television station in Indonesia, Metro TV.⁷⁷² Consequently, it was much easier to access the Ranesi broadcasts, either live or recorded. The *afdeling* was abolished on 29 June 2012 following a 70% cut to the RNW budget. This RNW had recently focused its efforts and broadcasts on countries where freedom of speech and a free press remain absent.⁷⁷³

According to Indrajanti Titus, this *afdeling* did not have a specific policy of broadcasting religious programmes.⁷⁷⁴ However, the fact that Indonesia is a religious country as is explicitly mentioned in the first principle of *Pancasila* (Indonesian State Philosophy), Belief in One God,⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁶⁹ “Radio Nederland Wereldomroep Siaran Bahasa Indonesia,” in Redaksi Indonesia, *Panduan Frekuensi Ranesi mulai 27 Maret sampai 30 Oktober 2011* (Ranesi: Hilversum, n.y.), n.p. Up to mid-2012, the broadcast schedules for both the morning and night have remained relatively unchanged. See Redaksi Indonesia, “Siaran Pagi dan Malam,” accessed 17 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/siaran-pagi-dan-malam>.

⁷⁷⁰ See “Stasiun Mitra Ranesi Radio Nederland Worldwide,” accessed 8 June 2011, <http://www.bing.com/search?q=radio+nederland+siaran+Indonesia+kerja+sama+dengan+dengan+radio+surabaya+dan+jakarta&src=IE-SearchBox&FORM=IE8SRC>.

⁷⁷¹ “Radio Nederland Wereldomroep Siaran Bahasa Indonesia,” in Redaksi Indonesia, *Panduan Frekuensi Ranesi mulai 27 Maret sampai 30 Oktober 2011*, n.p. See also RNW English Section, “History of Radio Netherlands Worldwide,” accessed 17 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/history-radio-netherlands-worldwide>.

⁷⁷² “Video dan TV,” in Redaksi Indonesia, *Panduan Frekuensi Ranesi mulai 27 Maret sampai 30 Oktober 2011*, n.p. See also Communicatie RNW, “About Radio Netherlands Worldwide,” accessed 17 May 2011. <http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/about-radio-netherlands-worldwide>.

⁷⁷³ Tabik, “Radio Nederland Siaran Indonesia Mohon Diri,” accessed 6 March 2013, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/radio-nederland-siaran-indonesia-mohon-diri>. See also “Origins,” accessed 6 March 2013, <http://corporate.rnw.nl/english/article/origins>.

⁷⁷⁴ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011.

⁷⁷⁵ See also Douglas Edward Ramage, *Ideological Discourse in the Indonesian New Order: State, Ideology and the Beliefs of an Elite 1985-1993* (PhD Thesis, University of South Carolina, 1993), 58.

could not be ignored and so, according to Titus, it finally included the religious programmes in its broadcasts.⁷⁷⁶ For example, the program *santapan rohani* (spiritual nourishment) was provided for Christians. It was broadcast every Sunday morning and night. *Mimbar Jum'at*, which was intended for Muslims, was broadcast on Friday. It is worth noting that there were no such programmes for adherents of Hinduism, Buddhism and *Aliran Kepercayaan* (Traditional Belief Systems).⁷⁷⁷ As the *afdeling* was neutral from the religious broadcasts, it would be plausible for its organizers to select the two religions mostly adhered by Indonesian people for the programs. Otherwise, if they were to devote airtime to other religions, then religious programming would dominate Ranesi broadcasts. Titus informs that other RNW divisions, such as those of the Latin America and Arabic, never broadcasted religious programming.⁷⁷⁸

The sermons of the religious programmes were recorded. These recordings were allocated for four to five weeks. Every Saturday at 13.00, PPME preachers, mostly living in The Hague, recorded their sermons for the coming weeks and the preacher delivered one sermon in one broadcast. Catholic and Protestant preachers recorded their sermons on Saturday on different dates.⁷⁷⁹ Each PPME preacher prepared five minutes worth of material.⁷⁸⁰ Hence, the sensitive contents of their recorded materials could be edited before they were broadcasted.

The PPME preachers' contribution and support for the *mimbar Jum'at* programme is the result of a connection between one of them and the coordinator of the *Indonesische afdeling*, Ardamarisudji, frequently called Sudji. She frequently visited the Indonesian Embassy with the intention to broadcast certain events such as the commemoration of Indonesian independence and religious festivities such as *'id al-fiṭr*, *'id al-aḍḥā*, and Christmas. There she met members of the embassy staff

⁷⁷⁶ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011 and see Yunita Rovroy, "Ranesi Berperan Penting di Zaman Soeharto," accessed 11 March 2013, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/ranesi-berperan-penting-di-zaman-soeharto>.

⁷⁷⁷ Van de Kok, telephone interview, 14 March 2011. See also: Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, 9.

⁷⁷⁸ Ibid. and Van de Kok, telephone interview, 14 March 2011.

⁷⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁰ Maksum, interview, The Hague, 18 March 2011.

in charge of the Information Section and also members of PPME's board, specifically, Maksum.⁷⁸¹ The informal meetings between Sudji and Maksum initiated PPME's connection with the Indonesian Division of RNW.

The contact began in 1977. A KBRI staff member, working in the Information Section, put a member of PPME's board in touch with Sudji. She received a letter from Sudji that requested to invite Indonesian Islamic preachers [not necessarily from PPME] to participate in the programme that would later be known as *mimbar Jum'at*. She, in turn, passed on the letter to her husband, A. H. Maksum, who was the vice-chairman of PPME in the Netherlands. Thereupon, Maksum responded by telephoning Sudji a call announcing that PPME was prepared to participate in the programme.⁷⁸² So, he could establish a link between the two organizations through his wife; not as Hisyam states that the coordinator of the Indonesian *afdeling* contacted Maksum directly.⁷⁸³

Maksum invited two other persons to join. They were Sulchan (the first to deliver an Islamic speech for the *mimbar*) and Alinegara, the coordinator of the PPME's *da'wa* section.⁷⁸⁴ As a result, Alinegara, Sulchan and Maksum, himself, all contributed recordings for the programme. It is also worth noting that another PPME preacher, Mohammed Syukur, was involved in supporting the programme in the early 1980s. He was invited to replace Alinegara, who could not continue with his contribution. This occurred because Alinegara had to spend more time running his restaurant in The Hague and had a personal conflict with the chairperson of PPME in the Netherlands; therefore, he decided to exclude himself from PPME.⁷⁸⁵ His exclusion and reluctance to share half of his fee received from the coordinator of the Indonesian *afdeling* as a result of delivering Islamic speeches for the *mimbar* were the factors bringing about his discontinuity.

⁷⁸¹ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011.

⁷⁸² Maksum, interview, 18 March 2011.

⁷⁸³ See: Muhammad Hisyam, *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa (Young Muslim Association in Europe): Sekilas Sejarah dan Peranannya dalam Dakwah Islam di Nederland* (PPME/YMAE: The Hague, August 1996), 74.

⁷⁸⁴ Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1999*, 9, Maksum, interview, 18 January 2011.

⁷⁸⁵ Maksum, interview, 18 January 2011.

Because of these, in 1982 PPME in the Netherlands did not recommend the participation of Alinegara in the *mimbar*⁷⁸⁶ and asked for Syukur to replace him. Together, the three PPME preachers supported and contributed to the programme until the early 1990s.⁷⁸⁷

The Islamic preachers responded favourably to Sudji's request for two reasons. They could deliver their Islamic sermons for RNW; besides, this provided a financial contribution to the mortgage acquired by PPME's board, to alleviate the financial burden of the PPME, which was the second reason. They took turns to record their Islamic sermons for the *mimbar Jum'at* programme, broadcast every Friday to Muslims all over Indonesia, to a wider audience. The subjects of these sermons were generally associated with *aqīda* (faith) and *akhlāq* (behavior).⁷⁸⁸ The fact that *mimbar* chimed with PPME's objective to endorse and support the Islamic preaching activities of its members was certainly a determining factor in the board's decision to respond positively to Sudji's request.

The discussion here, on PPME's radio sermons, will centre on one particular broadcast relating to *aqīda*, which became a catalyst for polemics between a PPME preacher and his non-Muslim listeners in Indonesia. Having supported and contributed to the *mimbar Jum'at* programme for seven years, Maksum – Karel Steenbrink called him an 'unsalaried professional imam'⁷⁸⁹ – preached a sermon entitled "Nabi Isa dalam al-Qur'an dan Injil" (The Prophet Isa in the Quran and the Bible)" on 20 April 1984.⁷⁹⁰ Rather than presenting comparative perspectives on the subject – referring to The Quran and The Bible, he chose to address two specific points on the basis of Quranic verses. One point

⁷⁸⁶ See Amir Al-Hajri to the chairperson of PPME Nederland, letter no. 03/KIV/VI/82, 7 June 1982. See also A. H. Maksum to Amir al-Hajri and M. Surya Alinegara, letter, p. 2, 11 June 1982.

⁷⁸⁷ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011.

⁷⁸⁸ Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁷⁸⁹ Karel Steenbrink, *Colonial and Postcolonial Muslims from Indonesia in the Netherlands* (unpublished paper, n.d. and n.y.), 7. See also Mufti Ali, "The Contextualization of Figh al-'Ibadah among Indonesian Religious Teachers and Their Communities in the Circles of the PPME in Amsterdam and The Hague," in *Hamdard Islamicus* 30, no. 2 (April-June 2007): 68-69.

⁷⁹⁰ A. H. Maksum, "Nabi Isa dalam al-Qur'an dan Injil," in *Al-Ittihaad* 19, Maart-April 1988, 22.

pertained to the status of Isa as a prophet, rather than as the Messiah, which Christians believed. The other point pertained to the Crucifixion. According to Maksum, the person on the cross was not Isa (Jesus) but someone else, perhaps someone resembling him.⁷⁹¹ Thus, Maksum presented a theological idea which is very sensitive for Christians who held opposing views to that of the Islamic preacher.

This particular radio broadcast, which was also listened to by non-Muslims, elicited considerable responses in the form of letters delivered to *mimbar Jum'at*'s producer. A number of listeners protested about the contents of Maksum's sermon and one of them even objected to the existence of the programme of *mimbar Jum'at* itself. On 21 April 1984, Johan (a pseudonym) argues that the contents of Maksum's sermon insulted the beliefs of Christians who were, at that time, celebrating Easter. According to Johan, the sermon rejected the religious tolerance adhered to in Indonesia. On 30 April 1984, another listener called Anton (a pseudonym) voiced his disapproval. Like Johan, Anton argues that Maksum's sermon challenged Christian doctrines and insulted Christians. In addition, Anton demanded that the RNW broadcast should be discontinued. Another opponent of the preacher, Freddy (a pseudonym), sent a letter to the programme's producer in May 1984. Holding similar views to the previous two listeners, Freddy demanded that the preacher cease criticizing the beliefs of other religions and maintain religious tolerance on the basis of *Pancasila*.⁷⁹²

In response, Maksum claimed that his sermon referred to Islamic teachings and was aimed at strengthening the belief of Muslim listeners in Indonesia. He opined that it was impossible not to touch on the belief of Christians when dealing with these subjects. Furthermore, he said that his sermon was meant to protect Muslims and prevent them from becoming confused when they heard or read contradictory sermons

⁷⁹¹ See Maksum, *Nabi Isa*, 22-24. With regard to the crucifixion of an individual resembling the Prophet Isa, no Quranic verse or prophetic tradition clearly identifies such an individual. According to experts on Quranic exegesis, such as Ibn Jarir and Ibn Katsir, the person was one of the Prophet Isa's students. See Muslih Abdul Karim, *Isa dan al-Mahdi di Akhir Jaman* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2005), 60.

⁷⁹² "Surat-surat Tanggapan dari Pendengar Siaran Mimbar Jum'at," in *Al-Ittihaad* 19, Maart-April 1988, 25-31.

from Christian preachers on the subjects.⁷⁹³ As a consequence, taking into account the fact that Indonesian Christians were celebrating Easter at that time,⁷⁹⁴ the preacher rejected the opponents' views on tolerance:

Religious tolerance is not compromise or self-control, which would finally lead to the rise of social unrest among religious adherents.... It is, according to me, the attitude of respect for the followers of other religions, regardless of the fact that the contents of their holy books, which may be at variance with Islam's holy book. Therefore, Muslims should not be confused with the conflicting opinion expressed by people of another religion, on the status of Isa and the person on the cross. For instance, according to Islam, Isa is the prophet and messenger of Allah and this status is similar to His other prophets and messengers. There may be a statement in another holy book that he has different status. This should not hurt Muslim feelings. Similarly, Isa was, according to another holy book, stated to have passed away on the cross whereas in the Qur'an he does not pass away. This also should not hurt their feelings...That is tolerance, i.e. the agreement to respect different beliefs. ...For Muslims, the important thing is the freedom to deliver Islamic speeches and apply its teaching according to the Indonesian 1945 constitution [...]. This freedom can also be found in the Netherlands like the broadcast of the *mimbar Jum'at* itself.⁷⁹⁵

His views on religious tolerance finally led him to conclude that the opponents' objections to his sermon were not warranted.⁷⁹⁶ He even invited them to continue their polemics on the basis of searching for and delivering the truth.⁷⁹⁷ Such an invitation would require not only Islamic knowledge,⁷⁹⁸ but also would position Maksum as a preacher who was willing to challenge his opponents.

In fact, article 29 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution provides

⁷⁹³ A. H. Maksum, "Jawaban atas Surat-surat Tanggapan," in *Ibid*, 32-36.

⁷⁹⁴ Maksum, interview, 18 January 2011.

⁷⁹⁵ Maksum, "Jawaban atas Surat-surat Tanggapan," 37-38.

⁷⁹⁶ Maksum, interview, 18 January 2011.

⁷⁹⁷ Maksum, "Jawaban atas Surat-surat Tanggapan," 37.

⁷⁹⁸ See Shadiq Amin, *Mencari Format Gerakan Dakwah Ideal* (Jakarta: al-I'tishom Cahaya Umat, 2006), 46-47.

freedom to embrace and exercise legally recognized religious teachings or beliefs. One is also free to do so in the Netherlands – “the state [...] refrains, albeit within certain legal limits, from interfering with the internal affairs of communities based on a religion or a philosophy of life.”⁷⁹⁹ Moreover, the text of Maksum’s sermon was reviewed, before broadcast, by Sudji. According to Van de Kok (senior producer for the *Indonesische afdeling*), Sudji had selected the sermon, based on her knowledge of the Quran and the Bible. Sudji believed she was prudent in terms of protecting the feelings and beliefs of both Christians and Muslims and rejected materials that might be offensive to either group.⁸⁰⁰ However, in the case of Maksum, Sudji believed that he had a right to express his beliefs, his Islamic faith. Therefore, censoring his material would amount to censoring his faith. The decision was taken in the context of free speech. Polemics on religious subjects (mainly on theology) often took place.⁸⁰¹ Moreover, Maksum’s responses to his opponents followed the advice of Sudji – they were sent only to her and those who had protested.⁸⁰² As a result, PPME’s Islamic sermons via RNW continued for another ten years.

However, Maksum appears to have ignored his own advice on religious tolerance, i.e. to respect different beliefs – a point of view similar to that of Abou el-Fadl, who asserts that religious tolerance requires respect for theological diversity⁸⁰³ – when delivering an Islamic sermon entitled “The Prophet Isa in the Quran and the Bible.” Firstly, the title including the perspective of the Bible he chose suggested that he would deal with issues relating to Christianity. That would require specific knowledge of the Bible, which was beyond Maksum’s competence. Furthermore, his sermon, delivered as Christians were

⁷⁹⁹ Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, *Minderhedenbeleid*, Tweede Kamer, Zitting 1982-1983, 16 102, p. 110; See also Welmoet Boender and Meryem Kanmaz, “Imams in the Netherlands and Islam Teachers in Flanders,” in W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld (eds.), *Intercultural Relations and Religious Authorities: Muslims in the European Union* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 170-171.

⁸⁰⁰ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011.

⁸⁰¹ Van de Kok, telephone interview, 14 March 2011.

⁸⁰² Maksum, “Jawaban atas Surat-surat Tanggapan,” in *Al-Ittihaad* 19, March-April 1988, 38.

⁸⁰³ See Khaleed Abou el-Fadl, *The Place of Tolerance in Islam*, ed. Joshua Cohen and Ian Lague (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002), 13-18.

celebrating Easter, certainly did not appear to take into account “its impact on the rights and well-being of Christians,”⁸⁰⁴ or to show much of a sign of mutual respect for “the doctrines and practices of the Christians.”⁸⁰⁵ To some extent, this also challenged the New Order government’s attempt to establish national uniformity that was evident with the emergence of the policy (from the early to mid-1980s) of enforcing *Pancasila* as the sole principle for all political parties and social and professional organizations.⁸⁰⁶ This attempt included the repression of emerging conflicts caused by the problems of Suku, Agama, Ras, dan Antar Golongan (SARA, Ethnicity, Religion, Race and Social Groups) which had existed in Indonesia.

The second reason why the preachers of PPME supported the *mimbar Jum‘at* radio programme was financial. Many Muslim groups in Western Europe experienced financial problems, especially in relation to purchasing accommodation for their activities.⁸⁰⁷ This also happened to PPME. The fact was that taking part in the programme involved a monthly fee. Indeed, each of the preachers earned € 57 for five minutes of broadcasting. From 1977 to the early 1990s they allotted half of these fees, i.e. approximately € 136, to PPME.⁸⁰⁸ Their financial contribution was aimed at reducing the board’s financial burden; specifically, paying the monthly mortgage of € 363 used to purchase the *al-Ittihaad Muṣallā*.⁸⁰⁹ The preachers supported the agreement between PPME and the Indonesian *Afdeling* of RNW that their monthly fees would be delivered to the PPME’s bank account and, subsequently, PPME would pay the remaining half of the fees to the preachers.⁸¹⁰ In this

⁸⁰⁴ See Ibid. 4.

⁸⁰⁵ Cf. Azyumardi Azra, “Exploring Issues of Equality and Plurality: Inter-Religious Relations” (paper, Yogyakarta: Oslo Coalition on Freedom of Religion or Belief and UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 15-17 June 2004), 6.

⁸⁰⁶ Ramage, *Ideological Discourse in the Indonesian New Order*, 105-107.

⁸⁰⁷ W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, “Blaming the System or Blaming the Victims? Structural Barriers Facing Muslims in Western Europe,” in W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld (eds.), *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism*, 16-17.

⁸⁰⁸ Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland 1986-1988*, 21-22 and 51, and Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁸⁰⁹ A. Naf’an Sulchan, “Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla al-Ittihaad,” in *al-Ittihaad*, 1985, 13 and see Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986*, 13.

⁸¹⁰ Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011.

way, the preachers were able to contribute to the monthly mortgage, which was finally paid off at the end of 1986.⁸¹¹ *Al-Ittihaad*, situated at Daguerrestraat in The Hague, became a centre for PPME's religious and socio-cultural activities.⁸¹² Consequently, the PPME's financial problem could be partly solved through the preachers' contribution.

PPME's link with the *Indonesische afdeling* of RNW came to an end in the early 1990s, when the RNW promoted internal cooperation between its divisions. This was impossible to accomplish regarding religious programs which were absent in other sections.⁸¹³ *Mimbar Jum'at* itself came to an end in the late 1990s as the RNW also wanted to pay much more attention to actual socio-political and cultural developments rather than to theological issues.⁸¹⁴ However, this did not prevent PPME's preachers from maintaining their informal connections with the *afdeling*. The preachers were interviewed and asked to comment on diverse issues by Ranesi journalists. For instance, Alinegara was interviewed on 23 March 2008 about Geert Wilders' controversial film entitled *Fitna* (Strife);⁸¹⁵ Maksum was interviewed on 2 May 2011 about his opinions on the death of Osama bin Laden;⁸¹⁶ and he was also interviewed on 11 May 2012 about the Dutch government's new regulations on the call to prayer from mosques in the Netherlands.⁸¹⁷ Such interviews, which continued in the 2000s,⁸¹⁸ facilitated the informal connections between PPME and the *Indonesische afdeling* of RNW. Ranesi reported and covered issues such as controversy over the wearing of the *burqa* in Europe; the legal process related to the

⁸¹¹ See Maksum, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986*, 13.

⁸¹² Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁸¹³ Titus, interview, Utrecht Overvecht, 22 April 2011 and see also Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, 9.

⁸¹⁴ Titus, interview, 22 April 2011.

⁸¹⁵ Zulfikri, "Ihwal Film Fitna," accessed 16 February 2012, <http://dir.groups.yahoo.com/group/pakguruonline/message/3916>.

⁸¹⁶ Van de Kok, Warga "Muslim di Belanda tentang Kematian Osama," accessed 24 May 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/warga-muslim-indonesia-di-belanda-tentang-kematian-osama>.

⁸¹⁷ Bram Hendrawan, "Anekhkah Pengaturan Suara Azan," accessed 15 February 2012, <http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/anehkah-pengaturan-suara-azan>.

⁸¹⁸ Van de Kok, interview, 14 March 2011.

court case of Geert Wilders; and the violence against the followers of Ahmadiyah (a religious organization) in Indonesia partly provoked by the fatwa of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI, Indonesian Ulama Council) that it was a religious organization going astray. On these issues PPME could provide an opinion.⁸¹⁹ To put it in other words, the formal ending of relations between PPME and the *Indonesische afdeling* of RNW did not interfere with the interpersonal connections of the two sides. Of course, it was a mutually beneficial relationship as the Ranesi journalists got their stories and the PPME's preachers' were still able to widely deliver their Islamic message.

II. Rukun Islam (the Early 1980s): Providing Islamic Teachers

The Surinamese-Javanese organization called Rukun Islam (Islamic Pillars) was founded in 1980 as a *vereniging* (association).⁸²⁰ In the early 1980s its membership amounted to approximately 20 families; this had increased to around 250 families by early 2011.⁸²¹ Initially, members originated from three different religious backgrounds. Some of them were non-practicing Muslims; some were practicing Muslims, but did not perform their daily prayers facing the *qibla* (towards Mecca) – a group frequently called *madhep ngulon* (facing a western direction); and the remainder, a group often called *madhep ngetan* (facing an eastern direction), who did face the *qibla* when performing their daily prayers.⁸²² This last group refrained from performing pre-Islamic Javanese-Hinduism traditions,⁸²³ while many of the *madhep ngulon*

⁸¹⁹ Bari Muchtar (journalist of Siaran Indonesia of Radio Nederland Wereldomroep), interview, Hilversum, 6 April 2011.

⁸²⁰ Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 233.

⁸²¹ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011, The Hague.

⁸²² The Surinamese-Javanese group who faced a western direction, rather than the *qibla* (towards Mecca) when praying, developed this custom in Java and held on to this tradition in the Netherlands. Those who prayed facing an eastern direction lived in accordance with the Quranic prescription as much as possible. See: Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 201. See also, Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers*, 54. Furthermore, discussion of the *qibla* has been a significant part of the ongoing discourse about Javanese identity and since the Islamization of Java, efforts have been made to refute “the centrality of Mecca and the Arabization of Java.” Moch. Nur Ichwan, “Prayer in the Surinam-Javanese Diasporic Experience,” in *ISIM Newsletter* 3, (1999): 45. In sum, changing the direction of prayer is not a simple matter.

⁸²³ Nathal M. Dessing, *Rituals of Birth, Circumcision, Marriage, and Death among Muslims*

group practiced not only Islam, but also their pre-Islamic heritage, i.e. performing *kendurenan* (often called *slametan*, festivities for safety) using *menyanan* (burning incense) and *sajenan* (providing offerings).⁸²⁴ These are, according to Geertz, primary elements of *Abangan* religious tradition.⁸²⁵ This variety of religious conditions among the congregation (who, since 1995, have owned premises at the Schalk Burgerstraat 308, The Hague, for their socio-religious activities)⁸²⁶ stimulated Rukun Islam's board to invite PPME's teachers to talk to its members.

The invitation issued to PPME's religious teachers by the board of the Rukun Islam to provide Islamic teaching was in line with the religious objective of association, i.e. that its members should implement the five pillars of Islam in their life.⁸²⁷ The invitation had its roots in early connections between PPME's teachers and Rukun Islam members. In early 1980, for example, Maksum, Asief Ishom and Sulchan attended the commemoration for the birthday of Prophet Muhammad held in The Hague and hosted by the Stichting of Djami'atul Islam al-Fatah Nederland (DIAN, Foundation of the Pioneering Islamic Community),⁸²⁸ a Surinamese-Javanese Muslim organization which had been founded on 25 December 1978.⁸²⁹ During this event, Maksum, Ishom and Sulchan met Saefullah Kadi, a member of Rukun Islam's board. This meeting, in turn, stimulated PPME's board to invite him and his fellow Javanese-Surinamese Muslims to attend PPME activities, such as performing *tarāwīḥ* prayers (night prayers during *Ramadan*) and Islamic wedding ceremonies held at PPME's *al-Ittihaad* prayer room in The Hague as well as the inauguration of *al-Hikmah* Mosque. Even though the mosque had already been purchased in 1996 and the PPME congregation performed their Friday prayers there, *al-Ittihaad* was still used at the request of Surinamese-Javanese Muslims, who did not yet

in the Netherlands (PhD Dissertation, Leiden University, 19 September 2001), 17.

⁸²⁴ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸²⁵ See Clifford Geertz, *Religion of Java* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960), 11. See also Andrew Beatty, *Varieties of Javanese Religions: An Anthropological Account* (UK, USA, Australia, Spain and South Africa: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 28.

⁸²⁶ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

⁸²⁹ See Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 232.

own a centre of activity at that moment, for their Friday prayers and who preferred to attend their sermons delivered in Javanese.⁸³⁰

Certainly, PPME's teachers spoke Javanese and their Islamic knowledge had been recognized early on by Rukun Islam's members. From the early 1980s they were invited to provide Islamic teaching to members in Javanese, rather than in Dutch. Kadi Syaefullah asserted: "At that time, PPME's teachers taught Islamic teaching in Javanese to the members of Rukun Islam who were mostly first-generation immigrants to the Netherlands who were Javanese speakers with a slight understanding of Islam."⁸³¹ Furthermore, Fauzi Kromosetiko, the chairman of Rukun Islam, has emphasized that: "We invite the teachers because they understand Islam better than we do."⁸³² The teachers in question were Maksum and Sulchan, both of whom learned Islam in Baghdad,⁸³³ and Ishom, who acquired Islamic knowledge at al-Azhar University.⁸³⁴ The PPME teachers weekly instructed a group of 30 to 50 members of Rukun Islam in reciting the Quran and Islamic *aqīda* (faith). The meetings were held at their accommodation on the Majubastraat in The Hague.⁸³⁵

In addition to the three teachers, since 1985, M. Syukur,⁸³⁶ another PPME teacher who speaks Bugis, not Javanese, has been involved in delivering Islamic teaching to the congregation of Rukun Islam.⁸³⁷ His involvement indicates a shift in the focus of the Rukun Islam's board. Indeed, the board now preferred people who could speak Dutch

⁸³⁰ Saefullah Kadi (former chairperson of Rukun Islam), telephone interview, 27 February 2011, The Hague. See also A. Naf'an Sulchan, "Sejarah Ringkas Mushalla 'al-Ittihaad'," in *al-Ittihaad*, 13 July 1985, 14.

⁸³¹ Kadi, telephone interview, 27 February 2011. See also Anja van Heelsum, et al., *Muslim in Nederland: Islamitische organisaties in Nederland* (The Hague: SCP, July 2004), 20.

⁸³² Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸³³ Certificate no. 32585 of College of Islamic Law Sharea (Iraq: University of Baghdad, 4 October 1970). *Al-Tasjil 1222 of 'Imādatu Kulliyat al-Imam al-A'zam* (al-Jumhuriyya al-'Irāqiyya: Riāsa Diwan al-Awqaf, 7 July 1972). Dzanun Mujahid (a relative of Ishom), interview, The Hague, 13 February 2011.

⁸³⁴ Ashif Ishom, interview, The Hague, 12 February 2012.

⁸³⁵ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸³⁶ He was editor in chief of *al-Ittihaad* (a PPME magazine) at the end of the 1980s. See *Al-Ittihaad*, July-August 1989, n.p.

⁸³⁷ *Ibid.*

fluently rather than their proficiency in Javanese. Syukur graduated from Sekolah Guru Atas (SGA, Senior High School for Islamic Teachers) of Makassar (South Sulawesi, formerly known as South Celebes) in 1959. His working language for teaching at the Rukun Islam was Dutch.⁸³⁸ The Rukun Islam preference for Dutch is evident from the fact that Ishom, who originated from Gombong, Central Java, regularly delivered Islamic teaching to the Surinamese-Javanese congregation in Dutch and not in Javanese.⁸³⁹ According to Kromosetiko, this need for the Dutch language stemmed from the fact that many of Rukun Islam's congregation were younger, second-generation Surinamese-Javanese who had been born in the Netherlands and were more fluent in Dutch than in Javanese.⁸⁴⁰ This fact differs from Ichwan's viewpoint that the younger generation no longer spoke Javanese.⁸⁴¹ It is worth noting that the involvement of Ishom and Syukur contributed to the absence of Maksum and Sulchan in the Rukun Islam after 1985.

The decision to replace Maksum and Sulchan⁸⁴² with Syukur and Ishom was evident because their religious backgrounds were stronger than their Dutch language abilities. As Kromosetiko argues, both Maksum and Sulchan were Traditionalists, while Syukur and Ishom had a more reformist religious orientation, i.e. "a reliance on the Qur'an instead of the commentaries of Muslim scholars; the simplification of ceremony; and the purge of saint and spirit worship, and of any other idolatry which distracts from allegiance to the one God."⁸⁴³ Syukur stated: "My *aqīda* (faith) is similar to that of the reformist Moh. Natsir of the DDII."⁸⁴⁴ With regards to Ishom, he comes from a family that ran

⁸³⁸ Moh. Syukur, interview, The Hague, 31 January 2011.

⁸³⁹ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁴¹ Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Prayer in the Surinam-Javanese Diasporic Experience," 43.

⁸⁴² A. Naf'an Sulchan was formally educated as an *imam* in Iraq. He was born in Jepara, Middle Java, on 10 November 1946. Al-Tasjil 1222 of 'Imādatu Kulliyat al-Imam al-A'zam (al-Jumhuriyya al-'Irāqiyya: Riāsa Diwan al-Awqaf, 7 July 1972). Recently he has been leading PPME's congregation in performing their tahlilan, part of the religious practices of Indonesian traditionalist Muslims.

⁸⁴³ James L. Peacock, *Purifying the faith: The Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*, 2nd ed. (USA: Arizona State University, 1992), 3. See also Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 14-16.

⁸⁴⁴ Syukur, interview, 31 January 2011. See also Thohir Luth, *M. Natsir: Dakwah dan*

an Islamic boarding school called Pondok Pesantren dan Madrasah Wathoniyah Islamiyah (PPMWI, Islamic Boarding and Islamic National School) in Barongan, Banyumas. His family favoured Masyumi.⁸⁴⁵ Ishom added: “In our *pesantren* the atmosphere of reformist *wahhābī*, which Saudi Arabia adheres to, was prominent.”⁸⁴⁶ This reformist background seems to be in line with the religious orientation of Rukun Islam, i.e. the purification of its socio-cultural religious activities⁸⁴⁷ by performing Islam on the basis of the Qur’an and the Prophet Muhammad’s Traditions, and terminating Javanese-Hinduism traditions.⁸⁴⁸ This is similar to what Kromosetiko states: “On the basis of the two sources, the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad’s Traditions, we [the board and the members of Rukun Islam] perform Islamic instructions and obey Islamic prohibitions.”⁸⁴⁹ Certainly, this religious orientation has contributed to the absence of traditionalist Javanese-speaking teachers in the organization.

The purification fostered by the board of Rukun Islam became more evident in the late 1980s. It began when a *dā’ī* (preacher) called Muslikh became an Islamic teacher for the association between 1987 and 1988. He came from Semarang and was an Islamic preacher affiliated with Dār al-Iftā’ (the House of Deliverance of Legal Formal Opinions) of Saudi Arabia.⁸⁵⁰ After having preached among the Javanese community in Suriname, in 1987 he visited his brother-in-law, Ali Ahmad, in the

Pemikirannya (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1999), 32.

⁸⁴⁵ Ishom, interview, 12 February 2012. Masyumi was an Islamic party in the Old Order period, backed by Indonesian reformist Muslims especially after the traditionalist wing, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), split from it in 1952.

⁸⁴⁶ Ishom, interview, 12 February 2012.

⁸⁴⁷ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011. See also Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 233.

⁸⁴⁸ See Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers*, 72.

⁸⁴⁹ Kromosetiko, interview, 6 February 2011.

⁸⁵⁰ Dār al-Iftā’ (the Riyadh-based Presidency for Scientific Research and Religious Edicts), is an affiliate of the Council of Senior Islamic Scholars, headed by Saudi Arabia’s Grand Mufti Sheikh Abdul Aziz Alī. One prominent Islamic scholar who joined this dar is Sheykh Muhammad ibn Salih al-‘Uthaymin [a Sheykh often linked to Salafi groups]. See “Saudi Arabia Launches Website for Authentic Fatwas,” accessed 30 May 2011, <http://muslimstoday.wordpress.com/2007/10/07/saudi-arabia-launches-website-for-authentic-fatwas/>. See also Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers*, 72.

Netherlands. Ahmad was the imam of PPME Amsterdam, which had changed its name to Euromoslim in mid-2010. Because of the fact that Syukur and Ishom had jobs to make a living and could not devote all their time to Rukun Islam, the presence of Muslikh in the country drew great attention from the board of Rukun Islam and they invited him to become a teacher to its members. He accepted and, in addition to teaching the reciting of the Qur'an, between 1987 and 1988 he delivered a series of weekly lectures on diverse Islamic subjects in Javanese on Friday night and Sunday. Kromosetiko gives us an impression on Muslikh's influence.

We (the board and the members of Rukun Islam) ...have been trained by Muslikh how to perform Islam *cara Qur'an lan Hadits* (Islam according to the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad's Traditions). For instance, according to him, it is permitted to burn one kilogram of incense as long as you read Sura al-Fātiḥa (The Opening of the Quran). *Alḥamdulillāh* (Praise be to God), Javanese-Hinduism traditions like the *kenduren* with *sesajen* (offerings) such as *jenang abang* (red porridge), *jenang ijo* (green porridge), and *pitik ingkung* (offering an entire chicken) are no longer practiced in Rukun Islam. The coming of Muslikh has contributed to the gradual elimination of such practices.⁸⁵¹

Engaging Muslikh, who spoke Javanese rather than Dutch, suggests how much importance the board of Rukun Islam attached to the purification agenda. In Kromosetiko's words, due to Muslikh's teaching, *kenduren* (frequently called *slametan*) has no longer been performed by the Rukun Islam congregation since 1990.⁸⁵²

Up to April 2011, PPME's reformists remained involved with *Rukun Islam*. In fact, throughout the 1990s, Syukur and Ishom were the only ones. In early 2000, a third Islamic teacher, Remi Sukirman, who is a graduate of the Faculty of Uṣul al-Dīn (Theology) at the Islamic University of Medina (Jāmi'at al-Madīna) and a typesetter of Dar al-

⁸⁵¹ Ibid. See also Moch. Nur Ichwan, "Prayer in the Surinam-Javanese Diasporic Experience," 36.

⁸⁵² See Moh. Khusen, "Pertarungan Identitas dan Pengalaman Diaspora dalam Ritual Slametan Komunitas Muslim Jawa Suriname di Belanda," accessed 6 February 2011, <http://mohkhusen.staff.stainsalatiga.ac.id/2013/01/21/pertarungan-identitas-dan-pengalaman-diaspora-dalam-ritual-slametan-komunitas-muslim-jawa-suriname-di-belanda/> (paper, DIKTIS Kemenag, ACIS, October 10-13, 2011), n.p.

'Ilm (House of Knowledge) in the Netherlands, joined.⁸⁵³ Sukirman, a Surinamese-Javanese teacher, who only speaks a little Javanese, has regularly delivered Islamic sermons to the congregation in Dutch.⁸⁵⁴ In fact, Sukirman is now regarded as the main imam of the Surinamese-Javanese association. Despite the newcomers, Ishom and Syukur remain Islamic teachers at Rukun Islam.

III. Al-Jami'atul Hasana (the Late 1980s): The Quest for a Centre of Activities

Al-Jami'atul Hasana or AJH, is a Surinamese-Javanese foundation that was founded in 1985 in Rotterdam by Kasmoerie, a Surinamese-Javanese Muslim *imam* (leader of prayers).⁸⁵⁵ He had been a member of stichting der Islamitische gemeente in Suriname (SIS, Foundation of the Islamic Community in Suriname) and had no formal Islamic education. AJH was legalised in 1989.⁸⁵⁶ It was initially established to raise awareness in Rotterdam's Surinamese-Javanese community of their Islamic obligation to perform daily prayers, which was, on the whole, being neglected at that time. This goal stimulated other objectives, i.e. providing lessons in Quranic recitation, Arabic, Islamic knowledge, traditional dance (*serimpi*, a palace dance from Central Java),⁸⁵⁷ and providing information on political and socio-cultural subjects, mainly, pertaining to the Netherlands.⁸⁵⁸ Therefore, AJH tends to be a Muslim organization which focuses on the "shaping of norms, values and behaviours of their own group."⁸⁵⁹ Because of these objectives, the membership of AJH increased by 40 percent, reaching

⁸⁵³ Firdaus Queslati, "Non-Formal Higher Education in The Netherlands: With Some Comparative Notes on France and the United Kingdom," in Drees and Van Koningsveld, *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe*, 411.

⁸⁵⁴ Remi Sukirman, interview, The Hague, 6 February 2011.

⁸⁵⁵ Kasmoeri (the first chairperson and founder of Stichting al-Jami'atul Hasana), interview, The Hague, 17 April 2011. See also Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers*, 64.

⁸⁵⁶ Kasmoeri, interview, 17 April 2011.

⁸⁵⁷ Kontributor Solo, "Solor Gelar Mangkunegaran Performing Arts," accessed 8 June 2011, http://www.jatengprov.go.id/?mid=wartadaera&listStyle=gallery&document_srl=18978.

⁸⁵⁸ See Towikromo, *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers*, 64, and Ali Redjo (former secretary of Stichting al-Jami'atul Hasana), interview, 18 March 2011, Rotterdam.

⁸⁵⁹ Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 91.

about 60 families by early May 2011.⁸⁶⁰

Links between the PPME branch in Rotterdam and AJH have existed since the late 1980s. PPME involved its members, rather than its religious teachers, in establishing its link with AJH. During *Ramadan* in 1988 Nina (Indonesian) and her Surinamese-Javanese husband, Johnny Kasijo, were invited by Kasmorie to perform the *tarāwīḥ* prayers together with the AJH congregation. The prayers were held in a house in Rotterdam Zuid that belonged to Moesirah, a Surinamese acquaintance of Kasmorie.⁸⁶¹ Nina was born in West Sumatra. Her parents are originally Surinamese-Javanese though, and her husband comes from Surinam, as well.⁸⁶² The couples' Surinamese-Javanese background was certainly a factor in the invitation being issued. According to Kasmorie: "I first met Nina and Johnny Kasijo when they attended the funeral of a Surinamese-Javanese called Ponidjan, an AJH member in Rotterdam Zuid, in 1987. There I asked them to join and help the foundation. As a result, she and her husband have assisted its cultural activities, in particular, teaching *serimpi*, a Javanese traditional dance."⁸⁶³

This acquaintance with Kasmorie enabled the couple to meet other members of AJH's board, among them, Reso and Ali Redjo.⁸⁶⁴ It is worth noting that Kasmorie only invited the Surinamese couple, who had a Surinamese background and not other members of PPME.⁸⁶⁵ After having been invited by Kasmorie to participate in the *tarāwīḥ* program, in the following year the couple approached PPME's board in Rotterdam with a proposal to invite AJH to join PPME for such events. The board approved of the idea and, as a result, prior to *Ramaḍan* in 1989, T. Razali, on behalf of PPME, invited AJH to join PPME in performing the *tarāwīḥ* prayers in his house at the Hooidrft in Rotterdam. AJH welcomed the invitation. This invitation appears to have provided a solution to the Surinamese-Javanese association's

⁸⁶⁰ Abdullah, interview, 3 February 2011, Rotterdam Zuid.

⁸⁶¹ Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011, Rotterdam Zuid.

⁸⁶² Kasmorie, interview, 17 April 2011, Rotterdam.

⁸⁶³ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁴ Redjo, interview, Rotterdam, 18 March 2011.

⁸⁶⁵ Kasmorie, interview, 17 April 2011.

quest for a place to carry out this annual activity and both parties welcomed the plan.⁸⁶⁶ PPME's invitation certainly did not deviate from its by-laws, which accommodated the involvement of non-Indonesian members, including Dutch, Thai and Surinamese, in its activities.

The need to provide accommodation for religious and socio-cultural activities has been a central issue for Muslims in the Netherlands, mainly due to the high costs involved and the need for permits, etc.⁸⁶⁷ Such a need also became the concern of PPME and AJH, which had no such an accommodation. In addition, the high cost of purchasing such an accommodation was another incentive for PPME to establish connections with AJH from 1990 onwards. By 1990 the PPME responded positively to the invitation of AJH to the performing of joint activities in a jointly rented room of the Centrum Santoso (Centre of Unity) belonging to the Surinamese-Javanese Foundation Setoedjoe Anggawe Santoso (United We Stand, Setasan) at Van Eversdijkstraat 31, in Rotterdam. As a consequence, each needs to pay approximately € 57 per month to the Setasan.⁸⁶⁸ Moreover, in the rented room, they performed their weekly socio-religious activities, but on differing days. PPME used the room on Saturday, whereas AJH used it on Sunday. On other days, the room was also used for socio-cultural activities, for instance, for playing *qasidah* music (which will be discussed later on) by some members of the two organizations on Friday night⁸⁶⁹ and for the exercise of traditional Javanese dance on week nights.⁸⁷⁰ In general, they used the room on the weekend. They also jointly organized annual socio-religious activities, such as *ʿīd al-ḥijr*, *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*, the commemoration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, in addition to the *tarāwīḥ* programme.⁸⁷¹ These joint activities continued in the Santoso Centre until 2007. This need for accommodation for socio-religious activities contributed to PPME and AJH's enduring

⁸⁶⁶ Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

⁸⁶⁷ See Strijp, *Om de moskee*, 74-79. See also Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 61.

⁸⁶⁸ Abdullah, interview, 3 February 2011.

⁸⁶⁹ Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

⁸⁷⁰ Somohardjo, interview, 16 January 2011.

⁸⁷¹ Abdullah, interview, 18 March 2011.

formal connection.

Due to the separation of church from the state, the Dutch government has mostly been in favour of providing subsidies for Muslim migrants in the Netherlands on the basis of non-religious activities. Such subsidies had been a policy of the Dutch government since 1976 and part of their plan for dealing with Muslim migrants in the Netherlands.⁸⁷² Following the policy, in 2003, Kasijo, a PPME member who was interested in cultural activities, tried to strengthen PPME's ties with AJH by forming a music group called Qasidah as-Salaam (Peace Qaṣīda)⁸⁷³ He did so at the request of Rudie Somohardjo, the chairman of Stichting Setasan, who wanted to receive a regular subsidy from the municipality of Rotterdam.⁸⁷⁴ The music group had to perform *da'wa* (delivering Islamic teachings) through music.⁸⁷⁵ Indeed, Kasijo's mission was to preach Islam through music in the same way as Sunan Kalijaga, one of nine saints in Javanese history, had done. Kalijaga "taught Islam through local art and cultures such as shadow puppet theatre."⁸⁷⁶ In addition to guitar and piano, this group also employed a traditional musical instrument, the tambourine. This shows that both PPME and AJH not only allow, but also support the development of music performances for its *da'wa* – AJH seems to have a different character from Rukun Islam, especially, after the late 1980s (the beginning of its purification agenda) which no longer provided space for music in its *kendurens*.⁸⁷⁷ It was hoped that by using music as a medium for *da'wa* the young members of the two associations could be reached. Members of both PPME in Rotterdam and AJH were asked to join the band and Indonesian, Javanese, and Arabic religious songs

⁸⁷² See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Religious Freedom and the Position of Islam in Western Europe*, 28-33. See also: Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 53.

⁸⁷³ Qaṣīda is "an ancient Arabic poem having, as a rule, a rigid tripartite structure." Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton Cowan, 3rd ed. (New York: Spoken Language Service, 1976), 767.

⁸⁷⁴ Somohardjo, interview, 16 January 2011.

⁸⁷⁵ Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

⁸⁷⁶ See Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (USA: The University of Arizona Press, 1989), 96. See also Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 49.

⁸⁷⁷ Cf. Landman, *Van mat tot minaret*, 23; Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

were sung when this music group performed.⁸⁷⁸

In spite of the fact that the bylaws of PPME mentioned socio-cultural activities, the links among the band's proponents were personal. As mentioned before, Setasan also allowed the band to use the jointly rented room for their exercises before they performed fulfilling invitations from PPME, AJH, and others. PPME Rotterdam suggested that the group should be paid for their performances and that part of those fees should go to the PPME; AJH did not.⁸⁷⁹ However, the idea of commercialization was not part of the plan of the music group's founder. Kasijo found the notion of payment for his group's performances distasteful. What he only asked was the compensation for the transport cost of the band.⁸⁸⁰ Thus, as-Salaam made a cultural, rather than a financial contribution to PPME in Rotterdam. In 2010, the music group moved its activities from Centrum Santoso to Stichting Bebarengan Anngawe Rukuning Rakyat (BARR, Foundation for People's Harmony) at Dempostrat 143, Rotterdam.⁸⁸¹ Recently, the group have given concerts at socio-cultural events such as *halal bihalal* and the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, as well as other anniversaries. The existence of this music group illustrates how a number of people from PPME and AJH regularly connected for the same goal; to play religious music.

