

Chapter 4: The Islamisation of Everyday Life

In reformist Islam, everyday life is the locus where ceaseless opportunities are given to human beings to carry out commands from Allah. As the Quran teaches that the purpose of Creation was none other than to let human beings worship Allah (li:56)¹, not only ritual prayers but all human behaviours should be directed at realising His will. In everyday life, human beings are also given innumerable opportunities to confirm the fact that everything in this world is the creation of Allah. If human beings are attentive enough to 'read' their surroundings, as the first order that Allah gave to the Prophet Muhammad was to 'read' (xcvi:1), things taken for granted due to their ordinariness will be sure to show His touch upon them. This emphasis on everyday life in reformist Islam is an urge to Islamise everyday life, that is, to behave in Islamic ways and to perceive things in an Islamic framework.

To Islamise everyday life is not just an abstract principle but is supported by a web of concrete rules. This web of rules, called Islamic law (*syariah Islam*), encompasses all domains of human life: from ways of praying, fasting and almsgiving to ways of seeking wealth, trading and banking; from ways to sleep, urinate and treat dreams to ways to deal with children, neighbours and relatives; and ways to deal with every phase of the human life cycle, from birth to death. In this respect, the conventional dichotomy that divides human life into the sacred and the profane or the religious and the secular has no significance in reformist Islam. Everything is sacred and religious.

According to the self-evaluation of the reformist villagers, *the Islam* traditionally practised in Kolojonggo was diverted from the ideal state of Islam seen from the reformists' point of view. Some Islamic teachings were over-emphasised, while others simplified or ignored. Circumcision, which does not have clear indications in the Quran, was regarded as a key to making someone a Muslim, so that 'to circumcise' was synonymous with *ngislamaken* (*mengIslamkan*) or 'to Islamise'. By contrast, daily prayer, regarded as the most essential duty of Muslims by the reformist villagers, was not strictly followed. Most villagers did not recognise its significance and only a few practised it. In the framework of traditional Islam, the status of a Muslim was something that could be retained without continuous renewal, whether it had been acquired by reciting *sahadat* (the profession of faith) or by circumcision.

¹ Roman numerals in the parenthesis indicate the Surah and the Arabic numerals, the verse(s) in the Quran. Any direct quotation from the Quran is from the translation of M. Pickthall (1930).

Born of the accelerating Islamic development, a group of reformist villagers in Kolojonggo has tried to put their ideals into practice. Their efforts can be rephrased as the Islamisation of everyday life, that is, to view things from an Islamic perspective and to practise what is commanded by Allah in all aspects of their life. This task, however, has not been an easy one, in that they are carrying it out in a society where reformist Islam is not the only way to perceive things and to provide norms of behaviour and where not all of its members are committed to reformist ideas. In spite of these difficulties, their efforts have begun to be visible in village life.

The aim of this chapter is to look at the efforts of the reformist villagers in Kolojonggo to Islamise their everyday life and to see how these efforts are manifested in their life. In the first part of this chapter, one of the most important religious activities of the reformist villagers, namely *pengajian*, will be examined. This is followed by a discussion of daily prayer and the fast, which will clarify the key concept underlying the efforts to Islamise everyday life: consciousness (*kesadaran*). The next part is related to Islamic laws in everyday life. It will be shown that Islamic laws, especially those belonging to the categories of *sunnah* (recommended) and *haram* (forbidden), have played a pivotal role in awakening Muslim consciousness by providing inexhaustible instances highlighting the contrast between the Islamic and the non-Islamic. In the last part of this chapter, some characteristics in the efforts of the reformist villagers to Islamise others' life will be examined.

4.1. Religious Activities of Muslim Villagers

It is not an exaggeration to say that the religious activities of the reformist villagers start from *pengajian* (religious meetings aiming mainly to listen to sermons) and end with it. Apart from the routine *pengajian* held at least once every two weeks, every special occasion in Islam such as the descent of the Quran (*Nuzulul al-Quran*), the end of the fasting month (*Syawal*), sacrifice (*Idul Adha*), the Prophet Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina (*Hijrah*), the Prophet's birthday (*Maulud*) and the Prophet's flight from Mecca to Jerusalem and His ascent to Heaven (*Israk-Miraj*) are commemorated by *pengajian*.

Due to the emphasis placed on it by the reformist Muslims, *pengajian* plays a role in connecting reformist intellectuals in the city to illiterate peasants in the rural villages. The *khatib* (preachers) who give their sermons in the hamlet *masjid* become the audience of *pengajian* in their schools or offices.² Those who deliver sermons in these schools and offices are the audience of *pengajian* where reformist intellectuals from Islamic universities or national Islamic organisations become the *khatib*. In this manner, the ideas of reformist intellectuals spread gradually from the city to the countryside.

² Most villagers who work as the *khatib* in *pengajian* in Sumber are either civil servants or teachers.

In Kolojonggo, the routine *pengajian* (*pengajian rutin*) started in the mid-1980s. At the initial stage, the participants were restricted to adult women. Later, men and children were included in the congregation and it started to be held in the *masjid* after its construction in 1988. The number of villagers attending the routine *pengajian* fluctuated in 1993-1994. Sometimes it reached thirty to forty while at other times, it was seventy to eighty. The frequency of celebration also varied. It was sometimes held weekly, sometimes fortnightly. The main reason for this variation was the difficulty of finding suitable *khatib* for *pengajian*. It often happened that those in charge of inviting a *khatib* could not recruit anyone, so that *pengajian* was postponed for a week.

To recruit a *khatib* was not an easy task, due to the qualifications that a *khatib* had to have. First, the *khatib* had to have enough religious knowledge to lead the sermon for an hour or so and he had to be fluent in reciting Arabic. Many of the school teachers and government employees living in the rural villages had this capability but only a few of them fulfilled the second requirement of the *khatib*: humour. As villagers of all ages sat together in one place and many had no education beyond primary school, those who could not hold the attention of the audience with humour were seldom invited. It sometimes happened that the sermons of the *khatib* who were known for their boring speech attracted only a few participants. As a result, the organising body of the *pengajian* was quite cautious in selecting the *khatib*.

A variety of religious issues connected to Islam were dealt with in *pengajian*, many of which were closely related to the villagers' life. For example, the *Haji*, which is one of the Five Pillars of Islam, was seldom discussed in the *pengajian* except for a brief comment on it during the pilgrimage season. On the other hand, the personal experiences of the *khatib* and their interpretations of these experiences were frequently mentioned in sermons. The passage below provides an example of a *pengajian* held in Kolojonggo. The *khatib*, Pak Bibit, was a high school teacher living in a nearby village.

At the end of the *maghrib* and *isaq* prayer, the loud speaker on top of the *masjid* announced the time of the Wednesday night *pengajian* and the name of the *khatib*. As the time for the *pengajian* was eight in the evening, those who came to the *masjid* to perform their *isaq* prayer did not return home but stayed there. Unlike other meetings in a Javanese village where the guests begin to appear much later than the planned opening time, most of villagers came to the *masjid* before eight. Female villagers and their children sat on the northern side of the main hall while males sat on the southern side. Half of the western side was occupied by female youth and the other half, by their male counterparts. Most female villagers wore *kerudung*, which covered some of their hair and ears, while a few wore white robes for daily prayer (*rukukh*) covering

all parts of their body except for the face. Many adult men and youth wore rimless caps (*peci*). When Pak Bibit arrived at ten past eight, all seats in the *masjid* alongside the walls were already filled with villagers.

The chairman of the *pengajian* opened the meeting by asking participants to recite an Arabic prayer together. Then he introduced Pak Bibit, who sat just besides him. Reciting a longer Arabic prayer by himself, Pak Bibit asked forgiveness for being late, adding a comment that to keep the exact time is one of the most precious teachings in Islam. The sermon began with a brief remark on the private television station which had recently started transmission. He mentioned that many programs on that television channel were produced in Western Countries and would bring negative effects on the education of children. He asked the parents to take more care of their children's exposure to the ideas from the West.

