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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

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, Kyai\textsuperscript{1099} Abdullah Nawawi,\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{tajwīd}), reciting the Quran well (\textit{taḥsīn}), reciting the Quran with regular rythm (\textit{tartīl}), memorizing the Quran (\textit{taḥfīẓ}), and memorizing and understanding the Quran (\textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Al-Jurūmiyya} (Basic Arabic Grammar) and \textit{Al-Amthilat al-Taṣrīfiyya} (Basic Arabic Morphology), (not the higher and advanced levels such as those entitled \textit{Al-‘Irāmī} (Intermediate Arabic Grammar) and \textit{Alfiyya ibn Mālik} (Advanced Arabic Grammar). Instead, the focus was on Islamic subjects directly pertaining to the understanding of the content of the Qur’an, including, among others, \textit{al-fiqh} (Islamic jurisprudence), \textit{tafsīr al-Qur’ān} (Quranic exegesis) and \textit{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 Qur’an by heart (\textit{ḥāfiẓ al-Qur’ān}), but also knowing the Quran by heart and understanding its content (\textit{ḥāmil al-Qur’ān}).\textsuperscript{1102} Consequently, basic classical Islamic books, which are

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\textsuperscript{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, \textit{The Workshop for Morality: The Islamic Creativity of Pesantren Daarat Tauhid in Bandung, Java} (Australia: ANU Press, 2008), 41.

\textsuperscript{1100} Kyai Abdullah Nawawi was a graduate of Thānawiyya (Junior High School) of Dār al-‘Ulūm 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.

\textsuperscript{1101} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{1102} Ibid.
commonly known as Yellow Islamic Books (Kitab Kuning)\textsuperscript{1103} and taught in Indonesian traditionalist pesantrens, were not neglected. These books included, among others, Safīnat al-Najā (The Ship of Safety), Sullam al-Taufīq (The Ladder of Success) and Tafsīr al-Jalālyn (The Quranic Exegesis of al-Jalālyn).\textsuperscript{1104}

Providing these kinds of lessons in a house of a kyai or Islamic teacher is common in Indonesia\textsuperscript{1105}—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 ḥāmil 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’an\textsuperscript{1106} 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 ḥāmil al-Qur’ān].\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1108}

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

\textsuperscript{1103} These books are called Islamic classical books deriving from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries, Lukens-Bull, Peaceful Jihad, 14-16.
\textsuperscript{1104} Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{1105} Noer, The Modernist Muslim Movement, 12-13.
\textsuperscript{1107} Solahuddin, The Workshop for Morality, 5.
proper accommodation 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. 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), a name that had been in use since the 1960s. 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

1109 Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.
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;\textsuperscript{1113} to prepare and guide Islamic generations who will devote themselves to their religion, society and nation; and to direct \textit{santris} to understand their own identities so that they will become pious \textsuperscript{1114} and possess noble behaviours.\textsuperscript{1115}