The relationship between PPME and AJH was also cemented by the fact that both sides were still searching for a permanent location for their activities. In fact, this led them to join forces and make plans to construct a mosque in Rotterdam. In late 2003, PPME Rotterdam invited the AJH to cooperate in realizing a plan of constructing, rather than acquiring, a building that would serve as a mosque and also as a centre for the religious and socio-cultural activities of both organizations.⁸⁸² AJH's board responded positively to the proposal and

⁸⁷⁸ Kasijo, interview, 15 January 2011.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁸¹ Martodikromo, *Jaarplan stichting BARR 2010 t/m 2013* (Rotterdam: Stichting Bebarengan Anggawe Rukuning Rakyat, 2010), 8 and 13.

⁸⁸² Razak, *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque*, 14-15.

pledged financial contributions to the project from its congregation.⁸⁸³ AJH's board contributed € 800 and a number of its members donated € 50 or more to the project.⁸⁸⁴

The fact was that up to March 2011, the funds collected were still not enough to realise the project to build a mosque and the tenancy of the room at Centum Santoso could no longer be extended. This contributed to the absence of formal cooperation between PPME Rotterdam and AJH between 2008 and March 2011. Their joint socio-religious activities also stopped. However, the personal connections between the two continued, although on an ad hoc basis. In addition to the gathering of the *qasidah* music, Kasijo and his wife continued to attend AJH's weekly socio-religious activities. Other PPME members made such personal contacts using their own means. For instance, Razak (an advisor to PPME Rotterdam), Jarwan⁸⁸⁵ and Ridwan preferred joint Friday prayers being held by AJH at a care home called Simeon en Anne at Strevelsweg 350 in Rotterdam. Razak also irregularly obtained opportunities to deliver Friday sermons in the weekly Islamic ritual.⁸⁸⁶

From what has been related above, it is clear that personal contacts between PPME members and the AJH have been instrumental in facilitating the establishment of an organizational connection of the two associations, which in turn were strengthened by the need to find a place for their religious and socio-cultural activities.

IV. Haremeyn Vakfi (2008): Paving the Way to Perform Pilgrimage to Mecca

...The special character of religion and life philosophy leads the Dutch government to take a neutral position in that matter and serves to let them be free.⁸⁸⁷ This is part of its policy of religious

⁸⁸³ Abdullah, interview, 3 February 2011.

⁸⁸⁴ Razak, Commissie voor de bouw van tafakkur moskee, nummer 2004/PPME/TAF/0068 t/m 83, 10 December 2003.

⁸⁸⁵ Djarwan has frequently visited Eskak Abdullah. T. Razali, the chairperson of PPME in Rotterdam, did the same in the 1980s and 1990s in order to maintain communication with al-Hasana's board. Abdullah, interview, 18 March 2011.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁷ See W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Religious Freedom and the Position of Islam in Western Europe: Opportunities and Obstacles in the Acquisition of Equal Rights (with*

freedom, enabling Muslims to arrange their *hajj* travel themselves. As a consequence, PPME made a connection with travel agencies, especially a Turkish foundation called Haremeyn Vakfi (the Haremeyn Foundation), to arrange a *hajj* (performing a pilgrimage to Mecca) programme for its members. This endeavour will be discussed in the current section. It is worth noting that the moment of performing the *hajj*, allowing Muslims to acquire a religious experience and also to feel united with other Muslims from all over the world,⁸⁸⁸ is arranged in the Netherlands by special *hajj* travel bureaus,⁸⁸⁹ including the Haremeyn Vakfi.

In fact, PPME had arranged the *hajj* for its members and sympathizers since the early 1970s. For instance, in April 1974, PPME set up a *hajj* program in which thirty people participated.⁸⁹⁰ A similar programme was offered in subsequent years, with 48 members making the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1975, 21 in 1976, 59 in 1977, 45 in 1978 and 5 in 1986.⁸⁹¹ However, between the late 1980s and 2009, the PPME could no longer make these organizational arrangements. This took place for two reasons. Firstly, the number of *hajj* travel agencies in the Netherlands had increased. There were a number of unofficial *hajj* travel agencies that were not registered with the Ministry of *Hajj* of Saudi Arabia, which PPME or individual members of PPME had cooperated with in organizing the *hajj* for its members and sympathizers. They were Stichting Hidayah, an Indonesian Foundation, Bali Indah, an Indonesian travel bureau, and Firdaus, an Eritrean *hajj* travel bureau. In addition to these, there

an Extensive Bibliography) (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 8-9. See also Minderhedenbeleid 16 102, Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, September 15, 1983, 110.

⁸⁸⁸ Douwes, Martijn de Koning, and Welmoet Boender (eds.), *Nederlandse moslims*, 62.

⁸⁸⁹ Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 160.

⁸⁹⁰ Sekretaris Umum, Notulen Rapat 20 April '74, 1-2, PPME, The Hague.

⁸⁹¹ DPP PPME, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976 PPME the Netherlands* (The Hague: PPME, 31 July 1976), 9, DPP YMAE, *Laporan Kerja 1976-1979* (Achen: YMAE, 1 June 1979), 7, A. H. Maksu, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag* (The Hague: PPME, November 23, 1986) 38, Sekretaris, *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976 PPME The Netherlands* (The Hague: PPME, July 31, 1976), 15, DPP YMAE, *Laporan Kerja 1976-1979* (Achen: YMAE) Appendix, 1-2, and A. H. Maksu, *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1986-1988 pada Musyawarah PPME Wilayah Nederland ke-5 26-27 November 1988 di Amsterdam* (The Hague: PPME, November 27, 1986), 21. See also DPP YMAE, *Laporan Kerja 1976-1979*, Appendix, 1-2.

were also sixteen *hajj* travel agencies, including the Haremeyn Vakfi (Haremeyn Foundation), that were officially registered by the ministry.⁸⁹² This increase appears to be in conformity with the observation by S. Pallida that in the Netherlands, tourism and transportation became sectors where Muslims who wanted to be self-employed started businesses.⁸⁹³ Secondly, there existed more requirements for organizing the *hajj*. In addition to the need to arrange accommodations in Saudi Arabia for the participants, there was a quota on the number of *hajj* visas a *hajj* travel agency could obtain from the government of Saudi Arabia. The visas, which were limited in number, were only given to a number of registered travel agents.⁸⁹⁴

Following these changes, from the early 1990s to 2001, such reasons made the PPME board conclude that to organize the *hajj*, the detailed information on the requirements that was required and the fulfillment of such requirements went beyond its means.⁸⁹⁵ So the decision was made to organize the *hajj* either in cooperation with official *hajj* agencies or to turn to members of the PPME to organize the *hajj* for its congregation.⁸⁹⁶ As a result, one member, Dzanun Mujahid⁸⁹⁷ organized the *hajj* programme in 1999 for 29 persons and for 45 persons in 2000, asking approximately € 1,590 per person.⁸⁹⁸

Because travel was the crucial factor when making arrangements

⁸⁹² "Approved Hajj Travel Agents: [The] Netherlands," accessed 31 March 2013, http://www.hajjinformation.com/hajj_agents.php?id=13. See also "Saoedische ambassade aaarschuwt voor malafide hadj-reisbureaus," accessed 12 February 2012, <http://www.moslimvandaag.nl/islam/2011/10/saoedische-ambassade-waarschuwt-voor-malafide-hadj-reisbureaus/>, accessed 12 February 2012.

⁸⁹³ See Imane Karich, "Economic Development of Muslim Communities," in Amghar, et al. (eds.), *European Islam*, 68.

⁸⁹⁴ A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, 8; Dzanun Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011, The Hague; A. Naf'an Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011, The Hague.

⁸⁹⁵ Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, The Hague, 4.

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁷ Mujahid was not the only person to the *hajj* for PPME's congregation and sympathizers. A. Naf'an Sulchan had also arranged a programme. The example of Mujahid is used here because of his connections with Haremeyn Vakfi, which contributed to the formal link between PPME Amsterdam and Vakfi.

⁸⁹⁸ A. Naf'an Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999*, 9.

for participants to perform the *hajj*,⁸⁹⁹ Mujahid made the necessary arrangements for their travel from the Netherlands, as well as in Saudi Arabia. This arrangement not only involved booking airline tickets, but also applying for *hajj* visas. To acquire the visas, he had to cooperate with official *hajj* travel agencies in the Netherlands, such as Haremeyn Vakfi, Stichting Hidayah and Firdaus, which had acquired a limited number of *hajj* visas and asked different prices for such a visa. The number of participants in Mujahid's programme was between 20 and 50 people and asked € 1,590 for PPME members and around € 1800 for non-PPME members.⁹⁰⁰ While the *hajj* visas were being organized, participants were also provided instructions for the *hajj* ritual,⁹⁰¹ frequently conducted in the *al-Hikmah* Mosque and in cooperation with the board of PPME in The Hague,⁹⁰² as well as the board of the mosque. To prepare the actual *hajj* in Saudi Arabia, Mujahid contacted his nephew, Ali Munif, and his family living there.⁹⁰³ They helped Mujahid in respect of arranging accommodations, food, and transport during the *hajj* and in hiring *mushrifs*, i.e. those who guide pilgrims in order to be able to perform the *hajj* rituals who the PPME, itself, was not able to provide. The selected guides who had competence in the *hajj* rituals were Indonesian students studying in Arabic countries who wanted to assist his congregation.⁹⁰⁴ In addition, Mujahid also made contact with Indonesian officials of *maktabs* (service offices for *hajj* affairs in Saudi Arabia),⁹⁰⁵ which enabled him to solve administrative problems for members of his congregation holding

⁸⁹⁹ See: Miriam Cooke and Bruce B. Lawrence, *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop* (USA: the University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 3.

⁹⁰⁰ Sulchan, *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994*, 8 and 17.

⁹⁰¹ Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹⁰² Mohammad Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1994-1996* (The Hague: PPME, 21 June 1997), 11-12.

⁹⁰³ Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹⁰⁴ Abdul Wahid Abdurachman Naji (a participant undertaking pilgrimage to Mecca under Dzanun Mujahid's individual endeavors), interview, January 3, 2011, Leiden.

⁹⁰⁵ Mch/Riyanto, *Petugas di Mina Wajib Bawa Peta*, 10 January 2011, <http://www.jurnalhaji.com/2010/11/12/petugas-di-mina-wajib-bawa-peta/>. See also: Moeslim Abdurrahman, *On Hajj Tourism: in Search of Piety and Identity in the New Order Indonesia* (PhD Thesis, University of Illinois, 2000), 165-166.

Indonesian passports rather than Dutch or Surinamese ones.⁹⁰⁶ This kind of contact for the arrangements for individual members of the PPME with the aforementioned *hajj* travel agents continued until 2001.⁹⁰⁷

After the *hajj* of 2001, the cooperation of Mujahid with Bali Indah, which had a quota of 50 *hajj* visas, was made for few years inconsecutively (between 2002 and 2006).⁹⁰⁸ However, after 2006 he no longer organized the *hajj* on his own, but cooperated with a registered *hajj* travel agency. This was due to the fact that the procedure for organizing the *hajj* had become more complicated. It included the need to use a travel agency which was registered by and received the *hajj* visas from the Ministry of *Hajj* of the Saudi Arabian government.⁹⁰⁹ The new procedure had been put into effect by the Saudi Arabian government since the *hajj* of 2007.⁹¹⁰ It was also the case that an application form for getting a *hajj* visa should be signed and stamped by the registered travel agency so that information on accommodations prepared by the agency for participants of its *hajj* travel to Saudi Arabia could be obtained.⁹¹¹ Consequently, at the end of 2007, for instance, Mujahid turned to the Turkish foundation, Haremeyn Vakfi to make the *hajj* travel arrangements⁹¹² following the bankruptcy of Bali Indah travel agency and responding to the Saudi Arabian government's policy of only approving *hajj* visas applied by certain registered *hajj* travel agencies.

After Mujahid had met the owner of the Turkish foundation,

⁹⁰⁶ Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹⁰⁷ Sulchan, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹⁰⁸ Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹⁰⁹ See Ministry Hajj, "Visas," accessed 31 March 2013, <http://www.hajinformation.com/main/p10.htm>. See also Josef Stevens, "Bedevaartgangers opgelet!," in *Moslim vandaag: De eerste moslimkrant van Nederland* 8, October-November 2011.

⁹¹⁰ Sean McLoughlin, *Organising Hajj-Going in Britain: A Preliminary Report* (Leeds: University of Leeds, 10 October 2013), 12.

⁹¹¹ Ministry of Hajj Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 27 march 2013, "Accommodation," <http://www.hajinformation.com/main/p50.htm>; https://saudiembassy.net/services/hajj_requirements.aspx, accessed 2 September 2015, and Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011.

⁹¹² Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011. See: "Stichting Haremeyn (Haremeyn Wakvi)," accessed 16 December 2011, http://www.hotfrog.nl/Companies/Stichting-Haremeyn-Haremeyn-Vakfi_2007320.

Sulayman Ramazanoglu, in Mecca in 2007, he was invited to cooperate with the foundation in organizing the PPME *hajj*. The fact was that the foundation had acquired 63 *hajj* visas.⁹¹³ Mujahid responded to the invitation positively for two reasons; the foundation offered cheap *hajj* visas and it was a *hajj* travel agency regarded as *mu'tabara* (officially registered by the Saudi Arabian government).⁹¹⁴ In 2008, he cooperated with the foundation which asked a reasonable price, € 2,400 for each person. This cooperation continued in 2009 when the PPME pilgrims paid the same price as in the previous year. It is worth noting that Sa'id Badjuber, the coordinator of the *hajj* program for PPME in Amsterdam, was one of the pilgrims, thus enabling him to meet Ramazanoglu⁹¹⁵ and resulting in the cooperation of PPME in Amsterdam with the foundation in the following year.

After Badjuber returned from the *hajj*, in 2010 PPME Amsterdam arranged its *hajj* program in cooperation with the Turkish foundation rather than with others. The following are the reasons for this choice. Similar to the previous reason, the costs for the Turkish foundation organizing the *hajj* remained less than that of other travel agents. In fact, PPME Amsterdam's members paid almost € 3,000.⁹¹⁶ In addition, prior to the arrangement of airline tickets and *hajj* visas, the foundation also had prepared accommodations for participants of its *hajj* travel in Saudi Arabia. Last but not least, participants under the coordination of Badjuber were delivered to the site of *wuqūf* (dwelling in 'Arafa) two days prior to this ceremony taking place, thus, enabling them to make more preparations than those arriving to the site later.⁹¹⁷ None of the facilities that the foundation provided to its participants included

⁹¹³ Suleyman Ramazanoglu (chairman of Haremeyn Vakfi), interview, Rotterdam, 13 February 2012.

⁹¹⁴ Mujahid, interview, 13 February 2011. It was one of the sixteen travel agencies officially approved to organize the *hajj* from the Netherlands, according to Khalid Faqeeh, the Ambassador of the Saudi Arabian government for the Netherlands. See: Stevens, "Bedevaartgangers opgelet!", in *Moslim vandaag: De eerste moslimkrant van Nederland* 8, October-November 2011, 14. See also Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 160.

⁹¹⁵ Mujahid, telephone interview, 15 December 2011.

⁹¹⁶ Said Badjuber (a *hajj* organizer of PPME in Amsterdam), telephone interview, 15 December 2011.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid.

instructions on the *hajj* ritual before performing the *hajj*. Therefore, as with the arrangements of Mujahid the PPME also provided such instruction.⁹¹⁸

The board of PPME Amsterdam appointed Badjuber to lead the *hajj* of its members in that year. The PPME did so because of his previous *hajj* experience along with his personal contacts with the owner of Haremyen Vakfi, as well as his knowledge of the facilities offered by the foundation. This fact shows that PPME chose another man to organize the *hajj* of PPME members and sympathizers, despite the involvement of both men and women in the *hajj* ritual – men remained the main actors in organizing the *hajj* program⁹¹⁹ requiring cooperation with a travel agency. This choice seems proper when regarding the requirement for performing *hajj*, i.e. a female pilgrim needs a *maḥram* to accompany her whereas a male pilgrim does not.

In conclusion, PPME had endeavoured to facilitate the *hajj* for its members and sympathizers. The requirement for getting a *hajj* visa was the crucial factor for the way PPME or its individual members facilitated them. Before the procedure for getting a visa was more complicated, PPME, or its individual members, seemingly did not find difficulties to determine a travel agency as a partner, including Haremeyn Vakfi and an Indonesian travel agency. Such a situation could no longer be found in facilitating their *hajj* travel after 2001, thus bringing about irregular arrangements of individual members of PPME for the *hajj* programme

⁹¹⁸ The following is an example of the instruction in the former PPME in Amsterdam, i.e. Euromoslim. Apart from the Turkish travel's arrangement, on October 31, 2010 sixteen participants of the program were provided the instruction – service provided for the participants since the 1970s – by M. Ali Ahmad, the *imam* of Euromoslim, previously called PPME Amsterdam. This instruction started from reciting the Quranic verse of *al-Baqara* 124 emphasizing on the struggle of the Prophet Ibrahim as the initiator of performing *hajj*. Furthermore, activities pertaining to *hajj*, for instance, wearing *iḥrām* (clothes for making *hajj*), conducting *ṭawāf* (circumambulation of the Ka'ba) and *sa'ī* (running between the hills of Ṣafā and Marwā) in Mecca, and *wuqūf* (stay) in 'Arafa were also informed. Then, at night of the day 'a compact disk' on the *hajj* ritual was played so that the participants could gain more visual information, thus enabling them to understand the ritual more clearly and see the pictures of sites to visit when performing *hajj*. Thus, verbal and visual information on the *hajj* ritual was provided before their departure from the Netherlands on 6 November 2010 to Saudi Arabia.

⁹¹⁹ Cooke and Lawrence, *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop*, 2-3.

until 2009. In addition to irregular cooperation with the Indonesian travel agency, the cooperation of individual PPME members with Haremeyn Vakfi after the more complicated procedure for getting the *hajj* visa was made only after the *hajj* of 2007. This confirms that making a formal connection, for instance, with the Haremeyn Vakfi has become imperative in enabling the members and sympathizers of PPME to perform the fifth pillar of Islam, *hajj*.

Chapter Six: The Individual Networks of PPME in Indonesia

I. PPME's Almsgiving and Voluntary Donations

In this section, almsgiving refers to the payment of both *zakāt al-fiṭr* and *zakāt al-māl*, which are obligatory for Muslims, whereas voluntary donations are, as was previously mentioned, referred to as *infāq* or *ṣadaqa*. The term *ṣadaqa*, which can also be used in a sense to mean *zakāt*,⁹²⁰ is not the concern of the current section. Thus, to avoid confusion, in this section, the terms almsgiving and voluntary donations are used in preference to *zakāt*, *ṣadaqa* and *infāq*.

Muslims in the Netherlands generally sent their alms to the poor and the needy in their home countries.⁹²¹ This transfer took place via a network of volunteers.⁹²² This was certainly true of PPME in the Netherlands who used its former members and *Ramaḍān* preachers to distribute the donations. Much of the research on this issue puts the emphasis on obligatory almsgiving, rather than on voluntary donations. In fact, voluntary donations were also an effective means of financial support. Indeed, it can be argued that these donations can be employed even more productively, given the flexibility in terms of spending the donations – unlike almsgiving, which only takes place at particular times. Douwes, De Koning, and Boender state that voluntary donations can be made whenever they are required. Moreover, they are usually designed to fund public social activities aimed at both Muslims and non-Muslims.⁹²³ Therefore, they can serve as the glue for relationships not only among Muslims themselves, but also between Muslims and non-Muslims⁹²⁴ – this is unlike the alms, particularly *zakāt al-māl* (annual obligatory almsgiving paid by Muslims deemed

⁹²⁰ See Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Fiqh az-Zakat* (London, Dar al-Taḳwa, 1999), xlv-xlvi and 24.

⁹²¹ Strijp, *Om de moskee*, 22 and 127.

⁹²² Douwes, De Koning, and Boender (eds.), *Nederlandse moslims*, 60.

⁹²³ Ibid.

⁹²⁴ Ibid.

owning wealth which has reached level of *niṣāb*, i.e. “estimated at the equivalent of eighty-five grams of gold),”⁹²⁵ which is, according to Shadid and Van Koningsveld, generally designed to fund Muslim projects and activities.⁹²⁶ Thus, they are commonly spent for the interests of Muslims.

The distribution of PPME’s alms and voluntary donations established trust between PPME and its middlemen⁹²⁷ and contributed to the building of individual networks with Indonesia. Misztal and Hardin suggest that trusting others signifies that trustees will be capable of carrying out the interests of those who place trust in them, regardless of their means.⁹²⁸ The expectations and interest of those who place trust in them are of great importance in the trust relation.⁹²⁹ Such a trust relation occurred between PPME and the parties distributing the alms and voluntary donations made by PPME members and sympathizers for social activities in Indonesia in the 1990s and 2000s. The board’s members opted for former members and Indonesian *imams*, who had previously been invited to participate in its *Ramaḍān* programmes, to be its middlemen for conducting these activities. This choice reflects the fact that the members of PPME’s board had confidence in these middlemen as a result of previous knowledge and relationships with these individuals.

The following is the description of distribution of PPME donations to Indonesia. Coordination of the distribution of donations only took place between PPME’s board and their middlemen. There were no third parties involved. This lack of third party involvement does not appear to have been a problem as the PPME’s financial transfers reached those who were deemed deserving of the donations. In addition to the absence of coordination with third parties, PPME did not provide

⁹²⁵ Al-Qardawi, *Fiqh az-Zakat*, 267.

⁹²⁶ See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 159.

⁹²⁷ Middleman (pl. middlemen) here means “someone who communicates or make arrangements between two people or groups who are...unable to meet or deal directly with each other.” *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary Version 3.0*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), n.p.

⁹²⁸ Barbara A. Misztal, *Trust in Modern Societies* 1st ed. (UK: Polity Press, 1996), 24.

⁹²⁹ Karen S. Cook, et al., *Cooperation without Trust?* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005), 5.

detailed instructions to the middlemen serving as the distributors of its donations regarding who the recipients of the money should be. The middlemen generally allocated these donations to poor people or weak organizations – this is in accord with Islamic law.⁹³⁰ Furthermore, the middlemen worked as independent distributors of the alms and the voluntary donations in Indonesia. They were, therefore, able to utilize their own reasoning to select the deserving groups. This reasoning was based on observation and they mostly used some of the PPME financial gifts, especially, for fees of their transportation for the observation – in fact, as the *āmil*, they rightfully deserved 12.5 percent of the donation.⁹³¹

The above facts show the patterns of trust and charity that characterized the individual networks of PPME in Indonesia in the 1990s and 2000s. These patterns will be explored further below.

A. The Madrasah Aliyah/Tsanawiyah of Petta (1990s): The Network of a Former Member of PPME

In the 1990s, even though the amount of almsgiving and voluntary financial endowments made by PPME was very small, money was transferred to diverse Muslim organizations not only in Java, but also in places such as Bali, Sumatra, and Sulawesi. This section will focus mainly on the transfer of donations to North Sulawesi. The transfers were made by a former member of the PPME Amsterdam branch, Taslim Makaminan, who had a preference to help Muslim organizations or Islamic schools in the regions, especially the Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs, Islamic Junior High School)/the Madrasah Aliyah (MA, Islamic Senior High School) Muhammadiyah in Petta, North Sulawesi.

1. The Link of Makaminan to PPME Amsterdam and the Profile of MTs/MA Muhammadiyah

Makaminan was not the only distributor of alms and voluntary donations of PPME Amsterdam in the 1990s. There

⁹³⁰ See al-Qaradawi, *Fiqh az-Zakat*, 343.

⁹³¹ *Āmil* are “those who accomplish all activities in association to the almsgiving from the process of its collecting, securing, caring, and distributing. They also inform the amounts of money they have received and spent.” Didin Hafidhuddin, *Agar Harta Berkah & Bertambah* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2007), 177 and 179.

was also, for instance, Nurfina Aznam from Yogyakarta, who played such a role in Yogyakarta. However, the role of Makaminan will be discussed because of his distribution reaching outer islands, especially, North Sulawesi. Makaminan was born in Sangir, North Sulawesi on 17 August 1939⁹³² and lives in Pondok Kelapa, Duren Sawit, East Jakarta. Having worked as an editor of the daily newspaper *Harian Merdeka* (Daily Free) in Jakarta, in April 1970 he travelled to the Netherlands to work as a nurse at the Stichting Verpleegtehuizen (Nursing Home Foundation) in Amsterdam. After 3.5 years working for the foundation, he took a position at the computer laboratory at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam. Then, from 1979 to the end of the 1980s he worked as part of the administrative staff for the courier of DHL, an Expedition Agent in Oost Amsterdam.⁹³³ This was his last job prior to his return to Indonesia.

It was during his time working for DHL (around 1983) that Makaminan began taking part in the PPME Amsterdam activities. The connection with PPME began after he met the chairman of PPME Amsterdam, Mansjur,⁹³⁴ at a hospital in Amsterdam where Mansjur was working. Mansjur invited Makaminan to participate in PPME Amsterdam activities. However, Makaminan was unable to participate directly at this time because his son was receiving treatment at the hospital for a kidney disease. That said, Makaminan did promise that he and his family would like to get more involved in the PPME activities once their son had recovered. In 1982, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and only after this, in 1983, did he finally

⁹³² Taslim Makaminan, interview, Pondok Kelapa, East Jakarta, 21 June 2010. This date corrects a date of birth written in an official document, which says that he was born in Manado on 17 August 1942. CH. Suroso (Head of Police Post Pondok Kelapa), *Polri Sektor Metropolitan Duren Sawit Pol Pos Pondok Kelapa: Surat Tanda Penerimaan Laporan*, 25 July 1997.

⁹³³ Makaminan, interview, 21 June 2010.

⁹³⁴ Ishak Mansjur (the chairman of PPME Amsterdam from 1988 - the end of 1990s), interview, Amsterdam, 30 October 2010.

have the time to join PPME formally.⁹³⁵

...Because of the disease in the kidneys of our first child, we had to visit the hospital frequently during that five years. In addition, I had often neglected [Islamic] obligatory prayers and so I and my family finally accepted Mansur's invitation to take part in the PPME weekly religious activities.... Maybe he suffered from the disease [which was already diagnosed as incurable] because of my sins. Since then, my family and I have actively attended its activities.⁹³⁶

Makaminan assisted PPME Amsterdam in many respects. For instance, he took part in organizing the distribution of clothes collected for orphans in Indonesia. He also taught children how to recite the Qur'an for the association. However, his involvement with the organization did not last long and he stopped being a member in 1989 following problems with debilitating asthma. In April 1990, he and his family finally decided to return to Jakarta permanently for the sake of his health. However, he agreed to be a distributor of the alms collected by PPME Amsterdam, a role he fulfilled from 1991 to 1997.⁹³⁷

...After I returned [to Indonesia], the PPME Amsterdam board expressed confidence in me and asked me to coordinate the allocation of the donations from the PPME. ...Mansjur [the chairperson of the PPME] had come here [to Makaminan's house in Pondok Kelapa, Jakarta]. [However], in recent years, [from 1998 to 2004] there have been no remittances and no news [from PPME Amsterdam's board]. I heard [that] all the donations have been transferred to Jepara. Now I am no longer the coordinator of donations, I [only] organize our [his and his family] alms. We have provided assistance [to distribute the donations]....⁹³⁸

Given the information above, we can deduce that the backgrounds of the former member and his brief participation

⁹³⁵ Ibid.

⁹³⁶ Ibid.

⁹³⁷ Ibid.

⁹³⁸ Ibid.

in PPME Amsterdam activities did not preclude him from constructing a good relationship with members of its board. He was welcome to take part in PPME activities. Indeed, his contributions were in accordance with the common objectives of PPME Amsterdam.

The following is a profile of MTs/MA Muhammadiyah of Petta that received PPME Amsterdam donations. These schools are situated in Petta Induk, in the district of Tabukan Utara, Sangihe Islands, North Sulawesi. The construction of these schools began at the end of 1993 with six rooms: three for MTs and the rest for MA. By the end of the 1990s, fifty students were registered at MTs and sixty at MA.⁹³⁹ The schools continued to expand throughout the 2000s and by 2007, nine rooms were available for MTs and eight for MA.⁹⁴⁰ In 2010 the MTs, whose students numbered 66 boys and 60 girls, achieved an A accreditation (the highest qualification)⁹⁴¹ and the MA where students numbered 160 (more than 80 of which were boys) achieved a B grade.⁹⁴² In addition to the regular curriculum, extracurricular activities were organized for the students such as modern *qaṣīdah* and recitation of the Quran in diverse styles.⁹⁴³ These schools were established for a number of reasons. “[The first is] to develop *da’wa* (dissemination of Islamic knowledge) through [formal] education. [Then, they were aimed] to develop human resources.”⁹⁴⁴ Another reason was to block attempts to prevent the development of Islam in

⁹³⁹ Halim Gabriel Ahmad (a former member of the board for *Da’wa* of Muhammadiyah in North Tabukan Utara, vice-secretary of Muhammadiyah of Sangihe Islands and Head of MTS Muhammadiyah Petta Induk), telephone interview, 23 November 2010.

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁴¹ Dinas Pendidikan, Pemuda & Olahraga Kab. Sangihe Periode 2010/2011, “Rekap Data Sekolah Depag Jenjang SMP/MTS,” accessed 9 October 2010, <http://sangihe.dapodik.org/rekap.php?data=depag&tipe=2&ref=sekolah&status=3> and Ahmad, telephone interview, 18 November 2010.

⁹⁴² “Data SMA dan SMK Kabupaten Sangihe,” accessed 9 October 2010, <http://www.umm.ac.id/page.php?c=04&c2=0409&c3=0409-69&c4=0409-69-9&o=2> and Ahmad, telephone interview, 18 November 2010.

⁹⁴³ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁴ Ibid.

the region.⁹⁴⁵ In the region [Tabukan Utara of Sangihe Islands] the majority of people are adherents of Christianity....⁹⁴⁶ Makaminan also asserted:

...I know the region very well... and I witness myself how they [Christians] search for new followers from those whose religion differs from that of the Christians. ...In Sangihe, North Sulawesi, the centre of Christianity, they perform an early morning ritual, known as *du'a subuh* (dawn prayer) – a name approaching an Islamic ritual, i.e. dawn prayer (*shalat subuh*) – written on the information boards of churches. When the call for the *subuh* prayer is made, the church bells are also rung.⁹⁴⁷

The decisions by the PPME former member to use PPME donations to provide educational assistance to Muslims in the region were based on his personal knowledge of the region and middleman. This basis was influential in the distributing of the donations.

2. Caring for the Poor and the Weak

PPME Amsterdam did not interfere with Makaminan's selection of beneficiaries of the donations from his own region (North Sulawesi). PPME certainly appears to have been sure that he could serve as the distributor of its alms and voluntary donations in Indonesia in the 1990s. When asked about this independence, Mansjur (the chairperson of PPME Amsterdam) asserted:

We never guided or gave instruction to him [Makaminan] in distributing the alms and voluntary donations [to certain organizations or people]. We had confidence in him in allotting the donations *lillāhi ta'ālā* (for the cause of Allah). We also never inquired about the accomplishment of his task as the distributor. He reported his financial allocations to us, thus enabling us to show the reports to those [donors] who would like to know where their donations have been sent.⁹⁴⁸

⁹⁴⁵ Taslim Makaminan to Abdul Aziz Balbaid, letter, p. 2, 6 June 1996.

⁹⁴⁶ Taslim Makaminan to Abdul Aziz Balbaid, letter, 19 May 1997.

⁹⁴⁷ Taslim Makaminan to Abdul Aziz Balbaid, letter, p. 2, 6 June 1996.

⁹⁴⁸ Mansjur, interview, 30 October 2010.

This seems to suggest that at least some degree of control, such as the discussion of beneficiaries and kinds of organization that should be prioritized, was absent. Therefore, the process of distributing the donations was not under the control of Mansjur. His statement of “for the cause of Allah”, for example, is not followed by activities showing that he, as chairman of PPME Amsterdam, tried to control the process. He only visited and instructed Makaminan to distribute the donations and he hoped to receive a financial report from Makaminan.

As previously stated, Makaminan endeavoured to allocate part of the donations to the “MTs/MA Muhammadiyah” of Petta. While these schools are the focus of this chapter, other recipients will also be presented, but only to show their distribution areas and to acknowledge, to some extent, the reasoning of the distributors. This will allow us to make some kind of comparison with the schools. We will examine the particular arguments of the former member for his selection of these schools which will also demonstrate his interests in improving the situation of poor people or weak organizations in Indonesia.

We now come to the discussion of the financial transfers to Makaminan in his role as the distributor. With the exception in 1992 and 1995 when PPME Amsterdam’s donations were transferred to other distributors because Mansjur did not visit Makaminan,⁹⁴⁹ between 1991 and 1997 the PPME transferred its congregation’s obligatory and voluntary donations to him. He subsequently allocated this money to diverse organizations in Java and the outer islands. The initial transfer took place in 1991, following a request by Makaminan to PPME Amsterdam, asking permission to become a distributor of funds in Indonesia. This can be seen from a letter that he sent to the chairman of the PPME, Mansjur on 23 March 1991:

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid.

There have been requests during *Ramaḍān* from the organizers of foundations for orphans and Islamic boarding schools, such as the Darul Aytam, an orphanage, called al-Asy'ari in Depok [West Java] and the Yayasan Pondok Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School Foundation) called Nurul Islam (the Light of Islam) in Kinilow, Tomohon, North Sulawesi, to gain...part of the obligatory alms and voluntary donations of PPME Amsterdam's members and sympathizers in order to run the organizations.⁹⁵⁰

In the same year, his request resulted in an agreement with PPME Amsterdam to remit € 539⁹⁵¹ to Makaminan, via his bank account in Jakarta. From this amount, he distributed, for instance, € 72 to the Orphanage Putra-Putri (Boy-Girl) in Pandeglang, West Java; € 36 to Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (Islamic Primary School) in Bekasi, West Java; € 72 to a foundation for orphans called Singaraja in Bali; € 36 to Madrasah Miftahul Taqwa (Key for Piety) in Tanjung Gusta, Medan; and € 72 to Pesantren Nurul Islam (Light of Islam) in Kinilow, North Sulawesi.⁹⁵² In respect of this last donation, there were some specific reasons why this foundation was chosen as a beneficiary. According to Makaminan, "This region [Kinilow] is the centre for spreading Christianity in Southeast Asia. Therefore, the *pesantren* has been encountering strong resistance from those who disapproved of its presence. It is only due to the endeavours of the *pesantren*'s Islamic preachers that the *pesantren* still exists."⁹⁵³

Two years later, in 1993, PPME Amsterdam transferred approximately € 733 to Makaminan. Of this amount he allocated, for instance, € 37 to a foundation for orphans called Darul Aitam al-Asy'ari in Bogor, West Java; € 92 to a foundation for orphans called Darul Aitam al-Hawi in Jakarta; € 92 to a committee for the construction of an Islamic school

⁹⁵⁰ Taslim Makaminan to Ishak Mansjur, letter, 23 March 1991.

⁹⁵¹ Based on Makaminan's letter sent to A. Aziz Balbaid, fl 1 was equivalent to IDR 1,240.

⁹⁵² Taslim Makaminan to Ishak Mansjur, letter, 14 May 1991.

⁹⁵³ Taslim Makaminan to Ishak Mansjur, letter, 23 March 1991.

called al-Amin in Sibolga, North Sumatra; € 37 to the leader of Pesantren Hidayatullah (Divine Guidance) in Tomohon, North Sulawesi; and € 37 to a committee for the construction of the Mosque *al-Fatah* (Commencement) in Klungkung, Bali. In respect of this last donation, Makaminan argued that:

On the basis of my observations, the construction of the mosque is not going well. Since the outset (1986), its development has been slow due to a shortage of financial support. The majority of people [in Bali] are adherents of Hinduism. Therefore, [it] deserves the financial aid of Muslims outside the Islands [such as from PPME members and sympathizers].⁹⁵⁴

Then, in 1994 the PPME allocated more than € 990 to Makaminan. In this year he provided € 183 to a foundation for orphans called Ruhama (Merciful) and the Pesantren Chairul Anam (The Best People) in Jakarta, and € 366 to the Dompot Dhuafa (The Relief Fund for the Weak) of the newspaper *Republika* (Republic) in Jakarta. He also gave € 55 to help with the construction of a *muşalla* for Muhammadiyah in Tabanan, Bali. In association with this last support, he asserted:

Owing to their [Muslims in Tabanan] presence among a majority of Hindus, they lacked financial aid. Meanwhile, in the region [Tabanan] there was a growing trend of Hindus who wished to embrace Islam. Therefore, if our brothers [in Islam] wanted to give a financial donation [for the development of the *muşalla*], they...could directly remit it [to its committee]. Nevertheless, if they asked me to do it, I would always be prepared to do so.⁹⁵⁵

Unlike the allocations in previous years, in 1996 and 1997 the PPME transfers were mostly allotted to people in the outer islands, in particular, North Sulawesi. This can also show proof that the absence of PPME Amsterdam donations to Makaminan in 1992 and 1995 was not because of the PPME Amsterdam distrust of him.

In 1996, of the more than € 1,098 transferred, 58 per cent of

⁹⁵⁴ Taslim Makaminan to Ishak Mansjur, letter, 8 July 1993.

⁹⁵⁵ Taslim Makaminan to Ishak Mansjur, letter, 21 July 1994.

this donation was distributed to those in the North Sulawesi. To be precise: € 183 was allocated to a social foundation called Nurul Hidayah (The Light of Guidance) in Jakarta and a committee for running the programmes of the *al-Amanah* Mosque, in Tasikmalaya, West Java; € 183 to an Islamic educational foundation called Habib Abu Bakar Ali Assegaf in Manado, North Sulawesi; € 92 to an Islamic educational foundation called al-Ikhlas (Sincerity) in Gorontalo; and € 367 to a committee for building the MTs/ MA Muhammadiyah in Petta, North Sulawesi.”⁹⁵⁶

In addition to Makaminan’s focus on transferring donations to organizations or Islamic schools requiring financial assistance, rather than to individuals,⁹⁵⁷ his explanation for the new trend to transfer donations to Muhammadiyah Islamic schools in 1996 is worth noting: “...Due to the fact that previous donations were mostly transferred to Java, ...[Sumatra,] and Bali, it is time they are transferred to those deserving in other regions.”⁹⁵⁸ Furthermore, he highlighted that, “I know the region [Sangihe Talaud] precisely. It is the region where I was born and spent my childhood.”⁹⁵⁹ He went on to emphasize: “...Petta, Sangihe Talaud, North Sulawesi is the village of my parents. [People there] truly hope for the presence of a MTs/MA for the development of Islam amid all efforts in the area of Christianization....”⁹⁶⁰ Makaminan’s allocation to the Islamic schools in North Sulawesi was also in response to a request for assistance from his friend, Halim Gabriel Ahmad, the beneficiary of PPME donations in the region, who was responsible for the development of MTs/MA Muhammadiyah in Petta. The recipient said:

Makaminan knows my parents. Our parents have propagated Islam through the *da’wa* of Muhammadiyah. When he returned to Sangihe Talaud in 1994, we met and

⁹⁵⁶ Taslim Makaminan to Ishak Mansjur, letter, 6 June 1996.

⁹⁵⁷ Makaminan, interview, 21 June 2010.

⁹⁵⁸ Taslim Makaminan to Abdul Aziz Balbaid, letter, p. 2, 6 June 1996.

⁹⁵⁹ Makaminan, interview, 21 June 2010.

⁹⁶⁰ Taslim Makaminan to Abdul Aziz Balbaid, letter, p. 2, 6 June 1996.

talked about the strong desire of Muslims in the region, i.e. to establish Islamic schools. He responded [positively] to this desire. He said that he would allocate some of PPME Amsterdam's alms and voluntary donations to the committee for the construction of the schools.⁹⁶¹

Moreover, Ahmad accentuated that constructing the Islamic schools was "aimed at protecting the faith of Muslims in the region in such a way that the faith would not disappear from their hearts."⁹⁶² This end was definitely in tune with Makaminan's interests.

Makaminan's interest in helping poor Muslims in Sangihe continued through 1997 and so Islamic schools in the region also benefitted from PPME donations. In fact, the remittances were 25 percent higher in 1996 and amounted to almost 50 percent of the total amount distributed. In 1997, PPME Amsterdam's board transferred € 930 of its alms and voluntary donations to Makaminan. Subsequently, he distributed € 116 to an Islamic educational foundation called Ibnu Khoer (Child of Goodness), Sukabumi, West Java; € 73 to a foundation for research and *da'wa* development organizing donations for orphans (Pondok Kelapa, Jakarta); € 185 to the Foundation Habib Abubakar Ali Assegaf in Manado; and € 458 to the MTs/MA Muhammadiyah in Petta.⁹⁶³

This time around, Makaminan's arguments for transferring donations to the same Islamic schools in 1997 were more specific. As he wrote:

I am transferring the amount [€ 458] due to the strong demand from [the committee for the construction of Islamic schools]. [Furthermore,] because of the shortage of donors, the construction [of the Islamic schools] cannot be completed yet. ...Muslims [in Sangihe] are mostly seamen, farmers, and state civil servants. Therefore, they cannot easily [give financial assistance] to accomplish the

⁹⁶¹ Ahmad, telephone interview, 23 November 2010.

⁹⁶² Makaminan, interview, 21 June 2010.

⁹⁶³ Taslim Makaminan to Abdul Aziz Balbaid, letter, 19 May 1997.

construction.⁹⁶⁴

These reasons paralleled those given by Ahmad, the recipient of PPME's donations:

They [the local government's officials of Sangihe] hope that our [Islamic] schools cannot develop. Moreover, these schools are regarded as being of low quality. [As a result], ...it is difficult to gain assistance from the government. There was no [financial] assistance from Muhammadiyah, whereas the society [of Petta] was financially weak, poor. ...At the time, it was extremely difficult to gain financial assistance. The Departments of Religious Affairs and of Education, Youth and Sport only gave their assistance later (in 2007 and 2008). [Thus], the financial assistance [from PPME Amsterdam's board in 1996 and 1997] was extremely helpful [as a starting point to build the Islamic schools]. Non-financial assistance also came from the society, such as their wood, voluntary work and their positive response to enrolling their children as the students of the schools. We just started to search for donors and sympathizers within the society.⁹⁶⁵

The facts show that Makaminan was concerned, especially, with the fate of Muslims in the regions where the majority of people embraced other religions than Islam. It is worth noting that the development for Muslims in North Sulawesi drew much attention of him. Most of the PPME donations were allocated to their organizations in the region. This has seemingly led him to exaggerate his assessment of the situation in Sangihe-Talaud. Contrary to what he said, the fact is that the Minister of Religious Affairs has already showed some concern for the need of Islamic Junior High Schools (MTs) in the region since the 1980s.⁹⁶⁶ Moreover, from 1986 to 1999, the heads of the Regional Office (North Sulawesi) of the Ministry

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid. and Ahmad, telephone interview, 23 November 2010.

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁶ "Madrasah Ts. Negeri Manado Unggul dalam Prestasi, Tangguh dalam Kompetisi dan Santun Budi Pekerti," accessed 18 November 2013, <http://fokussulut.com/madrasah-ts-negeri-manado-unggul-dlm-prestasi-tangguh-dlm-kompetisi-dan-santun-budi-pekerti/>.

of Religious Affairs were Muslims,⁹⁶⁷ who should pay attention to the condition of Islamic schools in the province. In addition, there was no religious discrimination, despite the fact that in North Sulawesi the majority of its people are Christians.⁹⁶⁸ As a consequence, the spreading of Christianity in the region did not bring about religious conflicts between Christians and Muslims of the kind seen in Poso and the Moluccas.⁹⁶⁹



Picture 4. The project of the construction of MTs/MA Muhammadiyah Petta, Tabut, Sangihe, North Sulawesi. Source: Taslim Makaminan's collection.

However, the statements of Makaminan and his friend, Ahmad were certainly a catalyst for the owners of Islamic schools in Sangihe-Talaud to improve their quality and to draw the attention of the Department of Religious Affairs to the region. Makaminan was conscious of the shortage of donations in 1996 and 1997. Therefore, he said, “we provided

⁹⁶⁷ “Profil Kanwil,” accessed 18 November 2013, <http://sulut.kemenag.go.id/index.php?a=artikel&id=11434>.

⁹⁶⁸ Oksimana Darmawan, “Perlindungan Hak atas Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan bagi Kelompok Minoritas Agama dan Aliran Kepercayaan; Studi Kasus di Sulawesi Utara,” in *Jurnal Hak Asasi Manusia* 4, no. 1 (June 2013): 69.

⁹⁶⁹ See Christian de Jonge, et al., “How Christianity Obtained a Central Position in Minahasa Culture,” in Jan Sihar Artonang and Karel Steenbrink (eds.), *A History of Christianity in Indonesia: Studies in Christian Mission*, vol. 35 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), 447–453. See also Sofian Munawar Asgart, “Politisasi Sara: Dari Masa Orba ke Masa Transisi Demokrasi,” accessed 18 November 2013, http://www.academia.edu/4381769/Konflik_SARA_di_Indonesia_sofian_munawar_asgart.

stimulants, instead of goods.”⁹⁷⁰ According to Ahmad, this was a reference to the lack of donors for their construction projects, which were the starting point for the development of the schools.⁹⁷¹

To conclude, the distribution of alms and voluntary donations had been limited to Muslims; it did not reach people adhering to other religions. This signifies that PPME Amsterdam’s middleman carried out his role in accordance with the view of a majority of Muslim jurists on the issue of almsgiving, i.e. that it should be given to Muslims.⁹⁷² Moreover, the absence of specific guidelines from PPME Amsterdam for its middleman resulted in him choosing to give money to the same organizations for two years running. That said, there is nothing to suggest that the donations went beyond the interests of PPME Amsterdam.