The main topic of that night's *pengajian* was dreams. He quoted a passage from the Hadith, saying 'there is no sign of the prophecy except for *al-Mubasiroh*, especially when the Day of Judgement is approaching' and explained what *al-Mubasiroh* means.

What is *al-Mubasiroh* ? It means a good dream. This shows that even a dream is regulated in Islam. Why? Because many people love to interpret their dreams. From former days until now, people have their own ways of interpreting dreams. When one dreams that one's tooth falls out, this is interpreted to foretell the death of one's brother. To be bitten by a snake is supposed to forecast one's marriage. ... As these examples show, people usually interpret dreams in accordance with their own will.

The next parts of his sermon were rather unsystematic. His remark on the connection between good dreams and the Day of Judgement led him to talk about the Day of Judgement, which was followed by a speech concerning various symptoms foretelling its coming. As one of its signs is moral decay, he digressed to mention the abuse of the family planning program by the youth and their indecent sexual life. This reminded him of the marriage story between a Muslim female and a Christian male which he had experienced as a government official in the Department of Religion. His story went on and on until cups of tea and snacks began to be distributed to the attendants around quarter past nine, signalling to him that it was time to finish the sermon. Soon, he returned to the original topic and gave a brief interpretation on the passage in the Hadith that he had introduced before: when the Day of Judgement is approaching, the dreams of pious Muslims (*mukmin*) will not deceive. The last part of his sermon was devoted to the way Muslims should treat dreams:

If you dream a good dream, for example, dreaming of peasants harvesting a lot, utter a prayer of *Alhamdulillah* and tell it to others. However, if you dream a bad dream, for example, the dream of being chased by *wewe* (a kind of evil spirit), let's recite the prayer of *Audzubillahiminnassayaitonirrojin* and we don't need to tell it to others. ... We should also spit three times to the left while reciting the above prayer.

A few minutes later, Pak Bibit finished his sermon and the question-and-answer section came. According to the Islamic leaders, this section introduced into this village in 1993 was a recent innovation made by the reformist organisation, Muhammadiyah. It was aimed at inducing more participation from those attending the *pengajian*. For a few months after the introduction, this section did not seem to be successful. Only a few villagers asked questions while the majority remained silent. That night, a middle-aged woman asked an interesting question: what is the Islamic law about eating an egg after it starts to hatch.³ A moment's thought was enough for him to give her a *fatwa*: it is permitted to eat an egg if the form of a chicken is not yet visible in it. However, when the shape of a chicken is already formed in an egg, it cannot be eaten. This is because Islam prohibits Muslims from eating meat of animals which are not slaughtered in the name of Allah and the chicken in an egg cannot be slaughtered in the prescribed way.

As no more questions were asked, Pak Bibit finished his sermon. The next session was to hear reports from the youth in charge of collecting funds for *Idul Adha*⁴ and the announcement of the winner of the *arisan*.⁵

³ At first sight, this seems to be a question for the question's sake and far from the villagers' everyday life. However, this was not the case. A few months before this *pengajian*, the government donated a electrical incubator to hatch out eggs. For unknown reasons, only about twenty percent of the total eggs were successfully hatched, posing the problem of disposing of the eggs which were not hatched. A few male villagers who had a belief that these eggs could be used as an ingredient of traditional medicine (*jamu*) made a deliberate visit to the house where the incubator was located, while some villagers boiled and ate them. In this context, her question in the *pengajian* was closely connected to her own or some other villagers' experience and curiosity. As this case shows, many of the questions asked in the *pengajian* were directly related to their daily life. These could be roughly classified in three categories: about purely religious matters such as prayer, ablution and so on; about Islamic law concerning traditional customs or other individual behaviour such as using incense and wearing golden ornaments; and about issues related to social life, such as giving meat from the sacrificed animal to Christian neighbours.

⁴ After the end of *Idul Adha* (day for sacrifice) in 1993, the *takmir masjid* (the *masjid* council) initiated a program to collect money for *Idul Adha* in 1994. This plan was based on the idea that a Muslim who pays a part of the total sum to buy a sacrificed animal also carries out the recommended duty of sacrifice. Around forty villagers participated in this program and collected around Rp 100,000 for a year, the sum of which was slightly short of buying a sheep. This money was used to buy mutton on the day of *Idul Adha* in 1994.

⁵ *Arisan* is a rotary credit system. The participants pool a fixed sum of money together and one or two of them receive the whole money thus collected. It finishes when all the participants have

After that, the *pengajian* ended with collective recital of an Arabic prayer. Although it was around ten in the evening, Pak Bibit did not go home directly. With a few male villagers and youths, he chatted for around an hour concerning religious activities in Kolojonggo as well as other issues related to Islam. It was already half past eleven when the last villager left the *masjid*, turning off the lamp and closing the door.

Although somewhat discursive, the sermon of Pak Bibit was one of the most popular ones in Kolojonggo. As he inserted many personal experiences and his interpretations of them, his *pengajian* was not like a formal religious class in schools but more like story telling. Laughter was one of the important elements in his sermon. This characteristic of his was shared by most of the *khatib* who gave regular sermons in Kolojonggo. They avoided being excessively scholastic, but used their personal experiences as similes to convey their ideas to the audience. As they were born and lived in the rural area, their experiences easily appealed to ordinary villagers and could hold their attention.

Compared with religious programs for adult villagers, the *pengajian* for children were more dynamic and experimental. Efforts were constantly made to renew the *pengajian* and to add new programs to it. The two hour *pengajian* per week was divided into two. The first half was devoted to learning to read Arabic, the skill which the reformist villagers regard as one of the most important duties of a Muslim, while the second half was to learn the recommended behaviour of Muslims, short Arabic prayers and anecdotes about the Prophets. Four to six youths became teachers and the primary school children were the main participants, although a few pre-school children and junior school students were also present.

All the participants in the children's *pengajian* were divided into several groups in accordance with their ability to read Arabic: a preliminary course to learn Arabic script, a secondary course to learn to read Arabic phrases and an advanced course to learn how to read the Quran. Except for the advanced course, the others used a six-volume text which could be easily bought in the market. The teaching was done on the premise that children did not review their previous learning at home. A progress report was made for each child on which the volume and page that they had learned the previous weeks and the teacher's evaluation were written, so that the teacher could check the lesson that a child had learned before. As a result, progress was slow. Each week only two or three new pages were added. In this way, it took two to three months or longer to complete one volume. In the beginner's course, one teacher dealt with one child at a time. The pronunciation of each character was taught to the child, who was asked to repeat it. In the secondary course, one teacher taught two or three children at one time

received their due amount of money. As the majority of attendants at *pengajian*, especially women, participated in *arisan*, it encouraged their regular attendance at *pengajian*.

while in the advanced course, the group was the main unit for study. A child read a certain phrase of the Quran, which was repeated by the teacher and other students.

After the meeting with a teacher which lasted for around 10 minutes, children were given free time for play. Playing with others for a short while, children were called again for the next session, consisting of story-telling, a short sermon, collective exercise of Arabic prayer, sing-along, reading poems and so on. In the case of the sing-along, the original text of a song was replaced with that related to Islam. Below is a new text of '*Burung Kakak Tua*', one of the most popular children's songs in Indonesia:

*Tuhan Saya Au'llah*⁶ (My God is Allah)

Au'llah Tuhan Saya (Allah is My God)

Tuhan Bukan Au'llah (God who is not Allah)

Bukan Tuhan Saya (is not my God)⁷

Compared with other well-developed organisations in the city claiming that six months or less is enough for them to teach a child to read the Quran, the progress of children in Kolojonggo was slow. Even a year was not enough for ordinary children to master a six-volume textbook, which was considered as the prerequisite to start reading the Quran. Children's lack of passion for learning Arabic, lack of any effective teaching method and lack of time seemed to be responsible for that.

