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Chapter Seven: The Organizational Network of PPME in Indonesia

This chapter sheds light on an organizational network of PPME in Indonesia. This means to discuss its connection to the Roisah Foundation, which is the only organization that PPME has consecutively cooperated with. PPME has decided that Indonesia, rather than Suriname (from where some of its members originally come), is a targeted country for the distribution of its alms and voluntary donations because of its less prosperous people. In order to understand the connection, this chapter will begin with a discussion of the profile of the Roisah Foundation. Then, the following will deal with how PPME established its relationship with the foundation.

I. Roisah Foundation: Its History and Characteristics



Picture 8. The front of the Roisah foundation. Source: Author's collection.

Al-Robithoh al-Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah (Obedient Islamic Bond, usually abbreviated to Roisah) did not start life as a *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school), but rather a house of about 300 square metres. It is situated on the Kauman Street, Surodadi, in the district (*kecamatan*) of

Kedung, Jepara, Central Java. Since the end of the 1960s, Kyai¹⁰⁹⁹ Abdullah Nawawi,¹¹⁰⁰ who was born in Jepara in 1940, has owned the house where he founded Roisah. Given his skills in Quranic recitation, Nawawi, in cooperation with his wife, has prioritized Quranic studies in the house. Therefore, learning the Arabic alphabet, reciting the Quran based upon the knowledge of how to do so correctly (*tajwīd*), reciting the Quran well (*taḥsīn*), reciting the Quran with regular rhythm (*tartīl*), memorizing the Quran (*taḥfīz*), and memorizing and understanding the Quran (*taḥmīl*) have been taught. Less than fifty children (male and female), who lived close to the house attended these lessons, regardless of the social status of their parents.¹¹⁰¹

It is worth noting that the learning of Arabic grammar was not the *kyai*'s top priority. Indeed, taking place in the house of *kyai*, he only taught the children the lowest level of Arabic grammar books, entitled *Al-Jurūmiyya* (Basic Arabic Grammar) and *Al-Amthilat al-Taṣrīfiyya* (Basic Arabic Morphology), (not the higher and advanced levels such as those entitled *Al-ʿImriṭī* (Intermediate Arabic Grammar) and *Alfiyya ibn Mālik* (Advanced Arabic Grammar). Instead, the focus was on Islamic subjects directly pertaining to the understanding of the content of the Qurʾān, including, among others, *al-fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (Quranic exegesis) and *al-ḥadīth* (the accounts of the Prophet Muhammad and his deeds). The children of Roisah were keen not only to be proficient in knowing the Qurʾān by heart (*ḥāfīz al-Qurʾān*), but also knowing the Quran by heart and understanding its content (*ḥāmīl al-Qurʾān*).¹¹⁰² Consequently, basic classical Islamic books, which are

¹⁰⁹⁹ This term is not used in the sense of what Geertz (1960: 134) means, i.e. similar to Middle Eastern ulama, but in the sense of what Dhofier (1980: 68) means; namely, a common label for Javanese Muslim scholars leading *pesantrens*. See also Dindin Solahuddin, *The Workshop for Morality: The Islamic Creativity of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid in Bandung, Java* (Australia: ANU Press, 2008), 41.

¹¹⁰⁰ Kyai Abdullah Nawawi was a graduate of Thānawīyya (Junior High School) of Dār al-ʿUlūm al-Dīniyya in Mecca 1955, and was registered in the 1980s as a member of Syuriah (Consultative Board) in the Jepara branch of a Traditionalist Islamic organization, known as Nahdlatul Ulama. Abdullah Nawawi, interview, Jepara, Middle Java, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰² Ibid.

commonly known as Yellow Islamic Books (*Kitab Kuning*)¹¹⁰³ and taught in Indonesian traditionalist *pesantrens*, were not neglected. These books included, among others, *Safinat al-Najā* (The Ship of Safety), *Sullam al-Taufiq* (The Ladder of Success) and *Tafsīr al-Jalālyn* (The Quranic Exegesis of al-Jalālyn).¹¹⁰⁴

Providing these kinds of lessons in a house of a *kyai* or Islamic teacher is common in Indonesia¹¹⁰⁵ – participants usually live elsewhere and come to the house of the *kyai* or teacher for a number of hours for the lesson. Such a phenomenon also took place in Roisah in its early development (discussed in the following paragraphs). However, most of children studying at Roisah currently stay in the accommodations of the *kyai*. Boys stay in the house of the *kyai* whereas girls stay in a new building behind the house. There they were given an opportunity to be *hāmil al-Qur’ān*. It should be noted that this education is of excellent quality: their teachers know the Qur’an by heart and are experts in reciting the Qur’an and its exegesis. In Java, such qualified education can also be found in other *pesantrens* such as the Sunan Pandanaran Pesantren and the Pesantren of al-Falah (Success). The former is situated in Kaliurang, Yogyakarta and provides a programme for memorizing and understanding the Qur’an¹¹⁰⁶ and the latter is a renowned Pesantren al-Qur’an, in Cicalengka, Eastern Bandung, West Java, that concentrates on reciting the Qur’an in diverse styles, [being *qāri’* rather than being *hāmil al-Qur’ān*].¹¹⁰⁷ This latter *pesantren* that continuously provides courses in Quranic recitation in six semesters is under the leadership of a *qāri’* who was the winner in the National Contest in Reciting the Qur’an in 1968, Ahmad Syahid.¹¹⁰⁸

After more than sixteen years (from the end of the 1960s to 1976),

¹¹⁰³ These books are called Islamic classical books deriving from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries, Lukens-Bull, *Peaceful Jihad*, 14-16.

¹¹⁰⁴ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁰⁵ Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement*, 12-13.

¹¹⁰⁶ See <http://sunan-pandanaran.blogspot.com/>, accessed 7 August 2010.

¹¹⁰⁷ Solahuddin, *The Workshop for Morality*, 5.

¹¹⁰⁸ See “Kurikulum Pesantren,” accessed 11 October 2015, http://quran.alfalah.or.id/alfalah.php?irwcontents=webpage&menu=102&page_id=11 and “Sekilas tentang Pondok Pesantren al-Qur’an al-Falah,” accessed 11 October 2015, http://quran.alfalah.or.id/alfalah.php?irwcontents=webpage&menu=1&page_id=1.

proper accommodations for girls who would learn Quranic studies was built – this was the start to separate the place for their learning from that of boys. In 1974, Nawawi invited the local population of Surodadi and its surroundings, under the coordination of his brother-in-law, Baedhowi, to take part in constructing a building for them. This effort resulted in a new building of eight metres by thirteen metres. It was left without a roof for almost a year due to a lack of funds. However, Soleh, a furniture businessman from Tahunan, a village near Surodadi, finally completed the project. With his financial assistance, both the requisite materials and pay for the labourers were covered. In 1976, the construction of the building used to accommodate female children, especially from outlying villages, and to be the place for their learning could be finished. The new building contributed to increase the number of female children who participated in learning the Quranic studies. The number of children increased from less than fifty to more than sixty; more than thirty of them were girls. In addition, female pupils, who previously stayed in homes of the neighbours of the *kyai*, could now follow the Qur'an lessons in the new building and lodge there.¹¹⁰⁹ This means that their study would no longer take place in the house of the *kyai*, which currently has a second floor built in 2007 where the boys stay.

Following the construction of the accommodations for female children, in 1982 the house was transformed into a *pesantren*, called, Robithoh Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah (The Obedient Islamic Bond),¹¹¹⁰ a name that had been in use since the 1960s.¹¹¹¹ This transformation in status was complemented with the following vision, missions and objectives:

The vision of this *pesantren* is to study Islam and struggle for the sake of Islamic *Sharī'a* (Islamic Law) of *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a*¹¹¹²

¹¹⁰⁹ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹¹⁰ Itqonul Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Izin Operasional Pondok Pesantren Robithoh Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah* (Jepara: Ponpes Roisah, 2009), n.p.