B. Construction of Rainwater Containers (PAHs) and a Future Educational Institution (2000s): The Network of PPME’s *Ramaḍān* Preachers

As we have seen in the 1990s, PPME used its alms and voluntary donations to stimulate the development of Muslim organizations in Indonesia via former members of PPME living in Indonesia. Unlike the 1990s, in the 2000s its support for this development was distributed mainly via *imams* invited to the Netherlands for PPME’s *Ramadan* activities (discussed in the following section). Indeed, in this period all of PPME’s financial support for socio-religious projects was coordinated by *imams* and their families. This can be seen, for example, from the donations given to a social project, i.e. for the construction of public rainwater containers in Yogyakarta in mid-2007 and the purchase of land in Depok at the

⁹⁷⁰ Makaminan, interview, 21 June 2010.

⁹⁷¹ Ahmad, telephone interview, 23 November 2010.

⁹⁷² “The majority of scholars believe that *zakat* should not be given to any-non Muslims.” However, there are some who believe that alms could also be distributed to non-Muslims, particularly, the People of the Pledge (free non-Muslim subjects living in a Muslim country), who do not fight against Islam and Muslims. See al-Qaradawi, *Fiqh az-Zakat*, 447-452.

end of 2008, which would be used for an educational institution. These donations came from collected alms, particularly *zakāt al-māl* and from voluntary donations.

1. PAH (2007)

PPME The Hague was a key supporter of a social project for the construction of Penampung Air Hujan (PAH, rainwater containers) in Padukuhan (Village) Pakel, Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta in 2007. To fund this project, the board utilized weekly voluntary donations collected from PPME The Hague's members and sympathizers through its *rampenfonds* (disaster relief funds).⁹⁷³ This was not the only project supported by PPME The Hague. The organization also backed: the construction of public baths and washing facilities and the provision of a public well for clean water in Pandeglang, Banten (2008); a collective circumcision for orphans and needy children in Bogor, West Java (2009); financial assistance for the victims of an earthquake in Padang (2009); and another collective circumcision for orphans and needy children in Tasikmalaya, West Java (2010).⁹⁷⁴ Of these social projects, the construction of the PAH incurred the highest cost. Therefore, it will be the focus of this present section.

In spite of providing financial support for this project, PPME did not guarantee to carry on funding the project on an on-going basis because of limited funds available.⁹⁷⁵ Therefore, careful consideration was given when providing approximately € 2,900 for PAH.⁹⁷⁶ Tati Abbas, the vice chairperson of PPME The Hague stated:

I was helped by a PPME middleman, Bambang Guntur Febriyanto [brother in law of Hamdani Anwar, who was a PPME preacher during its *Ramaḍān* programme],⁹⁷⁷ who

⁹⁷³ Tati Abbas, interview, The Hague, 5 December 2009.

⁹⁷⁴ Bambang Guntur Febriyanto, interview, Sleman, 11 May 2010.

⁹⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁶ It was also informed that in 2007 € 1 was equivalent to IDR 13,800. Nila, interview, Depok, 24 June 2010.

⁹⁷⁷ Abbas, interview, 5 December 2009.

wanted to organize the construction [of the PAHs], and Nila [Anwar's wife]. Anwar and Nila were well-known by the PPME. Furthermore, I would carry the money myself and give it to Nila. Afterwards, I would witness the completion of the project during my vacation in Indonesia. Then, Febriyanto was prepared to take me and other PPME members and sympathizers who wanted to see the project. This had also to be taken into account. Moreover, Febriyanto had surveyed the location that needs the donation. Lastly, I had confidence in Nila and her family. She was in constant contact with me to coordinate the project. In this way, we wanted to follow the progress on the project.⁹⁷⁸

In addition, the location for the project should fulfil the following criteria:

The location should be a remote area that rarely gained financial assistance. Then, the inhabitants of the location should be, mainly, Muslims who seldom performed Islamic observances. Furthermore, the area considered should be undeveloped and its inhabitants needy. Moreover, the project should be, as far as possible, in a form of public facility [like buildings]. Lastly, the location that would gain the [PPME's] financial assistance should be the target of *shi'ār* of Islam [, i.e. the existence of Islam in which the Islamic knowledge and observance of Muslims in the region should improve, thus performing their Islamic obligations].⁹⁷⁹

The criteria chimed with the intentions of PPME The Hague; that is to say, raising the charity of its members and sympathizers for the victims of natural disasters and needy people in Indonesia.⁹⁸⁰ Abbas describes it as follows:

Our social project emerged due to the tsunami in Aceh in 2004. We felt sad seeing the members and sympathizers of PPME The Hague [following weekly socio-religious activities in the *al-Hikmah* Mosque in The Hague], who were eating provided foods. Meanwhile, our brothers there were suffering from the disaster of the tsunami. Afterwards, we agreed to provide a box, known as the

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁷⁹ Febriyanto, interview, 11 May 2010.

⁹⁸⁰ Abbas, interview, 5 December 2009.

rampenfonds. Those who wanted to eat the food prepared by PPME, were strongly encouraged to donate at least € 1. As a result, every week we earned around € 40 to 55. ...This was a *jihad* (a great effort) and I was not going to let it be spoiled by satanic temptations... Thus, even if there was no support from PPME's members, I intended to keep making this effort.⁹⁸¹

The facts show that in providing assistance to the suffering people in Indonesia, PPME The Hague was supported by its committed middlemen. The two sides have worked together to achieve their common goal. Their agreement to select Pakel as a beneficiary was because it met the necessary criteria. The village, located on the high ground of Yogyakarta, is approximately 15 kilometres from the regency of Gunung Kidul and 50 kilometres from Yogyakarta province. All the inhabitants are Muslims and mostly work as farmers.⁹⁸² It seemed that the land is fertile and the inhabitants are able to earn a living from subsistence farming. However, in the dry season they are forced to leave the village in search of work due to a lack of water. This situation can be described as "natural poverty – poverty increased by aridity and land conditions which are not good enough for plants or crops [in the season] to grow well."⁹⁸³ Therefore, the Tanjungsari District, which includes Pakel, requires a reliable water supply.⁹⁸⁴ Indeed, the dry season causes serious problems for the farmers and also threatens the supply of drinking water at times. Sugiyanto said:

In this village, farming relied on the rain water. If there was no rain water they could not harvest. Here the rice farmers could plant their rice only once [a year]. This

⁹⁸¹ Ibid.

⁹⁸² Dukuh Pakel, *Profil Padukuhan Pakel, Desa Hargosari, Tanjung Sari, Yogyakarta*, 2010, n.p., Wagito (the head of Padukuhan Pakel), short message service, 5 November 2010 and *Profil Desa Hargosari, Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta*, VCD. n.d.

⁹⁸³ Hafidhuddin, *Agar Harta Berkah & Bertambah*, 209.

⁹⁸⁴ See Tomi Sujatmiko, "Kemarau, Warga Tanjungsari Manfaatkan Telaga Tritis," accessed 7 November 2013, http://krjogja.com/read/130901/page/tentang_kami (a digital local newspaper called *Kedaulatan Rakyat* [People Sovereignty]).

was because there was no water in the dry season [both to water their crops] and to drink.⁹⁸⁵ Villagers encounter difficulties collecting water when the dry season begins.⁹⁸⁶ Therefore, each house [in Pakel] needed a container for collecting rainwater.⁹⁸⁷

Wagito, the head of Padukuhan Pakel, put it more strongly:

Farmers struggled to meet their families' needs [due to its crop once a year]. Here [people in Pakel] were used to hiring an area, for instance, for two years. [However,] sixty percent of them travelled outside Pakel looking for jobs such as carpenters or stonemasons in the dry season. Otherwise, they could not afford to pay the cost of their children's education. Honestly speaking, having a container for rainwater was imperative.⁹⁸⁸

With regard to the difficulties experienced by the farmers in Gunung Kidul, in which Pakel is a part, Arif Fajar Sholikin, the director of Dompot Du'afa for Yogyakarta similarly argues that: "... There is no way of earning a good income for farm labourers who have no land; this has been the cause of their poverty."⁹⁸⁹

There were already some containers collecting rainwater in the village, provided by the local government of Gunung Kidul and two banks, Bank Central Asia and Exim.⁹⁹⁰ However, their size and location did not meet the needs of the villagers in Pakel. Sugiyanto argued: "They have been provided for people, but they could only collect 3,000 litres. [Therefore,] they cannot hold the 5,000 litres of water supplied by the local government during the dry seasons. Besides, they have been

⁹⁸⁵ Sugiyanto (a leading figure in Pakel Village and civil servant for the local government of Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta working for Irrigation Affairs), interview, Yogyakarta, 12 May 2010.

⁹⁸⁶ See Tomi Sujatmiko, "Kemarau, Warga Tanjungsari Manfaatkan Telaga Tritis," accessed 7 November 2013, http://krjogja.com/read/130901/page/tentang_kami (a digital local newspaper called *Kedaulatan Rakyat*), accessed 7 November 2013.

⁹⁸⁷ Sugiyanto, interview, Yogyakarta, 12 May 2010.

⁹⁸⁸ Wagito, interview, Yogyakarta, 12 May 2010.

⁹⁸⁹ See Arif Fajar Solikhin, "Ikhtiar Menghalau Kemiskinan di Jogja dan Jateng," in M. Arifin Purwakananta, *Gerakan Zakat untuk Indonesia* (Jakarta Selatan: Dompot Dhuafa Republika, 2008), 102-105.

⁹⁹⁰ Sugiyanto, interview, 12 May 2010.

built far from the main street. Meanwhile, there has also been no financial assistance from the local government.⁹⁹¹ To gain this kind of help for the water supply from the Tanjungsari District government involves a complicated procedure – the heads of villages requesting the water supply must deliver reports, written by their subordinates (the heads of *dukuh*, consisting of a number of Rukun Warga [RW, Neighbourhood]), to the head of the Tanjungsari district.⁹⁹² It should be noted that to cope with the water problem, the local government provides less than € 5,070 for all the villages in the district.⁹⁹³ In fact, the district consist of 72 *dukuhs*.⁹⁹⁴ When Febriyanto asked some villagers, including the heads of *dukuhs*, about their need for PAHs, they responded: “If Febriyanto would like to give assistance, we urgently require rain water containers with a capacity of 10,000 litres.”⁹⁹⁵ In response to the problems, the middleman cooperated with Sugiyanto and Wagito, together with the villagers, to construct 19 PAHs, each capable of collecting at least 5,000 litres of rainwater. These PAHs were located close to the main street where the water carrying vehicles could pass. This number does not include those PAHs constructed in other villages (*dusuns*) close to Pakel, such as the Village of Jrahah, Candisari and Jambu, each of which had two new PAHs. These were primarily constructed with what was left of the € 2,900 allocated for the construction of the containers in Pakel.

With regard to the construction and location of the PAHS in Pakel, Febriyanto said:

Due to the unorganized location of their houses [not built at regulated distances], a single ‘PAH’ was provided for

⁹⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹⁹² See Sujatmiko, “Kemarau, Warga Tanjungsari Manfaatkan Telaga Tritis,” accessed 7 November 2013, http://krjogja.com/read/130901/page/tentang_kami (a digital local newspaper called *Kedaulatan Rakyat*).

⁹⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁴ “Desa,” accessed 6 October 2015, <http://www.gunungkidulkab.go.id/home.php?mode=content&id=151>.

⁹⁹⁵ Febriyanto, interview, 11 May 2010.

5 to 7 houses. In addition, other PAHs were built near the [main] streets. [Thus], there were two sorts of PAHs: private and public. The former was aimed at a number of villagers –and used by multiple households. Therefore, its location was near their houses. The latter belonged to the public – whoever needed its water, in both rainy and dry seasons, could benefit from it. Both types had to be built close to the main streets.⁹⁹⁶

The PAHs came in different sizes. While the majority were capable of storing 5,000 litres of water, some needy families or group of families were given PAH's with a capacity of 10,000 litres. One group of seven families were given a PAH capable of holding 15,000 litres. As Sugiyanto explained, the Ngatijan family was given the responsibility of managing this collective container:

The [collective] PAH was designed with a capacity of 5,000 litres. Nevertheless, it depended on the number [of families involved]. For instance, the size of the PAH constructed near the house of Ngatijan, who was responsible for it, was increased from 5,000 to 15,000 litres. In spite of the fact that it was not high [approximately 1 cubic metre in height from the ground], it was deep enough. Fortunately, the stones under the surface were soft, thus enabling the villagers to excavate it more deeply.⁹⁹⁷

The construction of the larger PAHs was crucial to the daily lives of villagers in Pakel. Wagito emphasized that: "PAHs are definitely beneficial for many things. We drink rainwater."⁹⁹⁸ In a similar vein, Ngatijan said: "This water [from the PAH] is rather green [not clean]. ...However, we use the water for drinking. ...When there was no water in the PAH, we needed to purchase 10,000 litres of water to refill the PAH."⁹⁹⁹ Sugiyanto added: "The [financial] assistance from Febriyanto

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁹⁷ Sugiyanto, interview, 12 May 2010.

⁹⁹⁸ Wagito, interview, 12 May 2010.

⁹⁹⁹ Ngatijan (an inhabitant of Pakel and beneficiary of a PAH), interview, Yogyakarta, 12 May 2010.

is extremely beneficial because farmers in Pakel have been in urgent need of the PAHs.”¹⁰⁰⁰ Finally, Wagito elaborated:

With the presence of PAHs [with such sizes], [we] could work [longer] until 4 pm. [Afterwards,] we searched for food [grass] for our livestock. If the PAHs were not constructed in such sizes, the water in the PAHs would not be sufficient. This reduced the duration of our work and our income. Therefore, we frequently had to refill the PAH. The presence of these PAHs meant that we did not have to buy water so frequently [as it could be collected during the rainy season in larger tanks]. [In sum, we] could work longer and save some money [the price of 5,000 litres of water was approximately € 9].¹⁰⁰¹

PPME The Hague provided the financial support for the PAHs and the villagers in Pakel constructed them. PPME’s middleman, whose costs of his transport, observation, and meals during his stay in the village were covered by PPME The Hague, was the conduit for the funds and encouraged the villagers to act together to accomplish their goal. This cooperation between the middleman and the villagers meant that there was no need for the local government to become involved in the project. Febriyanto stated:

I made efforts to involve the community [of Pakel] and arranged the accomplishment of the project in cooperation with them. I only provided the necessary materials [for the construction], [Su]Giyanto served as the planner. ...For instance, if the location for the PAH had a lot of stones, we [the villagers] should excavate it and remove the stones. Giyanto was the master mind [of the project], whereas Wagito mobilized the community. Due to his mobilization, this has been a self-help project. They [the villagers of Pakel] have worked together to complete the PAHs. [I] did not cooperate with the officials of local government [formal leaders]...but rather with the community and their leaders [informal leaders].¹⁰⁰²

¹⁰⁰⁰ Sugiyanto, interview, 12 May 2010.

¹⁰⁰¹ Wagito, interview, 12 May 2010. See also Sujatmiko, “Kemarau, Warga Tanjungsari Manfaatkan Telaga Tritis,” accessed 7 November 2013, http://krjogja.com/read/130901/page/tentang_kami (*Kedaulatan Rakyat*).

¹⁰⁰² Febriyanto, interview, 11 May 2010.

Moreover, Wagito asserted: “Co-operation with the officials of the local government (*pemda*) necessitates an honorarium and was too bureaucratic, thus, reducing the PPME’s financial assistance].”¹⁰⁰³ Likewise, Sugiyanto argued: “...The villagers are the executors [of the project], whereas Febriyanto provides the materials. I coordinate with the leading figures [informal leaders] of Pakel who I have told that the financial assistance from PPME is aimed at the public interest without profit. As a result, they have been conscious of performing a good deed (*‘ibāda*).”¹⁰⁰⁴

The abovementioned cooperation between the middleman and the beneficiary of the financial assistance reflects a lack of confidence in formal organizations or the local government. In fact, since the 1990s, a number of well-known organizations dealing with these kinds of voluntary donations have been growing in Indonesia. For instance, Badan Amil Zakat Infaq dan Shadaqah (BAZIS, Body for Collecting, Organizing and Distributing Alms and Voluntary Donations), Lembaga Amil Zakat Infaq dan Shadaqah (LAZIS, Organization for Collecting, Organizing and Distributing Alms and Voluntary Donations) and Dompot Dhu’afa (the Relief Fund for the Weak) have been established.¹⁰⁰⁵ So, choosing a trusted middleman is more effective than involving other organizations or local government.

To sum up, the project to provide rain water containers for the villagers of Pakel, Yogyakarta chimed with the interests of PPME The Hague in terms of reducing the suffering of others, something the local government had not paid enough attention to. Moreover, both the efforts of the villagers and the ultimate realization of the social project can be attributed to the confidence of PPME’s board in the middleman. This

¹⁰⁰³ Wagito, interview, 12 May 2010.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Sugiyanto, interview, 12 May 2010.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Didin Hafidhuddin, *Strategi Pengembangan Zakat Indonesia*, in Didin Hafidhuddin, et al., *The Power of Zakat* (Malang: UIN Malang Press in Cooperation with Pusat Kajian Zakat dan Wakaf “el-Zawa”, 2008), 94-102.

contrasts with PPME Amsterdam's less control approach to the process of distributing its alms and voluntary donations in the 1990s. PPME The Hague and its middleman actively coordinated in selecting the recipients for their donations and accomplishing the project.



Picture 5 (left). A collective PAH capable of storing 5,000 litres of water. Source: Author's collection.

Picture 6 (right). A PAH for one group of seven which is capable of holding 15,000 litres of water. Source: Author's collection.

2. A Future Educational Institution (the End of 2008)

At the end of 2008, a number of anonymous PPME Amsterdam donors – they preferred to be called *Hamba-hamba Allah* (Creatures of God) – invited Khoirul Muttaqin,¹⁰⁰⁶ the *imam* for the organization's *Ramaḍān* activities (discussed in the following section), to organize their *zakāt al-māl*. Their preference for Muttaqin was not spontaneous. Muttaqin had previously organized PPME Amsterdam's *zakāt al-fīṭr* for needy

¹⁰⁰⁶ Muttaqin is a member of Syari'ah Board of PKS in Depok. Since the end of 2006, Muttaqin, a son of the owner of Roisah Pesantren in Jepara has occupied a house situated in Mekarjaya of the Sukmajaya district, Depok. This is where he concentrated on realizing his plan to construct a campus *pesantren* in coordination with PPME Amsterdam's donors. It is worth noting that he has been the invited *imam* for PPME Amsterdam's *Ramaḍān* activities since 2005 because of his connection to Yoyok Bishro, an activist of central PKS. In 2010, with the full financial support of PPME Amsterdam, Muttaqin and his wife went to Mecca to perform pilgrimage. In Depok, he actively delivers a weekly sermon for the adult female and young congregations (detailed information on him is discussed in chapter 7). Khoirul Muttaqin, interview, Depok, West Java, 9 March 2010.

people in Jepara in 2005 and its voluntary financial donations for good causes such as the renovation of the building of Pesantren Roisah and the purchase of new land to allow for its expansion in 2007. These renovations were arranged together with the leaders of the *pesantren* that belonged to his parents. In addition, he also contributed to realizing PPME Amsterdam's goal of having the *pesantren* take care of more orphans and needy children with PPME's financial support (2008).¹⁰⁰⁷ Muttaqin was considered a trusted middleman by Roisah in terms of winning financial support from donors for its development. Furqon, the chairman of Roisah stated: "Khoirul Muttaqin has played a main role in gaining financial assistance from PPME Amsterdam's members for the Roisah's programmes. It does not matter to us that Khoirul Muttaqin does not want to live in Jepara. The most important principal is his keeping in contact with us."¹⁰⁰⁸ Rudi, one of PPME Amsterdam donors, stated:

Khoirul Muttaqin was a proper person to distribute such alms and voluntary donations. He frequently consulted with the donors before he spent their money and informed them what he had done with the donations. For example, he provided reports on the plan to construct a campus *pesantren* [educational institution] in the area, including his forming of a committee to realise the plan, comprising members from multi-disciplinary backgrounds and his efforts to legalise the relevant sites in Depok as land of *wakaf* [*waqf*] (property donated for religious and community use). I myself have visited the areas.¹⁰⁰⁹

Muttaqin himself acknowledged:

I was regarded, by one of the *Hamba-hamba Allah*, as the right person, and the person they have been waiting for to organize the annual almsgiving and voluntary donations of PPME Amsterdam for the purchase of new areas in Indonesia where socio-religious activities can be held. In

¹⁰⁰⁷ All the activities related to Muttaqin will be discussed in chapter 7.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Nurul Furqon (the chairman of Roisah Foundation), interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Rudi (the owner of Indonesian restaurant *Tempo Doeloe*), interview, Krommenie, 7 February 2010.

my opinion, this was not an easy task. Therefore, I always kept in contact with the PPME's donors, especially the person who made the largest financial donation, before spending their money.¹⁰¹⁰

As a result, in 2008 and 2009 the anonymous donors have donated their *zakāt al-māl* directly to Muttaqin.¹⁰¹¹ This signifies that he has honoured the trust placed in him by PPME Amsterdam and that he has not abused their confidence in him.¹⁰¹²

The following trust situation, in which the charity of PPME in 2008-2009 took place, appears to be an example of what Coleman has defined as a "trust situation", in which "the trustor voluntarily places resources in the hands of a trustee without formal safeguards."¹⁰¹³ In 2008, the donations amounted to € 39,493 and this was used to purchase various sites consisting of approximately 3,000 square metres. The first area of 2,600 square metres was bought for € 12.7 per square metre and a second area of 400 square metres was bought at a price of around € 16 per square metre.¹⁰¹⁴ These areas are situated in Jatimulya, in the District of Cilodong, Southeast Depok, which is about 5 kilometres from Muttaqin's home in Depok. In 2009, a single donor, Rudi, transferred € 7, 246 to the *imam* for his annual almsgiving.¹⁰¹⁵ It should be noted that the *Hamba-hamba Allah* transferred all their financial donations to Muttaqin without any documentation, proof of transaction, witnesses or written reports. There existed only intensive communication between Muttaqin and Rudi.

¹⁰¹⁰ Muttaqin, interview, 9 March 2010.

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid.

¹⁰¹² The term "Honouring Trust" comes from Vincent Buskens and Werner Raub. See Vincent Buskens and Werner Raub, "Embedded Trust: Control and Learning," in Shane R. Thye and Edward J. Lawler, *Group Cohession, Trust and Solidarity* (USA: Elsevier Science Ltd., 2002), 169-173.

¹⁰¹³ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁴ These areas are situated in South East Depok, near Grand Depok City. Muttaqin, interview, 9 March 2010.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid.

The intensive communication apparently, then, contributed to the trust of the *Hamba-hamba Allah* in Muttaqin in terms of how the purchased land would be used.¹⁰¹⁶ Rudi stated: “I had no idea about the purchased areas. I have left that to Muttaqin. I only needed to visit the planned educational institution in order to know the construction was being completed.”¹⁰¹⁷ This freedom stimulated the *imam* to make a plan for the purchased land and he proposed establishing an educational institution initially, for *santris* who had graduated from Madrasah Aliyah.¹⁰¹⁸ Students who could complete offered courses at the future institution would be awarded a diploma equivalent to an undergraduate degree. In addition to a focus on learning the Quran by heart, its *santris* would be taught about computers, management, and technology. Furthermore, it was hoped that the project would eventually be extended to accommodate not only post-Madrasah Aliyah *santris*, but also those who had graduated from lower levels of formal education, such as primary, junior, and senior high schools. There would be boarding houses and a sports arena. In order to realise the plan, the first step was to establish a non-profit foundation for learning the Quran by heart. Then, the construction of a mosque would follow.¹⁰¹⁹

Muttaqin’s plan seems to be in accordance with the PKS agenda of providing education for Indonesian communities, from kindergarten to senior high school, through a programme called Sekolah Islam Terpadu (SIT, Integrated Islamic School).¹⁰²⁰ According to SIT’s creator, Hidayat Nur

¹⁰¹⁶ Muttaqin has allowed inhabitants residing around these areas to plant what they would like. At the start of 2010, banana, corn and cassava trees had been planted. The younger brother of the head of *Rukun Warga* (RW, Harmonious Inhabitants), called Mamik, has been one of the participants in the activity.

¹⁰¹⁷ Rudi, interview, 7 February 2010.

¹⁰¹⁸ Muttaqin, interview, 9 March 2010.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁰ See Sri Guno Najib Chaqoqo, “Mengukuhkan Lembaga Pendidikan sebagai Basis Dakwah,” accessed 14 November 2013, <http://www.stainsalatiga.ac.id/mengukuhkan-lembaga-pendidikan-sebagai-basis-dakwah/>.

Wahid, a prominent PKS leader, this programme prioritized moral and character education.¹⁰²¹ Muttaqin acknowledged that: “This idea resulted from him and his friends at PKS who were involved in his team for the construction of an educational institution. This big plan would start in 2012 and will be aimed at turning out technocrat *ustadzs* (Islamic teachers with expertise).”¹⁰²² This kind of education may lead to an integrated model of learning that implements a multi- or interdisciplinary approach;¹⁰²³ it is hoped that students will understand not only Islamic teaching, but also acquire secular expertise.



Picture 7. Purchased lands for an educational institution in the future.
Source: Author's collection.

Muttaqin succeeded in maintaining good relations with Rudi. This can be seen as a form of moral responsibility as a trustee and as a way of extending his good track record in order to gain more financial support for future projects. In

¹⁰²¹ Hafidz Muftisany, “Hidayat Apresiasi Pendidikan Karakter Islam Terpadu,” <http://www.m.republika.co.id/berita/menuju-jakarta-1/news/12/05/19m498x4-hidayat-apresiasi-pendidikan-karakter-sekolah-islam-terpadu>.

¹⁰²² Ibid. The following information is beyond the present research: Muttaqin could build a Ma'had Tahfiz (Islamic Boarding for Memorizing the Qur'an) on the lands purchased at the end of 2015. Nurul Furqon, e-mail to author, 1 December 2015.

¹⁰²³ Cf. Muhaimin, *Nuansa Baru Pendidikan Islam: Mengurangi Benang Kusut Dunia Pendidikan* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2006), 181.

other words, Muttaqin's emphasis on honouring the trust placed in him by PPME Amsterdam cannot be separated from his hope of gaining increased financial support.

II. PPME's *Ramaḍān* Programmes (2000s): Islamic Preachers, PKS Members and Former PPME Members

Mohammad Arkoun does not support the invitation of Islamic preachers or scholars to the *Ramaḍān* programmes held by Muslims living in non-Muslim countries. Instead, he recommends promoting European Islam.¹⁰²⁴ Similarly, Ghaly and Landman promote Dutch Islam in the case of the Netherlands, i.e. "interpreting Islamic beliefs and ethics in such a way consistent with the current situation of Muslims in the Netherlands as a religious minority living in a strongly secularist country."¹⁰²⁵ PPME preferred, however, to invite Islamic preachers or scholars from Indonesia for such events. Such a course of action was not only endorsed by former PPME members living in Indonesia, but also by officials of the Indonesian Embassy and PKS. This resulted in the establishment of links with a wide range of actors through its annual *Ramaḍān* programmes. The contributions of not only Jakarta's Vice-Governor/Governor, Fauzi Bowo, but also the activists of PKS have been evident, facilitating PPME's invitations to preachers and scholars of Islam who, ultimately, became middlemen for PPME, organizing and distributing its alms and voluntary donations in Indonesia, as discussed in the previous section.

Even though PPME has organized a *Ramaḍān* programme since 1972, it only began inviting Islamic preachers and scholars from Indonesia in the mid-1990s. This is much later than, for instance, the Turkish and Moroccan Muslim communities in the Netherlands who had been inviting *imams* to similar programmes since the 1970s.¹⁰²⁶ As previously discussed, PPME has held joint religious activities, such

¹⁰²⁴ W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, *Muslims in Nederland*, 60-62 and Ghaly, "The Academic Training of Imams," 373.

¹⁰²⁵ Ghaly, "The Academic Training of Imams," 376 and see also Nico Landman, *Imamopleiding in Nederland: Kansen en knelpunten* (Utrecht: Utrecht University, 1996), 21.

¹⁰²⁶ Welmoet Boender, "Imam in Nederland: Opvattingen over zijn religieuze rol in de samenleving," (PhD Thesis, Leiden University), 2007, 16.

as performing collective *tarāwīh* prayers, collecting *zakāt al-ḥiṭr* and *zakāt al-māl*, and nightly reciting the Qur'an during *Ramaḍān*. Such activities were held in cooperation with the Indonesian embassy, but no Islamic preacher or scholar of Islam was invited from Indonesia for the *Ramaḍān* programme. Invitations were issued, however, for the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday held in September 1995 and 1996. There were no criteria set for who should be invited from Indonesia. The only requirement was that they were capable of delivering a good Islamic sermon, holding the attention of their audience and, in turn, stimulating them to offer financial donations to purchase a place of worship (1995) and renovate it (1996). As previously mentioned, Syamlan was invited to the event of 1995 and Zainuddin M. Z. was invited to the event of 1996.¹⁰²⁷ Afterwards, there was no Islamic scholar or preacher from Indonesia to the PPME *Ramaḍān* programmes until the early 2000s.

A. Networks of PPME The Hague (2004): Islamic Preachers for *Ramaḍān* Programme

PPME The Hague was not the main organizer of the *Ramaḍān* programme held at the Indonesian *al-Hikmah* Mosque, but PPME's board and congregations have provided voluntarily financial contributions for the living expenses of the invited preacher or scholar of Islam during their stay in the Netherlands. They made this contribution in return for benefitting from the preaching or lectures delivered by the invited *imam* during every afternoon throughout *Ramaḍān* before breaking the fast.¹⁰²⁸ Issuing invitations to the preachers or scholars of Islam from Indonesia, after the purchase of the mosque in 1996, was carried out by members of the mosque's board who were mostly officials of the Indonesian Embassy for the Netherlands. These arrangements for the *Ramaḍān* programme commenced beginning in 2004.¹⁰²⁹

There were three objectives behind the involvement of

¹⁰²⁷ See M. Isyak, *Laporan Pertanggung-jawaban Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1994-1996* (The Hague: PPME the Netherlands, 1997), 9.

¹⁰²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰²⁹ Hasyim (secretary of *al-Hikmah* Mosque in The Hague), interview, 27 April 2011.

preachers and scholars of Islam from Indonesia. Firstly, the board of the mosque was concerned with regular religious activities with special Islamic teachers during *Ramaḍān*. Secondly, the presence of Islamic teachers from outside the congregation of the mosque and the PPME was designed to attract larger audiences. Thirdly, they were invited to provide religious enlightenment for Indonesian Muslims attending scheduled activities.¹⁰³⁰ In this way, the task of the invited *imam* in the Netherlands accords with the statement of Boender and Kanmaz, i.e. that “*imams* in the country not only lead prayers, but also deliver Islamic teaching.”¹⁰³¹

While the Moroccan government provided extra *imams* to Europe in order to assist the *Ramaḍān* programme of its citizens,¹⁰³² the board of *al-Hikmah* cooperated not only with the staff of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands, but also with a Vice-Governor of Jakarta, Fauzi Bowo who then became the governor of the province.¹⁰³³ Rosyidi, a local member of the protocol staff at the Indonesian Embassy and a member of PPME’s board in the Netherlands, telephoned the secretary to the Governor, Eni, to inform him that the mosque’s board wanted to invite a knowledgeable Islamic figure. Rosyidi’s call was followed up by an official request from Hasyim, a local staff member of religious affairs at the Embassy.¹⁰³⁴ Bowo approved the plan and Eni called Rosyidi about the arrangements for the arrival of the proposed figure in the Netherlands. The board and Rosyidi were accustomed to following these kinds of procedures. The fact is that it was Bowo, not the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands or the Indonesian government, who personally provided financial support for the air tickets and expenses of the invited guest and the board provided accommodation.

¹⁰³⁰ Rosyidi, interview, 18 February 2011.

¹⁰³¹ Cf. Welmoet Boender and Meryem Kanmaz, “Imams in the Netherlands and Islam Teachers in Flanders,” in Shadid and Van Koningsveld (eds.), *Intercultural Relations and Religious Authorities: Muslims in the European Union*, 170.

¹⁰³² Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Muslims in Nederland*, 53.

¹⁰³³ Fauzi Bowo was Vice-Governor of Jakarta from October 2002 to October 2007; he was elected as the Governor of the province from October 2007 to October 2012.

¹⁰³⁴ Eni, telephone interview, 3 March 2012.

The mosque's board set the criteria, which unfortunately fell outside the scope which the Dutch government preferred, for who should be invited. The invited Islamic scholars or preachers had never experienced *imam* education in the Netherlands, which had been the subject of heated debates in the 1990s, especially in the Dutch parliament.¹⁰³⁵ Although they were *imams* who mastered Islamic knowledge enabling them to work for a mosque, they did not understand the life of Dutch society so that they could adequately supervise their mosques' congregation when responding to their questions and solving their problems according to the Dutch context – the intention of both the Dutch government and the Second Chamber of the Netherlands in the early 2000s.¹⁰³⁶ In fact, the invited *imams* had to meet a number of criteria. Firstly, in addition to them being an expert in the field of Islam, they should be moderate – able to accommodate other schools of Islam and certainly not be a fanatic. In addition, he or she should be capable of understanding the religious conditions and the level of their audiences. Lastly, the person invited should be capable of reciting the Quran well.¹⁰³⁷ These criteria were never discussed with the leading figures of PPME¹⁰³⁸ and it was very likely that when the person invited did not speak Dutch, this would lead to communication problems with PPME's Dutch-speaking second generation.¹⁰³⁹ Among those guests who came were Prof. Azyumardi Azra, the rector of UIN Jakarta (2004), Dr. Ahsin Sakho Muhammad, the vice rector of the Institute of Quranic Science (IIQ) Jakarta (2004), Dr. Anwar Ibrahim, the vice chairperson of the fatwa commission of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) and

¹⁰³⁵ Boender, "Imam in Nederland: Opvattingen over zijn religieuze rol in de samenleving," 20-21.

¹⁰³⁶ See Amer, "Kennis en gezag," 89-90, Ghaly, "The Academic Training of Imams," 378-379, and Wendela Koelman, "Religious Professional, Not Polder-Imam: Students at the HBO Imam Training Programme on Their Future Career Perspectives," Master Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2010, 6 and 21-22.

¹⁰³⁷ Hasyim, interview, 27 April 2011.

¹⁰³⁸ A. Naf'an Sulchan, interview, The Hague, 11 December 2011.

¹⁰³⁹ Amer, "Kennis en gezag," 89-90.

the Council of National Syari'ah (2005),¹⁰⁴⁰ Prof. Hamdani Anwar, a chairperson of the research and development division of the MUI (2006)¹⁰⁴¹ and Jundah M.Ag., a chairperson of the Forum Komunikasi Ustadzah [*Ustādha*] (Female Islamic Teachers/Preachers Forum, 2009).¹⁰⁴²

In order to examine the contribution that these guests made to the congregation of the mosque and to PPME, two of them will be discussed below. Unlike Azyumardi Azra, who spent only three days in the Netherlands (October 29-31, 2004),¹⁰⁴³ Hamdani Anwar spent the whole of *Ramaḍān* of 2006 in the Netherlands. Consequently, he was able to conduct more activities. Indeed, he was to become a middleman for the PPME charity in Yogyakarta (discussed in the following section). Anwar, born in Ambarawa on January 7, 1953, was a graduate of the State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN), currently called the Islamic State University (UIN) Jakarta. He is also a professor in the field of *hadīth* exegesis (*tafsīr al-ḥadīth*) at the same university. Between 2004 and 2007, he was a member of a team for the revision of Quranic transliteration and exegesis of the Department of Religious Affairs. He was a chairperson of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) from 2005 onwards and, until June 2009, he was the director of Post Graduate Studies at Perguruan Tinggi Ilmu al-Qur'an (PTIQ, Higher Education of Quranic Science) in Jakarta.¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰⁴⁰ Sulaiman Syarif (the former chairman of the board of *al-Hikmah* Mosque and the former attaché of political affairs at the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague), *Permohonan Muballigh kepada Dr. Ing. H. Fauzi Bowo, Wakil Gubernur Propinsi DKI Jakarta*, 14 July 2005, The Hague. See also Dinas Informasi dan Komunikasi Pemerintah Kota Tangerang, "Ustadzah [*Ustadha*] Hj. Jundah Berdakwah sampai [...] Belanda," accessed 18 November 2013, <http://www.tangerangkota.go.id/mobile/detailberita/2421>.

¹⁰⁴¹ Hamdani Anwar, interview, Depok, 24 June 2009.

¹⁰⁴² Jundah, interview, The Hague, 20 September 2009.

¹⁰⁴³ Sulaiman Syarif, *Surat Perihal Muballigh dari Jakarta*, The Hague, 10 September 2004.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Anwar, interview, 24 June 2009. See "Daftar Nomor Induk Dosen Nasional Dosen Tetap UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta," accessed 19 November 2011, <http://lpjm.uinjkt.ac.id/NIDON%20Dosen%20Tetap%20UIN.pdf>. See also Achmad Fahrizal Zulfani al-Hanif, "Dr. K.H. Aksin Sakho Muhammad," accessed 18 November 2011, <http://zulfanioey.blogspot.com/2011/06/dr-kh-ahsin-sakho-muhammad.html>.

The involvement of Anwar in the *Ramaḍān* programme was a result of the connection of officials of the Indonesian Embassy. Indeed, his involvement in the mosque's *Ramaḍān* programmes resulted from information delivered by Syarif, whose son, Sulaiman Syarif, was a former counsellor at the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague and a former chairperson of *al-Hikmah* Mosque. A few months prior to *Ramadan* 2006, Sulaiman called his father to request a qualified preacher for the *Ramaḍān* programme being organized by the board of *al-Hikmah*. Syarif proposed Anwar, a preacher (*pembina*) at Islamic teaching gatherings (*majelis*) held after dawn prayers at the mosque in Bintaro, South Jakarta where Syarif had been a board member. Having received further information on Anwar from Sulaiman Syarif, the chairperson of *al-Hikmah* called Ajib Anwar, an attaché at the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague, to invite Anwar to preach at the *Ramaḍān* programme.¹⁰⁴⁵

Anwar was selected because of his focus on Quranic studies, something that the mosque's board had been encouraging its congregation to embrace during *Ramaḍān*. Indeed, Hasyim emphasized that the board had been trying to provide Quranic lessons for the congregation in order to develop cadres of *mujawwidīn* (those capable of reciting the Quran correctly).¹⁰⁴⁶ Having been selected, Anwar was kindly requested to collect his air tickets from Fauzi Bowo and was told that his accommodation had already been arranged by the board of *al-Hikmah* in cooperation with the Indonesian Embassy.¹⁰⁴⁷

During his stay in the Netherlands in 2006, Anwar conducted diverse tasks. He led each session of *tarāwīh* and *ʿid al-fiṭr* prayers in *al-Hikmah*. He also delivered Islamic sermons to the congregation of the Indonesian Embassy every Friday during Ramadan 2006. In addition, he delivered Islamic lectures to the congregation of *al-Hikmah* every Saturday,¹⁰⁴⁸ attended by many members of PPME

¹⁰⁴⁵ Sulaiman Syarif, telephone interview, 2 January 2012.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Hasyim, interview, 27 April 2011.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Anwar, interview, 24 June 2009.

The Hague. This is where the preacher and his wife met and got to know Tati Abbas, a vice chairperson of PPME The Hague.¹⁰⁴⁹ Anwar also accepted invitations from members of PPME's congregation for private consultations in their homes.¹⁰⁵⁰ Shadid and Van Koningsveld describe such consultations as "part of the intensification of social life during *Ramaḍān* taking place, especially, because of extra invitations for a meal with friends or acquaintances...."¹⁰⁵¹ Such an invitation may lead to discuss daily problems they were encountering. For instance, members wanted to discuss issues such as living together before marriage and the difficulty of performing prayers in the workplace. In response to the issue of performing obligatory prayers, Anwar suggested that they pray during breaks. He suggested that they should consult with PPME's imams to discuss questions of cohabitation,¹⁰⁵² as they are not only knowledgeable of Islam, but also have relevant knowledge of living in the Netherlands. Thus, the criteria for imams to not only be qualified in Islamic knowledge, but also to be accustomed to the life of Dutch society are important.

It is worth re-visiting the previously mentioned fact that PPME The Hague had been able to establish links with Anwar and his wife, Nila. As a result, Abbas, on behalf of PPME The Hague, publicly expressed her confidence in the wife of the preacher as an intermediary for PPME charity in Indonesia. Abbas stated: "I have found a person for the PPME's social activities in Indonesia. She was Nila who the PPME board got to know during the 2006 *Ramaḍān* programme. Furthermore, she was prepared to organize PPME The Hague's social activities in Indonesia. Thus, we would keep coordinating with each other about these activities."¹⁰⁵³ The interpersonal connection between Tati and Nila cannot be separated from the role of Rosyidi in linking Hasyim, an official of the Indonesian Embassy, to the secretary of the Governor

¹⁰⁴⁹ Nila (the wife of Anwar), interview, Depok, 24 June 2009.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Anwar, interview, 24 June 2009.

¹⁰⁵¹ See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 148.

¹⁰⁵² Anwar, interview, 24 June 2009.

¹⁰⁵³ Abbas, interview, 5 December 2009.

of Jakarta in the business of inviting Islamic and preachers or scholars to the Netherlands.

We now turn to the second invitee, Jundah. She was born in Tangerang on 3 March 1962 and received a master's degree from the State Islamic University (UIN) of Jakarta in the field of *da'wa* communication. In 2008, she founded the Forum Komunikasi Ustadzah. By September 2009, 2,500 *ustadhas* had joined this forum. They came from 13 districts of Tangerang, West Java. The forum's primary focus has been to improve the quality of female Islamic teachers through monthly meetings and Training of Trainers (TOT) programmes. In order to achieve its goals, the forum cooperated with the local government of Tangerang.¹⁰⁵⁴

Unlike Anwar, Jundah's involvement with PPME was entirely due to official connections. Two months before *Ramaḍān* in 2009, Firdaus Dahlan, a Counsellor for Information and Culture at the Indonesian Embassy and the chairperson of *al-Hikmah*'s board, called Jundah to ask her to send her curriculum vitae to him. This request from Dahlan came in his capacity as a coordinator of the search for an Islamic scholar or preacher for the *Ramaḍān* programme of *al-Hikmah*. He called her following a recommendation by Fauzi Bowo about her activities in Tangerang.¹⁰⁵⁵ She was deliberately selected as the first woman to be invited to participate in the *Ramaḍān* programme in the Netherlands.¹⁰⁵⁶ It is worth viewing this decision in the context of the fact that there were, generally, no female preachers in the Turkish and Moroccan communities in the Netherlands; for example, in the Moroccan Hassani Mosque in Tijnl where there was no female congregation until the late 1990s.¹⁰⁵⁷ However, gender was not the only factor in selecting Jundah. She was also approached due to her experience in improving the

¹⁰⁵⁴ Jundah, interview, 20 September 2009. See also Dini, "500 Ustadzah Tangerang Mendapat Pelatihan," accessed 19 November 2011, <http://www.tangselraya.com/advertorial/34-adv-pdam-tb/2033-500-ustadzah-tangerang-mendapat-pelatihan.html>.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Hasyim, interview, 27 April 2011.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Strijp, *Om de moskee*, 132-133.

quality of *ustadhas*, an issue that also interested the mosque's board.¹⁰⁵⁸ Having accepted the offer, Dahlan collected her air tickets from Fauzi Bowo who had become the Governor of Jakarta. Bowo expressed his support for her visit to the Netherlands to improve the Islamic knowledge of Indonesian Muslims residing there.¹⁰⁵⁹

Jundah, who had declared herself to serve God, had a tight schedule during her stay in the Netherlands. On the Friday afternoon before breaking the fast she delivered Islamic sermons to the congregation at the Indonesian Embassy. On Wednesday and Thursday afternoons she gave Quranic lessons to the congregation at the mosque, most of whom were PPME members. On Saturday and Sunday afternoons of that week she delivered yet more Islamic sermons, this time to a congregation consisting of both men and women including non-PPME members, an *ikhtilāf* that would never happen in very strict Muslim communities.¹⁰⁶⁰ In addition, Dahlan asked her to reiterate messages on maintaining good 'Indonesian' behavior during her sermons. In response, Jundah prepared materials, especially, related to expressing gratitude to God and educating children to be pious individuals (*ṣāliḥ*). Pertaining to the former, she frequently delivered a sermon about "the need to be grateful about what God has bestowed us by giving donations, for instance, for providing a place of worship" [which Indonesian communities in the Netherlands really still needed].¹⁰⁶¹ For the latter, she preferred to focus on educating children that should begin at home by their parents which would enable the parents to introduce and teach Indonesian identities to their children.¹⁰⁶²

The facts show that the *Ramaḍān* programme was no guarantee for PPME's board that it would find a middleman for its social activities in Indonesia. However, it certainly did appear to facilitate PPME The Hague in making connections with the invited preachers or scholars.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Hasyim, interview, 27 April 2011.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Jundah, interview, 20 September 2009.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See Shadid and Van Koningsveld, *Islam in Nederland en België*, 53.

¹⁰⁶¹ Jundah, interview, 20 September 2009.

¹⁰⁶² *Ibid.*

B. Networks of PPME Branches in Amsterdam (2005): PKS Activists and Former Members

PPME Amsterdam has held a *Ramaḍān* programme for its members and sympathizers since the early 2000s.¹⁰⁶³ The presence of Indonesian Islamic preachers or scholars among the congregation of PPME The Hague was a result of the endeavors of *al-Hikmah*. By contrast, the presence of preachers and scholars in Amsterdam was a direct result of efforts and invitations from members of PPME Amsterdam's board.¹⁰⁶⁴ The board, then, was authorized to determine the qualifications of any invited Islamic preachers or scholars. They did, in fact, have certain criteria for the selection process. In addition to being knowledgeable about Islam and to be able to recite the Quranic verses well, it was seen as an advantage if the candidate could recite the Quran by heart.¹⁰⁶⁵ Finally, the person invited should not be opposed to the congregation's devotion, which, according to Ghaly, had become a cause of "divergence of Muslims living in the Netherlands."¹⁰⁶⁶ This last qualification was a primary factor in the final decision of PPME Amsterdam when selecting an *imam* for its *Ramaḍān* programme. This was also crucial for PPME Amsterdam when establishing much-needed links with Islamic preachers and scholars in Indonesia; those of PKS.