The efficiency of the *pengajian*, however, did not bother the teachers. They were of the opinion that accelerating the pace of learning was not the primary goal of the *pengajian*. The more important points were to mobilise children regularly to religious activities and to let them get accustomed to a religious environment. The childhood experience of the teachers confirmed the relevance of this approach. They learned to read Arabic with less well-developed textbooks and teaching methods and their progress was much slower than the present children. There was even a teacher who said that he had spent almost six years in the course before he could begin to read the Quran. Despite this, they did learn to read the Quran in the long run and were more active in religious activities than others who had been quicker to read. As the remarks of the teachers show, the role of the *pengajian* for children was not just to teach how to read Arabic but to build a bridge to connect children with religious activities and to solidify the bond between the teachers and children who would replace the teacher's position

⁶ The need to pronounce Arabic correctly is emphasised to children. In the *pengajian* for children, Islamic God is pronounced as 'Au'llah' with deep vocal sound rather than usual Indonesian term 'Allah'.

⁷ The original text goes as follows: *Burung Kakak Tua/Hinggap di Jendela/ Nenek Sudah Tua/ Giginya Tinggal Dua.*

in the future. When this bond was established and children came to be conscious of the need to read the Quran, learning to read Arabic was said to be only a matter of time. Even a week was enough for someone to learn to read the Quran.

The routine *pengajian* alone was not sufficient to maintain the bond between children and Islam on the one hand and between children and the Islamic activists on the other, since children's interest in Islam was not retained with ease. They were quickly bored at the *pengajian*, as was easily recognised by the gradual decrease in the number of participants in it. To overcome this setback, the teachers organised special activities. In 1993-1994, they held three special meetings for children. As no meetings were held for children in village life, these occasions were enthusiastically received by children. Almost all Muslim children appeared, although it started around eight and finished around ten in the evening. In these meetings, several children came to the fore to recite Arabic passages from the Quran and to sing a song while the teachers prepared a short drama. The effectiveness of this measure to mobilise children was quickly proved. After these meetings, the number of participants in the routine *pengajian* increased dramatically.

Like those for adult villagers and children, the routine religious activity for the youth was called *pengajian* and held regularly once a week. Differing from other *pengajian*, that for the youth did not have any fixed format, and the organisers made programs rather spontaneously. In 1993-1994, these included recitation of the Quran from the first to the last page, courses to learn to play musical instruments and to sing songs called *Qosidah*, courses in how to give a sermon, and meetings with the youth from other villages or from the city. The participants in the *pengajian* for the youth were confined mainly to the *anak masjid* and the youth outside this group seldom attended it.

The *anak masjid* constituted the core group to make the acceleration of Islamic development in Kolojonggo possible. They were the main body planning, organising and carrying out all religious activities with the help of a few adult villagers. According to my estimation, the *anak masjid* consisted of nineteen youths aged between 15 and 25, about one fourth of the total Muslim youth in this age group, while three unmarried villagers in their late twenties could also be added to the *anak masjid*.⁸ My estimation largely coincided with the opinions of some youths who were not included in this group when they were asked to enumerate the youths who belonged to the *anak masjid*.

Everyday life of the *anak masjid* could not be separated from religion. Apart from daily prayer, they were involved in a variety of religious activities both within and outside the hamlet. Observing these activities merely for a month is

⁸ Seven of the *anak masjid* were high school students, two of them were university students, two of them were unemployed after their graduation from high school and the rest worked in the manufacturing, constructing and service sectors.

enough to appreciate how closely their life was connected to Islam or, in other words, how they Islamised their life. As an example, the monthly schedule of Mas Sigit, an unofficial leader of the *anak masjid*, is presented below:

Table IV.1: Religious Activities of an Islamic Activist

	Weekly (w) or Fortnightly (f) Activities	Monthly Activities
Sun	<i>Pengajian</i> in the <i>kelurahan</i> office ^a (w) <i>Pengajian</i> for pre-school children ^b (w)	
Mon	Distribution of alms (f)	BAZIS ^c meeting in the <i>kelurahan</i> office <i>Tahlilan</i> I (Tuesday- <i>Kliwon</i>)
Tue		
Wed	<i>Pengajian</i> for adult (w or f)	
Thu	<i>Pengajian</i> for youth (w)	<i>Tahlilan</i> II (Friday- <i>Kliwon</i>)
Fri		BAZIS meeting in Kolojonggo
Sat	<i>Pengajian</i> for school children (w)	

^a The branch of Muhammadiyah in Sumber started its weekly *pengajian* in the *kelurahan* office from the late 1970s on. Compared with those at the hamlet level, *pengajian* in the *kelurahan* office had one difference. The organising body of the Sunday *pengajian* tried hard to invite the *khatib* from outside Sumber and preferably from the city, so that the *khatib* invited to this *pengajian* were usually those who had not delivered a sermon in the hamlet *masjid*.

^b In 1994, the *anak masjid* opened another *pengajian* for pre-school children, separated from that for primary school children.

^c BAZIS is the abbreviation of *Badan Amil Zakat, Infaq dan Shadaqah* or Committee to coordinate almsgiving activities. This organisation was founded by an initiative of the government in the early 1990s and the branch of BAZIS in Sumber was established in 1992. This body was responsible for collecting voluntary donations from Muslim villagers and carried out several activities to improve the economic condition of Muslim villagers and to assist poor Muslims. Apart from being incorporated with BAZIS activities at the *kelurahan* level, Muslim villagers in Kolojonggo made their own program to help their neighbours. In 1993-1994, BAZIS in Kolojonggo distributed rice to the old and poor villagers, subsidised part of school fees for children of poor families and gave out religious necessities such as books and praying clothes to children.

Table IV-1 shows that Mas Sigit attended religious meetings more than four or five times a week. However, the above table just shows the official side of his religious activities. Apart from participating in these meetings, he spent extra time preparing for them. For example, he called at dozens of households to collect alms for the BAZIS meeting and visited Islamic leaders to invite them as the *khatib* in the *pengajian*. The preparation for the special occasions in the Islamic calendar also required his time. When three large-scale gatherings for children were organised, he spent two to three weeks each time in rehearsing the drama which would be staged at these meetings. In the fasting month, he stayed in the *masjid* all evening and sometimes until dawn. For *Maulud*, *Israk-Miraj* and *Hijrah*, he went to several *pengajian* held in the neighbouring villages while he prepared for the same kind of *pengajian* in Kolojonggo. *Tahlilan* was another

occasion in which he spent many of his evenings, since he also attended irregular *tahlilan* held after the death of Muslim villagers.⁹

The participation of other *anak masjid* in religious activities was almost the same as Mas Sigit. The male youth, in particular, attended *pengajian*, *tahlilan* and other religious meetings, and in the fasting month, slept together in the *masjid*. The common activities of the *anak masjid* was not confined to religious ones. In the evenings when there were no religious activities, they played together in the *masjid* or in the house of one of their members. The close relationship both in the religious and non-religious domains made possible strong peer group solidarity among the *anak masjid*. Their solidarity, however, was not always advantageous for them to carry out religious programs among their age group. As their group had a clear boundary, those placed outside of it felt uneasy mixing with them.

The *anak masjid* were quite conscious of the fact that their religious activities were too exclusive to incorporate the youth outside the boundary of their group. In order to overcome this limitation, they organised several special occasions, aiming to incorporate as many Muslim youth as possible. They visited the *masjid* in other villages to discuss religious issues with the youth there and made several recreational visits to tourist destinations. In the latter case, participation was open only to the Muslim youth, signifying that these visits were parallel with other religious activities, although religious elements were not clearly visible in them. These special activities incorporating other Muslim youth had the same purpose as those for children, namely, to consolidate the relationship between Muslims rather than to deepen their knowledge of Islam.