¹¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹¹² The definition of term *al-jamā'a* is diverse. For instance, NU defines Islam of *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a* as divine teaching taught and conducted by the Prophet Muhammad to his companions. This seems that *al-jamā'a* means only the companions. However, NU itself has religious doctrines, which should be

(the Adherents of the Prophet's Traditions and the Community). Meanwhile, its missions are to provide religious education that depends on assured qualifications in order to uphold a Salafi system;¹¹¹³ to prepare and guide Islamic generations who will devote themselves to their religion, society and nation; and to direct *santris* to understand their own identities so that they will become pious [parallel to the word "*al-Muthi'ah*" aimed at educating the Roisah's *santris* to be pious Muslims],¹¹¹⁴ and possess noble behaviours.¹¹¹⁵

In order to realise the vision and missions, the objectives of the *pesantren* were formulated. "*Santris*¹¹¹⁶ are educated to be qualified in mastering Islamic subjects; to devote themselves to public interests; and to actively propagate Islamic missions."¹¹¹⁷ Consequently, the *kyai* obliged his *santris* to study Islam in the *pesantren* and advised them to take formal education (in the sense of going to school).¹¹¹⁸ In fact, the majority of students choose both types of education rather than to limit themselves to study Islam at the *pesantren* (non-formal education).¹¹¹⁹

Since 1995, orphans from Surodadi and its surrounding areas have been a priority for the *pesantren*. The *kyai* and his family have engaged

acknowledged by the community of NU. In theology, NU follows the approach of Abu al-Hasan al-Asy 'ari and Abu Mansur al-Maturidi; in jurisprudence, it especially follows Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'i. In addition, NU also follows the *madhhab* of Abu Hanifa Nu'man ibn Tsabit, Malik ibn Anas and Ahmad ibn Hanbal; and in Islamic mysticism, it follows the method of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali and Junayd al-Baghdadi. See Masyhudi Muchtar, *Aswaja an-Nahdliyah* (Surabaya: Lajnah wa Ta'lif wan Nasyr, 2007), 1-3, 11-12, 22-23 and 28-30. Meanwhile, Salafi people define it as the companions of the Prophet and their followers. See Abi al-Hasan Ali ibn Al'au al-Din and Saliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Aziz Muḥammad Alī Shaykh, *Jāmi' Shurūḥ al-Aqīdat al-Ṭaḥawiyya*, 1st ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Jawzi, 2006), 951.

¹¹¹³ Salafi system is a term that is, currently, comprehended and implemented by Nawawi and his sons, albeit in a contradictory manner, as will be later discussed in the main text.

¹¹¹⁴ The word of *al-Muṭi'ah* is, by coincidence, the name of the *kyai*'s mother-in-law. Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹¹⁵ Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Izin*, n.p.

¹¹¹⁶ There are two classifications of *santris* at the Roisah Pesantren: the *muqim* and the non-*muqim santris*. The former group consist of those *santris* coming from villages outside Surodadi and staying in the *pesantren*; the latter group are identified as those deriving from Surodadi and living in their family houses. Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹¹⁸ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹¹⁹ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

in many endeavours in this regard over the years. Initially, orphans living in the villages were invited to Roisah every *Muḥarram* (the first Islamic month) and *Ramaḍān*, where they received financial gifts and goods.¹¹²⁰ After less than 12 years, in October 2007, a plan was put forward to establish an orphanage called Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa (the House for Orphans and the Poor).¹¹²¹ However, the lack of funds meant that it would take until mid-February 2008 with the financial assistance of PPME Amsterdam for the project to be realised.¹¹²² At this point, the House was able to enroll about 40 orphans who were 6 to 18 years old.¹¹²³ The children were looked after by the *pesantren*. It can be argued that the presence of the orphans directly increased the number of *santris* who enrolled in the *pesantren*. Indeed, by September 2008, 157 *santris* had registered¹¹²⁴ at the *pesantren* for daily teaching on the Qur'an and reading classical Islamic books. Weekly activities comprised of delivering religious sermons, reciting the Qur'an with divergent styles (*qirā'a*), and vocational training such as Arabic calligraphy, using computers, and running a printing business.¹¹²⁵ It is worth mentioning that in February 2010 most of the *santris* had already undertaken formal education in Islamic primary, junior and senior schools.¹¹²⁶

Since the establishment of Roisah, the classical books offered to its *santris* tend to follow the preference of traditionalist *pesantrens* in Indonesia. Nawawi asserted that: "Salafi [mentioned in the Roisah's mission] signifies classical, not modern. Salafi Islamic books are those

¹¹²⁰ Nurul Furqon, short message service, 28 May 2010.

¹¹²¹ Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Izin*, n.p.

¹¹²² Ibid.

¹¹²³ Ibid. Further details on the criteria for looking after children will be discussed in the subsequent section on the Darul Aytam.

¹¹²⁴ Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Bantuan*, n.p.

¹¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹¹²⁶ Nurul Furqon (the chairman of Roisah Foundation), interview, Jepara, Central Java, 14 February 2010. For instance, a *santri* called Arif Subhan, who was born on 5 October 1993 and comes from Karang Goden, Mlonggo, Jepara, is the only *santri* who has preferred focusing on memorizing the Quran and seeking Islamic knowledge in the Roisah to going to school. He is of opinion that it was sufficient for him to be a graduate of (Thānawiyya) Islamic junior high school. For him, staying at the Roisah Foundation means learning Islam (*ngaji*) and there should be no distraction from other schools activities. Arif Subhan, interview, Jepara, Central Java, 15 February 2010.

written by Salafi ulama. In addition to *Safinat al-Najā*, books entitled *Fath al-Qarīb* (The Disclosure of the Closest), *Fath al-Mu‘īn* (The Disclosure of the Helper) and *Matn Abī Shujā’* (The Contents of Abī Shujā’) are taught in the *pesantren*.¹¹²⁷ Thus, he believed, the term Salafi accommodated such classical Islamic books. In fact, in traditionalist Indonesian *pesantrens* the term “Salafi or Salafiyya” cannot be dissociated from the deployment of classical Islamic books.¹¹²⁸ Similarly, Lukens-Bull highlights that the *pesantren* community, particularly the community connected to the Nahdlatul ‘Ulama, cannot be dissociated from the Islamic books containing more interpretations of ulamas¹¹²⁹ than sources from the Quranic verses and/or the Prophet Traditions. This means that Islamic teachings in the books are complemented with their interpretations, rather than with the information from primary Islamic sources. Dhofier argues that *pesantrens* are classified as either *salaf* (traditional) or *khalaf* (modern). The former strongly upholds the classical Islamic texts and uses it as the basis of its education; indeed no secular subjects are taught in *salaf pesantren*. By contrast, *khalaf pesantren* incorporates both Islamic and secular subjects.¹¹³⁰ Referring to Dhofier’s classification, it is clear that as a *salaf pesantren*, Roisah prioritizes such classical Islamic books.

The preference of Nawawi for the traditionalist classical books is in line with his understanding of the term *Ahl al-Sunna wa’l-Jamā’a*. This *kyai* prefers his *santris* to follow *madhāhib*, i.e. following Indonesian traditionalist Muslim practices¹¹³¹ that reflect the religious understanding of Nahdlatul Ulama. He adds that *Ahl al-Sunna wa’l-Jamā’a* is a model of thought based not only on the Quran and the Prophet Traditions, but also upon current social realities that classical Islamic books recommend, thus enabling a moderate way in terms of implementing Islamic teaching.¹¹³² In addition, this maintains *ḥablun*

¹¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹¹²⁸ See “Ma’had Aly,” accessed 4 August 2010, <http://tebui reng.net/index.php?pilih=hal&id=21>.

¹¹²⁹ See Lukens-Bull, *Peaceful Jihad*, 15-16.

¹¹³⁰ Solahuddin, *The Workshop for Morality*, 5.

¹¹³¹ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹³² Ibid. and see also Anonymous, “Paham Keagamaan,” accessed 15 July 2013, <http://www.nu.or.id/a,public-m,static-s,detail-lang,id-ids,1-id,7-t,paham+keagamaan-.phpx>.

min al-nās (human relationship). In other words, the *santris* did not isolate themselves from their society; indeed, they should serve the society.¹¹³³

However, the understanding of Nawawi of the term *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a* has been challenged by his son, Kamilin. The interpretation of Kamilin, who has been transforming a religious orientation of Roisah into a Salafi direction differs from the way his father understands the term. With the assistance of his elder brother, Rohman, Kamilin who has planned the syllabus of Roisah, in a sense of subjects or literature to be studied, since 2007,¹¹³⁴ argues:

The label *Ahl al-sunna wa'l-jamā'a* is given to Muslims believing in the *Sunna* (the Tradition) of the Prophet Muhammad, learning and practicing it. These Muslims are not obliged to be adherent to a school of Islamic jurisprudence (*madhhab*). They do not judge others as *kāfirs* (infidels) as far as the Quran and the *Ḥadīth* do not label them as infidels, and they solve their religious problems on the basis of both Islamic sources [the Qur'an and the *Ḥadīth*]. Thus, they do not belong to a group of Muslims practicing *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, *manaqiban* (hagiography), *nariyahan* (a kind of prayer for resolving problems), and *barzanjian* (reciting the history of the Prophet Muhammad), such as the Indonesian traditionalist Muslims or the congregation of Nahdlatul Ulama. In short, the true Islam is Islam based only upon the Quran and the *Ḥadīth*.¹¹³⁵

He adds: "The term *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a* is similar to that of other works which Salafi people refer to. For instance, Salih ibn Abd al-Aziz states in *Jāmi' Shurūḥ al-Aqīdat al-Taḥāwīyya* (The Comprehensive Commentaries on the Taḥāwīyya Faith) that *Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a* are those following the Prophet Traditions and the paths of the companions of The Prophet Muhammad and their followers"¹¹³⁶ – this is in accord with the definition of Salafi. Therefore, there is no obligation to rely on Islamic jurists.¹¹³⁷ Similarly, Ibn Taymiyya in *Aqīdat al-Wāsiṭiyya* explains:

¹¹³³ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹³⁴ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹³⁵ Kamilin, interview, 16 February 2010.