In fact, there has been a tendency to recruit Islamic preachers or scholars who had links to PKS. Budi Santoso, a vice-chairperson of PPME Amsterdam, asserted that the connection of the PPME Amsterdam with the representative of PKS outside Indonesia called PIP PKS was deliberately given the focus of board members of both organizations on *da'wa* activities.¹⁰⁶⁷ This link was endorsed by Abdul Aziz Balbaid, an adviser of PPME Amsterdam, who stated that Deden and Didin, the chairman and the secretary of PIP PKS

¹⁰⁶³ *Euromoslem* 69, November-December 1999, 12 and Budi Santoso, interview, Jombang, 13 April 2010.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ghaly, "The Academic Training of Imams," 374.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Santoso, interview, 13 April 2010.

in the Netherlands, still made contact with him.¹⁰⁶⁸ As a result, they and other PKS activists have frequently visited PPME Amsterdam's activities, such as *sportdagen* (sport days), the feasts at *'id al-fiṭr*, and the *'id al-aḍḥā*. Deden even stated that he was prepared to assist the board of PPME Amsterdam in inviting Islamic preachers from Indonesia,¹⁰⁶⁹ an activity that he believed could endorse the party's goal to create 'an ideal society' through *da'wa* activities.¹⁰⁷⁰ More detail on the links of the invited Islamic preachers or scholars with PKS are given below.

The majority of the invited Islamic preachers or scholars have had links to PKS. It should be noted that they were invited for the *Ramaḍān* program despite the schism within PPME Amsterdam in 2005. For instance, Ahmad Yani and Jazuli Juweini (leading figures in PKS) were invited prior to the split, whereas other PKS activists, such as Amang Syafrudin (2005), Khoirul Muttaqin (2005–2011), and Ahzami Samiun Jazuli (2006) were invited following the organization's disintegration.¹⁰⁷¹ Therefore, the split did not break the relationship of the conflicting leading figures of the two groups (PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam) with PKS scholars and preachers. This is because the leaders of the two groups were affiliated with that party.

As mentioned, PPME Amsterdam invited Khoirul Muttaqin to lead its *Ramaḍān* activities in 2005. He was still the *imam* for this programme in 2009. It is useful, therefore, to examine his background. He was born in a village called Surodadi, Jepara, Central Java, characterized by the traditionalist religious orientation and devotions of its inhabitants. In this village, there is a traditionalist Pesantren Sabilul Hadi (The Path to the Guide), where Muttaqin studied Islamic classical books prior to his attendance at the more puritanical-oriented Institute for Islamic Knowledge and Arabic (LIPIA), Jakarta in 1998. This means that Muttaqin had

¹⁰⁶⁸ Abdul Aziz Balbaid, interview, Amsterdam, 28 July 2008.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Deden S. Permana, interview, Schiedam, 11 November, 2008.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Kees van Dijk, "Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Radical, Moderate and Practical," (Cleveringa Lecture, 4 December 2004, Indonesian University, Depok), 12.

¹⁰⁷¹ Santoso, interview, 13 April 2010.

been a traditionalist prior to furthering his education at LIPIA, “an institute of high learning established and directly sponsored by Saudi Arabia.”¹⁰⁷² With regard to learning and reciting the Quran by heart, Muttaqin had been tutored by his parents, particularly his mother who strongly encouraged him to memorize the Quran. In fact, within two years of completing his study at an Islamic senior high school in Bugel, a village 5 kilometers from his home village of Surodadi, Muttaqin was able to recite the Quran by heart. Then, between 1994 and 1996, he lived with his uncle, Hasyim Nawawi, in Mecca in order to further his Islamic knowledge. In 1998, he embarked on an undergraduate programme focused on Islamic Law (*Syari‘a*) at LIPIA, which he completed in 2006. He also became a founding member of the Council of Islamic Law of PKS in Depok (1998). In 2005, he married a *hāfiẓa* girl (a girl who knows the Quran by heart) from Mranggen, Demak, Central Java. Since the end of 2006, they have lived in a house situated in the Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal (BKPN, Body of Coordination of Capital Investment) complex in Mekarjaya, in the district of Sukmajaya, Depok.¹⁰⁷³

The involvement of Khoirul Muttaqin in the *Ramaḍān* programme cannot be separated from his status as a PKS activist. A few months before *Ramadan* 2005, he was called by Yoyoh Yusroh, a PKS politician, who passed on the request from Siti Atma, the coordinator of PPME Amsterdam’s *da‘wa* activity. Having consulted with his family and close friends and seeking permission from the rector of LIPIA for a period of absence, Muttaqin accepted the request from PPME Amsterdam. In fact, he had married only a

¹⁰⁷² Noorhaidi Hasan, “From Apolitical Quietism to Jihadist Activism: ‘Salafis’, Political Mobilization, and Drama of Jihad in Indonesia,” in Azyumardi Azra, Kees van Dijk, and N. J. G. Kaptein (eds.), *Variety of Religious Authority* (The Netherlands and Singapore: IIAS and ISEAS, 2010), 143. LIPIA was founded in Jakarta in 1980 and is under the coordination and the supervision of Al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. See “Profil dan Sejarahnya LIPIA,” accessed 11 June 2010, http://www.lipia.org/in/articles.php?article_id=1. This institution is a centre of Salafi teaching and a vehicle used by the Saudi Arabian government to develop a Salafi *da‘wa* movement in Indonesia. See Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj,” 84 and 88.

¹⁰⁷³ Muttaqin, interview, 9 March 2010.

month prior to his departure for the Netherlands. He asserted that information on his curriculum vitae and his response to accept the request was delivered to Siti Atma by Yoyoh Yusroh.¹⁰⁷⁴

There were at least five reasons for choosing Muttaqin for the programme. Firstly, Abdul Aziz Balbaid, an advisor to the association asserted: “We invited an imam who has good qualifications in Islamic knowledge and is good at reciting the Qur’an and who can speak Arabic.”¹⁰⁷⁵ Secondly, Ishak Mansjur, a leading figure of the association, added: “We need an imam who understands Islam correctly and does not perform activities leading to polytheism.”¹⁰⁷⁶ The need to reject activities leading to polytheism has been a frequent discussion among PPME Amsterdam’s congregation, especially in relation to the disintegration of the organization as a result of disagreement about *istighotsah* being accommodated in the new Mosque of *at-Taqwa* (Piety).¹⁰⁷⁷ As previously mentioned, Muttaqin had left his traditionalist traditions behind. He confirmed: “I previously performed such traditionalist practices before taking a degree at LIPIA. Having found valid divine arguments (*dalils*) on it, I rejected this practice.”¹⁰⁷⁸ From this, we can see that resistance or objection to practices that lead to polytheism, like *istighotsah*, was another reason for selecting Muttaqin.¹⁰⁷⁹ Finally, his ability to recite the Quranic verses well when leading the *tarāwīḥ* prayers appear to have been another qualification. In fact, as a result of his ability in this regard, more than a thousand participants – mainly Indonesians, Moroccans, and Egyptians – participated in the *tarāwīḥ* prayers led by Muttaqin during *Ramaḍān*.¹⁰⁸⁰ Their presence increased the financial donations collected prior to performing

¹⁰⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Abdul Aziz Balbaid, interview, The Hague, 14 April 2011.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Mansjur, interview, 30 October 2010.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Anonymous, an e-mail to PPME Amsterdam’s members, 3, 27 July 2005.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Muttaqin, interview, 9 March 2010.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁰ “Sholat Taraweh PPME Amsterdam 1430 H-2009,” accessed 17 March 2010, http://www.youtube.com_watch.v=3ppBM3BdmEI&feature=related at 08.53 on 2 March ‘10 taraweh 01 PPME Amsterdam (1430H-2009) 17_03_2010 and Balbaid, interview, 28 July 2008.

the *tarāwīḥ*. This money enabled PPME Amsterdam to conduct social projects at the Roisah Foundation (discussed in chapter 7).

Muttaqin not only discussed Islamic issues, but social ones, too. While his main task was to lead the *tarāwīḥ* prayers, he also recited *Ḥadīth* (the Prophet's Traditions) called *Arbaʿīn Nawawī* (Forty *Ḥadīths*). After dawn prayers, he discussed Quranic verses, especially those in Chapter al-Nūr (The Light). He used this chapter to discuss family and social issues, including children's reluctance to performing prayers, Islamic law on mixed-religion marriages, and the rules on the intention to marry in order to acquire a residence permit in the Netherlands. It is worth mentioning that Dutch speaking members did not attend these kinds of discussions due to the language barrier,¹⁰⁸¹ arguably another example of the need for *imams* who understand the life of Dutch society and can speak Dutch.

In competition with PPME Amsterdam, members of the PPME al-Ikhlash board made their own efforts to invite Islamic preachers and scholars for its *Ramaḍān* programmes. They used the same qualifications to select candidates as those set by PPME Amsterdam before 2005. However, unlike PPME Amsterdam's board, there was no need to find an *imam* who opposed performing the activity of *istighotsah* including *yasinan* and *tahlilan*. On the contrary, al-Ikhlash carefully selected its preachers on the basis of those who endorse the activity. Consequently, its invited Islamic preachers and scholars do not classify the holders of traditionalist views as polytheist or reject the performing of *istighotsah*. For instance, Amang Syafrudin and Ahzami Samiun Jazuli are the examples of the first category whereas those of the second category are Moh Ali Aziz (2007), M. Nasich Hidayatullah (2008 and 2011), and Moh. Fatoni Dimyati (2009). Even though Jazuli and Dimyati do not oppose the *istighotsah*, they have slightly different viewpoints on it, which will be discussed as examples.

Samiun Jazuli is an Islamic preacher and scholar invited by

¹⁰⁸¹ Muttaqin, interview, 9 March 2010.

PPME al-Ikhlash in 2006. He was born on 24 June 1962 in Pati, Central Java, where traditionalist Muslims are the majority. He was educated at the Pesantren of Raudlatul 'Ulum (The Garden of Knowledge) in Pati before he left for Saudi Arabia where from 1983 to 1986 he studied at al-Jami'ah Imam Muhammad ibn Su'ud al-Islamiyyah (The Islamic University of Imam Muhammad ibn Su'ud). He completed his studies at the university with a doctoral degree in the field of Quranic science.¹⁰⁸² Having completed his study, he was mandated by his parents-in-law, the owners of Yayasan Perguruan Islam (Foundation of Islamic Education) Darul Hikmah (The House of Wisdom), to be the chairperson of the foundation which was founded in 1983 in Bekasi, West Java.¹⁰⁸³ Since 1997, he has been a lecturer in the Postgraduate Program of IAIN (State Institute of Islamic Studies, later called State Islamic University [UIN]), Jakarta, in the field of Quranic exegesis. Until 2010, he was the vice chairperson of Dewan Syari'ah (Council of Islamic Law) of PKS.¹⁰⁸⁴

Jazuli was recommended for the *Ramaḍān* programme by Jazuli Juweini (a preacher previously invited by PPME Amsterdam and a leading PKS figure). As a result, Santoso called Jazuli to invite him to be the imam for al-Ikhlash's programme. Jazuli accepted the invitation, not least because of his desire to perform *da'wa* abroad. He had performed these kinds of activities in previous years for, among others, Indonesian communities in Thailand, Japan, Great Britain, and Germany.¹⁰⁸⁵ However, communication between the two sides expanded beyond the business of inviting Islamic preachers for the *Ramadan* programme. For instance, Budi Santoso consulted Jazuli and Juwaeni on his desire to enroll his daughter at a school in Indonesia.¹⁰⁸⁶ Clearly, these previous links led the leading figure

¹⁰⁸² Ahzami Samiun Jazuli, interview, Bekasi, 25 June 2010. See also Ahzami Samiun Jazuli, *Kehidupan dalam Pandangan al-Qur'an* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2006), n.p.

¹⁰⁸³ Yayasan Perguruan Islam Darul Hikmah, in Koord. Pendidikan Yapidh, accessed 16 March 2010, www.yapidh.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=11&Itemid=4.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Jazuli, interview, 25 June 2010.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Santoso, interview, 13 April 2010.

of al-Ikhlash to establish connections with other Islamic preachers and PKS activists.

The involvement of Jazuli should also not be separated from his views on traditionalist activities. Jazuli accommodates *istighotsah*, as can be seen from this statement:

Binā'u al-rijāl muqaddamun 'alā binā'i al-ahjāri [developing human resources is more important than building constructions]. When the last approach [the construction is the priority] is adopted, the result is a mosque without any activities. Competition for performing good deeds will never occur. Conversely, competition for occupying the mosque will take place. Based upon on this principle, two other principles need to be applied: the first is uniting perception (*waḥdatul-taṣawwur*). When an activity is based upon *dalīl* (divine evidence) its performance is valid. For instance, reciting the chapter of the Quran called Yasin is based on the *dalīl* of *iqraū' alā mawtikum yāsīn* (read Chapter Yāsīn for your deceased). The second is *tazkiyyat al-nafsi* (cleansing the soul), which prioritizes *ikhlah* (sincerity), *ḥusn al-ẓann* (positive thinking) and *tawāḍu'* (humbleness). Without these two principles, our *da'wa* will be directed to our own congregation and never reach others. We are jailed by our own organization or congregation and will never welcome others. As a result, even though we have been living abroad, we are still narrow-minded, leading to questions about where our congregation is. As a consequence, we cannot gather harmoniously with other Muslim groups. Actually, I believe it is possible for us as Muslims to gather in an Islamic centre harmoniously.¹⁰⁸⁷

Even though his statements do not explicitly favor *istighotsah*, Jazuli who can, according to M. Imadudin Rahmat, be regarded as a leading figure of the *pesantren* and Middle Eastern graduates-based element of the PKS and endorsing the *da'wa* activity through a political party,¹⁰⁸⁸ is emphasizing the importance of unity in PPME Amsterdam – this means the performing of *istighotsah* should be accommodated. Jazuli does not forbid performing it.¹⁰⁸⁹ He stated

¹⁰⁸⁷ Jazuli, interview, 25 June 2010. See also Ahzami Samiun Jazuli, *Hijrah dalam Pandangan al-Qur'an* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2006), 267-271.

¹⁰⁸⁸ M. Imadudin Rahmat, *Ideologi Politik PKS: dari Masjid Kampus ke Gedung Parlemen* (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2008), 24-25, 32 and 33. See also Richard Paul Mitchell, *Masyarakat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimun*, 1st ed. (Solo: Era Intermedia, 2005), 255.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Anonymous, an e-mail to PPME Amsterdam's members, p. 3, 27 July 2005.

that a congregation or an organization was a vehicle, and should not marginalize the principal aspects of a believer; namely, one vision for worshipping Allah and calling for *tawḥīd* (monotheism). When we search for the hereafter (see a Quranic chapter called al-Ḥujurāt [The Rooms]: verse 10), we can be united.¹⁰⁹⁰

During Ramadan 2006, Jazuli delivered sermons on and discussed diverse subjects before breaking the fast and after *tarāwīḥ* prayers. For instance, he lectured on Islamic education for children, mixed marriages, unity among Muslims, and the need to improve Islamic knowledge in non-Muslim societies. With regard to this last subject, he asserted: “A believer must be good to his or her neighbours, both Muslim and non-Muslim. He or she should be of benefit to others and needs to have a good relationship with them without necessarily following all their ways (*Naḥnu nakhtaliṭūn wa natamayyazūn*). Our attitudes should be sympathetic – respecting others and making them feel peaceful.”¹⁰⁹¹ He believed that such Islamic preaching could enlighten the congregation of PPME al-Ikhlash living in a society whose majority is non-Muslim.

Moh. Fathoni Dimyati, was born in Mojokerto, East Java on 12 August 1961. He gained his knowledge of the Quran from his parents’ *pesantren* called Bidayatul Hidayah (The Beginning of Divine Guidance) in Mojokerto. It was at the *pesantren* that he completed his Islamic primary and junior high schooling. He continued his education at the Madrasah Alquran (Quranic Islamic school), Tebuireng, Jombang. Then, in 1983 he was awarded the second prize in the international Musābaqatu Ḥifz al-Qur ‘ān (MHQ, Contest in Memorizing the Qur’an) held in Mecca. In 1988, he completed his undergraduate programme at the Da‘wa Faculty of Damascus University, Syria. Having spent his time teaching the *santris* of his parents’ *pesantren* how to memorize the Quran and teaching Arabic to the students of its Islamic senior high school, in June 2009 he became the organizer of Unit Roudlotul Qur’an (The

¹⁰⁹⁰ Jazuli, interview, 25 June 2010.

¹⁰⁹¹ Ibid.

Quranic Studies Unit)¹⁰⁹² of the Pesantren of Bidayatul Hidayah situated in Mojogeneng, Jatirejo, Mojokerto, East Java.¹⁰⁹³

Unlike other invited preachers and scholars who were contacts of Santoso and PKS activists, the presence of Dimiyati resulted from a familial connections with Amang Abdurrahman, a former member of PPME al-Ikhlash. Prior to Dimiyati's arrival in the Netherlands for the *Ramaḍān* programme of 2009, Abdurrahman had, on behalf of al-Ikhlash, been looking for a qualified *imam* since 2006. This *imam* should be capable of reciting the Qur'an well and delivering Islamic sermons, not least because he would be expected to be a keynote preacher in the *khatmi'l-Qur'ān* (the festivity for the inauguration of finishing reciting certain chapters of the Quran) programme. Moreover, the *imam* should have a religious background that matched that of al-Ikhlash's congregation.¹⁰⁹⁴ Assisted by his brother in Gresik, East Java, in 2006, Abdurrahman found a person who fulfilled these criteria; however, Abdurrahman's confirmation was late to reach Dimiyati – he had already responded to a similar request from an Indonesian Muslim congregation in the United States. When Abdurrahman went to Gresik, East Java before Ramadan 2009, he was informed about Dimiyati's wish of becoming such an *imam*.¹⁰⁹⁵ Then, Abdurrahman discussed it with Fatimah, a member of the al-Ikhlash board asserting that Dimiyati should send a Compact Disk (CD) containing the recording of his reciting the Quran and other information on him such as his educational and organizational backgrounds.¹⁰⁹⁶ Based upon the content of his CD, he was selected by PPME al-Ikhlash. Dimiyati was unable to take up Abdurrahman's offer until 2009 when he finally travelled to the Netherlands with the blessing of his family and the principal of the Islamic senior high school where he taught. Dimiyati not only

¹⁰⁹² At this unit, Quranic studies including memorizing the Quranic verses are provided. Moh. Fathoni Dimiyati, interview, Amsterdam, 8 September 2009.

¹⁰⁹³ Moh. Fathoni Dimiyati and Moh. Dimiyati Salim, *Proposal Pembangunan Sarana dan Prasarana Unit Roudlotul Qur'an Pondok Pesantren Bidayatul Hidayah* (Mojokerto: Ponpes Bidayatul Hidayah, 30 June 2009), n.p.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Dimiyati, interview, 8 September 2009.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Ibid.

supports, but also performs traditionalist activities. He addressed his views on this as follows:

Istighotsah is necessarily continued. I am interested in conducting *istighotsah*. If we are smart when we encounter problems, we will not complain to human beings, but rather appeal to Allah, because He determines our destiny. This is a smart solution and extremely beneficial for us. Therefore, we should not doubt our performing of *istighotsah*. In principal, we appeal to God, instead of complaining to human beings.¹⁰⁹⁷

His viewpoints are characteristic of the congregation of al-Ikhlash, i.e. the holders of *istighotsah*.

During his time in the Netherlands, Dimyati delivered diverse sermons on Islam, including on Islamic faith, etiquette, and worship. For instance, he gave a speech about the significance of *Ramaḍān* as the longest and most comprehensive education for a believer on piety after conducting the prayer of *‘īd al-ḥiṭr*. He said that each believer was obliged to take this education every year. In this month, he or she was educated on issues associated with fasting, which were designed to achieve a degree of *taqwā* (piety) for those who graduated from this education. The final session was *‘īd al-ḥiṭr* which emphasized the maintaining of communication and unity with others. This, according to Dimyati, was what characterized a believer.¹⁰⁹⁸ This emphasis was in accordance with the emotional condition of the congregation of al-Ikhlash following its separation from PPME Amsterdam.

To conclude, PPME *Ramaḍān* programmes have been the vehicle for PPME’s boards to establish and sustain their links with scholars of Islam and Islamic preachers in Indonesia. In addition to the assistance from PPME’s former members in Indonesia, the involvement of preachers and scholars in annual PPME programmes cannot be separated from the PPME’s connections with officials of the Indonesian Embassy, PKS activists, and previously invited

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ustadz Fathoni, “PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam Ceramah Ramadhan,” accessed 16 March 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3eNQxvIApP0>.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Wahyu, “Idhul Fitri 4 PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam 2009,” accessed 16 March 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZpyuMNRf78c&feature=related>.

Islamic preachers/scholars. Furthermore, the disunity among PPME Amsterdam's members did not discourage them from continuing to invite Islamic scholars and preachers from Indonesia on the basis of their own approaches, qualifications, and their religious orientations. Finally, the invited preachers and scholars were mostly male and did not speak Dutch. This meant that the Dutch-speaking groups within PPME, who had played significant roles in the organization's development, were somewhat excluded.

Chapter Seven: The Organizational Network of PPME in Indonesia

This chapter sheds light on an organizational network of PPME in Indonesia. This means to discuss its connection to the Roisah Foundation, which is the only organization that PPME has consecutively cooperated with. PPME has decided that Indonesia, rather than Suriname (from where some of its members originally come), is a targeted country for the distribution of its alms and voluntary donations because of its less prosperous people. In order to understand the connection, this chapter will begin with a discussion of the profile of the Roisah Foundation. Then, the following will deal with how PPME established its relationship with the foundation.

I. Roisah Foundation: Its History and Characteristics



Picture 8. The front of the Roisah foundation. Source: Author's collection.

Al-Robithoh al-Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah (Obedient Islamic Bond, usually abbreviated to Roisah) did not start life as a *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school), but rather a house of about 300 square metres. It is situated on the Kauman Street, Surodadi, in the district (*kecamatan*) of

Kedung, Jepara, Central Java. Since the end of the 1960s, Kyai¹⁰⁹⁹ Abdullah Nawawi,¹¹⁰⁰ who was born in Jepara in 1940, has owned the house where he founded Roisah. Given his skills in Quranic recitation, Nawawi, in cooperation with his wife, has prioritized Quranic studies in the house. Therefore, learning the Arabic alphabet, reciting the Quran based upon the knowledge of how to do so correctly (*tajwīd*), reciting the Quran well (*taḥsīn*), reciting the Quran with regular rhythm (*tartīl*), memorizing the Quran (*taḥfīz*), and memorizing and understanding the Quran (*taḥmīl*) have been taught. Less than fifty children (male and female), who lived close to the house attended these lessons, regardless of the social status of their parents.¹¹⁰¹

It is worth noting that the learning of Arabic grammar was not the *kyai*'s top priority. Indeed, taking place in the house of *kyai*, he only taught the children the lowest level of Arabic grammar books, entitled *Al-Jurūmiyya* (Basic Arabic Grammar) and *Al-Amthilat al-Taṣrīfiyya* (Basic Arabic Morphology), (not the higher and advanced levels such as those entitled *Al-ʿImriṭī* (Intermediate Arabic Grammar) and *Alfiyya ibn Mālik* (Advanced Arabic Grammar). Instead, the focus was on Islamic subjects directly pertaining to the understanding of the content of the Qurʾān, including, among others, *al-fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (Quranic exegesis) and *al-ḥadīth* (the accounts of the Prophet Muhammad and his deeds). The children of Roisah were keen not only to be proficient in knowing the Qurʾān by heart (*ḥāfīz al-Qurʾān*), but also knowing the Quran by heart and understanding its content (*ḥāmīl al-Qurʾān*).¹¹⁰² Consequently, basic classical Islamic books, which are

¹⁰⁹⁹ This term is not used in the sense of what Geertz (1960: 134) means, i.e. similar to Middle Eastern ulama, but in the sense of what Dhofier (1980: 68) means; namely, a common label for Javanese Muslim scholars leading *pesantrens*. See also Dindin Solahuddin, *The Workshop for Morality: The Islamic Creativity of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid in Bandung, Java* (Australia: ANU Press, 2008), 41.

¹¹⁰⁰ Kyai Abdullah Nawawi was a graduate of Thānawīyya (Junior High School) of Dār al-ʿUlūm al-Dīniyya in Mecca 1955, and was registered in the 1980s as a member of Syuriah (Consultative Board) in the Jepara branch of a Traditionalist Islamic organization, known as Nahdlatul Ulama. Abdullah Nawawi, interview, Jepara, Middle Java, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰² Ibid.

commonly known as Yellow Islamic Books (*Kitab Kuning*)¹¹⁰³ and taught in Indonesian traditionalist *pesantrens*, were not neglected. These books included, among others, *Safinat al-Najā* (The Ship of Safety), *Sullam al-Taufiq* (The Ladder of Success) and *Tafsīr al-Jalālyn* (The Quranic Exegesis of al-Jalālyn).¹¹⁰⁴

Providing these kinds of lessons in a house of a *kyai* or Islamic teacher is common in Indonesia¹¹⁰⁵ – participants usually live elsewhere and come to the house of the *kyai* or teacher for a number of hours for the lesson. Such a phenomenon also took place in Roisah in its early development (discussed in the following paragraphs). However, most of children studying at Roisah currently stay in the accommodations of the *kyai*. Boys stay in the house of the *kyai* whereas girls stay in a new building behind the house. There they were given an opportunity to be *hāmil al-Qur’ān*. It should be noted that this education is of excellent quality: their teachers know the Qur’an by heart and are experts in reciting the Qur’an and its exegesis. In Java, such qualified education can also be found in other *pesantrens* such as the Sunan Pandanaran Pesantren and the Pesantren of al-Falah (Success). The former is situated in Kaliurang, Yogyakarta and provides a programme for memorizing and understanding the Qur’an¹¹⁰⁶ and the latter is a renowned Pesantren al-Qur’an, in Cicalengka, Eastern Bandung, West Java, that concentrates on reciting the Qur’an in diverse styles, [being *qāri’* rather than being *hāmil al-Qur’ān*].¹¹⁰⁷ This latter *pesantren* that continuously provides courses in Quranic recitation in six semesters is under the leadership of a *qāri’* who was the winner in the National Contest in Reciting the Qur’an in 1968, Ahmad Syahid.¹¹⁰⁸

After more than sixteen years (from the end of the 1960s to 1976),

¹¹⁰³ These books are called Islamic classical books deriving from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries, Lukens-Bull, *Peaceful Jihad*, 14-16.

¹¹⁰⁴ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁰⁵ Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 12-13.

¹¹⁰⁶ See <http://sunan-pandanaran.blogspot.com/>, accessed 7 August 2010.

¹¹⁰⁷ Solahuddin, *The Workshop for Morality*, 5.

¹¹⁰⁸ See “Kurikulum Pesantren,” accessed 11 October 2015, http://quran.alfalah.or.id/alfalah.php?irwcontents=webpage&menu=102&page_id=11 and “Sekilas tentang Pondok Pesantren al-Qur’an al-Falah,” accessed 11 October 2015, http://quran.alfalah.or.id/alfalah.php?irwcontents=webpage&menu=1&page_id=1.

proper accommodations for girls who would learn Quranic studies was built – this was the start to separate the place for their learning from that of boys. In 1974, Nawawi invited the local population of Surodadi and its surroundings, under the coordination of his brother-in-law, Baedhowi, to take part in constructing a building for them. This effort resulted in a new building of eight metres by thirteen metres. It was left without a roof for almost a year due to a lack of funds. However, Soleh, a furniture businessman from Tahunan, a village near Surodadi, finally completed the project. With his financial assistance, both the requisite materials and pay for the labourers were covered. In 1976, the construction of the building used to accommodate female children, especially from outlying villages, and to be the place for their learning could be finished. The new building contributed to increase the number of female children who participated in learning the Quranic studies. The number of children increased from less than fifty to more than sixty; more than thirty of them were girls. In addition, female pupils, who previously stayed in homes of the neighbours of the *kyai*, could now follow the Qur'an lessons in the new building and lodge there.¹¹⁰⁹ This means that their study would no longer take place in the house of the *kyai*, which currently has a second floor built in 2007 where the boys stay.

Following the construction of the accommodations for female children, in 1982 the house was transformed into a *pesantren*, called, Robithoh Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah (The Obedient Islamic Bond),¹¹¹⁰ a name that had been in use since the 1960s.¹¹¹¹ This transformation in status was complemented with the following vision, missions and objectives:

The vision of this *pesantren* is to study Islam and struggle for the sake of Islamic *Sharī'a* (Islamic Law) of *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a*¹¹¹²

¹¹⁰⁹ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹¹⁰ Itqonul Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Izin Operasional Pondok Pesantren Robithoh Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah* (Jepara: Ponpes Roisah, 2009), n.p.

¹¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹¹² The definition of term *al-jamā'a* is diverse. For instance, NU defines Islam of *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a* as divine teaching taught and conducted by the Prophet Muhammad to his companions. This seems that *al-jamā'a* means only the companions. However, NU itself has religious doctrines, which should be

(the Adherents of the Prophet's Traditions and the Community). Meanwhile, its missions are to provide religious education that depends on assured qualifications in order to uphold a Salafi system;¹¹¹³ to prepare and guide Islamic generations who will devote themselves to their religion, society and nation; and to direct *santris* to understand their own identities so that they will become pious [parallel to the word "*al-Muthi'ah*" aimed at educating the Roisah's *santris* to be pious Muslims],¹¹¹⁴ and possess noble behaviours.¹¹¹⁵

In order to realise the vision and missions, the objectives of the *pesantren* were formulated. "*Santris*¹¹¹⁶ are educated to be qualified in mastering Islamic subjects; to devote themselves to public interests; and to actively propagate Islamic missions."¹¹¹⁷ Consequently, the *kyai* obliged his *santris* to study Islam in the *pesantren* and advised them to take formal education (in the sense of going to school).¹¹¹⁸ In fact, the majority of students choose both types of education rather than to limit themselves to study Islam at the *pesantren* (non-formal education).¹¹¹⁹

Since 1995, orphans from Surodadi and its surrounding areas have been a priority for the *pesantren*. The *kyai* and his family have engaged

acknowledged by the community of NU. In theology, NU follows the approach of Abu al-Hasan al-Asy 'ari and Abu Mansur al-Maturidi; in jurisprudence, it especially follows Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'i. In addition, NU also follows the *madhhab* of Abu Hanifa Nu'man ibn Tsabit, Malik ibn Anas and Ahmad ibn Hanbal; and in Islamic mysticism, it follows the method of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali and Junayd al-Baghdadi. See Masyhudi Muchtar, *Aswaja an-Nahdliyah* (Surabaya: Lajnah wa Ta'lif wan Nasyr, 2007), 1-3, 11-12, 22-23 and 28-30. Meanwhile, Salafi people define it as the companions of the Prophet and their followers. See Abi al-Hasan Ali ibn Al'au al-Din and Saliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Aziz Muḥammad Alī Shaykh, *Jāmi' Shurūḥ al-Aqīdat al-Ṭaḥawiyya*, 1st ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Jawzi, 2006), 951.

¹¹¹³ Salafi system is a term that is, currently, comprehended and implemented by Nawawi and his sons, albeit in a contradictory manner, as will be later discussed in the main text.

¹¹¹⁴ The word of *al-Muṭi'ah* is, by coincidence, the name of the *kyai*'s mother-in-law. Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹¹⁵ Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Izin*, n.p.

¹¹¹⁶ There are two classifications of *santris* at the Roisah Pesantren: the *muqim* and the non-*muqim santris*. The former group consist of those *santris* coming from villages outside Surodadi and staying in the *pesantren*; the latter group are identified as those deriving from Surodadi and living in their family houses. Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹¹⁸ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹¹⁹ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

in many endeavours in this regard over the years. Initially, orphans living in the villages were invited to Roisah every *Muḥarram* (the first Islamic month) and *Ramaḍān*, where they received financial gifts and goods.¹¹²⁰ After less than 12 years, in October 2007, a plan was put forward to establish an orphanage called Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa (the House for Orphans and the Poor).¹¹²¹ However, the lack of funds meant that it would take until mid-February 2008 with the financial assistance of PPME Amsterdam for the project to be realised.¹¹²² At this point, the House was able to enroll about 40 orphans who were 6 to 18 years old.¹¹²³ The children were looked after by the *pesantren*. It can be argued that the presence of the orphans directly increased the number of *santris* who enrolled in the *pesantren*. Indeed, by September 2008, 157 *santris* had registered¹¹²⁴ at the *pesantren* for daily teaching on the Qur'an and reading classical Islamic books. Weekly activities comprised of delivering religious sermons, reciting the Qur'an with divergent styles (*qirā'a*), and vocational training such as Arabic calligraphy, using computers, and running a printing business.¹¹²⁵ It is worth mentioning that in February 2010 most of the *santris* had already undertaken formal education in Islamic primary, junior and senior schools.¹¹²⁶

Since the establishment of Roisah, the classical books offered to its *santris* tend to follow the preference of traditionalist *pesantrens* in Indonesia. Nawawi asserted that: "Salafi [mentioned in the Roisah's mission] signifies classical, not modern. Salafi Islamic books are those

¹¹²⁰ Nurul Furqon, short message service, 28 May 2010.

¹¹²¹ Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Izin*, n.p.

¹¹²² Ibid.

¹¹²³ Ibid. Further details on the criteria for looking after children will be discussed in the subsequent section on the Darul Aytam.

¹¹²⁴ Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Bantuan*, n.p.

¹¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹¹²⁶ Nurul Furqon (the chairman of Roisah Foundation), interview, Jepara, Central Java, 14 February 2010. For instance, a *santri* called Arif Subhan, who was born on 5 October 1993 and comes from Karang Goden, Mlonggo, Jepara, is the only *santri* who has preferred focusing on memorizing the Quran and seeking Islamic knowledge in the Roisah to going to school. He is of opinion that it was sufficient for him to be a graduate of (Thānawiyya) Islamic junior high school. For him, staying at the Roisah Foundation means learning Islam (*ngaji*) and there should be no distraction from other schools activities. Arif Subhan, interview, Jepara, Central Java, 15 February 2010.

written by Salafi ulama. In addition to *Safinat al-Najā*, books entitled *Fath al-Qarīb* (The Disclosure of the Closest), *Fath al-Mu‘īn* (The Disclosure of the Helper) and *Matn Abī Shujā’* (The Contents of Abī Shujā’) are taught in the *pesantren*.¹¹²⁷ Thus, he believed, the term Salafi accommodated such classical Islamic books. In fact, in traditionalist Indonesian *pesantrens* the term “Salafi or Salafiyya” cannot be dissociated from the deployment of classical Islamic books.¹¹²⁸ Similarly, Lukens-Bull highlights that the *pesantren* community, particularly the community connected to the Nahdlatul ‘Ulama, cannot be dissociated from the Islamic books containing more interpretations of ulamas¹¹²⁹ than sources from the Quranic verses and/or the Prophet Traditions. This means that Islamic teachings in the books are complemented with their interpretations, rather than with the information from primary Islamic sources. Dhofier argues that *pesantrens* are classified as either *salaf* (traditional) or *khalaf* (modern). The former strongly upholds the classical Islamic texts and uses it as the basis of its education; indeed no secular subjects are taught in *salaf pesantren*. By contrast, *khalaf pesantren* incorporates both Islamic and secular subjects.¹¹³⁰ Referring to Dhofier’s classification, it is clear that as a *salaf pesantren*, Roisah prioritizes such classical Islamic books.

The preference of Nawawi for the traditionalist classical books is in line with his understanding of the term *Ahl al-Sunna wa’l-Jamā’a*. This *kyai* prefers his *santris* to follow *madhāhib*, i.e. following Indonesian traditionalist Muslim practices¹¹³¹ that reflect the religious understanding of Nahdlatul Ulama. He adds that *Ahl al-Sunna wa’l-Jamā’a* is a model of thought based not only on the Quran and the Prophet Traditions, but also upon current social realities that classical Islamic books recommend, thus enabling a moderate way in terms of implementing Islamic teaching.¹¹³² In addition, this maintains *ḥablun*

¹¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹¹²⁸ See “Ma’had Aly,” accessed 4 August 2010, <http://tebui reng.net/index.php?pilih=hal&id=21>.

¹¹²⁹ See Lukens-Bull, *Peaceful Jihad*, 15-16.

¹¹³⁰ Solahuddin, *The Workshop for Morality*, 5.

¹¹³¹ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹³² Ibid. and see also Anonymous, “Paham Keagamaan,” accessed 15 July 2013, <http://www.nu.or.id/a,public-m,static-s,detail-lang,id-ids,1-id,7-t,paham+keagamaan-.phpx>.

min al-nās (human relationship). In other words, the *santris* did not isolate themselves from their society; indeed, they should serve the society.¹¹³³

However, the understanding of Nawawi of the term Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a has been challenged by his son, Kamilin. The interpretation of Kamilin, who has been transforming a religious orientation of Roisah into a Salafi direction differs from the way his father understands the term. With the assistance of his elder brother, Rohman, Kamilin who has planned the syllabus of Roisah, in a sense of subjects or literature to be studied, since 2007,¹¹³⁴ argues:

The label Ahl al-sunna wa'l-jamā'a is given to Muslims believing in the *Sunna* (the Tradition) of the Prophet Muhammad, learning and practicing it. These Muslims are not obliged to be adherent to a school of Islamic jurisprudence (*madhhab*). They do not judge others as *kāfirs* (infidels) as far as the Quran and the *Ḥadīth* do not label them as infidels, and they solve their religious problems on the basis of both Islamic sources [the Qur'an and the *Ḥadīth*]. Thus, they do not belong to a group of Muslims practicing *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, *manaqiban* (hagiography), *nariyahan* (a kind of prayer for resolving problems), and *barzanjian* (reciting the history of the Prophet Muhammad), such as the Indonesian traditionalist Muslims or the congregation of Nahdlatul Ulama. In short, the true Islam is Islam based only upon the Quran and the *Ḥadīth*.¹¹³⁵

He adds: "The term Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a is similar to that of other works which Salafi people refer to. For instance, Salih ibn Abd al-Aziz states in *Jāmi' Shurūḥ al-Aqīdat al-Taḥāwīyya* (The Comprehensive Commentaries on the Taḥāwīyya Faith) that Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a are those following the Prophet Traditions and the paths of the companions of The Prophet Muhammad and their followers"¹¹³⁶ – this is in accord with the definition of Salafi. Therefore, there is no obligation to rely on Islamic jurists.¹¹³⁷ Similarly, Ibn Taymiyya in *Aqīdat al-Wāsiṭiyya* explains:

¹¹³³ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹³⁴ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹³⁵ Kamilin, interview, 16 February 2010.

¹¹³⁶ See Ibn Alāu al-Dīn and Ibn 'Abd al-Azīz Muḥammad Alī Shaykh, *Jāmi' Shurūḥ al-Aqīdat al-Taḥāwīyya*, 56.

¹¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

Of the path of Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a were those following the Prophet Traditions inwardly and outwardly, the ancestors, namely, those Meccans who emigrated to Medina in the early period of Islam (*muhājirīn*) and the Medinan followers of the Prophet Muhammad who granted him refuge after the migration (*anṣār*), and those following the message (*waṣīyya*) of the Messenger.¹¹³⁸

As a consequence, Kamilin does not follow a single *madhhab* as traditionalist Muslims do. In addition, he and Rohman are against the practices of Islamic mysticism that the traditionalists perform.¹¹³⁹ Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab and Ibn Taymiyya, to whom Salafi people frequently refer and whose works are rarely found in traditionalist *pesantrens*, call for the study of the Quran and the *Ḥadīth* directly, rather than studying the interpretations of Islam of Muslim scholars. This is because these interpretations are aimed at regional and political contextualization, rather than at the content of the main Islamic sources revealed and comprehended earlier.¹¹⁴⁰ This attitude is in line with that of calling for personal interpretation (*ijtihād*) instead of *taqlīd* (following a school of Islamic jurisprudence) and rejecting the practices of Sufism that oppose Islamic scriptures.¹¹⁴¹ In fact, Kamilin, involving Rohman in approving any Islamic books taught at the *pesantren*, has been actively pursuing a Salafi transformation at the *pesantren*.

The preference of the *kyai* for the classical Islamic books has also brought him into conflict with Kamilin, who is responsible for the running of the *pesantren*. Van Bruinessen states: "Reformist Muslims in Indonesia are critical of the classical Islamic books."¹¹⁴² In addition

¹¹³⁸ The message was "'Alay-kum bi-sunnatī wa sunnat al-khulafā al-rāshidīn al-mahdiyyin min ba'dī, tamassakū bihā, wa 'aḍḍū 'alay-hā bi'l-nawājidh, wa iyyā-kum wa muḥdathātī al-umūr, fa innā kulla bid'atin ḍalāla" (Take my tradition and the that of the Rightly Guided Caliphs who came after me; stick to these [traditions] and get your teeth in them; and beware of the new matters because every innovation is an error). See Ahmad ibn Abd al-Salam ibn Taymiyya, *Aqīdat al-Wāsiṭiyya* (Riyadh: Dar al-Sumay'i, 2009), 132-133.

¹¹³⁹ Ghoutsur Rohman, interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁴⁰ See Delong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam*, 11-12, and see also James Peacock, *Purifying the Faith: the Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*, 2nd ed. (USA: Arizona State University, 1992), 3 and 20.

¹¹⁴¹ See Delong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam*, 12 and 84.

¹¹⁴² Martin van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantren in Contemporary

to being critical of such Islamic books, Salafi people repudiate them when studying Islam, especially, pertaining to *aqīda*.¹¹⁴³ Such attitudes can be found in the treatment of Kamilin of such books. He argues that they are the product of ulamas whose beliefs were frequently not in line with the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad's Traditions. For instance, he explains that in the classical book entitled *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim* (Teaching the Student) students were taught to respect their teachers more than their parents. This teaching was totally opposed to a *Ḥadīth* obliging Muslims to prioritize their parents over others. *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (The Revival of Religious Knowledge) by al-Ghazali, an important work of literature for traditionalist Muslims, provides another example of his criticism. Kamilin argues that aspects of this book go against Quranic teaching. For instance, al-Ghazali was of the opinion that music could touch our feelings more than the Quran. Hence, the Islamic book can be classical, but is not Salafi in his sense. In short, he favours the authority of Salafi works over that of classical Islamic books containing the interpretations of Muslim scholars taught at traditionalist *pesantrens*.

Kamilin, who was a beneficiary of a scholarship for an undergraduate programme from LIPIA and could complete his study at the department of Islamic Law (*Syari'a*) of the LIPIA in 2008,¹¹⁴⁴ has been transforming the religious orientation of Roisah into a Salafi direction. He does not follow prescripts of the Saudi Arabian Wahhabi movement in the eighteenth century. The movement, brought by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, was to purify the creed of Muslims and their local practices alien to the Qur'an, the Traditions of the Prophet and the practices of al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ. In addition, it also labelled those who failed to consider a idolatry practice of visiting the shrines of saints for their spiritual power as *kāfir* (infidel) and fought against a social system contradicting Islamic

Indonesia," in Farish A. Noor, Yonginder Sikan and Martin van Bruinessen, *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages* (Amsterdam: ISIM/ Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 221.

¹¹⁴³ See Din Wahid, "Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj," PhD Thesis, Utrecht University, 2014, 4, 157 and 169.

¹¹⁴⁴ Kamilin, interview, 16 February 2010.

Law.¹¹⁴⁵ Kamilin tended to follow the Salafi movement of the Saudi Arabian government in Indonesia, which emerged in the late 1980 and was developed, among others, through LIPIA established in the period, when students of universities were interested in studying Islam. The LIPIA playing a role of spreading Salafi tenets, in fact, provides scholarship for Indonesian talented students coming from modernist and traditionalist *pesantrens* backgrounds to study the Salafi doctrines in its classrooms, *ḥalqas* (circles, forums for study) and *dawras*.¹¹⁴⁶ Apart from the fact that Kamilin did not take a scholarship for his master degree in a Saudi Arabian university granted by the Saudi Arabian government because of a familial reason¹¹⁴⁷ - this scholarship is also an effort of the Saudi Arabia to drive graduates of LIPIA to pursue their master or doctoral degree there where their Salafi tenets can be intensified,¹¹⁴⁸ the ways he spread his Salafi orientation is unlike those shown by the Wahabi movement; he followed that of purist Salafi who disseminates Salafi tenets “through peaceful means, such as *da‘wa* for the purification of Muslim creed and education.”¹¹⁴⁹ In transforming the religious orientation of Roisah, Kamilin, with the assistance of Rohman, took three gradual steps. Gradual changes included in the transformation were who should be firstly approached and the access for the *santri* to read literature available in Roisah.

Intially, Kamilin and Rohman still permit *santris* to participate in certain cultural, rather than, ritual activities. For example, they do not prohibit a practice to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad by reciting of a book called *Barzanjī*. Furthermore, the *santris* of Roisah are permitted to play *rebana* (a traditional music instrument like a tambourine) for the commemoration.¹¹⁵⁰ In addition, the *kyai*’s sons uphold the traditional methods of teaching the *santris*,

¹¹⁴⁵ Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj,” 21-24 and Mundzier Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyaah terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Asta Buana Sejahtera, 2009), 140-145.

¹¹⁴⁶ Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj,” 57 and 59.

¹¹⁴⁷ Kamilin, interview, 16 February 2010.

¹¹⁴⁸ Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Iidentity in Post New Order Indonesia* (New York: SEAP Cornell University, 2006), 49.

¹¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 48 and Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj,” 36.