Since the *masjid* was constructed in the late 1980s, the Muslim community in Kolojonggo has seen an increase and diversification of religious activities. All Muslim villagers are allocated to certain routine activities such as *pengajian* and *tahlilan* while celebrations of the special Islamic days and of the fasting month play a role in breaking down the ordinariness of routine religious activities. One of the impacts of this development is that more opportunities have been given to the children born after the 1980s to be raised in a different religious environment from their parent. While the adult villagers as children accompanied their parents to tombs to ask blessings from the deceased, visited *dhukun* for healing or wandered around *sawah* eating offerings made to the goddess of rice, children now go to the *pengajian* with their mother, eavesdrop on the Arabic recitation in *tahlilan*, see their parents donate to BAZIS and witness the last breath of a sacrificed bull or sheep in the front yard of the *masjid*. This

⁹ The duration of *tahlilan* after the death of a Muslim villager was dependent on the family of the deceased. Sometimes, it was celebrated in parallel with the cycle of *kendhuri*, that is, one, three, seven and thirty-five days after death while in others, it lasted throughout the first week after death. In several cases, it was held just once on the night of death. Whatever the case, Mas Sigit attended all of these *tahlilan*.

development does not imply that the religious atmosphere has been totally changed to the extent that traditional religious elements which are perceived to be incongruous with reformist Islam have been uprooted. These still constitute a part of village life (see Chapter V and VI). Rather, the importance of the expansion of Islamic activities has been that these provide the younger generation with more opportunities from their childhood on to be in constant contact with an alternative mode of religious life to the traditional one. Unlike adult villagers who spent their childhood walking several kilometres to watch *wayang* (shadow play) and sleeping there until the end of the performance, the children of these days go to the *masjid* with their mother and sleep there, hearing Arabic prayers and religious sermons as lullabies.

4.2. *Salat* and the Fast

In Kolojonggo, all ritual prayers, whether they are optional or obligatory, are called *salat*. When the term *salat* is used by itself, it customarily designates daily prayer while other prayers are designated by a specific modifier such as *salat Id*, *salat Istikha*, *salat jenazah* and so on. Daily *salat* is one of the Five Pillars of Muslims, called *rukun Islam*; others include the recitation of *sahadat*, the fast, almsgiving and pilgrimage to Mecca.

In contrast to traditionally practised Islam, reformist Islam puts absolute priority on daily *salat*. No one can be a pious Muslim (*Muslim sholeh*) without practising it. Daily *salat* was frequently compared to provisions or travelling funds (*sangu*) for the Hereafter: whether one practises *salat* or not will be the most important criterion to decide one's future placement either in Paradise or Hell. The reformist leaders were unanimously of the opinion that someone who did every good deed in this world except *salat* would be unable to enter Paradise, as a villager put it: 'if there is a Muslim who carries out *salat* but is stingy, he or she will enter Hell, but not for so long. If there is a person who does not perform *salat* but is generous, he or she will enter Hell for good.'¹⁰ The performance of daily *salat* was used by the reformist villagers as a criterion to judge the religiosity of Muslims and, by a few, to differentiate pious Muslims from unbelievers (*kafir*). This is because one's outer self (*lahir*) is the delegate of one's inner self (*utusan batin*), so that one's outward behaviour cannot cover what is in one's heart (*hati*) (See also Bowen, 1993:320; cf. Pranowo, 1991). This emphasis placed on *salat* then allows the practice of daily *salat* to be employed as a basis for making a conjecture about the non-religious behaviour of those the reformist villagers newly meet. Below is an example of this trend among the reformist villagers:

¹⁰ Asked questions about whether people, who happened to be born in non-Islamic countries but lived an ethical life in the way recommended in Islam, would enter Paradise, all reformist leaders interviewed answered that these people might not enter Paradise. However, they did not take a dogmatic but a reserved attitude toward the question. After replying to a 'Yes-or-No' question, many of them commented that their answer was based on their interpretation of the Quran and Hadith and it was only Allah who would decide the future of all human beings in the last instance.

For the first six months, I conducted research with my Indonesian friend whom I had met in the city before I settled in Kolojonggo. He was, at least to me, a 'good' and a well-informed Muslim. He performed daily *salat* although not regularly, attended the Friday sermon regularly, carried out the fast throughout the whole fasting month, tried hard not to violate what was forbidden by Islam such as drinking alcohol and had more radical Islamic views about socio-religious issues than other villagers; he supported the dispatch of a voluntary Muslim army from Indonesia to Bosnia; he was an enthusiastic supporter of the Islamic party in Indonesia (PPP); he expressed his deep concern about the expansion of Christianity in Yogyakarta and so on. In terms of religious knowledge, he memorised more Arabic prayers and knew more about religious teachings than most of the *anak masjid*. In spite of these, his interests in and devotion to Islam were not clearly visible in the eyes of the Muslim villagers. For about half a year of his stay in Kolojonggo, his visits to the hamlet *masjid* were confined to a few occasions when I visited it. He sometimes prayed daily *salat* but in our room, while he went to the *masjid* near his own house in the city to attend the *Jumatan* and to participate in the *tarawih* prayer. After he had left Kolojonggo and as my relation with the *anak masjid* grew closer, I was surprised to find he was regarded as a bad Muslim by them. Some of them firmly believed he was accustomed to drinking alcohol, gambling, going to discotheques, visiting prostitutes and so on. This negative evaluation may be ascribed to various factors.¹¹ However, as some of them frankly told me, the most important factor for the *anak masjid* to reach this conclusion was that he did not visit the hamlet *masjid* for daily *salat*. As there was no other way for them to know whether he prayed *salat* in our room or not, his rare visits to the *masjid* were equated with his negligence in daily *salat*, which allowed them to construct a negative image of him. As this case shows, performance of daily *salat* was used by the reformist villagers as a basis to evaluate both the religious and non-religious orientations of others.

Muslims are ordered to perform *salat* five times a day. The name, timing and *roka'at*¹² of each *salat* are as follows:

¹¹ One of these might be his readiness to be a friend of a foreign researcher or, possibly at the initial stage of my stay in Kolojonggo, a foreign tourist. Villagers had a negative view of Indonesians who were ready to mix with foreign tourists, believing that these Indonesians were willing to drink alcohol and were sexually promiscuous.

¹² *Roka'at* refers to essential unit of prayer, from the standing position, through bowing and prostration, to the sitting position.

Name	Beginning	End	Roka'at
<i>Subuh</i>	Dawn	before <i>Duhur</i>	2
<i>Duhur</i>	Noon	before <i>Asar</i>	4
<i>Asar</i>	Around 3 PM	before <i>Maghrib</i>	4
<i>Maghrib</i>	Sunset	before <i>Isaq</i>	3
<i>Isaq</i>	Around 7 PM	before <i>Subuh</i>	4

One should do a certain *salat* by a fixed time. For example, one cannot perform *subuh* after noon, the time reserved only for *duhur*. Due to this, daily *salat* is compared to one's life. As life is given just once, so is the chance of each daily *salat* in one's life time. If a person skips *subuh* on one day, he or she will lose the chance to do it forever. This nature of daily *salat* makes it a necessity to carry it out on time.

The simple but the most correct answer as to why Muslims do *salat* is because Allah commanded them to do so. The replies that the reformist villagers made to the subsequent question of why Allah did so were not unitary. Some talked about the value of *salat* for this world and the Hereafter: Allah revealed that *salat* would make their wishes come true with ease and give them a place in Paradise. Others attached additional meanings to it: *salat* is a moment of remembrance, that is, to remember Allah, His grace to human beings, His greatness and the connectedness between Him and human beings. *Salat* was also interpreted as an occasion of repentance: as human beings keep committing intentional or unintentional sins in their daily life, they ask forgiveness, by performing *salat*, for their sins to Allah who has the right to grant it. There were also some who viewed *salat* in relation to human desire (*nafsu*). The difficulty of practising regular *salat* was equated with temptation by *satan* who distanced human beings from the right path. *Salat* was then conceptualised as a moment where the religious devotion of Muslims and their victory over *satan* was displayed. Still others talked about the relationship between human beings reflected in *salat*, often called the horizontal side of *salat* to distinguish it from the vertical one between human beings and Allah. The last movement of *salat*, which is to utter a greeting (*salam*) while turning the upper body to right and left, was interpreted as a sign that one cannot live a life without others to the right and left of oneself. Therefore, this movement was considered to be a gesture of inviting other human beings into fraternity (*ukhuwah*) and solidarity. The diverse interpretations of *salat* have one common theme: it is conceptualised as a moment where one's self-consciousness should be awake to the extent that one is conscious of one's connection with Allah and fellow human beings and aware of whether one's behaviour and thoughts are congruent with Islamic teachings or not.