¹¹³⁶ See Ibn Alāu al-Dīn and Ibn 'Abd al-Azīz Muḥammad Alī Shaykh, *Jāmi' Shurūḥ al-Aqīdat al-Taḥāwīyya*, 56.

¹¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 58.

Of the path of Ahl al-Sunna wa'l-Jamā'a were those following the Prophet Traditions inwardly and outwardly, the ancestors, namely, those Meccans who emigrated to Medina in the early period of Islam (*muhājirīn*) and the Medinan followers of the Prophet Muhammad who granted him refuge after the migration (*anṣār*), and those following the message (*waṣīyya*) of the Messenger.¹¹³⁸

As a consequence, Kamilin does not follow a single *madhhab* as traditionalist Muslims do. In addition, he and Rohman are against the practices of Islamic mysticism that the traditionalists perform.¹¹³⁹ Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab and Ibn Taymiyya, to whom Salafi people frequently refer and whose works are rarely found in traditionalist *pesantrens*, call for the study of the Quran and the *Ḥadīth* directly, rather than studying the interpretations of Islam of Muslim scholars. This is because these interpretations are aimed at regional and political contextualization, rather than at the content of the main Islamic sources revealed and comprehended earlier.¹¹⁴⁰ This attitude is in line with that of calling for personal interpretation (*ijtihād*) instead of *taqlīd* (following a school of Islamic jurisprudence) and rejecting the practices of Sufism that oppose Islamic scriptures.¹¹⁴¹ In fact, Kamilin, involving Rohman in approving any Islamic books taught at the *pesantren*, has been actively pursuing a Salafi transformation at the *pesantren*.

The preference of the *kyai* for the classical Islamic books has also brought him into conflict with Kamilin, who is responsible for the running of the *pesantren*. Van Bruinessen states: "Reformist Muslims in Indonesia are critical of the classical Islamic books."¹¹⁴² In addition

¹¹³⁸ The message was "‘Alay-kum bi-sunnatī wa sunnat al-khulafā al-rāshidīn al-mahdiyyin min ba’dī, tamassakū bihā, wa ‘aḍḍū ‘alay-hā bi’l-nawājidh, wa iyyā-kum wa muḥdathātī al-umūr, fa innā kulla bid’atin ḍalāla" (Take my tradition and the that of the Rightly Guided Caliphs who came after me; stick to these [traditions] and get your teeth in them; and beware of the new matters because every innovation is an error). See Ahmad ibn Abd al-Salam ibn Taymiyya, *Aqīdat al-Wāsiṭiyya* (Riyadh: Dar al-Sumay'i, 2009), 132-133.

¹¹³⁹ Ghoutsur Rohman, interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁴⁰ See Delong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam*, 11-12, and see also James Peacock, *Purifying the Faith: the Muhammadiyah Movement in Indonesian Islam*, 2nd ed. (USA: Arizona State University, 1992), 3 and 20.

¹¹⁴¹ See Delong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam*, 12 and 84.

¹¹⁴² Martin van Bruinessen, "Traditionalist and Islamist Pesantren in Contemporary

to being critical of such Islamic books, Salafi people repudiate them when studying Islam, especially, pertaining to *aqīda*.¹¹⁴³ Such attitudes can be found in the treatment of Kamilin of such books. He argues that they are the product of ulamas whose beliefs were frequently not in line with the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad's Traditions. For instance, he explains that in the classical book entitled *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim* (Teaching the Student) students were taught to respect their teachers more than their parents. This teaching was totally opposed to a *Ḥadīth* obliging Muslims to prioritize their parents over others. *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (The Revival of Religious Knowledge) by al-Ghazali, an important work of literature for traditionalist Muslims, provides another example of his criticism. Kamilin argues that aspects of this book go against Quranic teaching. For instance, al-Ghazali was of the opinion that music could touch our feelings more than the Quran. Hence, the Islamic book can be classical, but is not Salafi in his sense. In short, he favours the authority of Salafi works over that of classical Islamic books containing the interpretations of Muslim scholars taught at traditionalist *pesantrens*.

Kamilin, who was a beneficiary of a scholarship for an undergraduate programme from LIPIA and could complete his study at the department of Islamic Law (*Syari'a*) of the LIPIA in 2008,¹¹⁴⁴ has been transforming the religious orientation of Roisah into a Salafi direction. He does not follow prescripts of the Saudi Arabian Wahhabi movement in the eighteenth century. The movement, brought by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, was to purify the creed of Muslims and their local practices alien to the Qur'an, the Traditions of the Prophet and the practices of al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ. In addition, it also labelled those who failed to consider a idolatry practice of visiting the shrines of saints for their spiritual power as *kāfir* (infidel) and fought against a social system contradicting Islamic

Indonesia," in Farish A. Noor, Yonginder Sikan and Martin van Bruinessen, *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages* (Amsterdam: ISIM/ Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 221.

¹¹⁴³ See Din Wahid, "Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj," PhD Thesis, Utrecht University, 2014, 4, 157 and 169.

¹¹⁴⁴ Kamilin, interview, 16 February 2010.

Law.¹¹⁴⁵ Kamilin tended to follow the Salafi movement of the Saudi Arabian government in Indonesia, which emerged in the late 1980 and was developed, among others, through LIPIA established in the period, when students of universities were interested in studying Islam. The LIPIA playing a role of spreading Salafi tenets, in fact, provides scholarship for Indonesian talented students coming from modernist and traditionalist *pesantrens* backgrounds to study the Salafi doctrines in its classrooms, *ḥalqas* (circles, forums for study) and *dawras*.¹¹⁴⁶ Apart from the fact that Kamilin did not take a scholarship for his master degree in a Saudi Arabian university granted by the Saudi Arabian government because of a familial reason¹¹⁴⁷ - this scholarship is also an effort of the Saudi Arabia to drive graduates of LIPIA to pursue their master or doctoral degree there where their Salafi tenets can be intensified,¹¹⁴⁸ the ways he spread his Salafi orientation is unlike those shown by the Wahabi movement; he followed that of purist Salafi who disseminates Salafi tenets “through peaceful means, such as *da‘wa* for the purification of Muslim creed and education.”¹¹⁴⁹ In transforming the religious orientation of Roisah, Kamilin, with the assistance of Rohman, took three gradual steps. Gradual changes included in the transformation were who should be firstly approached and the access for the *santri* to read literature available in Roisah.

Intially, Kamilin and Rohman still permit *santris* to participate in certain cultural, rather than, ritual activities. For example, they do not prohibit a practice to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad by reciting of a book called *Barzanjī*. Furthermore, the *santris* of Roisah are permitted to play *rebana* (a traditional music instrument like a tambourine) for the commemoration.¹¹⁵⁰ In addition, the *kyai*’s sons uphold the traditional methods of teaching the *santris*,

¹¹⁴⁵ Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj,” 21-24 and Mundzier Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyaah terhadap Perilaku Keagamaan Masyarakat* (Jakarta: Asta Buana Sejahtera, 2009), 140-145.

¹¹⁴⁶ Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj,” 57 and 59.

¹¹⁴⁷ Kamilin, interview, 16 February 2010.

¹¹⁴⁸ Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Iidentity in Post New Order Indonesia* (New York: SEAP Cornell University, 2006), 49.

¹¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 48 and Wahid, “Nurturing the Salafi Manhaj,” 36.