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

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item 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 \textit{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, \textit{Aswaja\textsuperscript{1118}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 Alāu al-Dīn and Sāliḥ ibn ‘Abd al-Azīz Muḥammad Ali Shaykh, \textit{Jāmi’ Shurūḥ al-ṭaḥawīyya}, 1\textsuperscript{st} ed. (Cairo: Dar al-jawzi, 2006), 951.
  \item 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.
  \item The word of \textit{al-Muṭī’ah} is, by coincidence, the name of the \textit{kyai}’s mother-in-law. Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.
  \item There are two classifications of \textit{santris} at the Roisah Pesantren: the \textit{muqim} and the non-\textit{muqim} \textit{santris}. The former group consist of those \textit{santris} coming from villages outside Surodadi and staying in the \textit{pesantren}; the latter group are identified as those deriving from Surodadi and living in their family houses. Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.
  \item Ibid.
  \item Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.
  \item Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.
\end{itemize}
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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1122} At this point, the House was able to enroll about 40 orphans who were 6 to 18 years old.\textsuperscript{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 registered\textsuperscript{1124} 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’ā), and vocational training such as Arabic calligraphy, using computers, and running a printing business.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1120} Nurul Furqon, short message service, 28 May 2010.
\textsuperscript{1121} Kamilin, Proposal Permohonan Izin, n.p.
\textsuperscript{1122} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{1123} Ibid. Further details on the criteria for looking after children will be discussed in the subsequent section on the Darul Aytam.
\textsuperscript{1124} Kamilin, Proposal Permohonan Bantuan, n.p.
\textsuperscript{1125} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{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 (Thanawiyya) Islamic junior high school. For him, staying at the Roisah Foundation means learning Islam (nqaji) 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 *Fatḥ al-Qarīb* (The Disclosure of the Closest), *Fatḥ al-Muʿīn* (The Disclosure of the Helper) and *Matn Abī Shujāʾ* (The Contents of Abī Shujāʾ) 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.
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.\footnote{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,\footnote{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 Hadīth do not label them as infidels, and they solve their religious problems on the basis of both Islamic sources [the Qur’an and the Hadīth]. 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 Hadīth.\footnote{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-Taḥawiyya (The Comprehensive Commentaries on the Taḥawiyya 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”\footnote{1136} – this is in accord with the definition of Salafi. Therefore, there is no obligation to rely on Islamic jurists.\footnote{1137} Similarly, Ibn Taymiyya in Aqīdat al-Wāsiṭiyya explains:

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnote{1133} Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.  
\footnote{1134} Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.  
\footnote{1135} Kamilin, interview, 16 February 2010.  
\footnote{1137} Ibid., 58.
\end{footnotesize}
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 (waṣiyya) of the Messenger.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{1142}

\textsuperscript{1138} The message was “‘Alay-kum bi-sunnatī wa sunnat al-khulaṣa al-rāshidīn al-mahdiyyīn min ba’di, tamassakū bihā, wa ‘addū ‘alay-hā bi’l-nawājidh, waiyyā-kum wa muḥdathāti al-umūr, fa innā kullā 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 teeths in them; and beware of the new matters because every innovation is an error). See Ahmad ibn Abd al-Salam ibn Taymiyya, Aqīdat al-Wāsiṭiya (Riyadh: Dar al-Sumay‘i, 2009), 132-133.

\textsuperscript{1139} Ghoutsur Rohman, interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1141} See Delong-Bas, Wahhabi Islam, 12 and 84.

\textsuperscript{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. 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 Hadīth 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, 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 Muhhamad 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-Ṣālih. 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.

1144 Kamilin, interview, 16 February 2010.
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, halqas (circles, forums for study) and dawras. 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 reason - 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, 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.”

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.

Initially, 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 Barzanji. Furthermore, the santris of Roisah are permitted to play rebana (a traditional music instrument like a tambourine) for the commemoration.

In addition, the kyai’s sons uphold the traditional methods of teaching the santris,


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

1147 Kamilin, interview, 16 February 2010.


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).\textsuperscript{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 santri 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 santri 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.”\textsuperscript{1152} Similarly, Kamilin explains: “They are treated as family.”\textsuperscript{1153} Roisah does not use Arabic terms of address such as akhī (my brother) or ukhtī (my sister) among santris or ustadz (male Islamic teacher) or ustadzah for their teachers as found in a Salafi community.\textsuperscript{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 santri and other participants in activities of a pesantren are treated as colleagues.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1156}

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

\textsuperscript{1152} Khoirul Anam (a senior santri), interview, 15 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{1153} Kamilin, interview, 13 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{1156} Kamilin, interview, 13 February 2010.
of Maskumambang, Gresik, East Java, which initially focused on its santris,\textsuperscript{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 \textit{ijtiḥād}, instead of \textit{taqlīd}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{tasfiyya} (purification), i.e. purifying Islam from \textit{bid’as} (innovations).\textsuperscript{1159} Driving santris to study Salafi \textit{aqīda} (faith)\textsuperscript{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 \textit{matan} (the main texts), rather than the \textit{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 \textit{Hadith}), 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.\textsuperscript{1161} In addition to improving their Arabic when reading the books, the santris are directly identifying their contents contradicting the Salafi \textit{aqīda}. This education contradicts that of traditionalist pesantren. As a next step, in relation to \textit{aqīda} (faith), Kamilin, backed by Rohman, chose a book containing