If *salat* provides moments where one's consciousness as a Muslim can be heightened, the fast plays the same role for one month in the year. Villagers'

interpretations of the fast were similar to those of *salat*: a chance to obtain high religious merit; an opportunity to cleanse oneself of previous sins and to ask forgiveness; a fight against one's physical desire (*nafsu*) or *satan*; and an occasion to experience and sympathise with the state of people who suffer from poverty. Whatever meanings were attached to it, the most crucial point in practising the fast was considered to keep one's consciousness awake. This is because the mere act of abstaining from eating cannot make the fast perfect, but one has to monitor continuously whether one's behaviour and thought are congruent to Islamic teachings or not. For example, to see, speak, feel and perform anything bad or forbidden was said to make the fast invalid. As a result, one should not be angry with others, vilify others, have lust for sex, and so on. This does not mean, however, that one has to void one's mind and body from any kind of desire (*nafsu*). Rather, what is intended in these rules is that one has to be conscious of the fact that he or she practises the fast and that desire should be controlled with this consciousness, as Mas Harto said:

As an imperfect human being, I cannot restrain myself from sudden desire and from seeing and hearing what is forbidden by Allah. When I happened to see a girl wearing a mini skirt passing by, I sometimes looked at her once again, an action which might cancel the effect of my fasting. ... Because I am a man, I cannot suppress desire to look at a beautiful woman. What is more important to me is to be conscious of the fact that I violate the rules of the fast and to rebuke myself. As long as my consciousness is awake and I do not follow my desire further, I believe, Allah will forgive me and accept my fasting.

In this example, the primary goal of Mas Harto in practising the fast was not to be free from any human desires. According to him, desires could not be eradicated from human nature. It was not unusual that sexual desire was aroused in his mind on seeing a woman even in the fast month. Thus, Mas Harto believed that the appearance of desire in his mind, for example the desire to see a beautiful woman once again, did not invalidate the fast. Instead, what would invalidate his fasting was the next step after he found his desire was aroused: whether he did anything further to satisfy his desire either in imagination or in reality. If he did nothing further, his fasting would not be cancelled. In explaining this delicate difference between the valid and invalid fast, the emphasis of Mas Harto is placed on whether he keeps his consciousness awake to the extent that he keeps watching over his behaviour and thought or not. If he can do so, his fasting might be accepted by Allah, whereas if not, his endurance of thirst and hunger is simply for nothing.

Overall, *salat* and the fast are interpreted by the reformist villagers as the media to awaken their consciousness that their life is connected to and dependent on Allah and that their behaviour and thought should conform to commands from

Allah. However, these two occasions are not enough to keep that consciousness. When they finish *salat* and get through the fasting month, their heightened consciousness can easily be overwhelmed by daily life. Therefore, the goal of the reformist villagers in Islamising everyday life is to keep a heightened Muslim consciousness in ordinary life. This goal is achieved by incorporating a variety of Islamic laws which dichotomise things into the Islamic and the non-Islamic. Repeatedly inculcated, these laws can become junctures in everyday life which allow Muslims to be conscious of whether their behaviour and thought are congruent with Islamic teachings. In the section below, Islamic law at work will be examined. This discussion, however, includes only those which were frequently emphasised by the reformist villagers.

4.3. Islamic Law and Everyday Life

Islamic law categorises human behaviour into five classes: obligatory (*wajib*); recommended (*sunnat* or *sunnah*); neutral (*mubah*); not recommended but not forbidden (*makruh*); forbidden (*haram*). Villagers frequently used the dichotomy of sin (*dosa*) and religious merit (*ganjaran* or *pahala*) to explain these categories: *wajib* is that behaviour which will bring *ganjaran* if carried out and will be *dosa* if neglected; *sunnah* is that which will bring *ganjaran* if carried out, but will not be a *dosa* if neglected; *mubah* is that which brings neither *ganjaran* nor *dosa*; *makruh* is that which will bring *ganjaran* if not performed but will not be a *dosa* if practised; and *haram* is that which will not bring *ganjaran* if not performed but will be a *dosa* if practised.

Islamic law was one of the main themes in *pengajian*, although not all five categories were dealt with equally. In the 1980s, *wajib* behaviour was the most frequently discussed topic, since basic and elementary teachings were needed for village Muslims who had not had enough opportunities to be exposed to Islam teachings. In 1993-94, the focus was on *haram* and *sunnah*, although the teachings connected to *wajib* were not ignored.

When asked about the concept of *haram*, many Muslims gave the example of food. Pork, meat of dog and cat¹³, and blood were cited as items of forbidden food and the act of eating them was called *haram*. The process of preparing food was also said to make a certain food *haram*. The meat of animals which were not slaughtered in the name of Allah but killed in another manner was categorised

¹³ Several verses in the Quran (e.g., ii:173 and v:3) categorise pork as forbidden but the Quran does not make any clear remark on meat of dog and cat. Muslim villagers in Kolojonggo, however, categorised meat of such animals as dog, cat and tiger (because they have canine teeth), snake and frog (because they live in two different worlds), and owl and hawk (because they eat with their feet), as forbidden. They based their ideas of forbidden meat on the Hadith. Some of them knew that there was disagreement among Islamic scholars (*ulama*) as to, for example, whether dog meat should be categorised as forbidden or not. However, they suggested that, when they were not sure of the Islamic law related to eating dog meat, it was better for them not to do so. This is because, if there is something the identity of which is ambiguous, Islam teaches that Muslims should not do it.

as forbidden. Among these animals, dog received much more attention from the reformist villagers. Unlike cats, dogs together with pigs are categorised as dirty animals (*najis*). Muslims should cleanse their bodies when they have any physical contact with a dog or pig. Other reasons for the dog's special position were that many villagers raised dogs¹⁴; dog meat could be purchased more easily than pork; and dog meat was eaten by villagers who believed in other religions or did not take their duties as Muslims seriously. In this social environment, the reformist villagers were very cautious in dealing with dogs and their reaction sometimes seemed excessive to an outsider. The following example typifies their attitude:

Mas Sargino was working in a construction site as an assistant supplying a mixture of cement, ash and water to the masons. The owner of the house where he worked kept two dogs, which did not stop wandering around the work site. It happened on one hot afternoon that a dog approached a big bucket filled with water and sniffed it. On seeing this, Mas Sargino yelled at it and chased it away. The bucket was quite big, so that in order to fill it, he had to go four or five times to the nearby well around 30 metres from his work place. In spite of this, he quickly threw out the water in that bucket and did extra work to refill it.

As the water in that bucket was only used to mix the cement and the dog did not seem to lick it, Mas Sargino's action was a bit strange. When asked why he did so, he said briefly, 'to guard himself' (*menjaga diri*). He did not say from what he wanted to guard himself, but it is reasonable to assume that as dog belongs to *najis*, he wanted to guard himself from *najis* by not using the water it had contaminated.

Mas Sargino's attitude is not unusual among the reformist villagers. For example, in one case when a dog happened to break into the *masjid* for a short while, a dozen of the youth spent their whole morning cleaning the *masjid* of *najis*. The reformist villagers tried to avoid any kind of physical contact with dogs, so that when a dog approached them, they made every effort to escape from it or to chase it away. This sometimes brought about awkward situations since many households kept a dog. One of these occurred when the reformist villagers visited a neighbour's house. When the dog in that house approached them, they could not take any direct action to drive it away since that was regarded as an action that would insult the host. The measure that they took was just to change their

¹⁴ Most reformist villagers suggested that to raise dogs is not forbidden in Islam on the condition that certain rules are strictly observed. These rules include: the purpose of raising dogs should not be to sell them for profit but to guard the house; one should control one's dogs so that they may not disturb neighbours; one should keep dogs out of his or her house; and one should make a separate place for dogs outside the house. According to the reformist villagers, it is not easy to observe these rules, so that it is better for them not to raise dogs.

sitting position little by little, so that they could escape from the sniff of the dog.

Apart from food, other topics which were frequently discussed in the *pengajian* included gambling and drinking, both of which belong to the category of *haram*. Recently, these two issues have become more important than food items, for these activities have been gaining in popularity.