¹¹⁵⁰ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

such as “*sorogan*” (a *santri* reads an Arabic Islamic book in front of his or her teacher) and *weton*, also known as *bandongan* or *ḥalqa* (a teacher or *kyai* reads an Arabic Islamic book and the *santris* listen and remark on important words and sentences).¹¹⁵¹ Last but not least, a familial atmosphere colours the study of *santris*. In Roisah, the *kyai* and his children call the *santris* “*kang*” (Javanese, meaning elder brother), even though the *santris* are younger. The *santris* also use this term for each other. This may be a common phenomenon which can be found in other *pesantrens*. The rare one is that the *santris* call their teachers “*kak*” (Indonesian, which has a similar meaning to the *kang*). Anam (a senior *santri*) argues: “The term of address *kak* reinforces the idea that everyone at the Roisah is treated as part of Rosiah family, regardless of the social status of *santris*.”¹¹⁵² Similarly, Kamilin explains: “They are treated as family.”¹¹⁵³ Roisah does not use Arabic terms of address such as *akhi* (my brother) or *ukhti* (my sister) among *santris* or *ustadz* (male Islamic teacher) or *ustadzah* for their teachers as found in a Salafi community.¹¹⁵⁴ These Arabic titles, *ustadz* or *ustadzah*, certainly indicate not only radical change – from Indonesian or Javanese to Arabic, but also a social status rather than a familial relationship between *santri* and teacher. Thus, Roisah establishes a relationship beyond that of a “fellowship relationship”, in which *santris* and other participants in activities of a *pesantren* are treated as colleagues.¹¹⁵⁵ It treats each other as friends and part of Roisah family. Kamilin believes that that such familial atmosphere enables *santris* to express their criticism of traditionalist classical Islamic books.¹¹⁵⁶

Subsequently, like the transformation from a traditionalist religious orientation to a more puritanical one in the *pesantren*

¹¹⁵¹ See “Sistem Pendidikan dan Pengajaran,” accessed 4 August 2010, <http://tebuireng.net/index.php?pilih=hal&id=4>.

¹¹⁵² Khoirul Anam (a senior *santri*), interview, 15 February 2010.

¹¹⁵³ Kamilin, interview, 13 February 2010.

¹¹⁵⁴ See Abu Haekal (a Salafi living in Bekasi), “Antara Sebutan Bro dan Akhi terhadap Seorang Muslim,” accessed 26 Oktober 2015, <https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/smart-dakwah/conversations/topics/582>.

¹¹⁵⁵ This term is borrowed from Solahuddin who used it to define the relationship between the leader of *Pesantren Daarut Tauhid* (Bandung, West Java), Aa Gym, and his *santris* and followers. See Solahuddin, *The Workshop for Morality*, 55–59.

¹¹⁵⁶ Kamilin, interview, 13 February 2010.

of Maskumambang, Gresik, East Java, which initially focused on its *santris*,¹¹⁵⁷ the *santris* in the Roisah Pesantren also seem to be the target of the religious transformation of the *kyai*'s sons. Reformist Muslims emphasize the importance of focusing their efforts at a grassroots level for their earlier efforts to promote monotheism, encouraging *ijtihād*, instead of *taqlīd*.¹¹⁵⁸ Approaching *santris* (the grassroots of a *pesantren* community) also seems to be the concern of Kamilin and his elder brother in dealing with the transformation. Rather than trying to change the traditionalist mindset of their father, they apparently prefer to educate the current generation of *santris* about how to practice the Salafi method of *taṣfiyya* (purification), i.e. purifying Islam from *bid'as* (innovations).¹¹⁵⁹ Driving *santris* to study Salafi *aqīda* (faith)¹¹⁶⁰ by criticizing traditionalist Islamic books has been the concern of Kamilin. Kamilin is of the view that the use of such classical Islamic books serves only to facilitate the *santris*' learning and understanding of Arabic [Islamic] books. In this way, the *santris* are only taught the *matan* (the main texts), rather than the *sharḥ* (the interpretive texts) of these books. In teaching the main texts, he involves providing Quranic verses and the Prophet Muhammad's Traditions and evaluating the texts to see whether they are in line with both sources of Islam. If these main texts are not in line with the original scriptures (the Quran and the *Ḥadīth*), the *santris* would, at least, know this and they are guided to ignore them. Thus, the *santris* of Roisah are gradually educated to be critical of the contents of such classical Islamic books.¹¹⁶¹ In addition to improving their Arabic when reading the books, the *santris* are directly identifying their contents contradicting the Salafi *aqīda*. This education contradicts that of traditionalist *pesantren*. As a next step, in relation to *aqīda* (faith), Kamilin, backed by Rohman, chose a book containing

¹¹⁵⁷ Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah*, 149-150.

¹¹⁵⁸ See Delong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam*, 9-10.

¹¹⁵⁹ See 'Amrun 'Abd al-Mun'im Salim, *Al-Manhaj al-Salafi 'inda Nāsir al-Dīn al-Bānī*, 22 and 207. There are six Salafi principles relating to propagating Islam, i.e. the following of the Quran and the Prophet traditions, the repudiation of innovation, monotheism, the seeking for beneficial knowledge, purification and education, and the repudiation of fanaticism. See Salim, *Al-Manhaj al-Salafi*, 22.

¹¹⁶⁰ See Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Salafi Madrasas of Indonesia," 261-262.

¹¹⁶¹ Kamilin, interview, 13 February 2010.

no commentary by ulama but instead only Quranic verses or Prophet Traditions dealing with this subject.¹¹⁶² The book he selected was *Aqīda Ṭahāwiyya* by Abī Ja‘far al-Warrāq al-Miṣrī while usually *Aqīdat al-‘Awwām* (The Faith of Common People) by Achmad al-Marzuqi is taught. This latter book, which features commentaries from ulama, is not taught.¹¹⁶³ Thus, Kamilin uses an approach that allows the *santris* to identify traditionalist teaching which opposes the *aqīda* of Salafi, rather than using the oppiste way, which is not hoped by the LIPIA.¹¹⁶⁴

Lastly, the *santris* have been given easy access to Islamic books belonging to the *kyai* and his children, which are kept in unlocked bookcases. In this way, the *santris* are able to know and study both traditionalist and reformist-oriented Islamic books. For instance, in addition to the *Kitāb al-‘Ilm* (Book of the Knowledge) and *Sharḥ Thalāthatul-Uṣūl* (The Commentary on Three Principles) by Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-‘Uthaymīn, and *Sharḥ ‘Aqīda Ṭahāwiyya* by al-Qasimī ‘Ali, the *santris* can also read reformist literature such as *Iqtidā‘uṣṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (Following the Straight Path) by Ibn Taymiyya, *Fath al-Majīd* (The Disclosure of the Glorious) by Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan bin Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, *Sharḥ Uṣūl I’tiqād Ahl al-Sunna wa’l-Jamā’a* (The Commentary on the Principal Faith of the Adherents of the Prophet’s Traditions and the Community) by al-La’alkā’i, and *Kiai NU Menggugat Tahlilan, Istighotsahan dan Ziarah Para Wali* by Mahrus Ali – reference which Salafi people in Indonesia frequently use. Among the traditionalist books available are: *Sharḥ Kāshifat al-Sajā* (The Commentary on the Revealing of Darkness) by Abi Abd al-Mu’ṭi Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī, used for *uṣūl al-dīn* and *al-fiqh*; *Sharḥ Fath al-Qarīb* (The Commentary on the Disclosure of the Closest) by Muhammad ibn Qasim al-Ghaziyy for *fiqh*; *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* by Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammd ibn Ahmad al-Ma’allī and Jalāl al-Dīn Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Bakr al-Suyūṭī; and *Sharḥ Ta’līm al-Muta’allim* (The Commentary on Teaching the Student) by Ibrahim ibn Isma’il used for ethics. This phenomenon of providing sources from both traditionalist

¹¹⁶² See Ibid., 261.

¹¹⁶³ See Delong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam*, 11-12, and see also Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, 3 and 20.

¹¹⁶⁴ Hasan, *Laskar Jihad*, 51-52.

and non-traditionalist streams is definitely unusual. It can take place only in *pesantrens* where works, for instance, of Muhammad Abdul Wahhab and Ibn Taymiyya are accommodated. This rarely occurs in Indonesian traditionalist-oriented *pesantrens* due to the disapproval of the reformist ulama, particularly, in relation to learning classical Islamic books containing interpretations by well-known ulama and teaching the practices of Islamic mysticism. In the Roisah Pesantren, it is different.



Picture 9 (left). Itqonul Kamilin teaching his *santris*. Source: Author's collection. Picture 10 (right). Ghoutsur Rohman, listening to his *santri* memorizing the Quran while looking after his children. Source: Author's collection.

Despite the fact that there is no guarantee that a graduate of the LIPIA will follow the religious orientation of the Salafi LIPIA, what Azra stated that *pesantrens* were no longer really immune to the influence of international religious orientation¹¹⁶⁵ was evident. The desire of Kamilin to transform the traditionalist nature of Pesantren Roisah into a Salafi one is proof that it has changed his religious orientation. This change is also experienced by his elder brother, Muttaqin, who is also a graduate of the Saudi Arabian institution. The sons no longer perform traditionalist Muslim rituals such as *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, reciting *manaqib*, *istighotsah*, and the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. With the exception of the commemoration, these traditions have been erased from religious activities of Roisah.¹¹⁶⁶ Clearly, this

¹¹⁶⁵ Azyumardi Azra, "Sekapur Sirih: Pesantren Islam Transnasional," in Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyaah*, xvi.

¹¹⁶⁶ Khoirul Muttaqin, interview, Depok Tengah, West Java, 9 March 2010, and

transformation of Roisah fits well with the views of PPME Amsterdam (post-2005) in terms of rejecting the traditionalist religious activities held by former members who have subsequently established PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam.

In 2008, the Roisah Pesantren was transformed into a foundation called Ar-Robithoh al-Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah¹¹⁶⁷ under the leadership of Nurul Furqon (the elder brother of Kamilin). This new status has resulted in an increase in the number of children participating in the religious education of Roisah. There were 173 participants registered as its *santris* in 2009.¹¹⁶⁸ This number is small in comparison to other well-known Indonesian *pesantrens* in Java, such as the Pesantren of Lirboyo, Kediri, East Java, which counts more than 9,500 student-*santris*¹¹⁶⁹ and the Pesantren of Tebuireng, Jombang, East Java, which in May 2010 had more than 1,500 registered *santris*.¹¹⁷⁰

Ghoutsur Rohman, interview, Jepara, 16 February 2010.

¹¹⁶⁷ This name differs from its previous one, in which the first two words were in *nakira* (indefinite form), rather than using the definite construction (*ma'rifa*). This was used in "ar-Robithoh al-Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah" when *Pesantren Roisah* was transformed into an Islamic foundation in 2009. Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010. In addition to occupying the position of head of the Roisah Foundation, Nurul Furqon was the chairperson of Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama (IPNU, the Student Association of NU), Kedung, Jepara in 1989-1992 and is currently the secretary of DPC PKS of Kedung district (2004-now). He also teaches at the University of Quranic Science (UNSIQ), Jepara branch, in the subjects: *na'qm* (reciting Quranic verses with melody) and Arabic calligraphy. Furqon interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁶⁸ Consisting of 63 male and 110 female *santris*. Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Izin*, n. p.

¹¹⁶⁹ Up to July 2010, there has been a total of 10,282 *santris* passing through this *pesantren*, Humas/Protokol Pemkot Kediri, "Walikota Kediri Hadiri Acara Haul dan Hafiah Akhirussanah Pondok - Madrasah Hidayatul Mu'tadi-ien di Kota Kediri," accessed 4 August 2010, www.kotakediri.go.id/?act=news_detail&id=1279671154&tt=Walikota%20Kediri%20Hadiri%20Acara%20Haul%20dan%20Hafiah%20Akhirussanah%20Pondok%20-%20Madrasah%20Hidayatul%20Mu'tadi-ien. In the madrasah (Islamic school) of Pesantren Lirboyo, Arabic language, mainly consisting of Arabic grammar and morphology, has been the major concern since its founding (1925). See "Sejarah Singkat Lirboyo," accessed 5 August 2010, <http://lirboyo.com/index.php?req=profile&menu=2&id=sejarah>.

¹¹⁷⁰ Muhammad Halwan, "Tebuireng, Pesantren di Kampung Jahiliyah," accessed 4 August 2010, <http://www.suara-islam.com/news/berita/silaturrahim/775-tebuireng-pesantren-di-kampung-jahiliyah>. Since 2006, the Pesantren Tebuireng, particularly through its *ma'had aly* (higher education), has been concerned with teaching its *santris* to become experts in contemporary Islamic jurisprudence. See "Ma'ha Aly," accessed 4 August 2010, <http://tebuireng.net/index>.



Picture 11. The current name of the Roisah Foundation, which has been used since 2009. Source: Author's collection.

However, the small number of *santris* at Roisah did not prevent its key figures from expanding its activities. Initially, it dealt with religious education in the form of providing lessons on reciting the Qur'an. More recently, it has also been engaging in social activities and vocational training. The programme of social activities affords its organizer an opportunity to distribute the obligatory annual alms of PPME. This financial support allows Roisah not only to care for the orphans and needy people, but also to offer programme of vocational training to them. In sum, the Roisah Foundation is concerned with the following three main domains: (1) functioning as a *pesantren*; (2) dealing with social activities; and (3) providing vocational training and courses. This takes place regardless of the absence of official recognition for its operation from the Religious Affairs Office in Jepara.¹¹⁷¹ This lack of recognition is due to the contradictory characteristics of Roisah, i.e. that it is both a foundation, which is non-profit oriented, and a *pesantren*, which is allowed to be profit oriented.¹¹⁷²

php?pilih=hal&id=21; see also: Solahuddin, *The Workshop for Morality*, 5.

¹¹⁷¹ Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Izin*, n. p.

¹¹⁷² Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010. In relation to the official recognition, Kamilin informed me that Roisah also would like to submit its proposal for

II. Almsgiving and Voluntary Donations to Roisah

Instead of reliance on official recognition, a similar concern and the accountability of Roisah have stimulated PPME Amsterdam to cooperate with Roisah in order to fulfil the wishes of members of PPME Amsterdam to distribute their obligatory annual alms and voluntary donations to those in need, especially to orphans in Indonesia. This can be seen from the following discussion.



Picture 12 (left) and 13 (right). The fusion of orphaned *santris* with needy ones attending the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, the only traditionalist socio-cultural activity, which is still allowed to perform in the Roisah. Source: Author's collection.

According to Hamid Abidin of the Public Interest Research and Advocacy Center (PIRAC), there are four categories of organizations that can be contacted by Indonesians overseas in order to remit their funds: hometown associations, Indonesian student associations, faith-based organizations, and non-governmental organizations.¹¹⁷³ Despite the fact that PPME rarely engaged in consecutive joint activities with individuals, foundations, organizations or institutions in Indonesia as a faith-based organization, it has also conducted social projects in Indonesia. These include joint activities between members of PPME Amsterdam and

operational permission relating to Darul Aitam (the Home for Orphans) to the Office for Religious Affairs of Jepara. Kamilin, interview, 13 February, 2010.

¹¹⁷³ Hamid Abidin, "Diaspora Philanthropy in Indonesia" (An Unpublished Article), presented at an Indonesian Diaspora Workshop on 7-8 November 2009, held by International Organization for Migration (IOM) of the Netherlands and Emic Research in The Hague, p. 7.

Roisah. These projects were implemented as a result of the collection of both *zakāt al-fiṭr/zakāt al-māl* and the voluntary donations of people participating in the activities of PPME Amsterdam. Indeed, this PPME has consecutively distributed the *zakāt al-fiṭr* to Roisah and voluntary donations, which were collected during *Ramaḍān*, to fund the physical and non-physical development of the Roisah foundation.

On the whole, the financial support of Muslims in the Netherlands for needy people in their home country, facilitated by individuals, foundations or associations, has, according to Boender, been aimed at their families and acquaintances or specific projects.¹¹⁷⁴ In a broader sense, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) The Netherlands, founded in 1991, “In Indonesia remittances are mainly used to finance daily living needs, health services, education, to service debt as well as to acquire land and property.”¹¹⁷⁵ Certainly, the financial gifts of PPME Amsterdam to Roisah seem to fit this pattern; that is to say, the money is used to: provide for the daily needs of orphans and needy people; purchase new areas for educational projects; and finance the cost of their education.

A. *Zakāt al-Fiṭr* Distributed to Roisah (2005)

Abidin asserts that Indonesians overseas have been accustomed to sending their financial donations directly to individuals, rather than organizations, for charitable work. This stems from an inherent mistrust of organizations, which traditionally have lacked transparency and accountability,¹¹⁷⁶ he adds. This direct transfer may be restricted to their almsgiving. This is because when it is pertained, for instance, to help victims of disasters in Indonesia, Indonesians overseas transferred their donation, for instance, to NU, Muhammadiyah, Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat (PKPU, Centre for Justice and Care of Society) of PKS,¹¹⁷⁷ and the

¹¹⁷⁴ Welmoet Boender, “Islamitische hulporganisaties kampen met vooroordelen,” in Zemzem, *Islamic Development Organization*, n.d., 113.

¹¹⁷⁵ IOM, Indonesian Diaspora Workshop, 7-8 November 2009, The Hague, n.p.

¹¹⁷⁶ Abidin, “Diaspora Philanthropy in Indonesia,” 7.

¹¹⁷⁷ Hilman Latief, *Islamic Charities and Social Activism: Welfare, Dakwah and Politics in Indonesia* (PhD Thesis, Utrecht University), 2012, pp. 11-12, “Pasca Gempa Yogyakarta-Jateng PCI NU Luar Negeri Berlomba-lomba Sumbangkan Dana,”

Indonesian Embassy. In the case of PPME, people participating in the activities of PPME Amsterdam are happy to donate their *zakāt al-ḥiṭr* to the members of its boards who subsequently send the alms to Muttaqin, mediating the PPME to transfer the *zakāt al-ḥiṭr* to Roisah.

As previously mentioned, collecting alms from PPME in the Netherlands has been a part of its religious activities since 1971. The majority of the money has been distributed to those in need in Indonesia. This is in contrast to, for instance, the Turkish Milli Görüş, which also directs its remittances to such activities in other countries.¹¹⁷⁸ The consecutive alms given by PPME Amsterdam to Roisah since *Ramaḍān* 2005 and up to 2009 are as follows: In 2005, the financial transfer amounted to € 350; in 2006 it was € 600; in 2007 € 650; in 2008 € 650; and the largest amount, € 1300 was transferred in 2009.¹¹⁷⁹

The following is the process of the transfer. Having been informed by PPME Amsterdam of the precise amount of alms to be sent to Roisah at the end of *Ramaḍān*, Muttaqin made contact with his elder brother, Furqon. Consequently Furqon, acting as the organizer of the alms, was able to commence organizing their distribution.¹¹⁸⁰ He then would exchange it for rice and distribute it to those in need (*mustahiqqin*, the deserving),¹¹⁸¹ specifically the poor and orphans both in Surodadi and in the surrounding area. A unique example is the alms sent in 2009, received on the

accessed 26 November 2015, <http://www.nu.or.id/a,public-m,dinamic-s,detail-ids,1-id,4913-lang,id-c,warta-t,PCI+NU+Luar+Negeri+Berlomba+lomba+Sumbangkan+Dana-.phpx> and see T. Toha Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-jawaban Progoram Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 2000-2002* (Den Haag: PPME, 1 September 2002), 13-14.

¹¹⁷⁸ The Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüş (IGMG), frequently called Milli Görüş, has been being concerned with the well-being of Muslim societies (the *umma*) all over the world. See www.igmg.de/verband/islamic-community-milli-goerues.html, accessed 31 May 2010.

¹¹⁷⁹ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁸⁰ Muttaqin, interview, Depok, 9 March 2010.

¹¹⁸¹ There are eight groups of recipients of alms: the poverty-stricken, the poor, collectors and distributors of alms (*āmil*), Islamic converts, those releasing slaves (*ḥi al-riqāb*), debtors, travelers and those working for the cause of God. See al-Qaradawi, *Fiḥ al-Zakāt*, 65 and 87.

29th of *Ramaḍān* (not on the 27th of the month as was the case with previous financial gifts).

The fact that the alms were transferred on the final day of *Ramaḍān* posed a problem for Furqon. Indeed, it only gave him one day (the 30th of Ramadan) to distribute eight tons of rice (with an equivalent value of € 1,300).¹¹⁸² Even though, according to an Islamic Hanbalite jurist called Abu Ya‘la, there is no disapproval (*karāha*) of distributing the *zakat* after performing the ‘*īd al-fiṭr*’ prayer, Furqon preferred to follow the thought of the majority of Islamic jurists who agreed that the valid time for distributing alms is the last day of *Ramaḍān*.¹¹⁸³ Consequently, he had to distribute it before the performance of the prayer.¹¹⁸⁴ Moreover, he also had to reach the needy people in the villages surrounding Surodadi, such as Kalianyar, Panggung, Pecangaan, and Mayong, in addition to Surodadi itself, in this limited time he had. In fact, it was often difficult to ascertain exactly who was deserving of the alms in these areas. Therefore, he frequently used data derived from the Offices of the Head of Village (*Balai-Balai Desa*) and then verified this information with his relatives and close friends in the targeted villages. Based on this data, he and his younger brother, Rohman, with the assistance of the *santris*, distributed the alms to the people in need. Afterwards, he visited the selected recipients for a final check.¹¹⁸⁵ Furqon also reported the results of the distribution to PPME Amsterdam. This was conducted in his position as the recipient of a mandate (in religious terms, an *amāna*) to distribute the alms. His report was a way of demonstrating that the *amāna* had been executed.¹¹⁸⁶ Finally, he was also concerned with the strategy for distribution. Prior to *Ramaḍān* 2007, the alms were distributed directly to recipients, i.e. the poor living in Surodadi. However, after 2007, the strategy was changed. The old strategy

¹¹⁸² Ghoutsur Rohman (Furqon’s younger brother), interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁸³ See Al-Ashqar, et al., *Abḥās Fiqhiyya*, 487-489.

¹¹⁸⁴ Rohman, interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

was considered inefficient and costly in terms of the energy it required from the distributors who were fasting at the time. Thus, a new strategy to send a notification card to the poor in Surodadi, not in outlying areas, was employed. In this way, distributors of Roisah no longer had to go door to door to distribute the alms; instead, those given a card would come to them.¹¹⁸⁷ All of these actions were taken without there being any instruction from PPME Amsterdam. The alms were distributed on time.

Not only Furqon played a vital role in the success of the distribution of alms. The second actor was a farmer called Rohman. He provided the rice required for the *zakāt* distribution under the orders of his elder brother, Furqon, who could only calculate the exact amount of money Rohman would earn from this arrangement, but could not give the money to him in advance.¹¹⁸⁸ Rohman, who also taught at Roisah, cultivated three hectares of fields, including those belonging to Muttaqin and his father, Nawawi. Since 2005, he has provided part of his harvest for the distribution of the alms of PPME Amsterdam. For example, he provided approximately eight tons in 2009 and PPME Amsterdam never complained about the price of the rice being distributed.¹¹⁸⁹ This demonstrates mutual benefit between them and PPME Amsterdam – they could sell the rice to PPME Amsterdam with a good price, resulting in the distribution of its alms on time.

The last actor was a group of non-muqim *santris* living near to the *pesantren*. These *santris* also played a vital role in the success of the *zakāt* distribution to the recipients. Their good works were performed in their free time and took place after the 25th of *Ramaḍān* when the *muqim* *santris* returned to the houses of their parents or those of their families.¹¹⁹⁰ In return, they received three kilograms of rice,¹¹⁹¹ along with some food and drink. Under the

¹¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁸ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁸⁹ Rohman, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁹⁰ After the 25th of *Ramaḍān*, the *muqims* returned to their parent houses or the houses of their families.

¹¹⁹¹ Receiving three kilograms of rice is the *santris*' right as those who assisted

coordination of Furqon, the *santris* did various physical jobs, such as peeling the skin of the rice using a machine. This would take an entire day. Once the rice had been peeled, they put it into plastic sacks. Then, they assisted Furqon and Rohman in distributing the rice to the *mustahiqqin* in Surodadi and outlying villages.

As previously mentioned, in 2005 and 2006 the rice was distributed directly to the *mustahiqqin* in Surodadi, door to door. This strategy necessitated the involvement of a number of the *santris*, including the most senior of the group, Akhmad Khoirul Anam,¹¹⁹² acting as both a teacher to the junior male *santris* who were learning to recite the Qur'an and their supervisor. The distribution required plenty of energy as they were required to pull carts loaded with rice while they were fasting. They also had to continue distributing the rice at night, after performing the *tarāwih* prayers if they had not finished before the sunset prayer.¹¹⁹³

The new strategy of distribution, implemented between 2007 and 2009, was clearly more efficient in terms of the efforts required of the *santris*. The *mustahiqqin* of Surodadi were asked to collect their alms themselves from Roisah. Thus, the *santris* no longer needed to pullcarts. The problem was that the distributed cards were not aimed at those who deserve the alms from villages outside Surodadi. It was, therefore, indispensable to apply the direct strategy for the latter. As a consequence, the *santris*, according to Rohman, assisted him to deliver it using a car of Roisah to distribute the alms to those who deserved them in the outlying villages.¹¹⁹⁴ The assistance of the *santris* proved decisive in bringing about the successful distribution of the alms, regardless of the distance to the adjacent village.

The facts show that the successful distribution of the alms meant a mutual advantage for both sides – PPME Amsterdam and

the *āmil* (the collector and the distributor of almsgiving). The *āmil* deserves one eighth of the almsgiving. Al-Qaradawi, *Fiqh al-Zakāt*, 590.

¹¹⁹² He was born on 8 July 1984. Anam, interview, 15 February 2010,

¹¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

the Roisah Foundation. It was advantageous for the former because its alms could be distributed to the *mustahiqqīn* in Indonesia on time whereas the latter could take economical and social benefits from the distribution.

B. Voluntary Donations for Renovations and Plans for a Religious School (2007)

In spite of the PPME existence for more than forty years (April 1971-to date), it took until 2006 for it to reach a position where it could transfer voluntary financial donations (*infāq/ṣadaqa*) to Indonesia. From 2005 to 2006, for instance, PPME Amsterdam could only transfer the *zakāt al-fiṭr* to the Roisah Pesantren. However, in 2007, it was able to remit not only the *zakāt al-fiṭr* (of more or less € 650) to Roisah, but also voluntary donations amounting to approximately € 17,000,¹¹⁹⁵ which was collected from people joining *tarāwih* prayers, held every night of *Ramaḍān*.¹¹⁹⁶ It should be noted that despite the small amount of money,¹¹⁹⁷ PPME Amsterdam managed the transfer of it through an association. This signifies that the donor is no longer individual. This, in turn, requires the board to demand transparency and accountability from the recipients of its voluntary financial gifts, something that has become a problem for Indonesians overseas remitting their financial assistance to Indonesia¹¹⁹⁸ and for which PPME had no precedent. That said, the financial assistance, at least, demonstrates good cooperation between the donor and the recipient.¹¹⁹⁹

¹¹⁹⁵ This amount was less than that mentioned in the proposal of Roisah, which was sent to PPME Amsterdam in 2007, requesting financial support of € 9,756. Khoirul Muttaqin, interview, Amsterdam, 12 September 2009.

¹¹⁹⁶ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁹⁷ In terms of financial donation, available data show that Chinese associations in the Netherlands were able to collect hundreds of thousands of Euros and transfer it to China in 1991, which were mostly allocated to assisting the victims of natural disasters in China. Li Minghuan, *We Need Two Worlds: Chinese Immigrant Associations in a Western Society* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), 194-196.

¹¹⁹⁸ Cf. Abidin, "Diaspora Philanthropy in Indonesia," 3.

¹¹⁹⁹ Transparency and accountability are key factors when empowering a local Indonesian organization in dealing with financial expense. See "Working Group Session 1: Experiences and Future Possibilities for Indonesian Diaspora Organizations," *Ibid.*, 5- 6.

The donation from PPME Amsterdam was aimed at realizing Roisah's programme for caring for orphans.¹²⁰⁰ The money was spent not only on the renovation of its existing facilities, but also on purchasing new areas of land in order to realise its programme to build a religious school. Renovations were undertaken on various existing facilities belonging to Roisah, including rooms for taking a bath, washing and a water closet, an old *majelis ta'lim* (a place of studying Islam) where females meet and another space where female *santris* studied.¹²⁰¹ In addition, new facilities were constructed, such as the second floor on the house of the kyai and a radio station broadcasting programmes relating to reciting the Qur'an.¹²⁰² With regard to the plans to build a religious school, there was not enough space within the existing grounds of Roisah for a new building, so the only solution was to purchase a new area. A large plot, 1,924 square metres, was found approximately 300 metres northwest of the *pesantren*. The land was purchased in two phases, in September 2007 and February 2008.¹²⁰³ As the name board at Roisah indicates, the *pesantren* includes a Madrasah Diniyah (Madin, School for Learning Islamic Subjects). Until the beginning of 2010, the provision of the Madin was yet to be realised. Rohman emphasized that the new areas purchased were to be prepared for the building of a Madin and a *muṣallā*¹²⁰⁴ that would be organized by another alumnus of LIPIA in Jakarta, his

¹²⁰⁰ Muttaqin, interview, 12 September 2009.

¹²⁰¹ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²⁰² Ibid.

¹²⁰³ The foundation spent more or less € 1,639 for the first area and € 3,391 for the second one. Altogether, € 5,030 was spent purchasing the new areas. Nurul Furqon, e-mail to author, 4 April 2010. The first area, consisted of 754 square metres, was purchased in September 2007. *Sertipikat*, Badan Pertanahan Nasional (National Agrarian Body, BPN) of Jepara, 16 January 2008, n.p. and see also Nurul Furqon, e-mail to author, 27 March 2010. Then, the second area situated beside the first area consisted of more or less 1,170 square metres purchased in February 2008. Ibid. In detail, the first location cost around € 2 per square metre and the second one around € 3 per square metre. In total, Roisah had to spend less than € 5,072. Furqon, e-mail to author, 4 April 2010.

¹²⁰⁴ Rohman, interview, 14 February 2010. This following information is beyond the scope of the present research: Roisah finally could build the Madin at the end of 2015. Nurul Furqon, e-mail to author, 1 December 2015.

nephew Muhsin.¹²⁰⁵

The plan to provide a religious school on the new land appears to strengthen the efforts of Roisah to transform the religious orientation of the *pesantren*. The *santris* of Roisah, who have already been classified on the basis of their levels of achievements in their learning, learn Islamic subjects in the existing *pesantren*. They have been deliberately encouraged to know the Qur'an by heart and to recite it based on the knowledge of *tajwīd*, as well as to learn how to read and understand the classical Islamic books, such as *Safīnat al-Najā*, *Fath al-Qarīb*, and *Sullam al-Tawfiq*. The use of these kinds of literature will, however, be limited or omitted altogether in the future religious school. This is because it will be organized by an alumnus of the LIPIA. This reflects the religious orientation of the *kyai*'s sons, Kamilin and Muttaqin. Furthermore, this transformation will smoothly take place because of the current position of the traditionalist Nawawi, who has delegated the responsibility for organizing the *pesantren*, including defining the curriculum, to his children. For instance, Furqon has been given the task of organizing the external affairs of Roisah and leading the Roisah Foundation, not the Roisah Pesantren. Kamilin, assisted by Rohman, has been given the authority to determine the curriculum of the *pesantren*.¹²⁰⁶ In fact, Nawawi has preferred giving religious sermons to the community of Surodadi to dealing with *santri* activities. For instance, he leads activities such as the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, reciting the *manāqib* (the story of saint people), and reciting the *tahlilan* and *yasinan* – religious activities rejected by his children¹²⁰⁷ that take place outside the *pesantren*. The transformation from traditionalist religious orientation to a Salafi one will have an affect on the future religious school and the traditionalist religious activities that are currently performed in the Roisah Pesantren will, in turn, be hardly accommodated there. This will certainly be in line with

¹²⁰⁵ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²⁰⁶ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²⁰⁷ Ibid.

the current religious orientation of PPME Amsterdam currently focusing on strengthening religious purification resulting in the repudiation of classical Islamic books frequently found in the traditionalist *pesantrens*.¹²⁰⁸

C. Running the Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa'¹²⁰⁹ of the Roisah Foundation (Mid-2008): Caring for Orphans and Needy Children

As previously mentioned, board members of Indonesian “hometown associations, student unions, faith-based organizations, and non-governmental organizations” have been accustomed to individually giving their donations, coming from abroad, for charity to those in need in Indonesia.”¹²¹⁰ However, financial transfers for orphans at Roisah, which were made by the PPME Amsterdam board to the Roisah Foundation, contradict this custom. They firstly donated the financial donations from PPME Amsterdam to the chairman. Then, this chairman involved a number of key figures of the foundation in spending the financial gifts. Hence, there was the involvement of two organizations in the transfers, which can be seen from the following discussion.

Prior to the involvement of PPME Amsterdam in looking after orphans at the end of 2007, actually the Roisah Pesantren had already initiated the idea to look after orphans of Surodadi since 1995. Orphaned children in the Surodadi area could ill afford to seek (Quranic) knowledge either in a *pesantren* or in a school.¹²¹¹ Their situation became even worse when they were forced to work to supplement their family’s income.¹²¹² Therefore, Roisah has donated some money and goods to them every *Muḥarram* and *Ramaḍān* (the first and ninth months of the Muslim calendar).¹²¹³

¹²⁰⁸ Cf. Ineke Roex, Sjeff van Stiphout and Jean Tillie, *Salafisme in Nederland: Aard, omvang en dreiging* (Amsterdam: IMES, 2010), 14-15.

¹²⁰⁹ The Darul Aytam wa Duafa’ is part of the section of the Roisah Foundation that deals with social activities.

¹²¹⁰ Abidin, “Diaspora Philanthropy in Indonesia,” 3.

¹²¹¹ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²¹² Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²¹³ Nurul Furqon, short message service, 28 May 2010.

In addition, it was set on providing lessons on reciting and understanding the Qur'an for this group of impoverished people in the community. On the basis of this, Roisah wanted to establish Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa (the House for Orphans and the Poor). The owner of the *pesantren*, Nawawi argued that establishing a *pesantren* that could look after orphans was considered a way of a [peaceful] *jihād fī sabīlillāh* (struggle in God's path) today, rather than in a sense of war.¹²¹⁴ This peaceful *jihād* is in line with another traditionalist Sayyid Akisyarat stating: "Jihad is not violence. Except in a few cases, violence is not justifiable. Jihad can also mean struggling to make sure the Indonesian government meets the needs of its people...."¹²¹⁵ In fact, there are many ways to implement a peaceful *jihād*, i.e. "social effort, education and humanitarian aid."¹²¹⁶ Furthermore, Nawawi added that providing assistance, for instance, in the struggle against troops of Israel in Palestine was politically and economically motivated; thus, it cannot be regarded as a [peaceful] *jihād fī sabīlillāh* because it was not religiously motivated.¹²¹⁷ This point of view is opposed to that of Hussein Umar of DDII who disregarded such motivation. Umar stated that a public protest against a policy of government, correcting an unjust government towards both Muslims and non-Muslims, and waging war were part of *jihād*.¹²¹⁸ The point of view of Nawawi may be in accord with that of a group that want to exercise *jihād* by educating Muslims with spiritual values and noble ethics (*akhlāq*).¹²¹⁹ This means that Nawawi wanted, especially, to improve the education of the Muslim orphans. Thus, it is still an effort to the benefit of the Islamic community.¹²²⁰

¹²¹⁴ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²¹⁵ Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 125.

¹²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 124.

¹²¹⁷ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²¹⁸ Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 125.

¹²¹⁹ See Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Fiqh Jihad: Sebuah Karya Fenomenal Terlengkap tentang Jihad menurut al-Qur'an dan Sunnah*, trans. Irfan Maulana Hakim, et al., 1st ed. (Bandung: Mizan, 2010), xlvii-l.

¹²²⁰ See Walid Phares, *Future Jihad: Terrorist Strategies against the West* (New York and Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 23.

Despite the fact that PPME Amsterdam was the only donor for the House, it was founded not only to educate orphans and needy children, especially in reciting the Qur'an, but also to prepare a qualified and skilled future Islamic generation who will be able to face the challenges of life.¹²²¹ The House was planned for only 42 orphans.¹²²² This required € 9,756 per year or around € 20 per month for each child. Furthermore, the children had to meet certain requirements determined by the House. The candidates should be 6 to 18 years old,¹²²³ have no mother or father, or no parents at all, and should be prepared to take part in programmes, such as learning the Qur'an, and vocational skills such as printing and calligraphy.¹²²⁴ In addition, the kyai considered the main priority to be a solid Islamic education for the children, firstly, and on secular learning in a school system, second. Such was the hope of the kyai for the orphans and needy people accommodated by the board of the House.¹²²⁵ Therefore, if there were some of the accepted children who did not intend to go to school, it would not matter for them.¹²²⁶ Nevertheless, the leader of the House recommended the children going to Islamic schools close to the facility such as the Islamic Primary School (MI) Hidayatul Muftadi (Divine Guidance for Beginners), the Islamic Junior High School (MTs) Mafatihut Thullab (Keys for Students) an-Nawawi, and the Islamic Senior High School (MA) Mafatihut Thullab an-Nawawi.¹²²⁷ They also

¹²²¹ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²²² To fund and educate the 42 children was already a burden for the Foundation whose only financial source was PPME Amsterdam. Ibid. They, who would mostly be students of Islamic primary basic school, came from the village of Surodadi. The rest of the accepted children would be students of Islamic junior high school. Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan Yatama wa Dhuafa' Robithoh Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah*, n.p.

¹²²³ The limit of 18 years old (when finishing senior high school) was decided as graduates of junior high school (15-16 years old) possessed not enough knowledge of Islam and life skills. Therefore, the graduates of junior high school were hoped to seek more Islamic knowledge especially to learn to recite the Quran, study Islamic law, and gain the skills enabling them to earn money – [referring to Lukens-Bull, they are prepared to be religious workers rather than ulamas]. Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²²⁴ Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan*, n. p.

¹²²⁵ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010

¹²²⁶ Ibid.

¹²²⁷ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010. It is worth noting that they gained

should stay in the *pesantren* or stay in their family houses near the Roisah Foundation.¹²²⁸ All of this indicates that Roisah seemed too optimistic about the plan to establish the House. This is because the plan was backed, at last, with regular financial support.

After the proposal by Roisah to found Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa' reached PPME Amsterdam in October 2007,¹²²⁹ PPME could decide to financially support it in 2009. There were three factors that influenced the decision of PPME Amsterdam to provide financial support to run the House. The first was the success of the Roisah Pesantren in distributing the financial transfers of the *zakāt al-fitr* of PPME Amsterdam from 2005 to 2007. The second was the proposal of the Roisah *pesantren* on helping orphans and needy children.¹²³⁰ Last but not least, the involvement of Muttaqin was decisive. Neither of the previous things would have occurred without his involvement. While the proposal of Roisah was in line with the willingness of PPME Amsterdam,¹²³¹ his involvement stimulated the financial transfer from the PPME to the Roisah Foundation. As previously mentioned, he had a proven track record as a mediator and was responsible for the distribution of previous alms from PPME Amsterdam. Having been informed about the financial support of PPME Amsterdam, in 2008, the House began selecting orphans and poor children.¹²³²

PPME Amsterdam, itself, has transferred its donations for the House via the chairman since February 2009. Up through March 2010, PPME Amsterdam transferred financial support seven times in diverse amounts. On 3 February 2009, the PPME transferred € 1,500; in the same year it transferred € 1,090 on 3 March; € 1,055 on 23 June; € 3,043 on 2 September; € 471 on 2 October; and € 2,347 on 2 November. In 2010, only one transfer of € 2,318 took

previously mentioned lessons of vocational skills from Roisah and that the schools do not belong to Roisah.

¹²²⁸ Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan*, n.p.

¹²²⁹ Itqonul Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan Yatama* (Jepara: Roisah, 2007), n.p.

¹²³⁰ Ibid.

¹²³¹ Muttaqin, interview, 12 September 2009.

¹²³² Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

place on 11 March.¹²³³ All these transfers took place following the contacts made by Furqon, who initiated the communication with the chairman of PPME Amsterdam, Rizqi, using e-mail or short message service (sms) in which Furqon discussed the financial needs of the orphans and needy children.¹²³⁴

All of the money transferred, mostly through the Bank Central Asia (BCA) account belonging to Furqon, was allocated for the needs of the selected orphans and needy children – for daily living and education needs.¹²³⁵ In addition to Islamic books, the money was spent on food, the enrollment fee (*infaq wajib*), school uniforms, and books they needed for studying in an Islamic Primary School (MI), Junior High School (MTs) and Senior High School (MA).¹²³⁶ On average, each child was allocated approximately € 25 per month.¹²³⁷

PPME Amsterdam has been the sole financial donor for the running of the House.¹²³⁸ Indeed, the House relies on PPME Amsterdam for its continued existence. This over reliance of one donor has led key figures of Roisah to come up with a solution enabling them to run the programme independently for at least six years (from junior to senior high school).¹²³⁹ Therefore, Furqon opined that individual PPME Amsterdam members might sponsor

¹²³³ Furqon, short message service, 28 May 2010.

¹²³⁴ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²³⁵ See IOM, Indonesian Diaspora Workshop, 7-8 November 2009, The Hague, n.p.

¹²³⁶ Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan*, n.p.

¹²³⁷ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010. This amount was higher than that included in Roisah's proposal, sent to PPME Amsterdam's board in October 2007, namely around € 20. See Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan*, n. p. According to Sobari, a student of junior high school, born on 6 July 1995, from Karanggoden, Mlonggo, Jepara, in addition to around € 25, the selected children were also given, for instance, sarongs and clothes for prayers, and around € 2 was received on the last day of *Ramadan* 2009. Moreover, they were given less than € 0.5 per week. Sobari, interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

¹²³⁸ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²³⁹ Furqon stated: "Because few of the orphans and needy children accepted for the programme have no intention of going to school and intend only to learn Islamic subjects, i.e. reciting and memorizing the Quran, the Roisah Foundation has planned to provide them with an officially recognized programme, enabling them to obtain an official diploma similar to that of junior or senior high school," *Ibid*. In terms of formal education, this plan shows that the wish of the chairman of the Roisah Foundation ignored his father's opinion.

individual orphans or needy children.¹²⁴⁰ Meanwhile, Rohman's point of view was that if the support of PPME Amsterdam was to purchase a new area for rent from which its result would be allocated for their needs, its financial dependence would come to an end. However, "by May 2010 there was no further discussion of the matter between the PPME Amsterdam and the House", said Furqon.¹²⁴¹ This was simply because the discussion of the finances among Roisah's leaders did not yet reach PPME Amsterdam, whereas PPME Amsterdam, itself, could only give its irregular donations for the House.

It can be concluded that the same concern of PPME Amsterdam and the House for orphans in Indonesia is decisive for the direct organizational connection between them. This direct connection alongside the accountability shown by the chairman of the House resulted in the support from PPME Amsterdam to the House. Last but not least, the social project in Indonesia, supported by PPME Amsterdam in cooperation with the foundation, can be a precedent stimulating PPME in the Netherlands to create other similar projects.

¹²⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁴¹ Rohman, interview, 14 February 2010.

Conclusion

Having discussed the existence and formation of religious identity, encouragement for giving both financial and non-financial assistance, and the networks of PPME in the Netherlands and Indonesia, we now come to the conclusion. In principal, PPME came into existence in 1971 because of the idea of *da'wa* aimed at its Indonesian fellows and other interested persons who lived in Europe. Accordingly, the organization has become a vehicle to fulfil religious and socio-cultural needs of its members and fellow Muslims.

The concerns of PPME encouraged its founders and supporters to expand its existence. It was established not only in the Netherlands (1971), but also in Germany (1973). This latter PPME could no longer prolong its existence after the 1990s due to its Indonesian political orientation and the absence of its cadres. This is unlike the PPME in the Netherlands which still exists today because its members tend to live there for a longer time, with the exception of those who are students. Between 1971 and 2005, PPME established branches in The Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Heemskerk, and Breda-Tilburg.

Because of its establishment for Indonesian Muslims living in Europe, PPME in the Netherlands has made significant efforts for its existence there and it can continue to thrive today. The developmental stages can be divided into three periods: before May 1974, after May 1974, and after August 1993. Despite having no legalisation from the Dutch authority before May 1974, PPME as an Islamic faith-based socio-religious organization had made much effort towards self-identification. After its legalization in May 1974, many efforts by PPME between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s went into disseminating Islamic knowledge to improve the understanding of Islam to its members and to other interested persons through both oral and written media. After August 1993 when PPME was registered as an association with no time limit on its existence, and specifically from the mid-1990s to the late 1990s, much of the effort of PPME aimed to educate the children of its members and of those who turned to the organization for Islamic guidance, particularly related to the development of its Dutch-speaking

group. In the 2000s, with respect to the religious orientation of the branches of PPME, it was the more puritanical religious orientation among the congregation of PPME Amsterdam that came to the fore. During that same period, outward-oriented activities were initiated; PPME branches in Amsterdam and The Hague had also been able to establish joint socio-religious activities in Indonesia.

Subsequently, PPME shaped its religious identity by promoting the adherence to religious obligations and disseminating Islamic discourses through its periodicals. In doing so, it took into account the different backgrounds of its members by not speaking out in favour of one or another interpretation of Islam, by paying attention to developments in the Netherlands and Indonesia such as marriage laws, Islamic activities for children, converts, and Muslim youth activities. From 1974 to 2009, no serious conflicts emerged regarding how religious rituals should be performed, but there is one exception: the performance of *dauroh* that began in 2008 by PPME Amsterdam. In fact, it has become the means for PPME Amsterdam to purify the creed of its congregation after the internal conflict in 2005 which was caused by different devotional practices and led to the emergence of two PPMEs in Amsterdam; PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash. PPME Amsterdam turned into a Salafi congregation which prompted the members who could not agree with it to leave and establish their own organization, PPME al-Ikhlash. With respect to the dissemination of Islamic discourses, the periodicals of PPME *al-Ittihaad* and of PPME Amsterdam *Euromoslem* have taken the abovementioned principle of respecting the religious diversity of its members as their guiding principle; for the former until it ceased publication in the late 1990s and for the latter until 2004. *Euromoslem* continued to publish articles written by authors with a different religious background until 2004. Thereupon, the policy PPME had so carefully adhered to was abandoned. Contributions by Salafi authors have coloured the pages of *Euromoslem* since the late 1990s, but now *Euromoslem* has become a digital, and exclusively Salafi, magazine. What PPME Amsterdam did was to breach with the past. Not responding to the diverse religious backgrounds of its members in the religious rituals performed during its meetings or in the pages of its

periodical meant that its leaders disregarded the history of PPME and the ideals of its founders. This will be harmful not only to the cohesion of its congregations, but also to its existence in a non-Muslim society.