¹¹⁵⁰ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

such as “*sorogan*” (a *santri* reads an Arabic Islamic book in front of his or her teacher) and *weton*, also known as *bandongan* or *ḥalqa* (a teacher or *kyai* reads an Arabic Islamic book and the *santris* listen and remark on important words and sentences).¹¹⁵¹ Last but not least, a familial atmosphere colours the study of *santris*. In Roisah, the *kyai* and his children call the *santris* “*kang*” (Javanese, meaning elder brother), even though the *santris* are younger. The *santris* also use this term for each other. This may be a common phenomenon which can be found in other *pesantrens*. The rare one is that the *santris* call their teachers “*kak*” (Indonesian, which has a similar meaning to the *kang*). Anam (a senior *santri*) argues: “The term of address *kak* reinforces the idea that everyone at the Roisah is treated as part of Rosiah family, regardless of the social status of *santris*.”¹¹⁵² Similarly, Kamilin explains: “They are treated as family.”¹¹⁵³ Roisah does not use Arabic terms of address such as *akhi* (my brother) or *ukhti* (my sister) among *santris* or *ustadz* (male Islamic teacher) or *ustadzah* for their teachers as found in a Salafi community.¹¹⁵⁴ These Arabic titles, *ustadz* or *ustadzah*, certainly indicate not only radical change – from Indonesian or Javanese to Arabic, but also a social status rather than a familial relationship between *santri* and teacher. Thus, Roisah establishes a relationship beyond that of a “fellowship relationship”, in which *santris* and other participants in activities of a *pesantren* are treated as colleagues.¹¹⁵⁵ It treats each other as friends and part of Roisah family. Kamilin believes that that such familial atmosphere enables *santris* to express their criticism of traditionalist classical Islamic books.¹¹⁵⁶

Subsequently, like the transformation from a traditionalist religious orientation to a more puritanical one in the *pesantren*

¹¹⁵¹ See “Sistem Pendidikan dan Pengajaran,” accessed 4 August 2010, <http://tebui reng.net/index.php?pilih=hal&id=4>.

¹¹⁵² Khoirul Anam (a senior *santri*), interview, 15 February 2010.

¹¹⁵³ Kamilin, interview, 13 February 2010.

¹¹⁵⁴ See Abu Haekal (a Salafi living in Bekasi), “Antara Sebutan Bro dan Akhi terhadap Seorang Muslim,” accessed 26 Oktober 2015, <https://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/smart-dakwah/conversations/topics/582>.

¹¹⁵⁵ This term is borrowed from Solahuddin who used it to define the relationship between the leader of *Pesantren Daarut Tauhid* (Bandung, West Java), Aa Gym, and his *santris* and followers. See Solahuddin, *The Workshop for Morality*, 55–59.

¹¹⁵⁶ Kamilin, interview, 13 February 2010.

of Maskumambang, Gresik, East Java, which initially focused on its *santris*,¹¹⁵⁷ the *santris* in the Roisah Pesantren also seem to be the target of the religious transformation of the *kyai*'s sons. Reformist Muslims emphasize the importance of focusing their efforts at a grassroots level for their earlier efforts to promote monotheism, encouraging *ijtihād*, instead of *taqlīd*.¹¹⁵⁸ Approaching *santris* (the grassroots of a *pesantren* community) also seems to be the concern of Kamilin and his elder brother in dealing with the transformation. Rather than trying to change the traditionalist mindset of their father, they apparently prefer to educate the current generation of *santris* about how to practice the Salafi method of *taṣfiyya* (purification), i.e. purifying Islam from *bid'as* (innovations).¹¹⁵⁹ Driving *santris* to study Salafi *aqīda* (faith)¹¹⁶⁰ by criticizing traditionalist Islamic books has been the concern of Kamilin. Kamilin is of the view that the use of such classical Islamic books serves only to facilitate the *santris*' learning and understanding of Arabic [Islamic] books. In this way, the *santris* are only taught the *matan* (the main texts), rather than the *sharḥ* (the interpretive texts) of these books. In teaching the main texts, he involves providing Quranic verses and the Prophet Muhammad's Traditions and evaluating the texts to see whether they are in line with both sources of Islam. If these main texts are not in line with the original scriptures (the Quran and the *Ḥadīth*), the *santris* would, at least, know this and they are guided to ignore them. Thus, the *santris* of Roisah are gradually educated to be critical of the contents of such classical Islamic books.¹¹⁶¹ In addition to improving their Arabic when reading the books, the *santris* are directly identifying their contents contradicting the Salafi *aqīda*. This education contradicts that of traditionalist *pesantren*. As a next step, in relation to *aqīda* (faith), Kamilin, backed by Rohman, chose a book containing

¹¹⁵⁷ Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyah*, 149-150.

¹¹⁵⁸ See Delong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam*, 9-10.

¹¹⁵⁹ See 'Amrun 'Abd al-Mun'im Salim, *Al-Manhaj al-Salafi 'inda Nāsir al-Dīn al-Bānī*, 22 and 207. There are six Salafi principles relating to propagating Islam, i.e. the following of the Quran and the Prophet traditions, the repudiation of innovation, monotheism, the seeking for beneficial knowledge, purification and education, and the repudiation of fanaticism. See Salim, *Al-Manhaj al-Salafi*, 22.

¹¹⁶⁰ See Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Salafi Madrasas of Indonesia," 261-262.

¹¹⁶¹ Kamilin, interview, 13 February 2010.

no commentary by ulama but instead only Quranic verses or Prophet Traditions dealing with this subject.¹¹⁶² The book he selected was *Aqīda Ṭahāwiyya* by Abī Ja‘far al-Warrāq al-Miṣrī while usually *Aqīdat al-‘Awwām* (The Faith of Common People) by Achmad al-Marzuqi is taught. This latter book, which features commentaries from ulama, is not taught.¹¹⁶³ Thus, Kamilin uses an approach that allows the *santris* to identify traditionalist teaching which opposes the *aqīda* of Salafi, rather than using the oppiste way, which is not hoped by the LIPIA.¹¹⁶⁴

Lastly, the *santris* have been given easy access to Islamic books belonging to the *kyai* and his children, which are kept in unlocked bookcases. In this way, the *santris* are able to know and study both traditionalist and reformist-oriented Islamic books. For instance, in addition to the *Kitāb al-‘Ilm* (Book of the Knowledge) and *Sharḥ Thalāthatul-Uṣūl* (The Commentary on Three Principles) by Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-‘Uthaymīn, and *Sharḥ ‘Aqīda Ṭahāwiyya* by al-Qasimī ‘Ali, the *santris* can also read reformist literature such as *Iqtidā‘uṣṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (Following the Straight Path) by Ibn Taymiyya, *Fath al-Majīd* (The Disclosure of the Glorious) by Abd al-Rahman ibn Hasan bin Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, *Sharḥ Uṣūl I’tiqād Ahl al-Sunna wa’l-Jamā’a* (The Commentary on the Principal Faith of the Adherents of the Prophet’s Traditions and the Community) by al-La’alkā’i, and *Kiai NU Menggugat Tahlilan, Istighotsahan dan Ziarah Para Wali* by Mahrus Ali – reference which Salafi people in Indonesia frequently use. Among the traditionalist books available are: *Sharḥ Kāshifat al-Sajā* (The Commentary on the Revealing of Darkness) by Abi Abd al-Mu’ṭi Muḥammad Nawawī al-Jāwī, used for *uṣūl al-dīn* and *al-fiqh*; *Sharḥ Fath al-Qarīb* (The Commentary on the Disclosure of the Closest) by Muhammad ibn Qasim al-Ghaziyy for *fiqh*; *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* by Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ahmad al-Ma’allī and Jalāl al-Dīn Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Bakr al-Suyūṭī; and *Sharḥ Ta’līm al-Muta’allim* (The Commentary on Teaching the Student) by Ibrahim ibn Isma’il used for ethics. This phenomenon of providing sources from both traditionalist

¹¹⁶² See Ibid., 261.

¹¹⁶³ See Delong-Bas, *Wahhabi Islam*, 11-12, and see also Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, 3 and 20.

¹¹⁶⁴ Hasan, *Laskar Jihad*, 51-52.

and non-traditionalist streams is definitely unusual. It can take place only in *pesantrens* where works, for instance, of Muhammad Abdul Wahhab and Ibn Taymiyya are accommodated. This rarely occurs in Indonesian traditionalist-oriented *pesantrens* due to the disapproval of the reformist ulama, particularly, in relation to learning classical Islamic books containing interpretations by well-known ulama and teaching the practices of Islamic mysticism. In the Roisah Pesantren, it is different.



Picture 9 (left). Itqonul Kamilin teaching his *santris*. Source: Author's collection. Picture 10 (right). Ghoutsur Rohman, listening to his *santri* memorizing the Quran while looking after his children. Source: Author's collection.

Despite the fact that there is no guarantee that a graduate of the LIPIA will follow the religious orientation of the Salafi LIPIA, what Azra stated that *pesantrens* were no longer really immune to the influence of international religious orientation¹¹⁶⁵ was evident. The desire of Kamilin to transform the traditionalist nature of Pesantren Roisah into a Salafi one is proof that it has changed his religious orientation. This change is also experienced by his elder brother, Muttaqin, who is also a graduate of the Saudi Arabian institution. The sons no longer perform traditionalist Muslim rituals such as *tahlilan*, *yasinan*, reciting *manaqib*, *istighotsah*, and the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday. With the exception of the commemoration, these traditions have been erased from religious activities of Roisah.¹¹⁶⁶ Clearly, this

¹¹⁶⁵ Azyumardi Azra, "Sekapur Sirih: Pesantren Islam Transnasional," in Suparta, *Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyaah*, xvi.