Gambling in this village had a long tradition. A few village elders mentioned it had existed since their childhood. As the general economic situation improved, the amount of money used in gambling also escalated. In 1993-94, it was around Rp 500 for one game and tens of thousand Rupiah were used for one night's play. The primary difficulty in tackling the issue of gambling was the abundance of venues for playing cards. Wherever opportunities presented themselves for dozens of villagers to gather until late night, whether it be in a house, a guard post or even a cemetery, villagers played cards. As villagers did night watch every night and *jagongan* were quite frequently held, a venue for gambling could be found easily by someone who wanted to gamble. Due to the abundance of venues for gambling and the publicity, most villagers knew exactly who gambled and who did not.

Compared with gambling, drinking is quite a new phenomenon since alcohol was only introduced into this village around a decade ago. Due to this short history, drinking was mainly confined to the younger generation. To some of the youth, the only obstacle to drinking alcohol was its high price. A bottle of whisky cost around Rp 2000 to 4000 or the equivalent of the daily wage of a labourer, a sum they could not easily afford. The high cost created a custom that some drank alcohol collectively. Several youth pooled their money, bought one or two bottles and drank together. This collective action made it possible for the drinkers to behave in a braver manner, so that it sometimes happened that those who were drunk made a fuss in public by fighting, singing and so on.

In the *pengajian*, gambling and drinking were described as temptation by *satan*. The reformist leaders believed that drinking was the most serious sin in Islam, since drunken men had a higher potential to commit other sins such as adultery, robbery, murder and so on. The *pengajian* as well as other religious meetings dealing with gambling and drinking gave the impression that public discussions about these two issues were not aimed at decreasing the number of gamblers and drinkers among Muslim villagers. Above all, those who customarily drank and played cards never appeared in those meetings. As they did not attend the *pengajian*, they had no chance to listen to the sermons against drinking and gambling. On the other hand, these discussions were also not designed to encourage the attendants of the *pengajian* to make efforts to guide the gamblers and drinkers in the right direction. The villagers who attended the *pengajian* were not brave enough to advise their neighbours or family members not to

drink and not to play cards. In spite of this lack of direct connection between the discussions on drinking and gambling and actual practices of drinking and gambling, these sermons had a significant but indirect impact on the religious life of those who did not drink nor gamble.

When drinking and gambling were discussed among villagers in general, Islam was not the only reference point from which these practices were evaluated. Government officials, teachers and Christians had their own viewpoint: they criticised alcoholism and gambling primarily because these were closely related to negative social phenomena such as crime and poverty. Therefore, to them, the issues of drinking and gambling were mainly social rather than religious problems. By contrast, the reformist villagers viewed drinking and gambling from the perspective of Islam. To them, drinking and gambling had to be prohibited because they were forbidden by Allah while other negative aspects of alcoholism and gambling were regarded as the reasons why Allah forbade them. By emphasising Islam as a reference point to look at a particular phenomenon, what the reformist villagers did consciously and unconsciously was to resist the secularisation of religious issues and to re-position them in an Islamic perspective.

As the cases of drinking and gambling show, one of the processes of Islamising everyday life is to use an Islamic perspective to look at certain social events. Islamic laws categorised as *sunnah* provide an Islamic perspective as an alternative to non-Islamic ones such as tradition, social norms, justice, humanity and so on. Below is a simple example of how *sunnah* can be utilised to reinterpret generally accepted social norms. This list was obtained from several *pengajian* delivered by a few *khatib*:

- 1) To wash hands
- 2) To recite *Basmillah* before eating
- 3) To use right hand
- 4) To take dishes placed close to oneself and not to take those far from one's seat
- 5) Not to touch food which one does not like
- 6) Not to eat more as soon as one feels full
- 7) To recite *Alhamdulillah* after eating

If the second, the third and the seventh are omitted, this list can be easily mistaken for the manual of table etiquette for children. With the emphasis put on them by the reformist villagers, however, this simple list becomes one of the Islamic laws commanded by Allah and to practise it is regarded as a part of *ibadah* or an act of devotion in its broadest sense.

Unlike the Quran which contains words of Allah, the Hadith is the collection of exemplary behaviours and comments of the Prophet Muhammad. As the Prophet lived the same life as other human beings, the contents of the Hadith cover all domains of social life. Of the recommended behavioural norms (*sunnah*) in the Hadith, what was often delivered in the *pengajian* included: how to bathe, to wear clothes, to urinate, to greet others, to receive guests, to enter houses or cemeteries, and to live a harmonious social life. Although some of these look trivial to an outsider, the attitude of the reformist villagers to observing what they knew as *sunnah* was sincere and serious. Below is one of my encounters with an unexpected manifestation of Islamic law at work:

I went to the hospital with some of the *anak masjid* to visit one of their parents who was being treated for diabetes. Shortly after we had arrived, the time for *maghrib* prayer came and they decided to go out for a prayer. One of them then approached me and asked me to exchange his brand new shoes for the sandals that I was wearing. He seemed worried that his shoes might get wet in the ablution place. When I took off one of my sandals and waited for him to give me one of his, he spoke to me in a somewhat loud voice. 'No, not this one.' At first, I thought I had misunderstood his intentions. However, I was soon told that I had to take off my right sandal first. My puzzlement concerning why he was so sensitive about this matter disappeared after I was informed that Muslims were recommended to put on shoes from the right side first.¹⁵

In addition to recommended behavioural norms, a variety of moral issues extracted from the Quran and Hadith was also frequently emphasised in the *pengajian*. The following is an example of how these moral issues were dealt with. Pak Iman, a high school teacher, cited a passage from the Quran as an introduction to his sermon:

It was by the mercy of Allah that thou wast lenient with them, for if thou hadst been stern and fierce of heart they would have dispersed from round about thee. ... (iii:159)

He, then, explained what the character of 'stern and fierce of heart' meant:

The Quranic passage cited above commands us that we should distance ourselves from the characteristics stemming from a stern and fierce heart.

¹⁵ For several weeks after this incident, one of my research topics was to observe the behaviour of villagers who went into the *masjid*, since I had come to know that a set of rules, which seemed to be quite complex to me, was applied in entering the *masjid*: people should take off their left sandal first and put their left foot on the floor or over the sandal, and then, they should take off the right one and enter the *masjid* with the right foot first. Most of the *anak masjid* observed this rule, while most of villagers in their forties or older did not follow it, including two *kaum* from Kolojonggo and from its neighbouring hamlet who always took off their left sandal and then directly put their left foot on the *masjid* floor. It seems that the younger the villagers were, the more they kept this rule.

These include, among others, jealousy, envy, to love to complain, to disturb and to oppose others, stinginess, over-confidence, coercion and so on. Someone who has these characteristics is described as someone suffering from heart disease (*penyakit hati*).¹⁶

The heart disease that Pak Iman mentioned was not a disease that was discovered by recent Islamic development. This was what had been discussed from generation to generation long before. In the traditional society, the stories in the shadow play (*wayang*) and collective recitation of text¹⁷ after the birth of a baby played a role in inculcating these moral principles to the younger generation. Today, the reformist villagers began to view the same moral issues from a different perspective. They were urged to be kind to others, to be harmonious with their neighbours, to help others, to respect parents and to seek after knowledge because of Allah rather than because these would bring harmonious and prosperous life. As Allah commanded Muslims to greet their neighbours, to clean their surroundings, to educate their children, to be introspective, not to be arrogant, not to be jealous, to be responsible, not to talk about others and not to be stingy, each, as a Muslim, should do so. With this shift of perspective, the moral principles which had previously been treated without being referred to Islam were attributed to Islam and 'because of Allah' (*karena Allah*) became the rationale to explain and interpret moral principles and individual behaviours. As one villager put it, the reason why a certain behaviour is considered to be good is not because this is admitted to be good by neighbours, by ancestors or by the state but by Allah.