\textsuperscript{1157} Suparta, \textit{Perubahan Orientasi Pondok Pesantren Salafiyyah}, 149–150.
\textsuperscript{1158} See Delong-Bas, \textit{Wahhabi Islam}, 9–10.
\textsuperscript{1159} See ‘Amrun ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Salīm, \textit{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, \textit{Al-Manhaj al-Salafi}, 22.
\textsuperscript{1160} See Noorhaidi Hasan, “The Salafi Madrasas of Infonesia,” 261–262.
\textsuperscript{1161} Kamilin, interview, 13 February 2010.
no commentary by ulama but instead only Quranic verses or Prophet Traditions dealing with this subject. The book he selected was Aqīda Ṭaḥāwiyya by Abī Ja‘far al-Warrāq al-Miṣrī while usually Aqidat al-‘Awwām (The Faith of Common People) by Achmad al-Marzuqi is taught. This latter book, which features commentaries from ulama, is not taught. Thus, Kamilin uses an approach that allows the Roisah santris to identify traditionalist teaching which opposes the aqīda of Salafi, rather than using the opposite way, which is not hoped by the LIPIA.

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 Ṭaḥāwiyya by al-Qasimi ‘Ali, the santris can also read reformist literature such as Iqtiḍā‘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: Sharh Kāshifat al-Sajā (The Commentary on the Revealing of Darkness) by Abi Abd al-Mu‘ṭi Muhammad 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-Ghaziyi for fiqh; Tafsīr al-Qur ‘ān by Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad 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.
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.

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 orientation 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. Clearly, this

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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’ah\(^{1167}\) 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'rifah). 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: naġm (reciting Quranic verses with melody) and Arabic calligraphy. Furqon interview, 14 February 2010.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1172}

\textsuperscript{1171} Kamilin, Proposal Permohonan Izin, n. p.
\textsuperscript{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.

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. 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


Roisah. These projects were implemented as a result of the collection of both zakāt al-fitr/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-fitr 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. 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.” 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, 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, and the

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

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. He then would exchange it for rice and distribute it to those in need (mustaḥiqqin, the deserving), 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

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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 (fi al-riqāb), debtors, travelers and those working for the cause of God. See al-Qaradawi, Fiqh al-Zakāt, 65 and 87.
29\textsuperscript{th} of Ramaḍān (not on the 27\textsuperscript{th} 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 30\textsuperscript{th} of Ramadan) to distribute eight tons of rice (with an equivalent value of € 1,300).\textsuperscript{1182} Even though, according to an Islamic Hanbalite jurist called Abu Ya’la, there is no disproval (\textit{karāha}) of distributing the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{1183} Consequently, he had to distribute it before the performance of the prayer.\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{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 \textit{santri}s, distributed the alms to the people in need. Afterwards, he visited the selected recipients for a final check.\textsuperscript{1185} Furqon also reported the results of the distribution to PPME Amsterdam. This was conducted in his position as the receipient of a mandate (in religious terms, an \textit{amāna}) to distribute the alms. His report was a way of demonstrating that the \textit{amāna} had been executed.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1182} Ghoutsur Rohman (Furqon’s younger brother), interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{1183} See Al-Ashqar, et al., Abḥās Fiqhiyya, 487-489.
\textsuperscript{1184} Rohman, interview, Jepara, 14 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{1185} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{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. 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. 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. 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. In return, they received three kilograms of rice, along with some food and drink. Under the

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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, acting as both a teacher to the junior male santris who were learning to recite the Qur’an and their supervisor. The distribution required plenty of energy as they were required to pull carts loaded with rice while they were fasting. They also had to continue distributing the rice at night, after performing the tarāwih prayers if they had not finished before the sunset prayer.1193

The new strategy of distribution, implemented between 2007 and 2009, was clearly more efficient in terms of the efforts required of the santris. The mustahiqqīn of Surodadi were asked to collect their alms themselves from Roisah. Thus, the santris no longer needed to pull carts. 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, Ibid.
1193 Ibid.
1194 Ibid.
the Roisah Foundation. It was advantageous for the former because its alms could be distributed to the *mustahiqqin* in Indonesia on time whereas the latter could take economical and social benefits form the distribution.