Moreover, it is indispensable for PPME as a faith-based organization belonging to ordinary people and lacking financial means to frequently involve its members and supporters in financing its programmes or reducing the costs involved. Therefore, it has always aimed at gaining their support. From 1973 to 2009, PPME tried to encourage them through socio-cultural and infrastructural endeavours. These former efforts were done by organising all kinds of socio-cultural activities jointly or separately; all of its branches supported *Maulid Nabi*, *halal bihalal*, and sports days, whereas *istighotsah* was only supported by some of them. Up to 2005, all of its branches allowed its members and sympathizers to participate in these activities, with the exception of the *istighotsah*, but, in that year, distinct religious identity made its impact. Consequently, *Maulid Nabi*, *halal bihalal*, and *istighotsah* gatherings were considered *bid'a*, or tending towards polytheism, and were condemned by PPME Amsterdam which went its own way and organized its own sports days.

With respect to the latter attempts in procuring places of worship, PPME experienced financial problems. To solve this dilemma, PPME turned to people in the Netherlands and Indonesia. This had positive results as reflected in the purchase of a place of worship (1982) in The Hague that would be called the *Muṣallā al-Ittihaad*, as well as the purchase of a church there with the goal of converting it into a mosque (1996) that would become *al-Hikmah*. PPME Rotterdam has also planned to have its own place of worship since 2003 whereas PPME Amsterdam succeeded in purchasing a place of worship, then called *at-Taḳwa* between 2004 and 2005. In the case of the mosque in The Hague, PPME succeeded in getting the financial support from a rich Indonesian businessman in raising the funds needed to purchase the church. With respect to the *muṣallā* in The Hague and the mosque in Amsterdam, PPME had to take out mortgages with Dutch banks to cover the costs. The fact that until 2011, its branch in Rotterdam could not yet realise its plan to build a mosque without such a mortgage seems to prove

that both encouragement and a mortgage are central to PPME when seeking to provide such places for its members. PPME and its branches have also encouraged their congregations and supporters to cover the monthly mortgage payment using diverse means such as financial assistance by its preachers and selling products made by PPME and the members of its branches.

Next, PPME has established connections with diverse Indonesian communities living in the Netherlands. It not only cooperates with the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia (KBRI), but also with non-governmental organizations such as an intellectual association (ICMI), a centre affiliated with a political party (PIP PKS), and a socio-religious organization (PCIM). With the exception of ICMI, PPME kept the diverse networks intact, at least until 2009. Networks with other associations and institutions were generally established to promote its religious activities and sometimes also to help them run their activities. The connection of PPME with ICMI in the Netherlands took place from the early 1990s to the late 1990s and that relationship no longer exists. This happened because ICMI transformed from an inclusive into an exclusive association that did not take into account the socio-religious needs of the ordinary Indonesian people who form the majority of PPME members. It is worth noting that its connection with the PIP PKS, from 2005 to 2009, involved not only members of the PPME central board in the Netherlands, but also board members of some PPME branches. In contrast, only PPME Amsterdam was involved in the cooperation with the PCIM from 2006 to 2009. Apart from the fact that PPME Amsterdam and PCIM shared a similar view on the traditionalist practices, that the central PPME did not support this cooperation indicates that PPME had failed to be an organization uniting members who had different religious and socio-cultural backgrounds. A bone of contention was the differing viewpoints regarding the traditionalist religious practices.

Furthermore, PPME has also established networks in the Netherlands with non-Indonesians. These networks include not only organizations led by people with similar ethnic backgrounds such as Rukun Islam and AJH, but also such Dutch and Turkish institutions as the Indonesian section of

RNW and Haremeyn Vakfi. The contacts with these four organizations appear to have contributed to the efforts of PPME to solve its financial and infrastructural problems. In addition, these connections have facilitated PPME to expand its *da'wa* using diverse means, i.e. its *da'wa* was performed not only among its congregations, but among others through radio and music, in addition to delivering conventional speeches.

PPME's link with the Indonesian section came to an end in the early 1990s after an internal reorganization in the RNW aimed to promote cooperation between its different sections. The fact that the other ones did not broadcast religious programmes was the stated reason for the RNW to end its cooperation with PPME. Both traditionalist and reformist preachers of the PPME were involved in supporting the religious programme of the Indonesian section (from 1977 to the early 1990s) and Rukun Islam (from the early to the mid-1980s). A religious re-orientation that moved away from the Indonesian traditional practices to the more puritanical religious ones of the Rukun Islam took place in the mid-1980s. PPME remained involved because it could provide preachers with reformist backgrounds – at least up to 2011 the reformist people were still involved in the religious activities of the Rukun Islam. Having reformist and traditionalist Muslims among its leaders, PPME could keep its connection with the AJH (1988 – present) and Haremeyn Vakfi (2008 – present). Instrumental in cementing relations with the former were representatives of its traditional wing, while members with a puritanical religious orientation kept in close touch with the latter. This indicates that when members with different religious orientations support each other, this enables PPME to extend its networks. The fact that PPME is supported by traditionalist and reformist preachers seems to have worked to its advantage, allowing it to sustain its relations with the non-Indonesian organizations, despite changes in the latter's religious orientation.

Unlike its networks in the Netherlands established since the late 1970s, PPME's individual networks in Indonesia were established in the late 1990s, much later than those in the Netherlands. From the late 1990s at least until 2009 there were, in general, two means used by the branches to establish their networks in Indonesia, i.e. mandatory almsgiving

and voluntary donations, as well as *Ramaḍān* programmes. A former member of PPME Amsterdam (from the 1990s) and Indonesian *imams* (in the early 2000s) who had previously been invited to participate in the *Ramaḍān* programmes of PPME The Hague and Amsterdam became their middlemen to help distribute the donations. These Indonesian partners have played both as regular and as active beneficiaries of the alms and voluntary donations remitted by the branches. Their involvement reflects the fact that the board members of the PPME branches had confidence in them, a trust based on past experience. Moreover, unlike the 1990s when a former member of PPME Amsterdam living in Indonesia focused on supporting Islamic organizations in the 2000s, PPME The Hague's support via a relative of the *imam* (Anwar) went to the development of villages in Indonesia, which implied that non-Muslims also benefitted. In the latter period, more careful consideration was given by PPME's branches in The Hague and Amsterdam when providing financial support to their middleman in Indonesia. Nevertheless, in the case of the PPME branch in Amsterdam, freedom in terms of selecting its targeted regions or beneficiaries was still given to the middleman of PPME Amsterdam, Muttaqin. As a result, it was free for the middleman of the Amsterdam branch to allocate its donation to his interests such as building an integrated educational institution in Depok, West Java, responding to the concern of the middleman's party, PKS. Supporting Muttaqin fitted the new Salafi ideological focus of the PPME Amsterdam that began in 2005. Muttaqin had an affiliation with the Salafi Islamic foundation Roisah, where despite the familial relation of the people living there, the contestation of religious orientation has been going on between Nawawi, the owner of the Roisah and his sons, including Muttaqin, since at least 2007. The Islamic foundation was established in 2008, but when it was originally established in Jepara in 1982, it was a traditionalist *pesantren*. Muttaqin's traditionalist father led the *pesantren* until 2007 when his younger brother, Kamilin, started to transform the traditionalist *pesantren* towards a Salafi religious orientation; Salafi Islamic books have replaced the traditionalist ones, in particular with respect to subjects on faith and ethics. It is worth noting that Kamilin graduated from the Institute for Islamic Knowledge and Arabic (LIPIA) which was founded in Jakarta in 1980 and is under

the coordination and the supervision of Al-Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University, Riyadh. The religious transformation of Roisah clearly fitted well with the current views of PPME Amsterdam in terms of rejecting traditionalist religious practices. This transformation was another factor in its endorsement of the joint activities with PPME Amsterdam (2007-2010). In addition, the social projects in Indonesia, supported by PPME Amsterdam in cooperation with the foundation, can be a precedent stimulating other branches of PPME in the Netherlands to create similar projects.

Since the early 2000s, in addition to the former members, the *imams*, themselves, have remained the main contact for PPME in Indonesia. Some were politically active, specifically affiliated with PKS, but others not. The *imams* neither attended an *imam* education session in the Netherlands nor could speak Dutch. This meant that they could not discuss the daily socio-religious problems that their congregations encountered. Their failure to give advice in such matters shows how important it is that such *imams* are not only experts in Islam, but also familiar with life in Dutch society.

Looking back on PPME's history of more than forty years, a number of developments stand out. One is that throughout its existence PPME presented itself as an inclusive Islamic faith-based organization open to all Muslims, irrespective of whether they had a traditionalist or reformist background. Its members supported each other for the sake of Islamic preaching for its congregation and adherents living in Europe, especially in the Netherlands. Another is the way in which PPME succeeded in creating an infrastructure to meet the spiritual needs of its members and others who turned to it. The networks it built and the way its activities involved both Muslims in the Netherlands and in Indonesia made the purchase of a number of places of worship possible (between 1980 and 2005). This is significant as there was a great need at that time because as elsewhere in the world, the Islamic community experienced a religious revival. Contacts with Muslims in Indonesia and creating an *esprit de corps* in its congregations and with other persons involved in its activities were also important in collecting *zakāt al-fīṭr* and *zakāt al-māl*, as well as for distributing the

proceeds in Indonesia (especially between the 1990s and the early 2000s). PPME showed the same dexterity in providing religious instruction, not only by inviting preachers from Indonesia, but also by organizing meetings for converts and others not well versed in Islam who needed more basic information. Dutch speaking converts have played significant roles in its branches since the late 1990s. Some of them are not only members, for instance, but also serve as chairs of their boards. Another major development is the way in which PPME, as well as the people and organizations it cooperated with in Indonesia, reacted overtime to the growing appeal of puritanical interpretations of Islam. From the start, leaders of PPME had intended it to be an organization open to adherents of both traditional and reformist Islam. The central PPME and most of its branches continued on this course, specifically in view of the traditionalist background of many of its members. Early in this century (2005) this policy was contested by leaders of PPME Amsterdam who rejected religious practices inherent among, if not considered essential by, traditional Indonesian Muslims. Those who could not agree to this new Salafi orientation of PPME Amsterdam were forced to establish their own branch, PPME al-Ikhlash. PPME Amsterdam itself, for the distribution of alms in Indonesia, turned to the Rosiah Foundation, developed from a religious boarding school of the same name which, at that moment, was making the transformation from a traditionalist to a Salafi pesantren. The position taken by PPME Amsterdam is indicative of the challenge PPME is facing today. As it looks now, the existence of the PPME as an inclusive organization in which Muslims of different religious orientations are all welcome will continue to be contended by those averse to accepting Muslims with different interpretations of Islam in their midst.

Bibliography

I. Books, Articles, Reports, and Documents

- “Activiteiten Pengajian Remaja.” In *Handleiding Pengajian Remaja PPME*. Edited by Hansyah Iskandar, et al. The Hague: PPME, 1998-1999.
- A., Maryadie, M. F. *Sumbangan Pemikiran kepada Musyawarah Umum PPME II*. 21 July 1976.
- Abdurrahman, Moeslim. “On Hajj Tourism: in Search of Piety and Identity in the New Order Indonesia.” PhD Thesis, University of Illinois, 2000.
- Abidin, Hamid. “Diaspora Philanthropy in Indonesia.” Paper presented at an Indonesian Diaspora Workshop of International Organization for Migration (IOM) of the Netherlands and Emic Research in The Hague. 7-8 November 2009.
- Ali, Abi al-Hasan. *Jāmi‘ Shurūḥ al-Aqīdat al-Ṭahawiyya*. 1st ed. Cairo: Dar al-Jawzi, 2006.
- Ali, Mahrus. *Mantan Kiai NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik (Nariyah, al-Fatih, Munjiyat, Thibbul Qulub)*. Surabaya: Laa Tasuk!, 2007.
- Ali, Mufti. “The Contextualization of Figh al-‘Ibadah among Indonesian Religious Teachers and Their Communities in the Circles of the PPME in Amsterdam and The Hague.” *Hamdrad Islamicus* 30, no. 2 (April-June 2007): 68-69.
- Al-Tasjil 1222 of ‘Imādatu Kulliyyat al-Imam al-A’zam*. Al-Jumhuriyya al-‘Irāqiyya: Riasa Diwan al-Awqaf, 7 July 1972.
- Amghar, Samir. “Salafism and Radicalization of European Muslims.” In *European Islam*. Edited by Samir Amghar, et al. Brussels: CEPS, 2007.
- Amin, Muhammad. *Kemampuan Anak-anak Membaca al-Qur’an (Suatu Studi di Kabupaten Aceh Tenggara)*. Banda Aceh: Pusat Pengembangan Penelitian Ilmu-ilmu Sosial Universitas Syiah Kuala, 1993.
- Amin, Shadiq. *Mencari Format Gerakan Dakwah Ideal*. Jakarta: al-I’tishom Cahaya Umat, 2006.
- Angel, William D. *Youth Movement of the World*. UK: Longman, 1990.
- Anggaran Rumah Tangga PPME*. The Hague: PPME, n.y.

- Ashqar, Muhammad Sulayman al-. *Abḥāth Fiqhiyya*. Al-Ardan: Dar al-Nafais, 2004.
- Azizy, Ahmad Hamim. *Al-Jam'iyatul Washliyah dalam Kancah Politik Indonesia*. Banda Aceh: Yayasan Pena, 2006.
- Azra, Azyumardi. "Exploring Issues of Equality and Plurality: Inter-Religious Relations." Paper presented at a Seminar on Freedom of Religion or Belief in Yogyakarta of Oslo Coalition and UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 15-17 June 2004.
- . "Sekapur Sirih: Pesantren Islam Transnasional." In Mundzier, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat*. Jakarta: Asta Buana Sejahtera, 2009. xvi.
- Bahar, Ade Faisal. *Donaties voor ons gebouw*, no. PPME/04/04/Ind. 7 December 2004.
- Balbaid, A. Aziz. *Jadwal Dauroh Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: PPME, 6 December 2009.
- . *Jadwal Dauroh Amsterdam via E-mail*. Amsterdam: PPME, 11 December 2009.
- Barendregt, Bart. "Transnational Soundscapes in Muslim Southeast Asia." In *Medi@sia: Global Media/tion in and out of Context*. Edited by Todd Joseph Miles Holden and Timothy J. Scrase. London and New York: Routledge, 2006, 175.
- Bartels, Edien. "Ritueel en religieuze beleving." In *Nederlandse moslims: van migrant tot burger*. Edited by Dick Douwes, Martijn de Koning, and Welmoet Boender. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press Salomé, 2005.
- Barton, Greg. *Gus Dur: The Authorized Biography of Abdurrahman Wahid*. Jakarta-Singapore: Equinox, 2002.
- Basri, Hasan. *Panitia Peringatan Maulid Nabi Muhammad SAW Tahun 1416 H/1995*. The Hague: PPME, August 1995.
- Baswedan, Anies Rasyid. "Political Islam in Indonesia." *Asian Survey* 44, no. 5 (September/October 2004): 688.
- Beatty, Andrew. *Varieties of Javanese Religions: An Anthropological Account*. UK, USA, Australia, Spain and South Africa: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

- Benjamin, Jules R. *A Student's Guide to History*. 6th ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- Bijvoegsel van de Nederlandse staatscourant van 14 augustus 1974* 156, 1.
- Boender, Welmoet. "Islamitische hulporganisaties kampen met vooroordelen." In Zemzem, *Islamic Development Organization*. n.p. and n.y. 113.
- and Meryem Kanmaz. "Imams in the Netherlands and Islamic Teachers in Flanders." In *Intercultural Relations and Religious Authorities: Muslims in the European Union*. Edited by W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld. Leuven: Peeters, 2002.
- . *Imam in Nederland: Opvattingen over zijn religieuze rol in de samenleving*, PhD Thesis, Leiden University, 2007.
- Bommel, A. van. "The History of Muslim Umbrella Organizations." In *Islam in Dutch Society: Current Developments and Future Prospects*. Edited by W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld. Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1992.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantren in Contemporary Indonesia." In *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages*. Edited by Farish A. Noor, Yonginder Sikan and Martin van Bruinessen. Amsterdam: ISIM/Amsterdam University Press, 2008.
- . *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat*. Translated by Farid Wajidi and Rika Iffati. Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012.
- . *Traditionalist Muslims in a Modernizing World: The Nahdlatul Ulama and Indonesia's New Order Politics, Fictional Conflict and the Search for a New Discourse*. Yogyakarta: LKIS, 1994.
- Burhanudin, Jajat. "Traditional Islam and Modernity: Some Notes on the Changing Role of the Ulama in Early Twentieth Indonesia." In *Varieties of Religious Authority: Changes and Challenges in 20th Century Indonesian Islam*. Edited by Azyumardi Azra, Kees van Dijk, and N. J. G. Kaptein. Singapore: ISEAS, 2010.
- Buskens, Vincent and Werner Raub. "Embedded Trust: Control and Learning." In *Group Cohesion, Trust and Solidarity*. Edited by Shane R. Thye and Edward J. Lawler. USA: Elsevier Science Ltd., 2002).
- Buskens, Léon. *Islamitisch recht en familiebetrekkingen in Marokko*.

- Amsterdam: Bulaaq, 1999.
- Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary Version 3.0. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Certificate no. 32585 of College of Islamic Law Sharea. Iraq: University of Baghdad, 4 October 1970.
- CH. Suroso (Kapol Pos Pondok Kelapa), *Polri Sektor Metropolitan Duren Sawit Pol Pos Pondok Kelapa: Surat Tanda Penerimaan Laporan*, 25 July 1997.
- Chaeron, Mochammad. *Laporan Singkat dalam Rangka Perjalanan Da'wah ke Suriname: Stichting der Islamitische Gemeente in Suriname (SIS.)* The Hague: PPME, 10 January 1979.
- Cook, Karen S. et al. *Cooperation without Trust?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005.
- Cooke, Miriam and Bruce B. Lawrence. *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop*. USA: the University of North Carolina Press, 2005.
- Custer, Martin, "Muslims in the Netherlands." In *Muslim Minorities in the West*. Edited by Syed Z. Abedin and Ziauddin Sardar. London: Grey Seal, 1995.
- Darmawan, Oksimana. "Perlindungan Hak atas Kebebasan Beragama dan Berkeyakinan bagi Kelompok Minoritas Agama dan Aliran Kepercayaan; Studi Kasus di Sulawesi Utara." *Jurnal Hak Asasi Manusia* 4, no. 1 (June 2013): 69.
- Dassetto, Felice and Gerd Nonneman. "Islam in Belgium and the Netherlands: Towards a Typology or 'Transplanted' Islam." In *Muslim Communities in the New Europe*. Edited by Gerd Nonneman et al. UK: Garnet Publishing, 1996.
- Delong-Bas, Natana J. *Wahhabi Islam, from Revival and Reform to Global Jihad*. London: IB Tauris, 2004.
- Dessing, Nathal M. *Rituals of Birth, Circumcision, Marriage, and Death among Muslims in the Netherlands*. PhD Thesis, Leiden University, 19 September 2001.
- . *Rituals of Births, Circumcision, Marriage, and Death among Muslims in the Netherlands*. Leuven: Peeters, 2001.
- Dewan Pimpinan Pusat. *Laporan DPP PPME pada Musyawarah Umum I dari*

- Tanggal 25-26 August 1973. The Hague: PPME, n.y.
- . *Laporan DPP PPME pada Musyawarah Umum I dari Tanggal 25-26 August 1973*. The Hague: PPME, 1973.
- Dijk, C. van. *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam: The Darul Islam in Indonesia*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981.
- . “Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Radical, Moderate and Practical.” Cleveringa Lecture, 4 December 2004, Indonesian University, Depok. 7 and 12.
- Dimiyati, Moh. Fathoni and Moh. Dimiyati Salim. *Proposal Pembangunan Sarana dan Prasarana Unit Roudlotul Qur’an Pondok Pesantren Bidayatul Hidayah*. Mojokerto: Ponpes Bidayatul Hidayah, 30 June 2009.
- Direktorat Pendidikan Agama Islam pada Masyarakat dan Pemberdayaan Masjid. *Panduan Pesantren kilat*. Jakarta: Depag, 2004.
- Dirjen Bimbaga, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Depag, 1986.
- Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam dan Urusan Haji. *Petunjuk Pelaksanaan Perkawinan di Luar Negeri*. Jakarta: Depag RI, 1989.
- Dirjen Kelembagaan Agama Islam. *Panduan Penyelenggaraan Pesantren Kilat*. Jakarta: Depag, 2005.
- Ditpeka Pontren. *Pola Penyelenggaraan Pesantren Kilat (Studi Kasus Pondok Pesantren Babakan Ciwaringain, Cirebon, Jawa Barat)*. Jakarta: Depag, 2003.
- Al-Djufri, Moh. Salim. *Wahdah Islamiyyah di Gorontalo*. Jakarta: Kemenag RI, 2011.
- DPC PPME al-Ikhlash. *PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam ledenlijst*. Amsterdam: PPME, n.y.
- DPC PPME Amsterdam. *Laporan Kegiatan Musim Panas Barbeque dan Budaya Periode 1996-1997*. Amsterdam: PPME, 1997.
- DPC PPME Breda, *Gastenboek Halal Bihalal ar-Rahman*. Breda-Tilburg: PPME, 2005.
- DPC PPME Den Haag. *Proposal Pelaksanaan Peringatan Maulid Nabi Muhammad SAW, 1416 H/1995*. The Hague: PPME. 1995.
- . *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban PPME Cabang Den Haag 1996-1997*. The Hague: PPME, December 1997.

- _____. *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja 2000-2002*. The Hague: PPME, September 2002.
- DPC PPME Rotterdam. *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque for the Indonesian Community in the Netherlands*. Rotterdam: PPME, January 2004.
- DPP PPME, *Program kerja PPME 1971-73*. The Hague: PPME, 1971.
- _____. *Laporan DPP Musyawarah I*. The Hague: PPME, 1973.
- _____. *Laporan DPP Musyawarah I*. The Hague: PPME, 1973.
- _____. *Laporan DPP PPME 25-26 Agustus 1973*. The Hague: PPME, 1973.
- _____. *Notulen Rapat 20 April '74*. The Hague, PPME, n.d.
- _____. *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga PPME*. The Hague: PPME, August 1976.
- _____. *Anggaran Dasar dan Anggaran Rumah Tangga PPME*. Giessen, 1979, n.p.
- _____. *Laporan Kerja 1973-1976*. The Hague: PPME, 1976.
- _____. *Laporan Kerja PPME 1976-1979*. The Hague: PPME, 1979.
- _____. *Laporan Kerja 1976-1979*. Aachen, West Germany: YMAE, 1 June 1979.
- _____. *The Statute of PPME*. The Hague: PPME, 1979.
- _____. *Anggaran Dasar*, The Hague: PPME, 1979.
- _____. *The Bylaws of PPME*. The Hague: PPME, 1979.
- _____. *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Mandataris Musyawarah Umum PPME/Ketua Umum DPP PPME Periode 1989-1982*. Aachen: PPME, November 1982.
- _____. *Daftar Peserta Musyawarah Umum IV*. The Hague: PPME, November 1982.
- DPW PPME Germany. *Laporan Kerja DPW PPME*. Darmstadt: PPME, July 1976.
- DPW PPME Nederland. *Ikrar Musyawarah Wilayah Luar Biasa 1982*. Germany: PPME, November 1982.
- _____. *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986*. The Hague: PPME, 1986.
- _____. Letter No. 0X/KWN/01/93 to M. Zubaidi. 8 January 1993.

- _____. *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland 1992-1994*. The Hague: PPME, 27 November 1994.
- _____. *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999*. The Hague: PPME, Juni 2000.
- _____. *Keputusan PPME Wilayah Nederland*, No. 2/PPMENL/XII/2005. The Hague: DPW PPMW, 18 December 2005.
- Dukuh Pakel, *Profil Padukuhan Pakel, Desa Hargosari, Tanjung Sari, Yogyakarta*, 2010.
- Eickelman, Dale F. and Jon W. Anderson. "Redefining Muslim Publics." In *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, Edited by Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson. 2nd ed. USA: Indiana University Press, 2003.
- Esposito, John L and John O. Voll. *Islam and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Fadl, Khaleed Abou el-. *The Place of Tolerance in Islam*. Edited by Joshua Cohen and Ian Lague. Boston: Beacon Press, 2002.
- Fasa, Nuura N. "Perjuangan M. Natsir dalam Merebut Irian Barat", *Avatara* 1, no. 1 (January 2013): 145-146
- Fathuri, et al. *Kiai, Musik dan Kitab Kuning*. Depok: Desantara, 2009.
- Fatimah, Siti. *Laporan Notulen Rapat ke-Empat Pengurus Majelis Dzikir*. Amsterdam: PPME Majelis Dzikir, 31 December 2005.
- Fatwa, A. M. "Taqwa dan Azas Islam hingga Titik Darah Terakhir." In *Khotbah Idul Fitri 1430 H*. Edited by Panitia Pelaksana Hari-hari Besar Islam/Panitia Sholat Idul Fitri 1430 H. Jakarta: Panitia, 1983.
- Federspiel, Howard M. *Labirin Ideologi Muslim: Pencarian dan Pergulatan PERSIS di Era Kemunculan Negara Indonesia (1923-1957)*. Jakarta: P.T. Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2001.
- Fedyani Saifuddin, Achmad. "Menjaga Persatuan dan Kesatuan Bangsa: Pemuda Kita dalam Dunia yang Semakin Contested." In *Dialog Pemuda dalam Membangun Bangsa: 80 Tahun Sumpah Pemuda*. Edited by Zulkifli Akbar, et al. Jakarta: Kementrian Negara Pemuda dan Olahraga, 2009.
- Feillard, Andrée. "Indonesian Traditionalist Islam's Troubled Experience with Democracy." *Archipel* 64 (2002): 126-127.

- Feirabend, Jeroen and Jan Rath. "Making Place for Islam in Politics." In *Muslims in the Margin: The Political Responses to the Presence of Islam in Western Europe*. Edited by W. A. R Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld. Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996.
- Garraghan, Gilbert J. *A Guide to Historical Method*. 4th ed. New York: Fordham University Press, 1957.
- Ghoffir, Muhaimin Abdul. *The Islamic Traditions of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat among Javanese Muslims*. Jakarta: Litbang, 2004.
- Geertz, Clifford. *Religion of Java*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Ghaly, Mohammed M. "The Academic Training of Imams: Recent Discussions and Initiatives in The Netherlands." In *The Study of Religion and The Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe: Academic and Religious Freedom in the 21st Century*. Edited by Willem B. Dress and P. S. van Koningsveld. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2008.
- Gowrichan, Ruben and Bim Mungra. "The Politics of Integration in the Netherlands." In *Muslims in the Margin*. Edited by W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996.
- Gunawan, Basuki. *Indonesische studenten in Nederland*. The Hague: N.V. Uitgeverij W. van Hoeve, 1966.
- Hafidhuddin, Didin. *Agar Harta Berkah & Bertambah*. Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2007.
- . "Strategi Pengembangan Zakat Indonesia." In *The Power of Zakat*. Edited by Didin Hafidhuddin, et al. Malang: UIN Malang Press in Cooperation with Pusat Kajian Zakat dan Wakaf "el-Zawa", 2008.
- Hajri, Amir al-. Letter to the Chairman of PPME in the Netherlands. 7 June 1982.
- Hanan, Djayadi. *Gerakan Pelajar Islam di bawah Bayang-bayang Negara: Studi Kasus Pelajar Islam Indonesia Tahun 1980-1997*. Yogyakarta: UII Press, 2002.
- Haris, Ahmad. *Bid'ah dalam Literatur Islam*. 1st ed. Ciputat: Referensi, 2012.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. "The Salafi Madrasas of Infonesia." In *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages*. Edited by Farish A. Noor, Yonginder Sikan and Martin van Bruinessen. Amsterdam:

- ISIM/Amsterdam University Press, 2008.
- . “From Apolitical Quietism to Jihadist Activism: Salafis, Political Mobilization and Drama of Jihad in Indonesia.” In *Varieties of Religious Authority: Changes and Challenges in 20th Century Indonesian Islam*. Edited by Azyumardi Azra, Kees van Dijk, and N. J. G. Kaptein. The Netherlands and Singapore: IIAS and ISEAS, 2010.
- Hassan, A. *Soal-Djawab tentang Berbagai Masalah Agama*. 2nd ed. Bandung: C. V. Dipenegoro, 1969.
- Hawwā, Saīd. *Al-Madkhal ilā Da‘wat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*. Beyrut and Amman: Dār Ummār, 1988.
- Heelsum, Anja van, et al. *Moslim in Nederland: Islamitische organisaties in Nederland*. The Hague: SCP, July 2004.
- Hefner, Robert W. *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Hidayat, Taufiq. ICMI: “Wadah Baru HMI untuk Perjuangan Umat.” In *ICMI di Mata Pemuda, Mahasiswa, Dai dan Kaum Dhuafa*. Edited by Mahmud F. Rakasima et al. Jakarta: Amanah Putra Nusantara, 1995.
- Hikmah al-, Letter No. 005/I. 22 January 1997.
- Hines, Twanna A. “The Myth of Ethnic Equality.” In *Migration and Immigration: A Global View*. Edited by Maura I. Toro and Marixsa Alice. USA: Greenwood Press, 2004.
- Hisyam, Muhammad. *Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa (Young Muslim Association in Europe): Sekilas Sejarah dan Perannya dalam Dakwah Islam di Nederland*. PPME/YMAE: The Hague, August 1996.
- Hoek, Antje van der. *Religie in ballingschap: Institutionalisering en leiderschap onder christelijke en islamitische Molukkers in Nederland*. Amsterdam: VU Publisher, 1994.
- Hoesein, Abdul Azis. “Membangun Negara Perlu Kebersamaan.” In *ICMI di Mata Pemuda, Mahasiswa, Dai dan Kaum Dhuafa*. Edited by Mahmud F. Rakasima, et al. Jakarta: Amanah Putra Nusantara, 1995.
- Hoofdbestuur. *Handleiding PR PPME*. The Hague: PPME, 1998–1999.
- Humam, As’ad. *Cara Cepat Belajar Membaca al-Qur’an*. Yogyakarta: Team Tadarus AMM, 1994.
- Humas. *Menuju Pemahaman Aqidah yang Benar*. Amsterdam: PPME, 6

- December 2009.
- Husin, Asna. *Philosophical and Sociological Aspects of Da'wah: A Study of Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia*. USA: UMI, 1998.
- Ichwan, Moch. Nur. "Prayer in the Surinam-Javanese Diasporic Experience." *ISIM* 3 (1999): 45.
- Iman, Hasanah. Letter to the Members of PPME Amsterdam and PPME al-Ikhlash. 27 July 2005.
- Roex, Ineke, Sjef van Stiphout and Jean Tillie. *Salafisme in Nederland: Aard, omvang en dreiging*. Amsterdam: IMES, 2010.
- "Informasi Independen." In *Panduan Frekuensi Ranesi mulai 27 Maret sampai 30 Oktober 2011*. Edited by Redaksi Indonesia. Hilversum: Ranesi, n. y.
- Instituut voor Multiculturele Vraagstukken. *De positie van moslims in Nederland: Feiten en cijfers 2010*. Utrecht: Forum, March 2010.
- Iskandar, Hansyah, et al. *Handleiding Pengajian Remaja PPME*. The Hague: PPME, 1998-1999.
- Iskandar, Muhaimin. "ICMI Belum Membela Umat Islam." In *ICMI di Mata Pemuda, Mahasiswa, Dai dan Kaum Dhuafa*. Edited by Mahmud F. Rakasima, et al. Jakarta: Amanah Putra Nusantara, 1995.
- Ismail, Farid and Sriyatin Shadiq. *Hisab Rukyat Jembatan menuju Pemersatu Umat*. Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Asy Syakirin, 2005.
- Isyak, M. *Laporan Pertanggung-jawaban Pengurus PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1994-1996*. The Hague: PPME the Netherlands. 1997.
- Jabrohim. *Membumikan Dakwah Kultural*. Yogyakarta: PSM, 2005.
- Jadwal Kegiatan pada Minggu Ketiga dan Minggu ke-Empat Ramadhan Th. 2004. Amsterdam: PPME Amsterdam, 2004.
- Jawas, Yazid bin Abdul Qadir. *Mulia dengan Manhaj Salaf*. Bogor: Pustaka at-Taqwa, 2009.
- Jazuli, Ahzami Samiun. *Hijrah dalam Pandangan al-Qur'an*. Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2006.
- . *Kehidupan dalam Pandangan al-Qur'an*. Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2006.
- Jonge, Christian de, et al. "How Christianity Obtained a Central Position in Minahasa Culture." In *A History of Christianity in Indonesia: Studies*

- in Christian Mission*. Edited by Jan Sihar Aritonang and Karel Steenbrink. Vol 35. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Kader PKS. *Paduan Lengkap Manhaj Tarbiyah*. 1st ed. Solo: Media Insani Press, 2005.
- Kadungga, A. Wahid. *Laporan Dewan Pimpinan Pusat PPME pada Musyawarah Umum I*, 25-26 August 1973. The Hague: PPME the Netherlands, 1973.
- . *PPME/YMAE sebagai Badan Perjuangan dan Lembaga Da'wah*. Rotterdam: 1989. 7.
- Kahin, George Mct. "In Memoriam: Mohammad Natsir (1907-1993)." *Indonesia*, no 56 (October 1993): 165, 180, and 185.
- Kamer van Koophandel (Kvk, Chamber of Commerce and Industry). Letter to the Board of PPME. File No. 0703287 609. 14 December 1994.
- Kamilin, Itqonul. *Proposal Bantuan Yatama wa Dhuafa' Robithoh Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah*. Jepara: Roisah, 2007.
- . *Proposal Permohonan Izin Operasional Pondok Pesantren Robithoh Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah*. Jepara: Ponpes Roisah, 2009.
- Kaptein, N. J. G. "Islam in Present-Day Dutch Society." In *Beberapa Kajian Indonesia dan Islam*. Edited by W. A. L. Stokhof and N. J. G. Kaptein. Jakarta: INIS, 1990.
- . "The Berdiri Mawlid Issue among Indonesian Muslims in the Period from Circa 1875 to 1930", in *Bijdrage tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149, no. 1 (1993): 125-126.
- . *Perayaan Hari Lahir Nabi Muhammad SAW: Asal Usul dan Penyebaran Awalnya, Sejarah di Maghrib dan Spanyol Muslim sampai Abad ke-16/ke-10*. Jakarta: INIS, 1994.
- Karich, Imane. "Economic Development of Muslim Communities." In *European Islam: Challenges for Society and Public Policy*. Edited by Samir Amghar, et al. Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2007.
- Karim, Muslih Abdul. *Isa dan al-Mahdi di Akhir Jaman*. Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2005.
- Kasim, Azhari. *Memorandum Akhir Jabatan Ketua Pengurus Sementara Masjid al-Hikmah*. The Hague: al-Hikmah, 31 July 1997.
- Keputusan Menteri Luar Negeri No. S.K. 06/A/OT/VI/2004/01, 1 June

- 2004.
- Keputusan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah No. 114/Kep/I.0/B/2008 tentang: Cabang Istimewa Muhammadiyah, Yogyakarta, 29 July 2008.
- Kerohanian Islam, *Jadwal Giliran Khatib Shalat Jum'at di Aula KBRI Den Haag*. The Hague: KBRI, 1995.
- Kettani, M. Ali Kettani. *Muslim Minority in the World Today*. London and New York: Manshell Publishing Limited, 1986.
- Kiprah dan Apa Kata Mereka tentang PKS. Schiedam: PIP PKS Belanda, n.y.
- KKRP2M. *Laporan/Permohonan kepada Bapak Duta Besar RI untuk Kerajaan Belanda di Den Haag*. The Hague: PPME, 3 November 1995.
- Koch Notarissen. *Akte van oprichting P.P.M.E. Amsterdam*. 19 April 2001. 's-Gravenhage.
- _____. *Akte van oprichting P. P. M. E. Den Haag*. 13 May 2002. 's-Gravenhage.
- _____. *Akte van oprichting PPME al-Ikhlas Amsterdam*. 10 January 2006. 's-Gravenhage.
- Koelman, Wendela. "Religious Professional, Not Polder-Imam: Students at the HBO Imam Training Programme on Their Future Career Perspectives." Master Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2010.
- Konperensi Pelajar Indonesia se-Eropa. Hennef: n.p., 1955.
- Krämer, Gudrun and Schmidtke, Sabine. "Introduction: Religious Authority and Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies: A Critical Review." In *Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies*. Edited by Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006.
- Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah*, 2nd ed. (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, August 2003), xix.
- Kurdi, Yani and Dewi Hendriks. *Acara Rapat Evaluasi I Dep. Pendidikan dan Da'wah*. The Hague: PPME, 29 September 1996.
- Kurdi, Yani. *Laporan Kerja Seksi Pendidikan dan Kaderisasi PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1992-1994*. The Hague: PPME, 28 March 1994.
- "Kutipan Surat Keputusan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, No.: 149/KEP/LO?B/2006 tentang Kebijakan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah

- Mengenai Konsolidasi Organisasi dan Amal Usaha Muhammadiyah.” In *Bertaruh Citra Dakwah: Membedah Kritis Friksi Muhammadiyah-PKS*. Edited by Arif Giyanto dan Budi Gunawan Sutomo. Surakarta: Era Intermedia, 2007.
- Landman, Nico. *Van mat tot minaret: De institutionalisering van de Islam in Nederland*. Amsterdam: VU Press, 1992.
- . *Imamopleiding in Nederland: Kansen en knelpunten*. Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 1996.
- . “Imam in the Netherlands: Home-Made Better than Import?.” *ISIM Newsletter* 2 (1999): 5.
- Latief, Hilman. “Islamic Charities and Social Activism: Welfare, Dakwah and Politics in Indonesia”. PhD Thesis, Utrecht, 2012.
- Latif, Yudi. *Intelegensia Muslim dan Kuasa: Genealogi Intelegensia Muslim Indonesia Abad ke-20*. Jakarta: Democracy Project, 2012.
- Lazis Paramadina. Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1992.
- Li, Minghuan. *We Need Two Worlds: Chinese Immigrant Associations in a Western Society*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999.
- Lukens-Bull, Ronald. *A Peaceful Jihad: Negotiating Identity and Modernity in Muslim Java*. New York and England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Luth, Thohir. *M. Natsir: Dakwah dan Pemikirannya*. Jakarta: Gema Insani, 1999.
- Machsun, T. Thoha. *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 2000-2002*. The Hague: PPME, 1 September 2002.
- Madinier, Remi. “Masyumi antara Demokrasi Islam dan Islam Integral.” Paper Presented in Séminaire IISM/EHESS for Indonesian Master and PhD Students of Leiden University in Paris. 7 May 2008, 8.
- Majlis Dzikir. *Mededeling*. Amsterdam: PPME Amsterdam, 3 November 2005.
- Makaminan, Taslim. Letter to Ishak Mansjur. 23 March 1991.
- . Letter to Ishak Mansjur. 14 May 1991.
- . Letter to Ishak Mansjur. 8 July 1993.
- . Letter to Ishak Mansjur. 21 July 1994.

- _____. Letter to Abdul Aziz Balbaid. 6 June 1996.
- _____. Letter to Abdul Aziz Balbaid. 19 May 1997.
- Maksum, A. H. Letter to Amir Al-Hajri and M. Surya Alinegara. 11 June 1982.
- _____. *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1984-1986 pada Musyawarah PPME Wil. Nederland 23-11-1986 di Den Haag*. The Hague: PPME, 23 November 1986.
- _____. *Laporan Umum Pengurus PPME Wil. Nederland 1986-1988 pada Musyawarah PPME Wilayah Nederland ke-5 26-27 November 1988 di Amsterdam*. The Hague: PPME, 1986.
- Martodikromo. *Jaarplan stichting BARR 2010 t/m 2013*. Rotterdam: Stichting Bebarengan Anggawe Rukuning Rakyat, 2010.
- Martosuhardjo, Sujatmo. *Laporan Tahunan 1971 KBRI Den Haag*. 's-Gravenhage: KBRI, 1972.
- Masud, Muhammad Khalid. "The Growth and Development of the Tablighī Jamā't in India." In *Travellers in Faith: Studies of the Tablighī Jamā't as a Transnational Islamic Movement for Faith Renewal*. Edited by Muhammad Khalid Masud. Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 2000.
- Mas'udi, A. Firdaus. *Laporan Kegiatan-kegiatan Kepengurusan Periode 1997-1998*. PPME The Hague, The Hague, 7 November 1998.
- Masaaki, Okamoto. "The Rise of the 'Realistic' Islamic Party: PKS." In *Indonesian Islam in Contention*. Edited by Otta Atsushi, Okamoto Masaaki, and Ahmad Suaedi. Jakarta, Kyoto, and Taiwan: Wahid Institute, Cseas and Capas. 2010.
- Maudoodi, Maulana Abul A'ala. *The Laws of Marriage and Divorce in Islam*. 3rd ed. Kuwait: Islamic Book Publishers, 2000.
- McLoughlin, Sean. *Organising Hajj-Going in Britain: A Preliminary Report*. Leeds: University of Leeds, 10 October 2013.
- Mededeling*. PPME Majlis Dzikir, 2005, n.p.
- Minderhedenbeleid* 16 102, Tweede Kamer der Staten-General, 15 September 1983, 110.
- Misztal, Barbara A. *Trust in Modern Societies*. 1st ed. UK: Polity Press, 1996.
- Mitchell, Richard Paul. *Masyarakat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimun*. 1st ed. Solo: Era Intermedia, 2005.

- Mochtar, Achmad. *Rincian Acuan Program Kerja ICMI ORWIL Eropa Masa Bakti 1995-2000*. Bonn: ICMI Europe, 1995.
- MPP PKS. *Memperjuangkan Masyarakat Madani*. Jakarta: PKS, Maret 2008.
- Muchtar, Masyhudi. *Aswaja an-Nahdliyah*. Surabaya: Lajnah wa Ta'liwan Nasyr, 2007.
- Muhaimin. *Nuansa Baru Pendidikan Islam: Mengurangi Benang Kusut Dunia Pendidikan*. Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2006.
- Nakamura, Mitsuo. *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree*. Singapore: ISEAS, 2012.
- Nashir, Haedar. *Manifestasi Gerakan Tarbiyah: Bagaimana Sikap Muhammadiyah?* 4th ed. Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2006.
- . *Khittah Muhammadiyah tentang Politik*, 1st ed. Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2008.
- Natsir, M. “Keterangan Pemerintah tentang Irian Barat”, In *Capita Selecta* 2. Edited by D. P. Sati Alimin. Jakarta: Pustaka Pendis, 1957.
- Nieuw uittreksel handelsregister etc. Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken PPME wilayah Breda ar-Rahman*, ref: 2007.041801/T, Notariskantoor Staden, (Oosterhout, 8 January 2008).
- Noer, Deliar. *The Modernist Muslim Movements in Indonesia 1900-1942*. London-New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Sekretaris Umum. Notulen Rapat DPP PPME 12 Desember 1973. PPME, The Hague.
- . Notulen Rapat pada 2 Februari 1974. PPME, The Hague.
- . Notulen Rapat 20 April '74. PPME, The Hague.
- . Notulen Rapat PPME 14 Juli 1974. PPME, The Hague.
- . Notulen Rapat 26 October 1974. PPME, The Hague.
- . Notulen Rapat 26 Oktober '74. PPME, The Hague.
- . Notulen Rapat 10 November 1974. PPME, The Hague.
- . Notulen Rapat 10 November 1974. PPME, The Hague.
- . Notulen Rapat 29 Maret 1975. PPME, The Hague.
- . Notulen Rapat DPP PPME 26 Oktober 2004. PPME, The Hague
- Overes, C. H. C. *Van vereniging en stichting, coöperatie en onderlinge waarborgmaatschappij*. 4th ed. Deventer: Gouda Quint, 2002.

- Panitia Pelaksana Muktamar II dan Simposium Nasional. *Rancangan Program Kerja ICMI period 1995-2000*. Jakarta: ICMI, 1995.
- Peacock, James L. *Purifying the Faith: The Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*. 2nd ed. USA: Arizona State University, 1992.
- Pengurus. *Lazis Paramadina*. Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1992.
- Phares, Walid. *Future Jihad: Terrorist Strategies against the West*. New York and Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Poetra, Adjie Esa. *Revolusi Nasyid*. Bandung: MQS Publishing, 2004.
- PPA, Letter “Penagihan Laporan dan Pembekuan Organisasi” to PCIA Nederland, no. 361/PPA/A/XII/2008. 23 December 2008. Aisyiah, Yogyakarta.
- PPME dan Masyarakat Islam Indonesia Nederland. *Project Proposal: Rencana Pembangunan Mesjid Masyarakat Islam Indonesia di Nederland*. The Hague: PPME, n.y.
- Purwanto, Agus and Yusuf Setiyono. *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban PCIM Belanda Periode 2006-2008*. ‘s-Gravenhage: PCIM, 17 July 2009.
- Purwoko, Dwi. *Pemuda Islam di Pentas Nasional*. Jakarta: Bonafida Cipta Pratma, 1993.
- Qadir, Zuli. “Gerakan Salafi Radikal dalam Konteks Islam Indonesia.” *Islamica* 3, no. 1 (September 2008): 3-7.
- Qaradawi, Yusuf al-. *Fiqh al-Zakāt: Dirāsa Muqārana li Ahkāmihā wa Falsafatihā fī Daw’i’l-‘Qur’ān and wa’l-Sunna*. Beirut: Dār al-Irshād, 1969.
- . *Fiqh az-Zakat: A Comparative Study: The Rules, Regulation and Philosophy of Zakat in the Light of the Qur’an and Sunna*. Translated by Monzer Kahf. London: Dar al Taqwa Ltd., 1999.
- . *Fiqh al-Ginā wal-‘Mūsīqā fī Daw’i al-Qur’ān wal-‘Sunna*. Cairo: Maktaba wa Hiba, 2004.
- . *Fiqh Jihad: Sebuah Karya Fenomenal Terlengkap tentang Jihad menurut al-Qur’an dan Sunnah*. Translated by Irfan Maulana Hakim, et al. 1st ed. Bandung: Mizan, 2010. xlvii-l.
- Queslati, Firdaous. “Non-Formal Higher Education in The Netherlands: With Some Comparative Notes on France and the United Kingdom.” In *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe*.