¹¹⁶⁶ Khoirul Muttaqin, interview, Depok Tengah, West Java, 9 March 2010, and

transformation of Roisah fits well with the views of PPME Amsterdam (post-2005) in terms of rejecting the traditionalist religious activities held by former members who have subsequently established PPME al-Ikhlash Amsterdam.

In 2008, the Roisah Pesantren was transformed into a foundation called Ar-Robithoh al-Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah¹¹⁶⁷ under the leadership of Nurul Furqon (the elder brother of Kamilin). This new status has resulted in an increase in the number of children participating in the religious education of Roisah. There were 173 participants registered as its *santris* in 2009.¹¹⁶⁸ This number is small in comparison to other well-known Indonesian *pesantrens* in Java, such as the Pesantren of Lirboyo, Kediri, East Java, which counts more than 9,500 student-*santris*¹¹⁶⁹ and the Pesantren of Tebuireng, Jombang, East Java, which in May 2010 had more than 1,500 registered *santris*.¹¹⁷⁰

Ghoutsur Rohman, interview, Jepara, 16 February 2010.

¹¹⁶⁷ This name differs from its previous one, in which the first two words were in *nakira* (indefinite form), rather than using the definite construction (*ma'rifa*). This was used in "ar-Robithoh al-Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah" when *Pesantren Roisah* was transformed into an Islamic foundation in 2009. Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010. In addition to occupying the position of head of the Roisah Foundation, Nurul Furqon was the chairperson of Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama (IPNU, the Student Association of NU), Kedung, Jepara in 1989-1992 and is currently the secretary of DPC PKS of Kedung district (2004-now). He also teaches at the University of Quranic Science (UNSIQ), Jepara branch, in the subjects: *na'qm* (reciting Quranic verses with melody) and Arabic calligraphy. Furqon interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁶⁸ Consisting of 63 male and 110 female *santris*. Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Izin*, n. p.

¹¹⁶⁹ Up to July 2010, there has been a total of 10,282 *santris* passing through this *pesantren*, Humas/Protokol Pemkot Kediri, "Walikota Kediri Hadiri Acara Haul dan Hafiah Akhirussanah Pondok - Madrasah Hidayatul Muftadi-ien di Kota Kediri," accessed 4 August 2010, www.kotakediri.go.id/?act=news_detail&id=1279671154&tt=Walikota%20Kediri%20Hadiri%20Acara%20Haul%20dan%20Hafiah%20Akhirussanah%20Pondok%20-%20Madrasah%20Hidayatul%20Muftadi-ien. In the madrasah (Islamic school) of Pesantren Lirboyo, Arabic language, mainly consisting of Arabic grammar and morphology, has been the major concern since its founding (1925). See "Sejarah Singkat Lirboyo," accessed 5 August 2010, <http://lirboyo.com/index.php?req=profile&menu=2&id=sejarah>.

¹¹⁷⁰ Muhammad Halwan, "Tebuireng, Pesantren di Kampung Jahiliyah," accessed 4 August 2010, <http://www.suara-islam.com/news/berita/silaturrahim/775-tebuireng-pesantren-di-kampung-jahiliyah>. Since 2006, the Pesantren Tebuireng, particularly through its *ma'had aly* (higher education), has been concerned with teaching its *santris* to become experts in contemporary Islamic jurisprudence. See "Ma'ha Aly," accessed 4 August 2010, <http://tebuireng.net/index>.



Picture 11. The current name of the Roisah Foundation, which has been used since 2009. Source: Author's collection.

However, the small number of *santris* at Roisah did not prevent its key figures from expanding its activities. Initially, it dealt with religious education in the form of providing lessons on reciting the Qur'an. More recently, it has also been engaging in social activities and vocational training. The programme of social activities affords its organizer an opportunity to distribute the obligatory annual alms of PPME. This financial support allows Roisah not only to care for the orphans and needy people, but also to offer programme of vocational training to them. In sum, the Roisah Foundation is concerned with the following three main domains: (1) functioning as a *pesantren*; (2) dealing with social activities; and (3) providing vocational training and courses. This takes place regardless of the absence of official recognition for its operation from the Religious Affairs Office in Jepara.¹¹⁷¹ This lack of recognition is due to the contradictory characteristics of Roisah, i.e. that it is both a foundation, which is non-profit oriented, and a *pesantren*, which is allowed to be profit oriented.¹¹⁷²

php?pilih=hal&id=21; see also: Solahuddin, *The Workshop for Morality*, 5.

¹¹⁷¹ Kamilin, *Proposal Permohonan Izin*, n. p.

¹¹⁷² Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010. In relation to the official recognition, Kamilin informed me that Roisah also would like to submit its proposal for

II. Almsgiving and Voluntary Donations to Roisah

Instead of reliance on official recognition, a similar concern and the accountability of Roisah have stimulated PPME Amsterdam to cooperate with Roisah in order to fulfil the wishes of members of PPME Amsterdam to distribute their obligatory annual alms and voluntary donations to those in need, especially to orphans in Indonesia. This can be seen from the following discussion.



Picture 12 (left) and 13 (right). The fusion of orphaned *santris* with needy ones attending the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, the only traditionalist socio-cultural activity, which is still allowed to perform in the Roisah. Source: Author's collection.

According to Hamid Abidin of the Public Interest Research and Advocacy Center (PIRAC), there are four categories of organizations that can be contacted by Indonesians overseas in order to remit their funds: hometown associations, Indonesian student associations, faith-based organizations, and non-governmental organizations.¹¹⁷³ Despite the fact that PPME rarely engaged in consecutive joint activities with individuals, foundations, organizations or institutions in Indonesia as a faith-based organization, it has also conducted social projects in Indonesia. These include joint activities between members of PPME Amsterdam and

operational permission relating to Darul Aitam (the Home for Orphans) to the Office for Religious Affairs of Jepara. Kamilin, interview, 13 February, 2010.

¹¹⁷³ Hamid Abidin, "Diaspora Philanthropy in Indonesia" (An Unpublished Article), presented at an Indonesian Diaspora Workshop on 7-8 November 2009, held by International Organization for Migration (IOM) of the Netherlands and Emic Research in The Hague, p. 7.

Roisah. These projects were implemented as a result of the collection of both *zakāt al-fiṭr/zakāt al-māl* and the voluntary donations of people participating in the activities of PPME Amsterdam. Indeed, this PPME has consecutively distributed the *zakāt al-fiṭr* to Roisah and voluntary donations, which were collected during *Ramaḍān*, to fund the physical and non-physical development of the Roisah foundation.

On the whole, the financial support of Muslims in the Netherlands for needy people in their home country, facilitated by individuals, foundations or associations, has, according to Boender, been aimed at their families and acquaintances or specific projects.¹¹⁷⁴ In a broader sense, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) The Netherlands, founded in 1991, “In Indonesia remittances are mainly used to finance daily living needs, health services, education, to service debt as well as to acquire land and property.”¹¹⁷⁵ Certainly, the financial gifts of PPME Amsterdam to Roisah seem to fit this pattern; that is to say, the money is used to: provide for the daily needs of orphans and needy people; purchase new areas for educational projects; and finance the cost of their education.

A. *Zakāt al-Fiṭr* Distributed to Roisah (2005)

Abidin asserts that Indonesians overseas have been accustomed to sending their financial donations directly to individuals, rather than organizations, for charitable work. This stems from an inherent mistrust of organizations, which traditionally have lacked transparency and accountability,¹¹⁷⁶ he adds. This direct transfer may be restricted to their almsgiving. This is because when it is pertained, for instance, to help victims of disasters in Indonesia, Indonesians overseas transferred their donation, for instance, to NU, Muhammadiyah, Pos Keadilan Peduli Umat (PKPU, Centre for Justice and Care of Society) of PKS,¹¹⁷⁷ and the

¹¹⁷⁴ Welmoet Boender, “Islamitische hulporganisaties kampen met vooroordelen,” in Zemzem, *Islamic Development Organization*, n.d., 113.

¹¹⁷⁵ IOM, Indonesian Diaspora Workshop, 7-8 November 2009, The Hague, n.p.

¹¹⁷⁶ Abidin, “Diaspora Philanthropy in Indonesia,” 7.

¹¹⁷⁷ Hilman Latief, *Islamic Charities and Social Activism: Welfare, Dakwah and Politics in Indonesia* (PhD Thesis, Utrecht University), 2012, pp. 11-12, “Pasca Gempa Yogyakarta-Jateng PCI NU Luar Negeri Berlomba-lomba Sumbangkan Dana,”

Indonesian Embassy. In the case of PPME, people participating in the activities of PPME Amsterdam are happy to donate their *zakāt al-ḥiṭr* to the members of its boards who subsequently send the alms to Muttaqin, mediating the PPME to transfer the *zakāt al-ḥiṭr* to Roisah.