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, which was collected from people joining *tarāwih* prayers, held every night of *Ramaḍān*. It should be noted that despite the small amount of money, 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 Indonesia and for which PPME had no precedent. That said, the financial assistance, at least, demonstrates good cooperation between the donor and the recipient.

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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.
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. 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. 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. 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. 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 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{tajwīd}, as well as to learn how to read and understand the classical Islamic books, such as \textit{Safīnat al-Najā}, \textit{Fath al-Qarīb}, and \textit{Sullam al-Tawfīq}. 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{manāqib} (the story of saint people), and reciting the \textit{tahlilan} and \textit{yasinan} – religious activities rejected by his children\textsuperscript{1207} that take place outside the pesantren. The transformation from traditionalist religious orientation to a Salafi one will have an effect 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

\textsuperscript{1205} Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{1206} Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1208}

C. Running the Darul Aytam wa Dhuafa’\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1211} Their situation became even worse when they were forced to work to supplement their family’s income.\textsuperscript{1212} Therefore, Roisah has donated some money and goods to them every Muḥarram and Ramaḍān (the first and ninth months of the Muslim calendar).\textsuperscript{1213}

\textsuperscript{1208}Cf. Ineke Roex, Sjef van Stiphout and Jean Tillie, Salafisme in Nederland: Aard, omvang en dreiging (Amsterdam: IMES, 2010), 14-15.
\textsuperscript{1209}The Darul Aytam wa Duafa’ is part of the section of the Roisah Foundation that deals with social activities.
\textsuperscript{1210}Abidin, “Diaspora Philanthrophy in Indonesia,” 3.
\textsuperscript{1211}Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{1212}Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{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 sabilillāh (struggle in God’s path) today, rather than in a sense of war.\textsuperscript{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....”\textsuperscript{1215} In fact, there are many ways to implement a peaceful jihād, i.e. “social effort, education and humanitarian aid.”\textsuperscript{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 sabilillāh because it was not religiously motivated.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1220}

\textsuperscript{1214} Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{1215} Lukens-Bull, \textit{A Peaceful Jihad}, 125.
\textsuperscript{1216} Ibid., 124.
\textsuperscript{1217} Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{1218} Lukens-Bull, \textit{A Peaceful Jihad}, 125.
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.\textsuperscript{1221} The House was planned for only 42 orphans.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1225} Therefore, if there were some of the accepted children who did not intend to go to school, it would not matter for them.\textsuperscript{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 Mubtadi (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.\textsuperscript{1227} They also

\textsuperscript{1221} Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.
\textsuperscript{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, \textit{Proposal Bantuan Yatama wa Dhuafa’ Robithoh Islamiyah al-Muthi’ah}, n. p.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{1225} Nawawi, interview, 14 February 2010
\textsuperscript{1226} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{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. 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, 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-fiṭr* of PPME Amsterdam from 2005 to 2007. The second was the proposal of the Roisah *pesantren* on helping orphans and needy children. 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, 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.

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

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1230 Ibid.
1231 Muttaqin, interview, 12 September 2009.
1232 Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.
place on 11 March. 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.

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. 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). On average, each child was allocated approximately € 25 per month.

PPME Amsterdam has been the sole financial donor for the running of the House. 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).

Therefore, Furqon opined that individual PPME Amsterdam members might sponsor

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1233 Furqon, short message service, 28 May 2010.
1234 Furqon, interview, 14 February 2010.
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. 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. 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.

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1240 Ibid.
1241 Rohman, interview, 14 February 2010.