So far, the efforts of the reformist villagers to Islamise their behaviour and to take an Islamic perspective as an alternative to other possible points of view such as tradition, social norms, justice or humanity have been discussed. As is the case in daily *salat* and the fast, these efforts play a role in expanding the junctures where Muslim consciousness can be heightened. For example, the scenes of gambling or drinking, which may not have any religious significance to some villagers, can be moments to remind the reformist villagers of the contrast between the Islamic and the non-Islamic ways of behaviour and to make them conscious of their identity as Muslims. In this way, the more Islamic laws or

¹⁶ The latter part of the sermon was about how to cure heart disease :

Even if one goes to hospital, this sort of heart disease is not curable. Why? Because it starts from one's indifference to the commands from Allah. As one is not faithful to and does not remember the words of Allah, one is given such a disease. Then, who can treat this disease? It is we ourselves. According to al-Gazali, five kinds of medicine are available to treat it: to read the Quran, to empty one's stomach [by regular fasting], to do *dzikir* at night, to do optional *salat* after midnight and to mix with those who are pious.

¹⁷ According to village elders, one of the aims of celebrating *jagongan* after the birth of a baby was to recite books containing ethical norms to the new-born baby. In former days, it also happened that the elders frequently recited songs containing traditional ethics and customs to the baby while they were taking care of it.

Islamic perspective, whether these are the alternatives to other conventional ways of behaviour or new to villagers, are introduced, the more junctures are given villagers to keep their consciousness as Muslims alive.

4.4. The Islamisation of others' everyday life

Compared with the emphasis on the Islamisation of their everyday life, the reformist villagers placed far less emphasis on the Islamisation of the life of those who did not participate in religious activities and who sometimes violated Islamic laws, an activity which can also be called *dakwah* (missionary activities). In 1993 and 1994, no routine *pengajian* and the Sunday morning *pengajian* in the *kelurahan* office included *dakwah* as their main themes. Even the term, *dakwah*, was seldom heard in these *pengajian* and only a few *khatib* mentioned *dakwah* as passing remarks. These give the impression that missionary activities of the reformist villagers in Sumber were largely confined to those who were already ready to hear *pengajian* or to participate in Islamic activities.

The reformist villagers were aware of the fact that the participants in routine religious activities had been confined to a limited number of villagers. In spite of this recognition, however, their efforts to embrace the villagers who did not show interest in religious activities were not remarkable. One of the methods that they employed was to deliver invitation cards to almost all Muslim households whenever a certain religious activity was to be held, although this does not seem to have been effective enough to mobilise a wider circle of Muslim villagers. Another method was to celebrate special religious activities. In 1993, *pengajian akbar* (great *pengajian*) commemorating the special Islamic days such as the descent of the Quran and the end of the fasting month, a visit to the *pesantren* and visits to the *masjid* in other villages were organised to attract those who seldom participated in routine religious activities. The success of these special activities, if measured by the increase in participants, was different according to age. The special *pengajian* for children were enthusiastically received, so that almost all Muslim children in Kolojonggo attended these occasions. In the case of the youth, only a slight increase was visible, so that around ten to twenty youths outside the boundary of the *anak masjid* appeared when they visited the *masjid* in other villages. An increase was also visible when *pengajian akbar* were held. Some of the villagers who usually did not attend routine religious activities visited the *masjid* for these special ones. In spite of this increase, however, the special activities could not achieve one of the original goals, namely, to attract villagers to routine religious activities. Those who attended the special activities confined their participation only to the special ones and most of them did not appear in the *masjid* for the routine ones. In this respect, the celebration of special activities helped the creation of a group of Muslim villagers who attended the special ones but not the routine ones.

The reformist villagers' reluctance to employ more direct measures of *dakwah* such as, for example, to visit religiously inactive villagers to persuade them to participate in religious activities or to suggest to them not to carry out prohibited behaviour, contrasts with their enthusiasm to Islamise their everyday life. This inertia, however, does not seem to have posed a serious problem for the reformist villagers to evaluate their own religious activities. Most of them were of the opinion that, by organising the special activities, they already satisfied their duty as Muslims vis-à-vis other Muslims and that more direct methods for *dakwah* lay beyond their responsibility. One of the Islamic teachings cited frequently by the reformist villagers to support this attitude was that 'there is no compulsion in Islam'. Everyone is responsible for one's own religiosity and one will not bear responsibility for what others do. Some of them extended the relation between Allah and human beings to explain their relation with other villagers. As Allah does not lose anything when human beings do not carry out His commands, they do not suffer any loss when others do not perform their religious duties. There were also some who took a deterministic attitude. According to them, Muslims are to be divided into two groups, a minority of those who are pious and the majority who are not. This division is already determined (*ditakdirkan*) by Allah and cannot be changed by human beings. Therefore, whether people who have been inactive in religious activities and have violated religious laws will change their behaviour or not is dependent on Allah's will rather than on the efforts of human beings. If one's heart is closed by Allah, any measures designed by human beings will not be able to open it. This attitude can go to the extreme, allowing the reformist villagers to take an extremely relativistic position: none of them are certain whether their practice of Islam and their understanding of Islamic teachings are truly Islamic, or, to put it differently, whether they will be placed in Paradise when the Day of Judgement comes. This uncertainty is then used to rationalise their inertia in carrying out missionary activities. If they are not certain of their own behaviour, the priority should be placed on making their own religious practices perfect while they cannot order others to follow the way that they believe is right.

This lack of emphasis on the use of direct methods of *dakwah* seems to be influenced by the guideline stipulated by Muhammadiyah. *The formulae of belief and Ideal in the life of Muhammadiyah members*, for example, guides the aim of Muhammadiyah as follows: 'Muhammadiyah strives for upholding a pure Islamic mode of behaviour (*akidah*) ... without ignoring the principle of tolerance, conforming to the teachings of Islam' (Muhammadiyah, 1969:218). The principle of tolerance in Muhammadiyah teaches that one should appreciate and respect others' position, not to criticise (*cela-mencela*) them and not to force a certain understanding on others (Muhammadiyah, 1963:433-34). This does not imply that Muhammadiyah members should ignore errors and mistakes in the community. However, the right attitude encouraged by Muhammadiyah to deal

with these seems to be too tolerant: 'one should not be happy (*tidak senang*) to see deviations from the right way and should have a desire (*ingin*) to change these' (ibid.:440). The principles of *dakwah* proposed by Muhammadiyah based on the principle of tolerance urge then that one should be open of mind, increase companions (*kawan*), widen their relations with other groups and not isolate themselves from the community (ibid.: 434), none of which recommend any direct involvement of Muhammadiyah followers in others' life.

The reformist villagers' attitude of *dakwah* has also been based on dominant norms governing Javanese social life, two of which are the dichotomy of *halus-kasar* and *rukun*. *Halus* means pure, refined, polished, polite, exquisite, ethereal, subtle civilised, smooth, while *kasar* is the opposite of *halus*: impolite, rough and uncivilised (Geertz,1976:232). In social interactions, *halus* ways of behaviour imply restraint and control of one's expression of emotions: although one is happy, angry or annoyed, one should not show these feelings and should maintain emotional calmness. *Kasar* ways of behaviour mean the opposite of *halus* ways: one is quick-tempered, easily shows emotional changes, speaks loudly and in some cases, says what one wants to say. Seen from this *halus-kasar* dichotomy, a recommended way to deal with the situation where one's opinion contradicts others' is to keep silent and to wait until others' ideas are criticised on a mass scale and its holders abandon these by themselves.

When the *halus* ways of behaviour dominate social life, this gives birth to a situation called, *rukun* (harmony). *Rukun* signifies 'a state of agreement, of unanimity in a group concerning its means and purposes, at least in outer behaviour', and thus in practice, it refers to 'the absence of overt interpersonal conflict' (Geertz,1961:149).¹⁸ In this sense, *rukun* is not an abstract concept urging that all human beings should love each other. On the contrary, it presumes that by nature, human beings are egoistic and liable to be in conflict with others. In an atmosphere where the *halus* ways of behaviour and *rukun* dominate social life, the reformist villagers can not take direct and radical measures to carry out their *dakwah* in order to correct what is considered to be non-Islamic behaviour and to incorporate religiously inactive villagers into religious activities. If one is dissatisfied with others' religious practices, their reaction should be to suppress the expression of this dissatisfaction and, as one villager put it, to let these be for the sake of *rukun*.