As previously mentioned, collecting alms from PPME in the Netherlands has been a part of its religious activities since 1971. The majority of the money has been distributed to those in need in Indonesia. This is in contrast to, for instance, the Turkish Milli Görüş, which also directs its remittances to such activities in other countries.¹¹⁷⁸ The consecutive alms given by PPME Amsterdam to Roisah since *Ramaḍān* 2005 and up to 2009 are as follows: In 2005, the financial transfer amounted to € 350; in 2006 it was € 600; in 2007 € 650; in 2008 € 650; and the largest amount, € 1300 was transferred in 2009.¹¹⁷⁹

The following is the process of the transfer. Having been informed by PPME Amsterdam of the precise amount of alms to be sent to Roisah at the end of *Ramaḍān*, Muttaqin made contact with his elder brother, Furqon. Consequently Furqon, acting as the organizer of the alms, was able to commence organizing their distribution.¹¹⁸⁰ He then would exchange it for rice and distribute it to those in need (*mustahiqqin*, the deserving),¹¹⁸¹ specifically the poor and orphans both in Surodadi and in the surrounding area. A unique example is the alms sent in 2009, received on the

accessed 26 November 2015, <http://www.nu.or.id/a,public-m,dinamic-s,detail-ids,1-id,4913-lang,id-c,warta-t,PCI+NU+Luar+Negeri+Berlomba+lomba+Sumbangkan+Dana-.phpx> and see T. Toha Machsun, *Laporan Pertanggung-jawaban Progoram Kerja PPME Cabang Den Haag Periode 2000-2002* (Den Haag: PPME, 1 September 2002), 13-14.

¹¹⁷⁸ The Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüş (IGMG), frequently called Milli Görüş, has been being concerned with the well-being of Muslim societies (the *umma*) all over the world. See www.igmg.de/verband/islamic-community-milli-goerues.html, accessed 31 May 2010.

¹¹⁷⁹ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁸⁰ Muttaqin, interview, Depok, 9 March 2010.

¹¹⁸¹ There are eight groups of recipients of alms: the poverty-stricken, the poor, collectors and distributors of alms (*āmil*), Islamic converts, those releasing slaves (*ḥi al-riqāb*), debtors, travelers and those working for the cause of God. See al-Qaradawi, *Fiḥ al-Zakāt*, 65 and 87.

29th of *Ramaḍān* (not on the 27th of the month as was the case with previous financial gifts).

The fact that the alms were transferred on the final day of *Ramaḍān* posed a problem for Furqon. Indeed, it only gave him one day (the 30th of Ramadan) to distribute eight tons of rice (with an equivalent value of € 1,300).¹¹⁸² Even though, according to an Islamic Hanbalite jurist called Abu Ya‘la, there is no disapproval (*karāha*) of distributing the *zakat* after performing the ‘*īd al-fiṭr*’ prayer, Furqon preferred to follow the thought of the majority of Islamic jurists who agreed that the valid time for distributing alms is the last day of *Ramaḍān*.¹¹⁸³ Consequently, he had to distribute it before the performance of the prayer.¹¹⁸⁴ Moreover, he also had to reach the needy people in the villages surrounding Surodadi, such as Kalianyar, Panggung, Pecangaan, and Mayong, in addition to Surodadi itself, in this limited time he had. In fact, it was often difficult to ascertain exactly who was deserving of the alms in these areas. Therefore, he frequently used data derived from the Offices of the Head of Village (*Balai-Balai Desa*) and then verified this information with his relatives and close friends in the targeted villages. Based on this data, he and his younger brother, Rohman, with the assistance of the *santris*, distributed the alms to the people in need. Afterwards, he visited the selected recipients for a final check.¹¹⁸⁵ Furqon also reported the results of the distribution to PPME Amsterdam. This was conducted in his position as the recipient of a mandate (in religious terms, an *amāna*) to distribute the alms. His report was a way of demonstrating that the *amāna* had been executed.¹¹⁸⁶ Finally, he was also concerned with the strategy for distribution. Prior to *Ramaḍān* 2007, the alms were distributed directly to recipients, i.e. the poor living in Surodadi. However, after 2007, the strategy was changed. The old strategy

¹¹⁸² Ghoutsur Rohman (Furqon’s younger brother), interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁸³ See Al-Ashqar, et al., *Abḥās Fiqhiyya*, 487-489.

¹¹⁸⁴ Rohman, interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

was considered inefficient and costly in terms of the energy it required from the distributors who were fasting at the time. Thus, a new strategy to send a notification card to the poor in Surodadi, not in outlying areas, was employed. In this way, distributors of Roisah no longer had to go door to door to distribute the alms; instead, those given a card would come to them.¹¹⁸⁷ All of these actions were taken without there being any instruction from PPME Amsterdam. The alms were distributed on time.

Not only Furqon played a vital role in the success of the distribution of alms. The second actor was a farmer called Rohman. He provided the rice required for the *zakāt* distribution under the orders of his elder brother, Furqon, who could only calculate the exact amount of money Rohman would earn from this arrangement, but could not give the money to him in advance.¹¹⁸⁸ Rohman, who also taught at Roisah, cultivated three hectares of fields, including those belonging to Muttaqin and his father, Nawawi. Since 2005, he has provided part of his harvest for the distribution of the alms of PPME Amsterdam. For example, he provided approximately eight tons in 2009 and PPME Amsterdam never complained about the price of the rice being distributed.¹¹⁸⁹ This demonstrates mutual benefit between them and PPME Amsterdam – they could sell the rice to PPME Amsterdam with a good price, resulting in the distribution of its alms on time.

The last actor was a group of non-muqim *santris* living near to the *pesantren*. These *santris* also played a vital role in the success of the *zakāt* distribution to the recipients. Their good works were performed in their free time and took place after the 25th of *Ramaḍān* when the *muqim* *santris* returned to the houses of their parents or those of their families.¹¹⁹⁰ In return, they received three kilograms of rice,¹¹⁹¹ along with some food and drink. Under the

¹¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁸ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁸⁹ Rohman, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁹⁰ After the 25th of *Ramaḍān*, the *muqims* returned to their parent houses or the houses of their families.

¹¹⁹¹ Receiving three kilograms of rice is the *santris*' right as those who assisted

coordination of Furqon, the *santris* did various physical jobs, such as peeling the skin of the rice using a machine. This would take an entire day. Once the rice had been peeled, they put it into plastic sacks. Then, they assisted Furqon and Rohman in distributing the rice to the *mustahiqqin* in Surodadi and outlying villages.

As previously mentioned, in 2005 and 2006 the rice was distributed directly to the *mustahiqqin* in Surodadi, door to door. This strategy necessitated the involvement of a number of the *santris*, including the most senior of the group, Akhmad Khoirul Anam,¹¹⁹² acting as both a teacher to the junior male *santris* who were learning to recite the Qur'an and their supervisor. The distribution required plenty of energy as they were required to pull carts loaded with rice while they were fasting. They also had to continue distributing the rice at night, after performing the *tarāwīḥ* prayers if they had not finished before the sunset prayer.¹¹⁹³

The new strategy of distribution, implemented between 2007 and 2009, was clearly more efficient in terms of the efforts required of the *santris*. The *mustahiqqin* of Surodadi were asked to collect their alms themselves from Roisah. Thus, the *santris* no longer needed to pullcarts. The problem was that the distributed cards were not aimed at those who deserve the alms from villages outside Surodadi. It was, therefore, indispensable to apply the direct strategy for the latter. As a consequence, the *santris*, according to Rohman, assisted him to deliver it using a car of Roisah to distribute the alms to those who deserved them in the outlying villages.¹¹⁹⁴ The assistance of the *santris* proved decisive in bringing about the successful distribution of the alms, regardless of the distance to the adjacent village.

The facts show that the successful distribution of the alms meant a mutual advantage for both sides – PPME Amsterdam and

the *āmil* (the collector and the distributor of almsgiving). The *āmil* deserves one eighth of the almsgiving. Al-Qaradawi, *Fiqh al-Zakāt*, 590.

¹¹⁹² He was born on 8 July 1984. Anam, interview, 15 February 2010,

¹¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

the Roisah Foundation. It was advantageous for the former because its alms could be distributed to the *mustahiqqīn* in Indonesia on time whereas the latter could take economical and social benefits from the distribution.

