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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 co-ordinate 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 Dompêt 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, "Politikasi 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-fiṭr* 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.