- Edited by Willem B. Drees and P. S. van Koningsveld. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2008.
- Raboen, Sio, et al. *Het jaarverslag van het bestuur PPME Den Haag*. Appendix of Secretariat, n.p.
- “Radio Nederland Wereldomroep Siaran Bahasa Indonesia.” In *Panduan Frekuensi Ranesi mulai 27 Maret sampai 30 Oktober 2011*. Edited by Redaksi Indonesia. Hilversum: Ranesi, n.y.
- Rahardjo, M. Dawam. “Manajemen Zakat. In *Pedoman Pembinaan Bazis*. Edited by Ditjen Bimas Islam dan Urusan Haji. Jakarta: Depag, 1992).
- . “Visi dan Misi Kehadiran ICMI: Sebuah Pengantar.” In Ali-Fauzi, Nasrullah. *ICMI: Antara Status Quo dan Demokratisasi*. Edited by Nasrullah Ali-Fauzi. Bandung: Mizan, 1995.
- Rahmat, M. Imadudin. *Ideologi Politik PKS: dari Masjid Kampus ke Gedung Parlemen*. Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2008.
- Ramage, Douglas Edward. *Ideological Discourse in the Indonesian New Order: State, Ideology and the Beliefs of an Elite 1985-1993*. PhD Thesis, University of South Carolina, 1993.
- Ramadan, Tariq. *Western Muslims and the Future of Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Rangkuti, Sjaiful A. *Laporan Pertanggung Jawab Mandataris: Musyawarah Umum PPME/Ketua Umum DPP PPME Periode 1987-1982*. Aachen: PPME, 12-14 November 1982.
- Razak, Husny Abdul, et al. *Programma PPME jeugdkamp*. Rotterdam: PPME, June 1996.
- . *Commissie voor de bouw van tafakkur moskee, nummer 2004/PPME/TAF/0068 t/m 83*. 10 December 2003.
- . et al. *Proposal for the Construction of a Mosque for the Indonesian Community in the Netherlands (Rotterdam)*. Rotterdam: PPME, 10 December 2003.
- Razaq, Salah Salem Abdel. *Neo-Muslim Intellectuals in the West and Their Contributions to Islamic Thought and the Formation of Western Islam*. PhD Thesis, Leiden University, 2005.
- Ricklefs, M. C. *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*. 3rd ed. London: Palgrave, 2001.

- . *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200*. 4th ed. Translated by a Team of Serambi. Jakarta: PT Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2009.
- Rigoni, Issabelle. "Access to Media for European Muslims." In *European Islam*. Edited by Samir Amghar, et al. Brussels: CEPS, 2007.
- Roald, Anne Sofie. *New Muslims in the European Context*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Roijackers, M. "Religious Identity, Integration and Subjective Well-Being among Young Turkish Muslims." In *Islam in Dutch Society: Current Developments and Future Prospects*, Edited by W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld. Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1992.
- Roy, Oliver, "Muslim in Europe: From Ethnic Identity to Religious Recasting," *ISIM Newsletter* 5 (2000): 1.
- Salim, Amrun Abd al-Mun'im. *Al-Manhaj al-Salafi 'inda Shaykh Nāsir al-Dīn al-Albānī*. n.d. and n.y.
- Salim, Arskal. *The Shift in Zakat Practice in Indonesia*. Thailand: Asian Muslim Action Network: 2008.
- Sekretaris Umum. *Notulen Rapat 11 November 1972*. The Hague: PPME, 1972.
- Sekretaris. *Laporan Kegiatan PPME April 1973*. The Hague: PPME, 1973.
- Sekretaris. *Program Kerja dan Pelaksanaan DPP PPME September 73-Maret 74*. The Hague: PPME, April 1974.
- Seksi Publikasi dan Dokumentasi. *Ceramah Akbar dan Pagelaran Seni dalam Rangka Syukuran 40 Tahun PPME dan Halal Bihalal 1432 H*. The Hague: PPME the Netherlands, September 2011.
- Sertipikat*, Badan Pertanahan Nasional (National Agrarian Body, BPN) of Jepara, 16 January 2008, n.p.
- Setiawan, Farid. "Tiga Upaya Mu'allimin dan Mu'allimat," *Suara Muhammadiyah*, 3 April 2006.
- Shadid, W. A. R and P. S. van Koningsveld. *Muslims in Nederland*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Samson Stafleu, 1990.
- . "Institutionalization and Integration of Islam in the Netherlands." In *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe*. Edited by W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld. Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing

- House, 1991.
- . “Blaming the System or Blaming the Victims? Structural Barriers Facing Muslims in Western Europe.” In *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe*. Edited by W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld. Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1991.
- . “Politics and Islam in Western Europe.” In *Muslims in the Margin*. Edited by W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld. Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996.
- . *Religious Freedom and the Position of Islam in Western Europe: Opportunities and Obstacles in the Acquisition of Equal Rights*. The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1996.
- . *Muslims in Nederland: Minderheden en religie in een multiculturele samenleving*. Houten/Diegen: Bohn Stafleu van Loghum, 1997.
- . *Islam in Nederland en België*. Leuven: Peeters, 2008.
- Shahi, Afshin. *The Politics of Truth Management in Saudi Arabia*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Shihab, M. Quraish. *Membumikan al-Qur’an: Fungsi dan Peran Wahyu dalam Masyarakat*. 23rd ed. (Bandung: Mizan, 2002).
- Shodiqin, Mochammad Ali. *Muhammadiyah itu NU! Dokument Fiqih yang Terlupakan*. Jakarta: Nourabooks, 2014.
- Sie Acara, *Laporan Kegiatan Musim Panas Barbeque dan Budaya Periode 1996-1997 PPME Cabang Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: PPME Amsterdam, 1997.
- Silvestri, Sara. “Muslim Institution and Political Mobilisation.” In *European Islam: Challenges for Public Policy and Society*. Edited by Samir Amghar, et al. Brussels: CEPS, 2007.
- Singleton, Royce A. and Bruce C. Straits. *Approaches to Social Research*. 3rd ed. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Sitompul, Agussalim. *Pemikiran HMI dan Relevansinya dengan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa Indonesia*. Jakarta: IKAPI, 1986.
- . “Tafsir Historis Kebangsaan dan Keindonesiaan.” In *Menemukan Kembali Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*. Edited by Wahyu Hamdani et al. Jakarta Timur: Adalde, 2008.
- Soedarso, G. E. Rijono. *Laporan Pertanggungjawaban Ketua PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 1996-1997*. The Hague: PPME, 6 December 1997.

- Solahuddin, Dindin. *The Workshop for Morality: The Islamic Creativity of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid in Bandung, Java*. Australia: ANU Press, 2008.
- Solikhin, Arif Fajar. "Ikhtiar Menghalau Kemiskinan di Jogja dan Jateng." In *Gerakan Zakat untuk Indonesia*. Edited by M. Arifin Purwakananta. Jakarta Selatan: Dompot Dhuafa Republika, 2008.
- Steenbrink, Karel. *Colonial and Postcolonial Muslims from Indonesia in the Netherlands*. Unpublished paper, n.d. and n.y.
- Stéphane Lacroix, "Al-Albani's Revolutionary Approach to Hadith." *ISIM Review* 21 (Spring 2008): 6-7.
- Strijp, Ruud. *Om de moskee: Het religieuze leven van Marokkaanse migranten in een Nederlandse provinciestad*. Amsterdam: Thesis/Thela Publishers, 1998.
- Sudirdjo, Achmad Tirta. "Sambutan Ketua Panitia Pelaksana Mukhtamar II dan Simposium Nasional ICMI." In *ICMI di Mata Pemuda, Mahasiswa, Dai dan Kaum Dhuafa*. Edited by Mahmud F. Rakasima, et al. Jakarta: Amanah Putra Nusantara, 1995.
- Sujadi. "Moroccan Muslim Youths and Their Perspectives on Being Muslim among Dutch Society." *Thaqaḥfiyyāt* 2, no. 1 (January-June 2001): 143-148.
- . "The Policies of YMAE for Its Indonesian Muslims in Dutch Society: A Re-examination." *Al-Jami'ah* 44, no. 1 (2006): 54-56.
- Sulchan, Aaman. *PPME Den Haag: Het verslag 2005 en vooruitzicht 2006*. The Hague: PPME, 29 May 2006.
- Sulchan, A. Naf'an Sulchan. *Laporan Pertanggung Jawaban Program Kerja PPME/YMAE Nederland Periode 1992-1994, Musyawarah Wilayah ke-VII*. PPME: The Hague, 27 November 1994.
- . *Pertanggungjawaban PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 1995-1996*. The Hague: PPME, 29 December 1996.
- . *Laporan Pertanggung-Jawaban Program Kerja PPME Wilayah Nederland Periode 1997-1999*. The Hague: PPME, 4 June 2000.
- Sunier, Thijl. *Islam in beweging: Turkse jongeren en Islamitische organisaties*. Amsterdam: het sphihuis, 1996.
- Suparta, Mundzier. *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyaah terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat*. Jakarta: Asta Buana

- Sejahtera, 2009.
- Syāfi'ī, Muhammad ibn Idrīs al-, *Al-Ummu*. 2nd ed. Beirut: Dār al-Fikri, 1983.
- Syamsuddin, Zaenal Abidin and Ainul Haris Arifin. *Ulasan Tuntas tentang Tiga Prinsip Pokok: Siapa Rabbmu? Apa Agamamu? Siapa Nabimu?* Jakarta: Darul Haq, 1999.
- Syarif, Sulaiman. *Permohonan Muballigh kepada Dr. Ing. H. Fauzi Bowo, Wakil Gubernur Propinsi DKI Jakarta*. 14 July 2005, The Hague.
- . *Surat Perihal Muballigh dari Jakarta*, written by Sulaiman Syarif. The Hague, 10 September 2004.
- Syekh, Ibn Alāu al-Dīn and Ibn 'Abd al-Azīz Muḥammad Alī. *Jāmi' Shurūḥ al-Aqīdat al-Ṭaḥawiyya*. 1st ed. Cairo: Dar al-Jawzi, 2006.
- Tashadi, et al. (eds.). *Sejarah Perjuangan Hizbullah Sabilillah Divisi Sunan Bonang*. Surakarta: Yayasan Bakti Utama, 1997.
- Taymiyya, Ahmad ibn Abd al-Salam ibn. *Aqīdat al-Wāsiṭiyya*. Riyadh: Dar al-Sumay'i, 2009.
- Tim Bahtsul Masail PC NU Jember. *Membongkar Kebohongan Buku "Mantan KIAI NU Menggugat Sholawat & Dzikir Syirik"* (H. Mahrus Ali). Jember: LBMNU, 2008.
- Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History*. London and New York: Longman, 1984.
- Towikromo, Yvonne. *De Islam van de Javaanse Surinamers*. The Hague: Amrit, 1997.
- Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, *Minderhedenbeleid*, Tweede Kamer, Zitting 1982-1983, 16 102, p. 110.
- Uittreksel uit het verenigingenregister van de Kamer van Koophandel en Fabrieken voor 's-Gravenhage*, V 410668, 13 December 1994, 1.
- 'Uthaymin, Muhammad ibn Salih al-. *Ulasan Tuntas tentang Tiga Prinsip Pokok: Siapa Rabbimu? Apa Agamamu? Siapa Nabimu?* Translated by. Zainal Abidin Syamsuddin dan Ainul Haris Arifin. 10th ed. Jakarta: Darul Haq, Nopember 2008.
- "Video dan TV." In *Panduan Frekuensi Ranesi mulai 27 Maret sampai 30 Oktober 2011*. Edited by Redaksi Indonesia. Hilversum: Ranesi, n. y.
- Vickers, Adrian. *A History of Modern Indonesia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

- Waardenburg, J. D. J. "Muslim Associations and Official Bodies in Some European Countries." In *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe*. Edited by W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1991.
- Wahid, Abdurrahman. *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Desantara Utama Media, 2009.
- Wahid, Basit. "Bagaimana Merayakan Hari Raya Idul Fithri." In *Suara 'Aisyiah*, no. 1, year 76, January 1999/Syawal 1419 H, 6.
- Wahid, Din. "Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj", PhD Thesis, Utrecht University, 2014.
- Wardana, Amika. "The Unequal Umma: Assessing the Muslim Relationship Form between Indonesians and Others". Paper presented at the First International Graduate Conference on Indonesia (IGSCI), the Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University. 1-2 December 2009.
- Weerd, William Satriaputra de, et al. and Regnerus Marinus Hendriks. *Keputusan PPME Wilayah Nederland No. 2/PPMENL/XII/2005 tentang PPME Cabang Amsterdam*. The Hague: PPME, 18 December 2005.
- . *Rapport Inzake PPME Amsterdam*. Rotterdam: PPME, the Netherlands, 31 March 2006.
- Wehr, Hans. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Edited by J. Milton Cowan. 3rd ed. New York: Spoken Language Service, 1976.
- Wetering, S. van de. "The Arabic Language and Culture Teaching Program to Moroccan Children." In *Islam in Dutch Society: Current Developments and Future Prospects*. Edited by W. A. R. Shadid and P. S. van Koningsveld, Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1992.
- Wilayah Vergadering 12 Juni 2005 in the Mosque al-Hikmah. The Hague: PPME, 2005.
- Woodward, Mark R. *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*. USA: The University of Arizona Press, 1989.
- Yamin, Munawwir. *Istighotsah dalam Perspektif as-Sunnah*. Jakarta: MUI, 2007.
- Yon Machmudi. *Islamizing Indonesia: The Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)*. Australia: ANU Press, 2008.

- Yukleyen, Ahmet. "Localizing Islam in Europe: Religious Activism among Turkish Islamic Organizations in the Netherlands." *Muslim Minority Affairs* 29, no. 3 (September 2009): 294.
- Yunus, Mahmud. *Metodik Khusus Bahasa Arab*. Jakarta: P. T. Hida Karya Agung, 1983.
- Zaibar, Abdul Manan. *The Indonesian Program for the Islamic Religious Education of the Indonesian Children in the Netherlands*. Master Thesis, Leiden University, 2003.
- Zarkasyi, Dachlan Salim. *Qiroati Metode Praktis Belajar Membaca al-Qur'an*. Semarang: Roudlatul Mujawwidin, January 1990.
- Zubaedi, Mohammad. Letter "Menangkal Fitnah" to PPME. n.d.
- Zysow, A. "Zakat." In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Edited by P. J. Bearman, et al. Vol. 11. New edition. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995.

II. Interviews and Personal Communications

- Aaman Sulchan (chairman of the PPME The Hague), The Hague, 20 July 2009.
- A. H. Maksum (a leading figure of PPME), The Hague, 17 May 2008.
- _____, The Hague, 30 June 2008.
- _____, The Hague, 18 January 2011.
- _____, The Hague, 18 March 2011.
- _____, telephone interview, 20 December 2011.
- A. Naʿan Sulchan (a leading figure of PPME), The Hague, 17 May 2008.
- _____, The Hague, 18 October 2008.
- _____, The Hague, 22 November 2008.
- _____, The Hague, 23 June 2009.
- _____, The Hague, 13 February 2011.
- _____, The Hague, 11 December 2011.
- Abdul Aziz Balbaid (an adviser of PPME Amsterdam), Amsterdam, 28 May 2008.
- _____, Amsterdam, 28 July 2008.
- _____, Spaarnwoude, 21 June 2009.
- _____, e-mail, 11 December 2009.

- _____, The Hague, 7 April 2011.
- _____, The Hague, 14 April 2011.
- Abdul Wahid Abdurachman Naji (a participant undertaking pilgrimage to Mecca under Dzanun Mujahid's individual endeavors), Leiden, 3 January 2011.
- Abdullah Nawawi (the owner of Roisah Foundation, Jepara, Central Java), 14 February 2010.
- Abu Haedar (a Salafi preacher), Bandung, 11 April 2009.
- Adi Zitter (a son of Rahmat Zitter, a founder of PPME), e-mail message to author, 10 October 2012.
- Ahzami Samiun Jazuli (a leading figure of PKS), Bekasi, 25 June 2010.
- Ali Redjo (former secretary of AJH), 18 March 2011, Rotterdam Zuid.
- Alia Baidhowi (a member of PCIA in the Netherlands and former member of PPME The Hague), The Hague, 28 December 2008.
- Arif Subhan (a *santri* of Roisah Foundation), Jepara, Central Java, 15 February 2010.
- Asief Ishom (former coordinator of Dutch-speaking group of PPME The Hague), The Hague, 9 February 2012.
- _____, The Hague, 12 February 2012.
- Asniar Harun (a former member of the board of PCIA), The Hague, 28 December 2008.
- Astin (*da'wa* coordinator of PPME Amsterdam), Almere, 10 December 2009.
- Bambang Guntur Febriyanto (a middleman of PPME The Hague), Sleman, 11 May 2010.
- Bari Muchtar (a journalist of *Siaran Indonesia* of Radio Nederland Wereldomroep), Hilversum, 6 April 2011.
- Budi Santoso (former vice of the chairman of PPME Amsterdam), Amsterdam, 19 June 2009.
- _____, Amsterdam, 30 August 2009.
- _____, Jombang, East Java, 13 April 2010.
- _____, Amsterdam, 22 June 2010.
- Deden S. Permana (chairman of PIP PKS in the Netherlands), Schiedam,

24 August 2008.

———, Schiedam, 11 November 2008.

Didin Fahrudin (secretary of PIP PKS in the Netherlands), Delft, 28 May 2008.

Dzanun Mujahid (a leading figure of PPME The Hague), The Hague, 13 February 2011.

Eni (secretary of Fauzi Bowo), telephone interview, 3 March 2012

Eskak Abdullah (chairman of Surinamese AJH), Rotterdam Zuid, 3 February 2011.

———, Rotterdam Zuid, 18 March 2011, Rotterdam.

Fauzi Kromosetiko (chairman of Surinamese Rukun Islam), The Hague, 6 February 2011.

Frans Maasdam (a member of the Dutch-speaking group of PPME Amsterdam), Yogyakarta, 23 August 2011.

Ghoutsur Rohman (a son of the owner of Roisah Foundation, Jepara, Central Java), 14 February 2010.

———, Jepara, Central Java, 16 February 2010.

Halim Gabriel Ahmad (a former member of the board for *da'wa* of Muhammadiyah in Tabukan Utara, North Sulawesi, vice-secretary of Muhammadiyah of Sangihe Islands and head of MTs Muhammadiyah Petta Induk), telephone interview, 23 November 2010.

Hamdani Anwar (an Islamic preacher), Depok, West Java, 24 June 2009.

Hansyah (chairman of PPME Breda-Tilburg), telephone interview, 30 June 2008.

Husnan Bey Fannanie (a former member of ICMI and PPME board in the Netherlands), Jakarta, 5 March 2010.

Hasyim (a member of staff for Religious Affairs at the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands), The Hague, 5 December 2008.

———, The Hague, 27 April 2011.

———, The Hague, 11 December 2011.

Ilman Sulchan (one of Nasyid Remaja's vocalists), The Hague, 11 December 2011.

Indra Gamulya (a former member of local staff of the Indonesian

Embassy in the Netherlands), 28 February 2012.

Indrajanti Titus (coordinator of the *Indonesische afdeling* 1995-2005), Utrecht Overvecht, 22 April 2011.

Ishak Mansjur (the former chairman of PPME Amsterdam), Amsterdam, *‘id al-fiṭr* of 2009.

———, Amsterdam, 30 October 2010.

Itqonul Kamilin (an LIPIA graduate and son of the owner of Roisah Foundation, Jepara, Central Java), 16 February 2010.

Jani Kurdi (a member of PPME The Hague and a member of PCIA board in the Netherlands), The Hague, 28 December 2008.

Jean van de Kok (a senior producer in the *Indonesische afdeling* of RNW), telephone interview, 14 March 2011.

Johnny Kasijo (a founder of *Assalaam* band), Rotterdam Zuid, 15 January 2011.

Jundah (an Islamic preacher), The Hague, 20 September 2009.

Kasmoeri (the first chairman and founder of Surinamese AJH), Rotterdam Zuid, 17 April 2011.

Khoirul Anam (a senior *santri* of Roisah Foundation), Jepara, Central java, 15 February 2010.

Khoirul Muttaqin (an Islamic preacher and activist of PKS), Amsterdam, 12 September 2009.

———, Depok, West Java, 9 March 2010.

Listi (chairperson of PPME Heemskerk), telephone interview, 2 July 2008.

M. Amir al-Hajri (a founder of PPME), The Hague, 8 February 2012.

———, The Hague, 12 February 2012.

Moh. Fathoni Dimyati (an Islamic preacher), Amsterdam, 8 September 2009.

Moh. Syukur (an Islamic preacher of PPME), The Hague, 31 January 2011.

Ngatijan (an inhabitant of Pakel Village, Gunung Kidul), Yogyakarta, 12 May 2010.

Nila (the wife of Hamdani Anwar), Depok, West Java, 24 June 2009.

Nina (a member of PPME Amsterdam), Yogyakarta, 23 August 2011.

———, 21 June 2009, Spaarnwoude.

Nina (a member of PPME Rotterdam and vocalist of *Assalaam* band), Rotterdam Zuid, 15 January 2011.

Nurul Furqon (the head of the Roisah Foundation), Jepara, Central Java, 14 and 16 February 2010.

_____, e-mail to author. 27 March 2010.

_____, e-mail to author. 4 April 2010.

_____, e-mail message to author, 28 May 2010.

_____, e-mail to author. 1 December 2015.

Suleyman Ramazanoglu (chairman of Haremeyn Vakfi), Rotterdam, 13 February 2012.

Remi Sukirman (an *imam* of Surinamese Rukun Islam), The Hague, 6 February 2011.

Rib Kasan (former treasurer of PPME Amsterdam), Amsterdam, 10 May 2008.

_____, Spaarnwoude, 21 June 2009.

_____, Yogyakarta, 18 August 2010.

Rosyidi (a member of local staff of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands), The Hague, 18 February 2011.

Rudi (the owner of Indonesian restaurant *Tempo Doeloe*), Krommenie, 7 February 2010.

Rudie Somohardjo (former chief of Surinamese Setasan), Rotterdam Zuid, 16 January 2001.

Rudy Erfan (a member of local staff of the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands), The Hague, 8 June 2009.

Ruutz Pourchez (chairman of PPME Rotterdam), Rotterdam Zuid, 27 July 2008.

Saefullah Kadi (former chairman of Surinamese Rukun Islam), The Hague, 27 February 2011.

Said Badjuber (the *hajj* program organizer of PPME Amsterdam), telephone interview, 15 December 2011.

Saiful Hadi (former chairman of ICMI in the Netherlands), Jakarta, 23 June 2010.

Saleh al-Nahdi (a relative of Amir al-Hajri, a founder of PPME), The

- Hague, 12 August 2008.
- Siti Fatimah (former chairperson of educational division of PPME Amsterdam), 23 December 2011.
- Siti Maesaroh (the wife of Abdul Wahid Kadungga), Rotterdam, 12 December 2010.
- S. Atikah Zofwaan (a retired teacher of the SIN), The Hague, 11 August 2008.
- Sobari (a *santri* of Roisah Foundation), Jepara, Central Java, 14 February 2010.
- Sofjan S. Siregar (a former member of PPME The Hague), The Hague, 24 August 2008.
- , The Hague, 17 September 2009.
- Sufjan Ollong (former adviser for religious affairs at the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands), Ridderkerk, 5 May 2009.
- Sugiyanto (a leading figure in Pakel Village and civil servant for the local government of Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta working for irrigation affairs), Gunung Kidul, Yogyakarta, 12 May 2010.
- Sulaiman Syarif (former chairman of the board of *al-Hikmah* Mosque and former attaché of political affairs at the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands), telephon interview, 2 January 2012.
- Supriyono (a member of local staff of Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands), The Hague, 18 February 2011.
- Taslim Makaminan (a former member of PPME Amsterdam), Pondok Kelapa, East Jakarta, 21 June 2010.
- Tati Abbas (vice chairperson of PPME The Hague), The Hague, 5 December 2009.
- Umar Hadi (deputy of Indonesian Ambassador for the Netherlands), Amsterdam, 18 September 2011.
- Wagito (the head of Padukuhan Pakel, Gunung Kidul), Yogyakarta, 5 November 2010.
- William Satriaputra de Weerd (chairman of PPME in the Netherlands), Rotterdam, 25 May 2008.
- , e-mail to author, 14 July 2011.

_____, e-mail to author, 22 November 2015

Winarna (an activist of PIP PKS in the Netherlands), Amsterdam, 31 October 2010.

Yusuf Setiyono (an activist of PIP PKS and a member of PCIM board in the Netherlands), Utrecht, 16 August 2009.

III. Newspapers, Magazines, and Periodicals

Al-Ittihaad

As-Sunnah

Bulletin Afdeling Rotterdam

Euromoslem

Iqra'

Insan

Majalah Perhimpunan Pelajar Indonesia di Negeri Belanda

Moslim Vandaag

Panji Masyarakat

Sabili

Visi

Zikra

IV. Websites, VCD, and CD ROM

Halal Bihalal ar-Rahman 20 November 2005, CD-ROM.

<http://64.203.71.11/kompas-cetak/0605/03/PendDN/2626498.htm>

<http://64.203.71.11/kompas-cetak/0605/03/PendDN/2626498.htm>

http://achmad-supardi.blogspot.com/2005_10_01archive.html

<http://almuslimah.wordpress.com/2008/04/14/ikhtilath-dan-bahayanya/>

http://arsip.gatra.com/2003-01-16/versi_cetak.php?id=24216

<http://az-zair.blogspot.com/2010/09/kaedah-pengajaran-al-quran-masa-kini.html>

<http://biografi.rumus.web.id/biografi-k-h-zainuddin-m-z/>

<http://counterterrorisminfo.wordpress.com/2002/12/24/abdul-wahid-kadungga>

<http://dir.groups.yahoo.com/group/pakguruonline/message/3916>
<http://dokumen.tips/download/link/jong-indonesia-edisi-01-2009>
 and at <http://dokumen.tips/documents/majalah-jong-indonesia-edisi-4-september-2010.html>
<http://dunia.pelajar-islam.or.id/dunia.pii/blog/sejarah-pii.html#>
<http://eramuslim.mobi/berita/nasional/pp-muhammadiyah-resmi-kan-perwakilan-di-belanda.htm>:
<http://fokussulut.com/madrasah-ts-negeri-manado-unggul-dlm-prestasi-tangguh-dlm-kompetisi-dan-santun-budi-pekerti/>
<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/muhammadiyah2002/message/14163>
<http://id.jobstreet.com/jobs/2008/10/default/40/64178.htm?fr=c>
<http://jkt5.detiknews.com/read/2006/12/08/162550/717872/10/muhammadiyah-berkibar-di-belanda>
<http://kampungsalaf.wordpress.com/2011/09/04/menyingkap-keabsahan-halal-bi-halal/>
http://krjogja.com/read/130901/page/tentang_kami
<http://legalitas.org/incl-php/buka.php?d=1900+99&f=uu3-1999.htm>,
<http://lirboyo.com/index.php?req=profile&menu=2&id=sejarah>
<http://lpjm.uinjkt.ac.id/NIDON%20Dosen%20Tetap%20UIN.pdf>
<http://majalah-assunnah.com/edisi/07xv/>
<http://manajemensholat.com/2008/09/11/mskn-goes-to-europe/>
<http://mangunbudiyanto.wordpress.com/2010/07/26/efektivitas-metode-iqro%E2%80%99-dalam-pembelajaran-membaca-al-qur%E2%80%99an-di-tka-%E2%80%93-tpa-%E2%80%93Cam-m%E2%80%9D-kotagede-yogyakarta/>
<http://mohkhusen.staff.stainsalatiga.ac.id/2013/01/21/perjuangan-identitas-dan-pengalaman-diaspora-dalam-ritual-slametan-komunitas-muslim-jawa-suriname-di-belanda/>
<http://movie.detikhot.com/read/2004/04/16/024733/127728/10/pks-unggul-telak-pdip-gembos>,
<http://muslimstoday.wordpress.com/2007/10/07/saudi-arabia-launches-website-for-authentic-fatwas/>
http://pksbelanda.multiply.com/photos/album/8/Halal_Bihalal_PIP_

PKS_Belanda_2007#84

<http://pk-sejahtera.nl/>

<http://pk-sejahtera.nl/about/&ei=GuajSeL6JcG1Ab8peC-6Dw&sa=X&oi=translate&resnum=2&ct=result&prev=/search%3Fq%3DHasil%2Bpemilu,%2BPK%2Bdi%2Belanda%2B1999%26hl%3Dnl%26sa%3DG>

<http://pk-sejahtera.nl/pip-pks-belanda/>

<http://pk-sejahtera.nl/pks-mainkan-8-jurus-unggulan/>

<http://pk-sejahtera.nl/pks-tebar-surat-cinta>

<http://pk-sejahtera.org/v2/download/pdf/ad.art.pks.pdf>

<http://pk-sejahtera.org/v2/index.php?op=isi&id=110>

<http://pondoktrema.com/2015/07/17/kh-wahab-hasbullah-penggagas-istilah-halal-bi-halal/>

[http://portal.bppt.go.id/menu_kiri/index.php?id=1,](http://portal.bppt.go.id/menu_kiri/index.php?id=1)

http://pustakadigital-buyanatsir.blogspot.co.id/2010_05_01_archive.html

<http://qiblati.com/berita/id/1/>

<http://qiblati.com/profil/biografi/>

http://quran.alfalah.or.id/alfalah.php?irwcontents=webpage&menu=102&page_id=11
http://quran.alfalah.or.id/alfalah.php?irwcontents=webpage&menu=1&page_id=1

<http://rumaysho.com/about-me.html>

<http://sangihe.dapodik.org/rekap.php?data=depag&tipe=2&ref=sekolah&status=3>

<http://sulut.kemenag.go.id/index.php?a=artikel&id=11434>

<http://sunan-pandanaran.blogspot.com/>

<http://tebuieng.net/index.php?pilih=hal&id=21>

<http://tebuieng.net/index.php?pilih=hal&id=4>

[http://www.alifta.net/Fatawa/Scientists.aspx?language=en.](http://www.alifta.net/Fatawa/Scientists.aspx?language=en)

http://www.al-ikhlaash.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=19&Itemid=

<http://www.antaranews.com/berita/508946/guru-besar-uin-surabaya-patenkan-halalbihalal>

<http://www.geertwilders.nl/>
<http://www.gunungkidulkab.go.id/home.php?mode=content&id=151>
<http://www.hajinformation.com/main/p10.htm>.
http://www.hotfrog.nl/Companies/Stichting-Haremeyn-Haremeyn-Vakfi_2007320
<http://www.igmg.de/verband/islamic-community-milli-goerues.html>
http://www.jatengprov.go.id/?mid=wartadaera&listStyle=gallery&document_srl=18978
http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=296&Itemid=2
http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=614&Itemid=2
http://www.nikolaosvandam.com/pdf/interview/20071109_nvdaminterview01id.pdf
<http://www.nu.or.id/a,public-m,dinamic-s,detail-ids,1-id,4913-ang,id-c,warta-t,PCI+NU+Luar+Negeri+Berlomba+lomba+Sumbangkan+Dana-.phpx>
<http://www.pvv.nl/index.php/component/content/article.html?id=3586:speech-geert-wilders-berlijn>
<http://zulfanioey.blogspot.com/2011/06/dr-kh-ahsin-sakho-muhammad.html>
<https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/smart-dakwah/conversations/topics/582>
<http://www.abuhaedar.net>
http://www.academia.edu/4381769/Konflik_SARA_di_Indonesia_sofian_munawar_asgart
[http://www.ae.itb.ac.id/wp/?page_id=36,](http://www.ae.itb.ac.id/wp/?page_id=36)
<http://www.bing.com/search?q=radio+nederland+siaran+Indonesia+kerja+sama+dengan+dengan+radio+surabaya+dan+jakarta&src=IE-SearchBox&FORM=IE8SRC>
<http://www.cetro.or.id/undang2.html>
http://www.denpatrol.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1024&Itemid=81

<http://www.dewandakwah.com/content/blogcategory/13/27/>
http://www.geocities.com/kid_delft/
http://www.hajinformation.com/hajj_agents.php?id=13
<http://www.hajinformation.com/main/p50.htm>
<http://www.id.indonesia.nl/content/view/39/144/>
<http://www.id.indonesia.nl/content/view/41/144/>
<http://www.iofc.nl/node/44122>
<http://www.jurnalhaji.com/2010/11/12/petugas-di-mina-wajib-bawa-peta/>
http://www.kotakediri.go.id/?act=news_detail&id=1279671154&tt=Walikota%20Kediri%20Hadiri%20Acara%20Haul%20dan%20Haflah%20Akhirussanah%20Pondok%20-%20Madrash%20Hidayatul%20Mubtadi-ien
<http://www.library.ohiou.edu/indopubs/1999/08/13/0118.html>
<http://www.linkedin.com/in/ahudaya>
<http://www.m.republika.co.id/berita/menuju-jakarta-1/news/12/05/19m498x4-hidayat-apresiasi-pendidikan-karakter-sekolah-islam-terpadu>
<http://www.manaqib.com/v2/barzanji/imambarzanji/imambarzanji.html>
<http://www.moslimvandaag.nl/islam/2011/10/saoedische-ambassade-waarschuwt-voor-malafide-hadj-reisbureaus/>
http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=250&Itemid=2
http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=319&Itemid=2
http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=614&Itemid=2
http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=635&Itemid=2
<http://www.netwerknotarissen.nl/mijn-notaris/vereniging-of-stichting>
<http://www.nikolaosvandam.com/pdf/interview/20071109nvda->

[minterview01id.pdf](#)
<http://www.nu.or.id/a,public-m,static-s,detail-lang,id-ids,1-id,7-t,pa-ham+keagamaan-.phpx>
<http://www.PPME.nl/Nederland/Geschied.htm>
<http://www.pwi.or.id/index.php/presspediapwi/787-a-dari-ensiklo-pedi-pers-indonesia-epi>
http://www.ranesi.nl/dialog/penafsiran_bebas_islam0505018
<http://www.republika.co.id/berita/jurnalisme-warga/kabar/11/05/23/1ln6cp-organisasi-dakwah-muslim-indonesia-euro-moslim-diresmikan-di-amsterdam>
<http://www.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/11/07/05/lnueen-zainuddin-mz-sejak-kecil-bakat-dakwahnya-sudah-terlihat>
<http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/anehkah-pengatur-an-suara-adzan>
<http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/radio-nederland-sia-ran-indonesia-mohon-diri>
<http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/ranesi-berperan-pent-ing-di-zaman-soeharto>
<http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/siaran-pagi-dan-malam>
<http://www.rnw.nl/bahasa-indonesia/article/warga-muslim-indone-sia-di-belanda-tentang-kematian-osama>
<http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/about-radio-netherlands-worldwide>
<http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/history-radio-netherlands-world-wide>
<http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/history-radio-netherlands-world-wide>
<http://www.rnw.nl/english/info/what-rnws-mission>
<http://www.safecom.org.au/dutch-moluccans.htm>
<http://www.sangmurabbi.com/>
<http://www.sangmurabbi.com/synopsis/>
<http://www.stainsalatiga.ac.id/mengukuhkan-lembaga-pendi-dikan-sebagai-basis-dakwah/>
<http://www.suara-islam.com/news/berita/silaturrahim/775->

tebui reng-pesantren-di-kampung-jahiliyah
<http://www.tangerangkota.go.id/mobile/detailberita/2421>
<http://www.tangselraya.com/advertorial/34-adv-pdam-tb/2033-500-ustadzah-tangerang-mendapat-pelatihan.html>
<http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2009/12/12/058213459/Abdul-Wahid-Kadungga-Tokoh-Islam-Asal-Sulawesi-Selatan-Tutup-Usia>
<http://www.umm.ac.id/page.php?c=04&c2=0409&c3=0409-69&c4=0409-69-9&o=2>
http://www.yapidh.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=11&Itemid=4
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3eNQxvIApP0>
http://www.youtube.com_watch.v=3ppBM3BdmEI&feature=related at
 08.53 on 2 March '10 taraweh 01 PPME Amsterdam (1430H-2009)
 17_03_2010
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zetx7VP3XUo&feature=related>
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZpyuMNRf78c&feature=related>
 Profil Desa Hargosari, Gunung Kidul Yogyakarta, n.d. VCD.

List of Abbreviations

AJH	Al-Jami'atul Hasana (Good Congregation)
BARR	Bebarengan Anngawe Rukuning Rakyat (Foundation for People's Harmony)
BAZIS	Badan Amil Zakat Infaq dan Shadaqah (Body for Collecting, Organizing and Distributing Alms and Voluntary Donations)
BKPN	Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal (Body of Coordination of Capital Investment)
BPPT	Badan Pengkajian dan Penerapan Teknologi (Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology)
DDII	Dewan Dakwah Islam Indonesia (Council of Indonesian Islamic Propagation)
DI	Darul Islam (Abode of Islam)
DIAN	Djam'iyatul Islam al-Fatah Nederland (Pioneer Islamic Organization in the Netherlands)
DPP	Dewan Pimpinan Pusat (Central Executive Board)
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (Indonesian Legislative Assembly)
DPW	Dewan Pengurus Wilayah (Regional Executive Board)
ESQ	Emotional Spiritual Quotient
FKA	Forum Komunikasi Alumni (Alumni Communication Forum)
FM	Frequency Modulation
GPIA	Gerakan Pemuda Islam Eropa (Islamic Youth Movement in Europe)
HMI	Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (Muslim Students Association)
IAIN	Institut Agama Islam Negeri (State Institute of Islamic Studies)
ICMI	Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia (Association for Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals)
IIQ	Institut Ilmu al-Qur'an (Institute of Quranic Science)
IMM	Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah (Muhammadiyah Student Association)

IOM	International Organization for Migration
IOS	Islamitische Omroep Stichting (Islamic Broadcasting Foundation)
ITB	Institut Teknologi Bandung (Bandung Technology Institute)
IPB	Institut Pertanian Bogor (Bogor Institute of Agricultural Studies)
JI	Jamā'a Islāmiyya (Islamic Community)
KBRI	Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia (Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia)
KID	Keluarga Islam Delft (Delft Muslim Family)
KKP2M	Kelompok Kerja Perencana/Pengembangan Mesjid (Committee for the Planning and Development of a Mosque)
KNIL	Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger (Royal Dutch East Indies Army)
KPNU	Keluarga Pemuda Nahdlatul Ulama (Awakening of Ulama's Youth Association)
Lasqi	Lembaga Seni dan Qasidah Jakarta Raya (Association for Arts and Qasidah of the Greater Jakarta)
LAZIS	Lembaga Amil Zakat Infaq dan Shadaqah (Organization for Collecting, Organizing and Distributing Alms and Voluntary Donations)
LHKLN	Lembaga Hubungan dan Kerja Sama Luar Negeri (Institution for Foreign Relations and Foreign Cooperation)
LIPIA	Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab (Institute for Islamic Knowledge and Arabic)
LUMC	Leids Universitair Medisch Centrum (Leiden University Medical Centre)
MA	Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic Senior High School)
Mabit	Malam Bina Insan Takwa (Night for Making a Person Pious)
Madin	Madrasah Diniyyah (School for Learning Islamic Subjects)
Malari	Malapetaka Limabelas January (15 January Disaster)
MHQ	Musābaqa Ḥifz al-Qur 'ān (Contest in Memorizing the Qur'an)

MI	Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (Islamic Primary School)
MMI	Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia (Council of Indonesian Muslim Warriors)
MSKN	Manajemen Sholat menuju Khusus' dan Nikmat (Management for Earnest and Contented Prayer)
MTs	Madrasah Tsanawiyah (Islamic Junior High School)
MTQ	Musābaqa Tilāwatil-Qur'ān (Contest in Reciting the Qur'an)
MUI	Majlis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Ulama Council)
NIP	Nederlandsche Islamitische Parlement (Dutch Islamic Parliament)
NMO	Nederlandse Moslim Omroep (Broadcasting Organization for Muslims in the Netherlands)
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama (Awakening of Ulama)
PAH	Penampung Air Hujan (Rainwater containers)
PAN	Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)
PCIA	Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Aisyiah (Board of Aisyiah Special Branch)
PCIM	Pimpinan Cabang Istimewa Muhammadiyah (Board of Special Branch of the Muhammadiyah)
Perki	Persekutuan Kristen Indonesia (Indonesian Christian Association)
Persis	Persatuan Islam (Islamic Unity)
PETA	Pembela Tanah Air (Indonesia's Defenders)
PII	Pelajar Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Muslim Students)
PIP PKS	Pusat Informasi dan Pelayanan Partai Keadilan-Sejahtera (Centre of Service and Information of Prosperous Justice Party)
PK	Partai Keadilan (Justice Party)
PKB	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (Party of the Awakening of the Nation)
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party)
PKS	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party)
PNI	Partai Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Party)

POI	Perkoempoelan Oemat Islam (Islamic Community Association)
PPI	Persatuan Pelajar Indonesia (Indonesian Student Association)
PPME	Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa (Young Muslim Association in Europe)
PPMWI	Pondok Pesantren dan Madrasah Wathoniyah Islamiyah (Islamic Boarding and Islamic National School)
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (Party of Unity and Development)
PRRI	Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia (the Republic of Indonesia's Revolutionary Government)
PSI	Partai Sosialis Indonesia (Indonesian Socialist Party)
PTIQ	Perguruan Tinggi Ilmu al-Qur'an (Higher Education of Quranic Science)
PUBK	Pengajian Umum Bulanan Kota (City-Based Monthly Islamic Lecture)
PVV	Partij voor de Vrijheid (Party for Freedom)
Ranesi	Radio Nederland Siaran Indonesia (Radio Netherlands Indonesian Broadcast)
RNW	Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (Radio Netherlands Worldwide)
Roisah	Al-Robithoh al-Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah (Obedient Islamic Bond)
RI	Rukun Islam (Islamic Pillars)
RT	Rukun Tetangga (Neighbourhood)
RW	Rukun Warga (Neighbourhood [larger than a RT])
SARA	Suku, Agama, Ras, dan Antar Golongan (Ethnicity, Religion, Race and Social Groups)
Setasan	Setoedjoe Anggawe Santoso (Agree to Be Peaceful)
SGA	Sekolah Guru Atas (Senior High School for Islamic Teachers)
SIN	Sekolah Indonesia Nederland (Netherlands Indonesian School)

SIT	Sekolah Islam Terpadu (Integrated Islamic School)
SMEA	Sekolah Menengah Ekonomi Atas (Senior High School for Economics)
SI	Syarikat Islam (Islamic Union)
SIS	Stichting der islamitische gemeente in Suriname (Foundation of Islamic Community in Suriname)
SW	Short Wave
UI	Universitas Indonesia (Indonesian University)
UIN	Universitas Islam Negeri (Islamic State University)
UMS	Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta (Surakarta Muhammadiyah University)
WAMY	World Assembly of Muslim Youth

Glossary

Abadi	Newspaper of Masyumi
Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a	The Adherents of the Prophet's Traditions and the Community
Anṣār	The Medinan followers of the Prophet Muhammad who granted him refuge after the migration
Antara	Indonesian News Agency
Asbāb al-nuzūl	The history of the sending down of the Quranic verses
Aurat	The parts of the body that must be covered up in public
Baitul maal (Bayt al-māl)	Division of financial affairs of Keluarga Islam Delft (Delft Muslim Family)
Bandongan	A teaching method where a teacher or kyai reads an Arabic Islamic book and the santri listen and remark on important words and sentences
Dār al-Iftā'	The House of Deliverance of Fatwas affiliated with the Saudi Arabian government
Daurah	Intensive Islamic studies
Dhul-ḥijja	The 12th month of the Islamic calendar
Euromoslem	A bulletin published by PPME Amsterdam in the 1990s
Es Lilin	Popsicle
Al-firqat al-nājiya	The rescued group, which is one of the names Salafi groups like to use
Gambang Suling	Xylophone-and flute-like instrument

Ḥadīth	The Tradition of the Prophet Muhammad
Ḥāfiẓ al-Qur'ān	Knowing the Qur'an by heart
Ḥāmīl al-Qur'ān	Knowing the Quran by heart and understanding its content
Halal bihalal	A gathering for forgiving one another
Ḥisāb	The reckoning method used to determine the beginning and the end of Islamic lunar months
‘id al-aḍḥā	The sacrifice feast
‘id al-fiṭr	The feast after the Ramaḍān fasting
Ikhtilāl	The mingling of men and non-maḥārim (a plural form of maḥram, i.e. a relative with whom marriage is prohibited) in one place without a sātīr (a dividing cloth)
Al-Irsyād	The Guidance, a Muslim organization of Arabs in Indonesia
Isrā' Mi'rāj	Midnight journey of the Prophet Muhammad to the seven heavens
Istighotsah	An appeal for God's protection and assistance
Al-Ittiḥād	The Unity, a bulletin published by the central PPME in the 1980s
Jamā'at al-Tablīgh	Community for Preaching, a Muslim organization which was founded in Northern India and began working on 2 August 1934
Juz 'Ammā	The thirtieth part of the Qur'an
Koko	A long-sleeved white shirt
Kopiah	A black, rimless cap

Majlis Dzikir (in this thesis)	A group that later became the proponent of PPME al-Ikhlaṣh
Manhaj tarbiyyah	A system of improving faith of PKS members and forming cadres for the PKS
Maṣlaḥa ḥājiyya	A term of al-Ghazali which means a common good that is necessary for the raising of goodness and for adjustment to prevailing conditions
Mu'allimin	Male Islamic Junior and Senior High School
Mu'allimat	Female Islamic Junior and Senior High School
Muhājirīn	Those Meccans who emigrated to Medina in the early period of Islam
Muhammadiyah	The biggest reformist-oriented Islamic organization in Indonesia founded in 1912
Muḥarrām	The first month of the Muslim calendar
Al-Moekminun (the Believers)	A name of the Dutch-speaking group in PPME The Hague
Nahdlatul Ulama	The biggest traditionalist-oriented Islamic organization in Indonesia founded in 1926
Nasyids	Songs of praise to God or spiritual songs about the glory of Islam
Pancasila	Indonesian State Philosophy, consisting of five principles, i.e. belief in One God, a just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, peoplehood guided by the spirit of wisdom [in the form of] deliberation

	and representation, and social justice for all Indonesian people
Pesantren kilat	Short Islamic courses
Qāri'	Person reciting the Qur'an in diverse styles
Qasidah music	Religious chants sung to the rhythm of a gambus, a six-stringed, plucked instrument of Arabic origin
Qirā'a	Reciting the Qur'an in diverse styles
Ramaḍān (Fasting Month)	The ninth month of the Muslim calendar
Ru'yatul-hilāl	The sighting of the lunar crescent to determine the beginning of a new month
Ṣadaqa	Zakāt or voluntary donations
Salafi	Person who absolutely follows the manners of the pious predecessors (al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ). Salafi orientation has much been inspired by a Salafi Manhaj (method), i.e. a manhaj following the manners of three generations: companions of the Prophet Muhammad (ṣaḥāba), their followers (tābi'un), and the followers of the followers (tābi' al-tābi'in)
Sholawat	Praise for the Prophet Muhammad
Sholawat munjiyya	Sholawat to be safe from disaster and achieve goals both in the worldly life and the hereafter
Sholawat nāriya	Sholawat to solve a problem, relieve sadness, and achieve a goal

Sorogan	A teaching method where a santri reads an Arabic Islamic book in front of his or her teacher
Surat cinta	Literally meaning ‘love letter’, messages aimed at providing support to Indonesian people living in the Netherlands
Syawwāl	The Islamic month after Ramaḍān
Taḥfīz	Memorizing the Quran
Tahlilan	A package of prayers usually aimed at dead persons by reciting tawassul (reciting a Quranic chapter called al-Fātiḥa (The opening) for the Prophet Muhammad, his companions, certain well-known ulama, and ancestors), a part of the Quranic chapter, namely, al-Baqara (The cow), istighfār (asking for apology to God), ṣalawāt (to the Prophet Muhammad), tahlīl (no God but Allah), tasbīḥ (glorification of God) and a closing prayer
Taḥmīl	Memorizing and understanding the Quran
Taḥsīn	Reciting the Quran well
Tajwīd	Knowledge of reciting the Quran correctly
Taqlīd	Following a school of Islamic jurisprudence

Tarbiyyah	The term tarbiyyah was used by a da‘wa movement called Jamaah Tarbiyyah (Tarbiyyah Group) in the 1990s, whose da‘wa was performed at universities such as Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB, Bandung Technology Institut), Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB, Bogor Institute of Agricultural Studies), Universitas Indonesia (UI, Indonesian University) and Brawijaya University. After the fall of Suharto, this movement was transformed into a party called
Tartil	Keadilan (Justice Party, PK), now PKS Reciting the Qur’an with regular rythm
Waliyy ḥakīm Yasinan	The authoritative marriage guardian Reciting a Quranic chapter called Yāsīn
Zakāt al-fiṭr	Almsgiving during Ramaḍān
Zakāt al-māl	Annual donation paid by Muslims deemed owning wealth which has reached level of niṣāb, i.e., estimated at the equivalent of eighty-five grams of gold

SAMENVATTING
DE VERENIGING VAN ISLAMITISCHE JONGEREN IN EUROPA
(PPME): IDENTITEIT, AANMOEDIGING VAN HET GEVEN
EN NETWERK, 1971–2009

Dit onderzoek richt zich op de identiteitsvorming van PPME Nederland, haar pogingen tot het aanmoedigen van haar leden en sympathisanten tot het geven van financiële en/of niet-financiële steun, en haar netwerken in Nederland en Indonesië. Dit onderzoek heeft als doelstelling het proces van de oprichting en ontwikkeling van de PPME te beschrijven, evenals het verkennen van haar activiteiten in Nederland en Indonesië. Daarnaast tracht dit onderzoek de verschillende patronen rondom haar identiteitsvorming, haar pogingen tot aanmoediging en haar netwerken aan het licht te brengen. Dit onderzoek, dat zich richt op de periode van 1971 tot 2009 (het jaar voordat PPME Amsterdam zich afscheidde van PPME Nederland), is een sociale historie van het alledaagse leven van haar leden en sympathisanten. Daarom is een geschiedkundige methode toegepast.