B. Voluntary Donations for Renovations and Plans for a Religious School (2007)

In spite of the PPME existence for more than forty years (April 1971-to date), it took until 2006 for it to reach a position where it could transfer voluntary financial donations (*infāq/ṣadaqa*) to Indonesia. From 2005 to 2006, for instance, PPME Amsterdam could only transfer the *zakāt al-fiṭr* to the Roisah Pesantren. However, in 2007, it was able to remit not only the *zakāt al-fiṭr* (of more or less € 650) to Roisah, but also voluntary donations amounting to approximately € 17,000,¹¹⁹⁵ which was collected from people joining *tarāwih* prayers, held every night of *Ramaḍān*.¹¹⁹⁶ It should be noted that despite the small amount of money,¹¹⁹⁷ PPME Amsterdam managed the transfer of it through an association. This signifies that the donor is no longer individual. This, in turn, requires the board to demand transparency and accountability from the recipients of its voluntary financial gifts, something that has become a problem for Indonesians overseas remitting their financial assistance to Indonesia¹¹⁹⁸ and for which PPME had no precedent. That said, the financial assistance, at least, demonstrates good cooperation between the donor and the recipient.¹¹⁹⁹

¹¹⁹⁵ This amount was less than that mentioned in the proposal of Roisah, which was sent to PPME Amsterdam in 2007, requesting financial support of € 9,756. Khoirul Muttaqin, interview, Amsterdam, 12 September 2009.

¹¹⁹⁶ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹¹⁹⁷ In terms of financial donation, available data show that Chinese associations in the Netherlands were able to collect hundreds of thousands of Euros and transfer it to China in 1991, which were mostly allocated to assisting the victims of natural disasters in China. Li Minghuan, *We Need Two Worlds: Chinese Immigrant Associations in a Western Society* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), 194-196.

¹¹⁹⁸ Cf. Abidin, "Diaspora Philanthropy in Indonesia," 3.

¹¹⁹⁹ Transparency and accountability are key factors when empowering a local Indonesian organization in dealing with financial expense. See "Working Group Session 1: Experiences and Future Possibilities for Indonesian Diaspora Organizations," *Ibid.*, 5- 6.

The donation from PPME Amsterdam was aimed at realizing Roisah's programme for caring for orphans.¹²⁰⁰ The money was spent not only on the renovation of its existing facilities, but also on purchasing new areas of land in order to realise its programme to build a religious school. Renovations were undertaken on various existing facilities belonging to Roisah, including rooms for taking a bath, washing and a water closet, an old *majelis ta'lim* (a place of studying Islam) where females meet and another space where female *santris* studied.¹²⁰¹ In addition, new facilities were constructed, such as the second floor on the house of the kyai and a radio station broadcasting programmes relating to reciting the Qur'an.¹²⁰² With regard to the plans to build a religious school, there was not enough space within the existing grounds of Roisah for a new building, so the only solution was to purchase a new area. A large plot, 1,924 square metres, was found approximately 300 metres northwest of the *pesantren*. The land was purchased in two phases, in September 2007 and February 2008.¹²⁰³ As the name board at Roisah indicates, the *pesantren* includes a Madrasah Diniyah (Madin, School for Learning Islamic Subjects). Until the beginning of 2010, the provision of the Madin was yet to be realised. Rohman emphasized that the new areas purchased were to be prepared for the building of a Madin and a *muṣallā*¹²⁰⁴ that would be organized by another alumnus of LIPIA in Jakarta, his

¹²⁰⁰ Muttaqin, interview, 12 September 2009.

¹²⁰¹ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²⁰² Ibid.

¹²⁰³ The foundation spent more or less € 1,639 for the first area and € 3,391 for the second one. Altogether, € 5,030 was spent purchasing the new areas. Nurul Furqon, e-mail to author, 4 April 2010. The first area, consisted of 754 square metres, was purchased in September 2007. *Sertipikat*, Badan Pertanahan Nasional (National Agrarian Body, BPN) of Jepara, 16 January 2008, n.p. and see also Nurul Furqon, e-mail to author, 27 March 2010. Then, the second area situated beside the first area consisted of more or less 1,170 square metres purchased in February 2008. Ibid. In detail, the first location cost around € 2 per square metre and the second one around € 3 per square metre. In total, Roisah had to spend less than € 5,072. Furqon, e-mail to author, 4 April 2010.

¹²⁰⁴ Rohman, interview, 14 February 2010. This following information is beyond the scope of the present research: Roisah finally could build the Madin at the end of 2015. Nurul Furqon, e-mail to author, 1 December 2015.

nephew Muhsin.¹²⁰⁵

The plan to provide a religious school on the new land appears to strengthen the efforts of Roisah to transform the religious orientation of the *pesantren*. The *santris* of Roisah, who have already been classified on the basis of their levels of achievements in their learning, learn Islamic subjects in the existing *pesantren*. They have been deliberately encouraged to know the Qur'an by heart and to recite it based on the knowledge of *tajwīd*, as well as to learn how to read and understand the classical Islamic books, such as *Safīnat al-Najā*, *Fath al-Qarīb*, and *Sullam al-Tawfiq*. The use of these kinds of literature will, however, be limited or omitted altogether in the future religious school. This is because it will be organized by an alumnus of the LIPIA. This reflects the religious orientation of the *kyai*'s sons, Kamilin and Muttaqin. Furthermore, this transformation will smoothly take place because of the current position of the traditionalist Nawawi, who has delegated the responsibility for organizing the *pesantren*, including defining the curriculum, to his children. For instance, Furqon has been given the task of organizing the external affairs of Roisah and leading the Roisah Foundation, not the Roisah Pesantren. Kamilin, assisted by Rohman, has been given the authority to determine the curriculum of the *pesantren*.¹²⁰⁶ In fact, Nawawi has preferred giving religious sermons to the community of Surodadi to dealing with *santri* activities. For instance, he leads activities such as the commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, reciting the *manāqib* (the story of saint people), and reciting the *tahlilan* and *yasinan* – religious activities rejected by his children¹²⁰⁷ that take place outside the *pesantren*. The transformation from traditionalist religious orientation to a Salafi one will have an affect on the future religious school and the traditionalist religious activities that are currently performed in the Roisah Pesantren will, in turn, be hardly accommodated there. This will certainly be in line with

¹²⁰⁵ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²⁰⁶ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²⁰⁷ Ibid.

the current religious orientation of PPME Amsterdam currently focusing on strengthening religious purification resulting in the repudiation of classical Islamic books frequently found in the traditionalist *pesantrens*.¹²⁰⁸

C. Running the Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa'¹²⁰⁹ of the Roisah Foundation (Mid-2008): Caring for Orphans and Needy Children

As previously mentioned, board members of Indonesian “hometown associations, student unions, faith-based organizations, and non-governmental organizations” have been accustomed to individually giving their donations, coming from abroad, for charity to those in need in Indonesia.”¹²¹⁰ However, financial transfers for orphans at Roisah, which were made by the PPME Amsterdam board to the Roisah Foundation, contradict this custom. They firstly donated the financial donations from PPME Amsterdam to the chairman. Then, this chairman involved a number of key figures of the foundation in spending the financial gifts. Hence, there was the involvement of two organizations in the transfers, which can be seen from the following discussion.

Prior to the involvement of PPME Amsterdam in looking after orphans at the end of 2007, actually the Roisah Pesantren had already initiated the idea to look after orphans of Surodadi since 1995. Orphaned children in the Surodadi area could ill afford to seek (Quranic) knowledge either in a *pesantren* or in a school.¹²¹¹ Their situation became even worse when they were forced to work to supplement their family’s income.¹²¹² Therefore, Roisah has donated some money and goods to them every *Muḥarram* and *Ramaḍān* (the first and ninth months of the Muslim calendar).¹²¹³

¹²⁰⁸ Cf. Ineke Roex, Sjeff van Stiphout and Jean Tillie, *Salafisme in Nederland: Aard, omvang en dreiging* (Amsterdam: IMES, 2010), 14-15.

¹²⁰⁹ The Darul Aytam wa Duafa’ is part of the section of the Roisah Foundation that deals with social activities.

¹²¹⁰ Abidin, “Diaspora Philanthropy in Indonesia,” 3.

¹²¹¹ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²¹² Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²¹³ Nurul Furqon, short message service, 28 May 2010.

In addition, it was set on providing lessons on reciting and understanding the Qur'an for this group of impoverished people in the community. On the basis of this, Roisah wanted to establish Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa (the House for Orphans and the Poor). The owner of the *pesantren*, Nawawi argued that establishing a *pesantren* that could look after orphans was considered a way of a [peaceful] *jihād fī sabīlillāh* (struggle in God's path) today, rather than in a sense of war.¹²¹⁴ This peaceful *jihād* is in line with another traditionalist Sayyid Akisyarat stating: "Jihad is not violence. Except in a few cases, violence is not justifiable. Jihad can also mean struggling to make sure the Indonesian government meets the needs of its people...."¹²¹⁵ In fact, there are many ways to implement a peaceful *jihād*, i.e. "social effort, education and humanitarian aid."¹²¹⁶ Furthermore, Nawawi added that providing assistance, for instance, in the struggle against troops of Israel in Palestine was politically and economically motivated; thus, it cannot be regarded as a [peaceful] *jihād fī sabīlillāh* because it was not religiously motivated.¹²¹⁷ This point of view is opposed to that of Hussein Umar of DDII who disregarded such motivation. Umar stated that a public protest against a policy of government, correcting an unjust government towards both Muslims and non-Muslims, and waging war were part of *jihād*.¹²¹⁸ The point of view of Nawawi may be in accord with that of a group that want to exercise *jihād* by educating Muslims with spiritual values and noble ethics (*akhlāq*).¹²¹⁹ This means that Nawawi wanted, especially, to improve the education of the Muslim orphans. Thus, it is still an effort to the benefit of the Islamic community.¹²²⁰

¹²¹⁴ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²¹⁵ Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 125.