¹⁸ According to Guinness (1986:131-39), the concept of *rukun* includes not only the negative connotation of social harmony but the positive side of it. *Rukun* as it is practised and conceived, therefore, includes three elements: mutual assistance and reciprocal obligations; respect for senior kin who hold special responsibilities for the welfare of junior kin; and emotional detachment and avoidance of open conflict between them to preserve an appearance of *rukun*. In Kolojonggo, the first two meanings of *rukun* pointed out by Guinness were also used by villagers to explain their participation in community labour, donation of money for the deceased's family, contributions for ritual celebrations and so on. However, the dominant usage of the term *rukun* was to refer to the situation where no conflicts are recognisable from the outside, especially when this concept was related to the *halus-kasar* dichotomy.

The way the reformist villagers discussed religious duty to parents, children and other close family members was somewhat different from the ways they talked about duty to religiously inactive villagers. The term, 'to be obliged to' (*diwajibkan*) was used to explain the duty of parents to guide their children's religious life, in contrast to the use of such terms as 'to suggest' (*mituturi*), 'to invite' (*ngajak*) and 'to remind' (*ngelingaken*) in describing one's religious duty to non-family members. This different treatment might be based on an Islamic teaching that the religiosity of one's children is directly related to one's well-being in the Hereafter. According to the reformist villagers, all the relations between the living and the dead are severed except for three. One of these is the relation between the living children and the deceased parents where the former can send prayers for the latter. This prayer is said to lessen the degree of torture that the deceased suffer in the Hereafter (*alam kuburan*). In this respect, to have children pious enough to pray for their deceased parents is considered one of the blessings that the parents can obtain in this world.

In spite of this scriptural reference encouraging parents to intervene in the religious life of their children, the reformist villagers' actual behaviour in dealing with the religious life of their children was not different from that in dealing with other villagers. They generally confined their duty to giving examples to children. Whether children would follow these examples or not was thought to be dependent on the children's dispositions and the will of Allah. When one's religious activities or religiosity were evaluated by others, it did not seem to be an important fact, at least in public, whether one had been successful in educating one's children or not. In one case where an unmarried high-school-aged daughter of a villager who was an active supporter of Islamic activities and who was sometimes invited as a *khatib* to the *pengajian* became pregnant, this did not seem to damage his reputation. Even after this incident, he kept being invited to the *pengajian* as a *khatib* while no villagers ascribed this incident to his failure to educate his daughter.

This attitude of the reformist villagers in dealing with their children's religious life can also be applied to that of the religiously active children in dealing with their family members. In several cases where children participated actively in religious activities while their parents or siblings did not, the children did not make any efforts to change their religious behaviour. Some of the *anak masjid* whose parents or siblings never appeared in the *masjid* or carried out religiously forbidden behaviour such as drinking or gambling, did not seem to be bothered by these, but considered these as private matters for their family members. In the passages below, a story told by Mas Dono, one of the *anak masjid*, is presented which typifies the attitude of the reformist villagers in dealing with religiously inactive family members and those who violate what is religiously forbidden.

My mother sometimes picked tree leaves from the neighbours' garden in order to use them as ingredients in the vegetable soup. In the hamlet life, people normally do not ask permission to pick these leaves from the tree owners, but take them whenever they need them. In the strict sense, this action is a theft categorised as *haram*, although this generally is not considered so in the community. One night, I saw we were having vegetable soup for dinner. As I was not sure whether the leaves were from neighbours' garden, I asked my mother where she had got the leaves. Obviously, she picked them from the neighbours' garden, probably without getting permission from the owner. Hearing this, I did not want to eat the leaves in the soup. I knew this might hurt my mother's feelings and to hurt parents' feelings was not a recommended behaviour for Muslims. However, as I knew that the leaves had been obtained in a prohibited way, to eat them made me commit a sin. I just avoided eating these leaves, attempting not to show my real thoughts, although what I actually wanted to do was to make my mother recognise my uneasiness and change her behaviour. This state of affair lasted for quite some time. Whenever I was sure that the leaves did not belong to our house, I refrained from eating. Eventually, my mother seemed to have realised why I did not eat the leaves in the soup, although I have no idea how she came to know the reason. She might realise this by seeing the way I ate or someone might have informed her of my uneasiness in eating her leaves. Whatever the reasons, she stopped taking the leaves from her neighbours' garden.

In this case, Mas Dono, seeing his mother violating an Islamic law, did not choose a direct way to correct his mother's behaviour such as informing her that her behaviour was religiously forbidden. Instead, he selected an indirect measure to convey his message, although he was not sure whether his message would be delivered to her and whether this would bring any result or not. This attitude of Mas Dono exemplifies the *halus* way of behaviour to which the reformist villagers resort to carry out their missionary activities. They do not employ the most effective way to achieve a certain goal in *dakwah* but confine their role to giving examples or suggestions. Even the way chosen to do so is one which might offend others as little as possible. This extremely cautious attitude in carrying out *dakwah* has made it possible that no tension and friction have been built up and manifested in public between the reformist villagers and religiously inactive villagers. However, this attitude of 'they-are-they and we-are-we insularity' (Geertz, 1990:83) means that there are not many chances for the difference between these two groups in terms of their religious practices and orientations to become narrower. On the contrary, as the reformist villagers intensify their efforts to Islamise their life, the difference has been felt more clearly in much wider domains of social life than it was.

4.5. Summary

In Islam, Muslims are ordered to be conscious of the connectedness between themselves and Allah or, as one Achenese Muslim expressed it, of the rope binding themselves with Allah, the rope which neither rots in the rain nor cracks in the sun (Siegel, 1969:115). With their consciousness awakened, Muslims can remember Allah, His mercy and His love to themselves and be thankful to Him for their existence. The earthly life of human beings, however, makes it hard for them to be always conscious of this 'rope'. They easily forget that their life does not exist without the mercy of Allah. As media to overcome this state of oblivion, Muslims are enjoined to practise *salat* five times daily and one month's fasting in a year. These moments provide them with chances to reflect upon the bond between themselves and Allah and to reaffirm the connectedness between themselves and Allah.

To those who feel that daily *salat* and the fast are not enough to keep them conscious of this connection and to make their life closer to Allah, Islamic traditions have offered additional options. As the followers of Sufism have done, they can seclude themselves from the mundane life and spend their time meditating on and remembering (*dzikir*) Allah. In this way, they can Islamise their life, that is, to think and to practise what is related to Islam. Not all Muslims, however, can pursue this way nor are they recommended to. For them, the starting point of Islamising their life is not to isolate themselves from this world but to stick to it.

The efforts of the reformist villagers in Kolojonggo to Islamise their life have followed two lines. On the one hand, they try to increase religious activities. All Islamic days are celebrated and religious meetings are regularly held on ordinary days. As the example of a young reformist villager shows, some of them are involved in a certain religious activity almost every day. On the other hand, they make efforts to increase the junctures in daily life in which their reflexivity as a Muslim can be awakened. This is carried out by replacing non-Islamic perspective on certain social as well as personal affairs with Islamic one. By taking an Islamic perspective, the reformist villagers are given more chances to be conscious of the contrast between the Islamic and the non-Islamic and to prompt themselves to be aware of their thought and behaviour, namely, whether these are congruent to Islam or not. In this way, they do not need to go to isolated places to Islamise their life. They keep their position firmly in the society and try to Islamise their life by transforming their social and personal life into the Islamic one.

In Chapters III and IV, the developmental process of Islam in Kolojonggo and the efforts of the reformist villagers to Islamise their life have been discussed. The following Chapters will be devoted to examining some of the changes which have taken place as Islamic development has accelerated in Kolojonggo. Among

these, the focus will be on the relationship between reformist Islam and tradition and between reformist villagers and Christians which have been most fundamentally influenced by the Islamic development.

Plate 5: Salat Idul Fitri in Sumber



Plate 6: Sacrifice of a Sheep for Idul Adha in Kolojonggo