Sinds haar oprichting in 1971 is PPME in Nederland gestaag gegroeid in het faciliteren van haar leden en sympathisanten, die meestal van Indonesische afkomst zijn, om hun sociaal-religieuze activiteiten uit te voeren en gebedsruimten beschikbaar te stellen. Afdelingen van PPME Nederland zijn niet alleen in Amsterdam, Rotterdam en Den Haag te vinden, maar ook in Breda, Tilburg, en Heemskerk. Elke afdeling heeft het recht om een eigen religieuze oriëntatie er op na te houden en te ontwikkelen, zolang deze niet in strijd is met de grondslag van de PPME.

Aanvankelijk waren de personen die de PPME oprichtten voornamelijk Indonesische jongeren. Sommige oprichters kwamen net van de middelbare school, terwijl anderen universitair geschoold waren. Deze jongemannen wilden het islamitische gevoel van broederschap onder Indonesische moslims in Nederland behouden en versterken met behulp van *da'wa* (het verspreiden van de islamitische leer onder haar volgelingen), sociaal-culturele inspanningen en gezamenlijke

activiteiten. De grondleggers hadden uiteenlopende organisatorische en religieuze oriëntaties. Ze waren ook meestal ongebonden jonge migranten op zoek naar een beter leven of toekomst in Europa.

De oprichting van de PPME was geïnspireerd door de volgende punten. De oprichters van de PPME waren toegewijd aan het uitvoeren en het verspreiden van de islamitische leer en het beschermen van de religie van de *umma* (Indonesische moslims wereldwijd, in dit geval, Europa). Bovendien zochten ze naar een platform voor hun islamitische *da'wa* activiteiten in Europa, met name in Nederland. Ten derde waren ze zich er van bewust dat sommige van hun islamitische landgenoten in Europa religieuze begeleiding nodig hadden. Dit bewustzijn kan het uitgangspunt zijn geweest voor de oprichters om hun *da'wa* activiteiten uit te oefenen onder mede-Indonesische moslims die stuiten op sociaal-religieuze problemen in de nieuwe niet-islamitische omgeving.

In 1971 is de PPME opgericht door 21 deelnemers. Er werd besloten de naam Persatuan Pemuda Muslim se-Eropa (PPME, Vereniging van Islamitische Jongeren in Europa) te gebruiken. Hiervoor waren twee argumenten. Allereerst was het eerste woord 'Persatuan' (Eenheid) toepasselijk voor hun situatie op dat moment. Ten tweede, het woord 'Eropa' (Europa) accommodeerde die oprichters die geen Indonesiër waren. Bovendien wilde de PPME zich niet met politieke zaken bezighouden en waren de oprichters autonoom. Het weglaten van 'Indonesisch nationalisme' uit de statuten van de PPME laat zien dat ze wilden dat de PPME etnische en nationale grenzen oversteeg.

De PPME heeft op basis van bovengenoemde uitgangspunten vele activiteiten ontwikkeld, zowel voor de officiële erkenning door de Nederlandse overheid als daarna. Voor mei 1974 heeft het bestuur van de PPME een strategisch besluit genomen om de nieuwe organisatie te legaliseren. In de tussentijd had de raad van bestuur een aantal activiteiten georganiseerd die een duidelijke identiteit gaven aan de PPME en charitatieve activiteiten versterkten. Na mei 1974 werd de PPME de status van 'vereniging' toegekend. Het bestuur van de PPME besteedde in beginsel veel aandacht aan de kern-behoeftes van haar leden. Daarbij, naast het faciliteren van een infrastructuur voor de

gebedsgang van de leden, waren de besturen van de PPME vanaf het midden van de jaren tachtig tot in de jaren negentig bezig met het via media verspreiden van islamitische kennis. Zodoende probeerden ze een van hun doeleinden het verbeteren van het begrip van de islam te realiseren. Na de eeuwwisseling waren hun activiteiten meer naar buiten toe gericht. Naast hun interne activiteiten zoals het introduceren van *dauroh* (intensieve studie van de islam), het proberen te verwerven van twee moskeeën, een in Amsterdam en de andere in Rotterdam, en samen te werken met een Turkse stichting om leden en sympathisanten bij te staan in het uitvoeren van hun *hajj* (bedevaart naar Mekka), waren er ook andere naar buiten georiënteerde activiteiten. Het bijstaan van islamitische bekeerlingen, voornamelijk van Nederlandse aanvankelijk niet-moslims die getrouwd waren met een moslim, waren onderdeel van de activiteiten van de PPME. De PPME houdt ook maandelijks *istighotsah*, dat wil zeggen, voorbeden om te vragen voor bescherming van God en bijstand om tegenspoed te voorkomen en wereldse zaken op te lossen. Deze activiteit heeft de welwillendheid om anderen te helpen in Indonesië onder haar leden en sympathisanten versterkt. Een van haar afdelingen, PPME Amsterdam, heeft een geïnstitutionaliseerd netwerk opgezet met Roisah (Jepara, Centraal Java, Indonesië), een traditionele *pesantren* die zich richting het salafisme bewoog. Door dit gezamenlijke sociaal-religieuze netwerk met Roisah heeft de afdeling zich geconcentreerd op het helpen van armen en weeskinderen in Indonesië. PPME Den Haag heeft met het bouwen van regenwaterreservoirs (PAHs) in Yogyakarta, Indonesië, ook arme mensen gesteund tijdens de jaarlijkse droogte.

We komen nu bij de vorming van de religieuze identiteiten van PPME Nederland. Het bestaan van verschillende stromingen binnen de islam en de verschillen in etnische en nationale achtergronden van de leden zijn voor de bestuursleden leidend geweest bij het bepalen van de religieuze identiteit van de PPME. Hoewel ontwikkelingen en praktijken in de 'Indonesische islam' invloedrijk blijven, zijn er ook aanpassingen aan de lokale context in Nederland zoals blijkt uit haar religieuze praktijken en de artikelen in haar bulletins.

Sinds 1974 heeft de PPME koranlessen aan de kinderen van haar

leden en sympathisanten gegeven, waarbij lesmaterial wordt gebruikt dat in Indonesië vaak aangeraden wordt, zoals *Kaidah Baghdadiyah* (De Baghdad Methode) voor het midden van de jaren 1990, *Iqra'* (Lees) na het midden van de jaren 1990, en *Qiroati* (Mijn Leeswijze) na Ramadan 2005. Dit lesmaterial was gekozen om tijd te besparen en om de correcte uitspraak onder de knie te krijgen. Op *ikhtilāt* samenkomsten, komen mannen en vrouwen die niet *maḥārim* (een familielid met wie trouwen verboden is) zijn, bijelkaar in een ruimte zonder een fysieke scheiding. Dit gebeurt in de Indonesisch sprekende groep van PPME Den Haag sinds begin 1975, om een radicale scheiding tussen haar vrouwelijke en mannelijke leden te voorkomen en zich aan te passen aan de heersende omstandigheden van de Nederlandse samenleving. Van 1975 tot 2009 regelde het bestuur van PPME Nederland ongeveer zestig islamitische huwelijken. De stellen bestonden niet alleen uit Indonesiërs, maar ook uit paren met gemengde nationaliteiten. Dit werd gedaan in samenwerking met de Indonesische ambassade, rekening houdend met de heersende regelgeving rondom huwelijken. Bovendien heeft PPME Nederland sinds begin jaren tachtig hulp geboden aan niet-moslims die zich wilden bekeren tot de islam. Hoofdrede voor de bekeringen was het huwelijk. Twee andere redenen voor bekering waren een zoektocht naar een betekenisvol leven en om moeilijkheden te voorkomen in Indonesië. Verder werd in het begin van de negentiger jaren de Pengajian Remaja (PR, Islamitisch Onderricht voor de Jeugd) geformeerd om jongeren van PPME Nederland te stimuleren onafhankelijk onderzoek naar de islam te doen, evenals om ze een ruimte te bieden waar ze hun religieuze leven in een niet-islamitische maatschappij konden bespreken. De PR organiseerde islamitische lessen en *pesantren kilat* (korte meerdaagse cursus over de islam), gaf een bulletin uit genaamd *Iqra'* (Lees), ook formeerde ze een muziekgroep, an-Nasyid Remaja (Islamitische Zang van de Jeugd). Islamitische onderricht werd ook gegeven voor de Nederlands- sprekende groepen van de PPME. In Den Haag ontstond op 2 juli 1995 zo'n groep genaamd, al-Moekminun (de Gelovigen). De deelnemers kregen te maken met verschillende leraren met een traditionalistische, reformistische en salafistische hadden. De deelnemers hebben de mogelijkheid gekregen om te

islamistische achtergrond spreken over islamitische onderwerpen voor moslims van binnen en buiten de PPME. Ten slotte houdt PPME Amsterdam sinds 2008 een *dauroh*. Deze werd geleid door Abu Haidar, een salafistische prediker uit Bandung, West Java. In de *dauroh* werden de mannen van de vrouwen gescheiden door de *sātir* (kamerscherm) en onderwerpen variërend van islamitische geloof tot aan kwesties in verband met de positie van de vrouw werden besproken om de *aqīda* van PPME Amsterdam leden te zuiveren – zodoende werd er een salafistische oriëntatie geïntroduceerd.

De religieuze identiteit van PPME Nederland werd ook gevormd door de publicatie van twee bulletins, namelijk de *al-Ittihaad* en *Euromoslem*. De *al-Ittihaad* van de centrale PPME fungeerde als een bron voor de *da'wa* activiteiten in de jaren tachtig en negentig. In die tijd werd zowel aan schrijvers die de traditionalistische als reformistische stroming aanhingen de ruimte gegeven om te publiceren in het bulletin. Dit was anders bij de *Euromoslem* van de PPME Amsterdam.

Sinds 1992 diende *Euromoslem* als een middel om haar *da'wa* te verbreiden. In het begin 1990 kwam het discours van schrijvers met zowel traditionalistische als reformistische islamitische opvattingen. Daarna tegen het einde van de eeuw werden ook salafistisch georiënteerde artikelen gepubliceerd. De schrijvers van deze periode gebruikten voor hun standpunten de werken van salafisten zoals Muhammad ibn Salih al-'Uthaymin en van werken van diegenen die de komst van de salafistische *da'wa* geïnspireerd hadden, zoals Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya en al-Albani. Het interne conflict van de congregatie van PPME Amsterdam eind 2005 stimuleerde de verbreding van salafistische opvattingen via haar e-mails. Deze e-mails bevatten alleen stukken van salafistische schrijvers en dit betekende dat er geen ruimte meer was voor schrijvers met een traditionalistische of reformistische achtergrond. De afwezigheid van bijdragen van hun hand stemde overeen met het doel van de *dauroh*, waar een salafistische oriëntatie centraal stond.

Daarnaast heeft PPME Nederland haar leden en andere geïnteresseerden aangemoedigd financiële en/of niet-financiële steun te geven om zo haar plannen te kunnen realiseren. In het geval

van de PPME vonden deze steunacties plaats via sociaal-culturele evenementen, als ook door infrastructurele inspanningen.

Een van de sociaal-culturele evenementen was de herdenking van *maulid nabi* (de geboortedag van de profeet Muhammad). De PPME vierde het in 1973, 1995 en 1996. In 1973 werd er op de Indonesische ambassade (KBRI) in Den Haag een toneelstuk opgevoerd met de titel “Hoe Umar ibn Khattab de islam omarmde en Kalief werd”. Er waren 359 mensen aanwezig. Dit kon niet plaatsvinden zonder instemming van de ambassade omdat het organiseren van een dergelijke bijeenkomst niet tot de taken van de ambassade behoorde. In 1995 werd de herdenking uitgezonden op de Nederlandse televisie door de Nederlandse Moslim Omroep (NMO). Het doel was financiële donaties te verwerven voor een Indonesische moskee in Nederland. Er waren niet minder dan 500 mensen uitgenodigd voor de viering in de hal van de Grote Kerk in Den Haag, en het bestuur van de PPME leidde het inzamelen van donaties van de aanwezigen. De derde *maulid* viering stond in het teken van de het 25-jarig bestaan van de PPME. De bijeenkomst die door ongeveer 1.500 mensen werd bijgewoond vond op 8 September 1996 plaats in de nieuwe Indonesische moskee die onder beheer van de KBRI staat. Ook hier was er dus sprake van nauwe samenwerking met de ambassade.

Andere sociaal-culturele evenementen die door de PPME werden georganiseerd waren sportdagen, *halal bihalal* (een bijeenkomst om elkander vergiffenis te vragen), en *istighotsah* (verzoeken om Gods bescherming en steun) bijeenkomsten. Sinds 1973 maken recreatieve sporten deel uit van de PPME programma's. In 2009 waren de sportdagen van PPME Amsterdam veel meer gericht op fondsenwerving. Onder de deelnemers waren ambtenaren van de Indonesische ambassade, leden van de PCIM (Bestuur van de Speciale Afdeling van de Muhammadiyah) en de PIP PKS (Informatie en Service Centrum Partij voor Rechtvaardigheid en Welvaart). Om fondsen te werven verkocht de PPME Amsterdam hapjes en drankjes, islamitische literatuur en cd's, en kruidenmedicijnen om de maandelijkse hypotheek betalingen, operationele kosten en onderhoud (€ 500-700) van de recent aangeschafte *at-Taqwa* (Piëteit) moskee te dekken.

Halal bihalal bijeenkomsten zijn regelmatig door alle PPME afdelingen gehouden sinds de late jaren tachtig. In 2005 heeft PPME Breda in Oosterhout een ongewone *halal bihalal* bijeenkomst georganiseerd, welke door 300 mensen bezocht is. Dit gebeurde op een moment dat er zich een scheuring binnen de PPME aftekende. Desondanks verzette niemand zich er tegen dat de PPME in Breda als gastheer optrad. Alle afdelingen van de PPME gaven ook donaties om zo het succes van de *halal bihalal* traditie zeker te stellen. Tot slot, sinds het begin van 2001, hielden verschillende PPME congregaties, behalve die van PPME Amsterdam, *istighotsah* gebedsbijeenkomst, toen Abdurrahman Wahid, een van de stichters van de PPME en de President van de Republiek Indonesië, dreigde te worden aangeklaagd door het Indonesische Huis van Afgevaardigden (DPR) zoals inderdaad gebeurde in juli van dat jaar. De congregaties gebruikten de gelegenheid om God om hulp te vragen en om een oplossing te vinden voor de precaire politieke situatie waar Wahid zich in bevond. PPME al-Ikhlash (een afsplitsing van PPME Amsterdam) gebruikte de *istighotsah* bijeenkomsten ook om fondsen te verwerven. Een voorbeeld is die die plaatsvond op 4 december 2010 op de *al-Ameen* School in Amsterdam om geld in te zamelen bij de ongeveer 200 aanwezigen voor de slachtoffers van de aardbeving in Padang, West Sumatra op 25 oktober 2010.

De infrastructurele inspanningen van PPME Nederland richtten zich vooral op het verwerven van gebedsruimten en moskeeën. Op 14 juli 1974 werd voor het eerst geopperd dat PPME over een eigen *muṣallā* (gebedsruimte) moest kunnen beschikken. Tegen juli 1976 was er via leden en donoren € 2.272 opgehaald. Uiteindelijk kon het PPME bestuur een hypotheek bij een Nederlandse bank afsluiten en hiermee op 1 oktober 1982 voor € 27.430 een gebouw kopen, namelijk Daguerrestraat 60 te Den Haag, toen de *Muṣallā al-Ittihaad* (Eenheid) genaamd. Om de maandelijkse betalingen te kunnen dekken schakelde de PPME onder meer haar predikers in die betrokken waren bij het religieuze programma van de Indonesische afdeling van Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (RNW) die een deel van hun honorarium afstonden. Garuda Indonesian Airways werd bereid gevonden advertentieruimten in het blad *al-Ittihaad* te kopen. In het

begin van de jaren negentig werd een comité in het leven geroepen om het verwerven van een eigen moskee voor te bereiden. Het comité benaderde Probo Sutjedjo, eigenaar van het Mertju Buana concern in Indonesië en de Indonesische ambassade in Nederland. Het resultaat was een gebouw van ruwweg 3.250 vierkante meter, de huidige *al-Hikmah* moskee, aan het Heeswijkplein 170-171 te Den Haag. Dit werd in 1996 door Sutedjo gekocht voor € 534.090. Op 10 december 2003 kondigde PPME Rotterdam aan dat het een gebedsruimte (520 vierkante meter) wilde bouwen, die € 787.482 moest kosten. Maar in 2011 had het plan de uitvoeringsfase nog steeds niet bereikt. Echter, aan het einde van 2003 vroeg PPME Rotterdam haar leden om minstens een van de uit te geven 3.000 *waqf* aandelen te kopen voor € 50 en nodigde leden van al-Jami'atul Hasana (AJH, de Javaans-Surinaamse organisatie) uit om een financiële bijdrage te leveren. Het bestuur benaderde ook de echtgenote van de voormalig vice-president van de Republiek Indonesië, Tuty Try Sutrisno, opdat PPME Rotterdam haar voorstel aan het Indonesische Ministerie van Welzijn kon voorleggen. Het resultaat was dat op 31 maart 2006 het ministerie de afdeling € 27.460 toezegde. Een andere poging van de PPME om financiële steun van haar mensen te krijgen kwam van PPME Amsterdam. Tijdens een vergadering op 5 december 2004 besloten PPME leden om de *at-Taqwa* (Piëteit) moskee (350 vierkante meter), Ekingenstraat 3-7 te Amsterdam West te kopen. Het centraal bestuur van de PPME stelde € 55.000 ter beschikking. Een collecte onder de leden leverde € 300.000 op. Het resterende bedrag leende de afdeling van een Nederlandse bank. In 2005 was het bestuur in staat om een gebouw te kopen voor € 585.000 en om te bouwen tot een moskee. Om de maandelijkse betalingen te kunnen doen, verkocht PPME Amsterdam tijdens haar bijzondere activiteiten maaltijden, islamitische boeken, cd's van islamitische lezingen, en opnames van de *dauroh* activiteiten. Ook haalden ze vrijwillige donaties tijdens *tarāwīh* en *ʿid al-fiṭr* gebedsbijeenkomsten op.

Daar Indonesiërs de meerderheid der leden vormen is het zo goed als onmogelijk voor PPME Nederland om geen banden te hebben met andere Indonesische organisaties en instituten in Nederland.

Allereerst werkt de PPME op twee gebieden samen met KBRI. Bij religieuze activiteiten nam ze deel aan het overleg op welke dag het begin en het einde van de *ramaḍān* moest vallen; de datum voor 'īd al-aḍḥā (offerfeest); het innen van *zakāt al-fiṭr* en *zakāt al-māl* (het jaarlijkse verplichte geven van aalmoezen); het ondersteunen van het vrijdaggebed; ondersteuning bij het beheer van de organisatie van de *al-Hikmah* moskee; en aan het onderhouden van de moskee. In organisatorische zin is PPME Nederland, met name PPME Den Haag, een regelmatig gebruiker van de ruimtes in de *al-Hikmah* moskee, en heeft de PPME zich actief ingezet om het gebruik van de moskee te bevorderen.

De relatie van de PPME met ICMI (Vereniging voor Indonesische Moslim Intellectuelen) in Nederland begon in 1995. Van 1995 tot 1997 was de relatie tussen de PPME en ICMI hecht. Niet alleen was de voorzitter van ICMI, Hadi, een adviseur van het PPME comité dat de verwerving van een moskee moest voorbereiden, maar ook werd dit onderdeel van het PPME programma opgenomen in het hoofdprogramma van de ICMI. Echter, sinds eind 1990 is de samenwerking tussen de PPME en de ICMI beëindigd. Dit kwam doordat de ICMI als organisatie van intellectuelen niet alle groeperingen binnen de Indonesische gemeenschap representeerde, en veel meer aandacht besteedde aan beurzen voor Indonesische studenten, in plaats van aan de behoefte van de gewone Indonesiërs in Nederland.

De relatie tussen de PPME en een andere islamitische organisatie in Nederland, de PIP PKS, kan niet los worden gezien van hun beider da'wa activiteiten. Veel van de door de PPME Amsterdam uitgenodigde geestelijke leiders hadden een PKS achtergrond. Sinds 2005 had dit plaatsgevonden. Daarnaast werd W.S. de Weerd, voorzitter van de PPME Nederland en sympathisant van PIP PKS, in 2009 gevraagd te spreken op de PIP PKS halal bihalal bijeenkomst in Schiedam. Vanwege de achterdocht binnen de PPME jegens de wijze waarop de PIP PKS tijdens de Indonesische verkiezingen stemmen voor de PKS probeerde te verwerven, werd de samenwerking niet voortgezet.

Nadat traditionalistische moslims in 2006 de PPME Amsterdam hadden verlaten, speelde deze afdeling een belangrijke rol bij

de oprichting van de PCIM, waarvan de officiële inauguratie op 8 december 2006 plaatsvond in de *at-Taqwa* moskee. Onder de ongeveer 100 aanwezigen was ook Din Syamsuddin, voorzitter van de Muhammadiyah. De nauwe band tussen de PPME Amsterdam en de PCIM komt ook tot uiting in hun gezamenlijk streven om *ustādhs* (vooraanstaande islamitische geleerden) naar Nederland uit te nodigen, zo werd de Indonesische salafistische *ustādh* Agus Hasan Bashori al-Sanuwi door beiden in 2008 uitgenodigd voor het geven van lezingen. De interacties tussen PPME Amsterdam en PCIM konden plaatsvinden vanwege de hechte banden tussen de leiders van beide verenigingen.

Sinds haar oprichting heeft de PPME ook nauw samengewerkt met niet Indonesiërs in Nederland. Eerst werkte de PPME samen met de Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (RNW), welke in 1977 een religieus programma uitzond op vrijdagen met daarin islamitische predikanten van de PPME. Dankzij de connectie tussen Maksu, voorzitter van de PPME en Ardamarisudji, de coördinator van de Indonesische afdeling van de RNW, werkten drie PPME predikers mee aan de uitzendingen tot de begin jaren 1990. Zij hadden hiervoor twee redenen. Via de RNW kon de PPME *da'wa* tot Indonesië worden uitgebreid. De tweede reden was financieel. De helft van het honorarium, € 136, ging van 1977 tot de begin jaren 1990 naar PPME en zo kon, zoals boven vermeld, de maandelijkse hypotheeklasten waarmee de *al-Ittihaad* gebedsruimte was gekocht deels worden gefinancierd.

Daarnaast werden vanaf het begin van de tachtiger jaren de PPME leraren (Maksu en Sulchan) uitgenodigd om wekelijkse les te geven in het reciteren van de koran en de islamitische *aqīda* (geloofsleer) in Den Haag, in het Javaans aan een groep van 30 tot 50 leden van een Surinaams-Javaanse vereniging Rukun Islam (RI, Islamitische Zuilen). Na 1985 werd hun plaats ingenomen door twee andere PPME leraren (Ishom en Syukur) die Nederlands spreken. Hun vertrek had belangrijke consequenties. Maksu en Sulchan waren allebei traditionalisten, terwijl Ishom en Syukur een meer reformistische religieuze oriëntatie hadden. Dit sloot aan bij de wijziging in religieuze oriëntering die steeds openlijker werd aangemoedigd door het bestuur van RI in de late jaren tachtig.

Muslikh, die gelieerd was aan een Saoedi-Arabische *da'wa* beweging, werd tussen 1987 en 1988 een islamitische leraar voor de RI. Tot april 2011 bleven PPME's reformistisch geörienteerde moslims betrokken bij de RI.

PPME Rotterdam werkte samen met de Surinaams-Javaanse stichting al- Jami'atul-Hasana (AJH). De aanzet hiertoe werd gegeven door de deelname van een aantal PPME Rotterdam leden aan *tarāwih* gebeden van de AJH in 1989. Kort daarna reageerde de afdeling positief op de uitnodiging van de AJH om gezamenlijke activiteiten te organiseren in een gehuurde kamer van het Centrum Santoso (Centrum van Eenheid), dat toebehoorde aan de Surinaams- Javaanse stichting Setoedjoe Anggawe Santoso (Setasan, Verenigd Staen Wij), Van Erverdijkstraat 31 te Rotterdam. In 2003 probeerde Kasijo, een lid van de Rotterdamse afdeling van de PPME, de banden met AJH te versterken door een muziekgroep te vormen genaamd Qasidah as-Salaam (Vrede *Qaṣīda*). Aan het einde van 2003 nodigde de PPME Rotterdam de AJH uit om mee te werken aan een bouwplan voor een moskee en activiteiten centrum. Het bestuur van de AJH reageerde positief en liet blijken het project financieel te willen ondersteunen. Na 2007 konden de PPME Rotterdam en AJH niet langer de gezamenlijk gehuurde ruimte gebruiken waarmee er een einde kwam aan hun formele samenwerking.

Ten slotte heeft PPME sinds 2007 ook samengewerkt met Haremeyn Vakfi (de Stichting van Haremeyn), een een Turks reisbureau voor de bedevaart naar Mekka. De samenwerking kwam tot stand nadat het jaar daarvoor Saudi-Arabië de regels voor de bedevaart had aangescherpt. Toen Mujahid, een PPME Den Haag lid, in 2007 Sulayman Ramanazoglu, de eigenaar van de Turkse stichting, in Mekka ontmoette, reageerde hij positief op het aanbod van de stichting om voor de PPME de bedevaartreis te organiseren. Haremeyn Vakfi was officieel bij de Saoedische overheid geregistreerd, kon een relatief goedkope bedevaartreis, inclusief hajj visa en verblijf in Saoedi-Arabië aanbieden en had een goede reputatie. Hij werkte samen met de stichting in 2008 en 2009. Belangrijk is ook dat Sa'id Badjuber, een PPME Amsterdam lid in 2009 een van de pelgrims was en zodoende in contact kwam met

Ramazanoglu. In 2010 regelde de PPME Amsterdam, onder leiding van Badjuber, haar hajj programma in samenwerking met de stichting.

In de jaren negentig en het begin van deze eeuw werden via oud leden en *Ramaḍān* predikers contacten in Indonesië gelegd om ingezamelde gelden in Indonesië te besteden volgens de voor deze donaties bestaande godsdienstige regels. Hierbij werd een vertrouwensband opgebouwd tussen de PPME en haar contactpersonen in Indonesië zonder tussenkomst van derden.

Het betrof aalmoezen (*zakāt*) en vrijwillige financiële schenkingen (*ṣadaqāt*) in de negentiger jaren waarmee personen en organisaties werden gesteund, niet alleen op Java maar ook op Bali en in Noord Sulawesi. De overschrijvingen naar Noord Sulawesi werden gefaciliteerd door Taslim Makaminan, een oud lid van PPME Amsterdam, die islamitische organisaties en scholen wilden helpen ingebieden waar de meeste mensen geen moslim waren. Met betrekking tot de islamitische scholen, werd geld overgemaakt (€ 367 in 1996 en € 458 in 1997) naar een Muhammadiyah middelbare school in Petta, Sangihe-Talaud.

In het eerste decennium van deze eeuw kwam de steun van de PPME vooral ten goede aan *imams* en hun *Ramaḍān* activiteiten. De verplichte jaarlijkse donaties (*zakāt al-māl*) en vrijwillige donaties werden in 2007 in de eerste plaats in Yogyakarta besteed voor de bouw van regenwaterreservoirs. PPME Den Haag was een belangrijke financieringsbron voor de bouw van dergelijke reservoirs (€ 2.900). Deze PPME activiteit werd gesteund door de tussenpersonen, Hamdani Anwar (een uitgenodigde prediker voor haar *Ramaḍān* activiteiten) en zijn vrouw. In de contacten van de PPME Amsterdam met Indonesië was het Muttaqin die een vitale rol speelde. Een aantal PPME Amsterdam donoren vertrouwde Muttaqin, de prediker voor de *Ramaḍān* activiteiten, de besteding van hun *zakāt al-māl* toe. Met het geld, € 39.493, werd eind 2008 grond gekocht in zuidoost Depok voor een geïntegreerd islamitisch onderwijsinstituut. Gezien de succesvolle wijze waarop hij tussen 2005 en 2008 had bijgedragen aan de verdeling van donaties, doneerde in 2009 een van hen € 7.246 aan Muttaqin. Een dergelijke reactie uit Nederland motiveerde de *imam* om zijn plannen tot de oprichting van zijn onderwijsinstituut te realiseren.

Uit bovenstaande blijkt hoe belangrijk het organiseren van *Ramaḍān* activiteiten en het uitnodigen van islamitische predikers of geleerden uit Indonesië was voor PPME besturen bij het opbouwen van netwerken. Zulke activiteiten werden ondersteund door oud leden van PPME in Indonesië, de PKS en ambtenaren van de Indonesische ambassade. Het is noemenswaardig dat de predikers geen enkele ervaring hadden met *imam* onderwijs in Nederland.

In Den Haag vonden de *Ramaḍān* programma's in de *al-Hikmah* moskee plaats. Dit heeft de PPME Den Haag in staat gesteld om een netwerk op te zetten met, bijvoorbeeld, Anwar en zijn vrouw, waardoor de afdeling de bovengenoemde regenwaterreservoirs kon laten bouwen (2007). Naast goede kennis van de islam, moesten predikers die door het bestuur van de moskee waren uitgenodigd moderaat zijn, dat wil zeggen, ze moesten bereid zijn om andere godsdienstige opvattingen te respecteren en niet fanatiek zijn.

In Amsterdam was de aanwezigheid van islamitische predikers een direct resultaat van de inspanningen en uitnodigingen van PPME Amsterdam zelf zonder voorafgaande consultatie met de ambassade. Naast goede kennis van de islam en het goed kunnen reciteren van verzen uit de koran, waren de uitgenodigde personen in staat om de koran uit hun hoofd te reciteren en moesten hun religieuze opvattingen niet in strijd zijn met die van de congregatie. Daarom nodigde PPME Amsterdam Khoirul Muttaqin uit, een salafistische activist van de PKS (2005-2011), met dezelfde godsdienstige opvattingen als die der leidende figuren van PPME Amsterdam. In Amsterdam gaf Muttaqin islamitisch onderricht maar de Nederlands sprekende leden waren vanwege de taalbarrière niet aanwezig. Zoals hierboven vermeld vertrouwde PPME Amsterdam hem later de besteding van haar *zakāt*gelden toe. PPME al-Ikhlaṣh volgde dezelfde procedure als PPME Amsterdam bij het uitnodigen van predikers maar anders dan PPME Amsterdam moesten zij traditionalistisch zijn. Een voorbeeld hiervan was Moh. Fatoni Dimiyati die in 2009 met hulp van een oud lid uit Gresik, Oost Java, uitgenodigd werd. Ook hier woonden Nederlands-sprekende leden deze bijeenkomsten niet bij omdat ze geen Indonesisch spraken.

Speciale vermelding verdient de samenwerking van PPME Nederland in Indonesië met al-Robithoh al-Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah (Roisah, Gehoorzame Islamitische Bond), Jepara. Roisah was een traditionele *pesantren*. Echter, sinds 2007 hebben Kamilin, een afgestudeerde van het Instituut voor Islamitische Kennis en Arabisch (LIPIA, opgericht in Jakarta in 1980 en gelieerd aan de al- Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamitische Universiteit, Riyadh) en een zoon van de Kyai Nawawi, de eigenaar van Roisah, de religieuze oriëntatie omgebogen in de richting van een salafistische godsdienstschool.

Kamilin handelde geleidelijk. Zo verbood hij de viering van geboortedag van de profeet Muhammad niet. Ook probeerde hij niet de traditionele opvattingen van zijn vader uit te bannen maar gaf hij er de voorkeur aan de huidige generatie van *santri's* te leren hoe de salafistische method van *tasfiya* (zuivering) toe te passen. Bij het lezen van religieuze literatuur, zijn de *santri's* direct in staat om de belangrijkste teksten die in tegenspraak zijn met de *salafi aqīda* (salafistische geloofsleer) aan te wijzen. Als een volgende stap, in relatie met de *aqīda*, koos hij een boek dat geen commentaar door ulama bevatte maar alleen verzen uit de koran of tradities van de profeet Muhammad die met dit onderwerp te maken hebben.

Verder kregen de *santri's* makkelijke toegang tot islamitische boeken die van de eigenaar van de Roisah stichting waren, en van zijn kinderen, welke in open boekenkasten staan. Naast de werken van Ibn Taymiyya en Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, konden de *santri's* ook literatuur lezen dat gebruikt wordt in traditionele *pesantrens*. Het aanbieden van zowel traditionele en niet-traditionele literatuur is zeker ongewoon. Dat kan alleen maar in *pesantrens* zoals Roisah, waar naast de traditionele werken ook de geschriften van bijvoorbeeld Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab en Ibn Taymiyya aanwezig zijn.

In Nederland maakte PPME Amsterdam een vergelijkbare ontwikkeling door. Deelnemers aan haar activiteiten doneren graag hun *zakāt al-fiṭr* aan bestuursleden die de aalmoezen naar Muttaqin sturen, die als tussenpersoon tussen de PPME en de stichting optreed. De aalmoezen (in totaal € 4.550) werden vanaf *Ramaḍān* 2005 tot ten

minste 2009 door PPME Amsterdam aan Roisah doorgesluisd. Voor de afdeling was het essentieel dat de aalmoezen op tijd de *mustahiqqin* (zij die daar recht op hebben) in Indonesië bereikten, terwijl voor Roisah de voordelen van de samenwerking evident zijn. In 2007 kon PPME Amsterdam vrijwillige donaties (€ 17.000) afdragen van mensen die meededen aan de *tarāwih* gebeden. Naast het renoveren van bestaande faciliteiten werd het geld ook gebruikt voor het kopen van nieuwe stukken land in totaal van 1.924 vierkante meter (tussen 2007 en 2008) om daar een godsdienstschool (Madrasah Diniyyah) te bouwen. Dat de school zou worden geleid door een andere alumnus van LIPIA in Jakarta lijkt de inspanningen van Roisah om haar religieuze oriëntatie te wijzigen te versterken. Nadat Roisah in October 2007 had voorgesteld om een Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa' (Huis van Weeskinderen en Armen) voor 42 weeskinderen te stichten, besloot de PPME Amsterdam in 2009 om dit initiatief financieel te ondersteunen. Dit laatste kan niet los worden gezien van de succesvolle wijze waarop de Roisah Pesantren de van PPME Amsterdam ontvangen *zakāt al-fiṭr* ontvangen, het voorstel en de betrokkenheid van Muttaqin. Hierdoor heeft PPME Amsterdam sinds februari 2009 zijn donaties voor deze instelling zelf via de voorzitter overgemaakt. PPME Amsterdam heeft tot maart 2010 zeven keer in verschillende hoeveelheden financiële steun naar Roisah overgemaakt, in totaal ongeveer € 11.824.

PPME Nederland bestaat nu al meer dan veertig jaar. Dit is mede te danken aan haar uitgangspunt om een vereniging te zijn voor alle moslims ongeacht hun specifieke religieuze opvattingen, haar grote inspanningen om haar congregatie en sympathisanten zowel in Nederland als in Indonesië aan te sporen om materiële en niet-materiële steun te geven aan diegenen die dit nodig hebben, en de serieuze inspanningen om netwerken met andere organisaties en personen zowel in Nederland als in Indonesië op te bouwen. Haar activiteiten hebben in hoge mate bijgedragen aan de verbondenheid tussen haar leden en hebben PPME Nederland in staat gesteld haar financiële en niet-financiële problemen op te lossen, en ook om de religieuze en sociaal-culturele behoeften van leden en achterban te vervullen. Dit heeft over het algemeen goed gefunctioneerd tot 2004. Daarna echter

werd de PPME geconfronteerd met een puriteinse stroming binnen de islam die minder ruimte laat voor andersdenkenden. Dit maakt het voortbestaan van de PPME tot een echte uitdaging.

Curriculum Vitae

Sujadi was born in Cirebon, West Java in 1970. He is a lecturer at the Faculty of Letters and Cultural Studies, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University (UIN) Yogyakarta. In 1977, he went to Basic School Karang Paris, now called Sekolah Dasar Negeri (SDN, State Basic School) Weru 3, Weru Kidul, Cirebon. In addition, he went to Madrasah Diniyah Islamiyah (School for Learning Islamic Subjects) Weru Lor, Cirebon, where he studied Arabic, *tajwīd* (knowledge of how to recite the Qur'an correctly) and basic Islamic teachings (1977-1982). Then, he went to Sekolah Menengah Pertama Negeri (SMPN, State Junior High School) Plumbon, Cirebon (1986-1989). To improve his knowledge of Islam, after finishing his study in the junior high school, he went to Pendidikan Guru Agama (PGA, Islamic Senior High School for Being a Teacher), Cirebon, where he could improve his knowledge of Arabic and Islamic teaching and study Islamic education (1986-1989). During his study in the PGA, he also studied Islam in Pesantren Istiqomah (Integrity), Weru Lor, Cirebon, where he could study Arabic for higher levels and study Islam from classical Islamic books. In 1993, he graduated in Arabic Language and Letters at Sunan Kalijaga State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) Yogyakarta. From 1996 to 1998, he received a scholarship from the Indonesia-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS) for a master programme in Islamic studies at Leiden University, the Netherlands. From February 2008 to January 2012, he was granted a scholarship for his doctoral program at Leiden University, under the framework of "Training Indonesia's Young Leaders Program". His interests include Muslim Minority and Indonesian Islam. His published articles include: *The Policies of PPME: Re-examination* (al-Jami'ah, Journal of Islamic Studies), *Moroccan Muslim Youths and Their Perspectives on Being Muslim among Dutch Society* (Tsaqafiyyat, Journal of Islamic History and Culture), *Islam antara Negara Agama dan Sipil* (al-Jami'ah), *Mohammad Hatta's and Agus Salim's Nationalism for the Phenomenon of Indonesian Disintegration* (Mukaddimah, Journal of Islamic Studies), *Memelihara Naskah Islam* (Aplikasia, Journal of Islamic Society), *The French Law of Naturalization in Tunisia by the Colonial Time: Study of Rashid Rida's Fatwa* (al-Jami'ah). The following is his e-mail address: sujadi@uin-suka.ac.id.

STELLINGEN
PERSATUAN PEMUDA MUSLIM SE-EROPA: IDENTITY,
ENCOURAGEMENT FOR GIVING, AND NETWORK,
1971-2009

1. The fact that the Young Muslim Association in Europe (PPME) has existed in the Netherlands for more than forty years (from 1971 to the present) shows that it is truly needed and appreciated by its members.
2. In shaping its religious identity, PPME took into account the different backgrounds of its members, as well as the Islamic development in the Netherlands and Indonesia.
3. As a faith-based organisation belonging to ordinary people and lacking financial means, PPME needs not only the involvement of its members and supporters in the Netherlands in financing its socio-cultural programmes, but needs to gain significant donations from its supporters there and outside the Netherlands to finance its infrastructural programmes, as well.
4. It is indispensable to create an esprit de corps among the members of PPME and others interested in its activities, which will, in turn, be beneficial for solving its financial and non-financial difficulties.
5. That the networks of PPME, both in the Netherlands and in Indonesia, were supported by traditionalist and reformist Muslims has worked to its advantage allowing it to sustain relations with both diverse Indonesian and non-Indonesian organisations in the two countries.
6. When an *imam* living in Europe can speak the language of the people and understand their life there, this will enable him better to cope with socio-cultural and political problems of Muslims living there.
7. Trust has played a significant role in determining the preference of Indonesian Muslims living in non-Muslim countries when spending their *zakāt* either to an individual or to an organisation.
8. The Islamic purification movement has gained a following among

the PPME Amsterdam who no longer want to share mosques and centres of activities for their socio-cultural activities and religious rituals with other Indonesian Muslims in the Netherlands. This has in part been an autonomous development and has in part been brought about by the Indonesian preachers who have been invited to come to the Netherlands.

9. Indonesian Muslims living in the Netherlands, especially those who promote radical Islamic ideals hardly get any attention in the Dutch media or in Dutch scientific literature. Most attention goes to Turkish and Moroccan socio-cultural and political activities.
10. The Institute for Islamic Knowledge and Arabic (LIPIA) of Saudi Arabian government has played a significant role in disseminating its Salafi *da'wa* movement in Indonesia. This movement has resulted in the religious transformation of *pesantrens* into Salafi where *santris* were driven to challenge traditionalist works and oppose traditionalist teaching.
11. When Salafi religious transformation continuously takes place in traditionalist *pesantrens*, this will, in turn, change the salient characteristic of Indonesian Islam which prefers the existence of Indonesian nation-state to the establishment of Islamic state.