¹²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 124.

¹²¹⁷ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²¹⁸ Lukens-Bull, *A Peaceful Jihad*, 125.

¹²¹⁹ See Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Fiqh Jihad: Sebuah Karya Fenomenal Terlengkap tentang Jihad menurut al-Qur'an dan Sunnah*, trans. Irfan Maulana Hakim, et al., 1st ed. (Bandung: Mizan, 2010), xlvii-l.

¹²²⁰ See Walid Phares, *Future Jihad: Terrorist Strategies against the West* (New York and Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 23.

Despite the fact that PPME Amsterdam was the only donor for the House, it was founded not only to educate orphans and needy children, especially in reciting the Qur'an, but also to prepare a qualified and skilled future Islamic generation who will be able to face the challenges of life.¹²²¹ The House was planned for only 42 orphans.¹²²² This required € 9,756 per year or around € 20 per month for each child. Furthermore, the children had to meet certain requirements determined by the House. The candidates should be 6 to 18 years old,¹²²³ have no mother or father, or no parents at all, and should be prepared to take part in programmes, such as learning the Qur'an, and vocational skills such as printing and calligraphy.¹²²⁴ In addition, the kyai considered the main priority to be a solid Islamic education for the children, firstly, and on secular learning in a school system, second. Such was the hope of the kyai for the orphans and needy people accommodated by the board of the House.¹²²⁵ Therefore, if there were some of the accepted children who did not intend to go to school, it would not matter for them.¹²²⁶ Nevertheless, the leader of the House recommended the children going to Islamic schools close to the facility such as the Islamic Primary School (MI) Hidayatul Muftadi (Divine Guidance for Beginners), the Islamic Junior High School (MTs) Mafatihut Thullab (Keys for Students) an-Nawawi, and the Islamic Senior High School (MA) Mafatihut Thullab an-Nawawi.¹²²⁷ They also

¹²²¹ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²²² To fund and educate the 42 children was already a burden for the Foundation whose only financial source was PPME Amsterdam. Ibid. They, who would mostly be students of Islamic primary basic school, came from the village of Surodadi. The rest of the accepted children would be students of Islamic junior high school. Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan Yatama wa Dhuafa' Robithoh Islamiyah al-Muthi'ah*, n.p.

¹²²³ The limit of 18 years old (when finishing senior high school) was decided as graduates of junior high school (15-16 years old) possessed not enough knowledge of Islam and life skills. Therefore, the graduates of junior high school were hoped to seek more Islamic knowledge especially to learn to recite the Quran, study Islamic law, and gain the skills enabling them to earn money – [referring to Lukens-Bull, they are prepared to be religious workers rather than ulamas]. Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²²⁴ Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan*, n. p.

¹²²⁵ Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010

¹²²⁶ Ibid.

¹²²⁷ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010. It is worth noting that they gained

should stay in the *pesantren* or stay in their family houses near the Roisah Foundation.¹²²⁸ All of this indicates that Roisah seemed too optimistic about the plan to establish the House. This is because the plan was backed, at last, with regular financial support.

After the proposal by Roisah to found Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa' reached PPME Amsterdam in October 2007,¹²²⁹ PPME could decide to financially support it in 2009. There were three factors that influenced the decision of PPME Amsterdam to provide financial support to run the House. The first was the success of the Roisah Pesantren in distributing the financial transfers of the *zakāt al-fitr* of PPME Amsterdam from 2005 to 2007. The second was the proposal of the Roisah *pesantren* on helping orphans and needy children.¹²³⁰ Last but not least, the involvement of Muttaqin was decisive. Neither of the previous things would have occurred without his involvement. While the proposal of Roisah was in line with the willingness of PPME Amsterdam,¹²³¹ his involvement stimulated the financial transfer from the PPME to the Roisah Foundation. As previously mentioned, he had a proven track record as a mediator and was responsible for the distribution of previous alms from PPME Amsterdam. Having been informed about the financial support of PPME Amsterdam, in 2008, the House began selecting orphans and poor children.¹²³²

PPME Amsterdam, itself, has transferred its donations for the House via the chairman since February 2009. Up through March 2010, PPME Amsterdam transferred financial support seven times in diverse amounts. On 3 February 2009, the PPME transferred € 1,500; in the same year it transferred € 1,090 on 3 March; € 1,055 on 23 June; € 3,043 on 2 September; € 471 on 2 October; and € 2,347 on 2 November. In 2010, only one transfer of € 2,318 took

previously mentioned lessons of vocational skills from Roisah and that the schools do not belong to Roisah.

¹²²⁸ Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan*, n.p.

¹²²⁹ Itqonul Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan Yatama* (Jepara: Roisah, 2007), n.p.

¹²³⁰ Ibid.

¹²³¹ Muttaqin, interview, 12 September 2009.

¹²³² Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

place on 11 March.¹²³³ All these transfers took place following the contacts made by Furqon, who initiated the communication with the chairman of PPME Amsterdam, Rizqi, using e-mail or short message service (sms) in which Furqon discussed the financial needs of the orphans and needy children.¹²³⁴

All of the money transferred, mostly through the Bank Central Asia (BCA) account belonging to Furqon, was allocated for the needs of the selected orphans and needy children – for daily living and education needs.¹²³⁵ In addition to Islamic books, the money was spent on food, the enrollment fee (*infaq wajib*), school uniforms, and books they needed for studying in an Islamic Primary School (MI), Junior High School (MTs) and Senior High School (MA).¹²³⁶ On average, each child was allocated approximately € 25 per month.¹²³⁷

PPME Amsterdam has been the sole financial donor for the running of the House.¹²³⁸ Indeed, the House relies on PPME Amsterdam for its continued existence. This over reliance of one donor has led key figures of Roisah to come up with a solution enabling them to run the programme independently for at least six years (from junior to senior high school).¹²³⁹ Therefore, Furqon opined that individual PPME Amsterdam members might sponsor

¹²³³ Furqon, short message service, 28 May 2010.

¹²³⁴ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²³⁵ See IOM, Indonesian Diaspora Workshop, 7-8 November 2009, The Hague, n.p.

¹²³⁶ Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan*, n.p.

¹²³⁷ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010. This amount was higher than that included in Roisah's proposal, sent to PPME Amsterdam's board in October 2007, namely around € 20. See Kamilin, *Proposal Bantuan*, n. p. According to Sobari, a student of junior high school, born on 6 July 1995, from Karanggoden, Mlonggo, Jepara, in addition to around € 25, the selected children were also given, for instance, sarongs and clothes for prayers, and around € 2 was received on the last day of *Ramadan* 2009. Moreover, they were given less than € 0.5 per week. Sobari, interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

¹²³⁸ Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.

¹²³⁹ Furqon stated: "Because few of the orphans and needy children accepted for the programme have no intention of going to school and intend only to learn Islamic subjects, i.e. reciting and memorizing the Quran, the Roisah Foundation has planned to provide them with an officially recognized programme, enabling them to obtain an official diploma similar to that of junior or senior high school," *Ibid*. In terms of formal education, this plan shows that the wish of the chairman of the Roisah Foundation ignored his father's opinion.

individual orphans or needy children.¹²⁴⁰ Meanwhile, Rohman's point of view was that if the support of PPME Amsterdam was to purchase a new area for rent from which its result would be allocated for their needs, its financial dependence would come to an end. However, "by May 2010 there was no further discussion of the matter between the PPME Amsterdam and the House", said Furqon.¹²⁴¹ This was simply because the discussion of the finances among Roisah's leaders did not yet reach PPME Amsterdam, whereas PPME Amsterdam, itself, could only give its irregular donations for the House.

It can be concluded that the same concern of PPME Amsterdam and the House for orphans in Indonesia is decisive for the direct organizational connection between them. This direct connection alongside the accountability shown by the chairman of the House resulted in the support from PPME Amsterdam to the House. Last but not least, the social project in Indonesia, supported by PPME Amsterdam in cooperation with the foundation, can be a precedent stimulating PPME in the Netherlands to create other similar projects.

¹²⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁴¹ Rohman, interview, 14 February 2010.