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

Sujadi,

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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-aḥḥā* 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 *pasantren 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.