

**PIETY ON CONTESTATION: ETHNOGRAPHY
ON PURITAN AND TRADITIONALIST MUSLIM
IN ACEH TAMIANG**

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Abstract

This article studied the phenomenon of contestation between orang Sunnah and orang Yasin in Sidodadi, Aceh Tamiang, to gain the recognition of being the most pious Muslim adherent. The research zoomed in on exploring the shape of the contestation and the socio-religious changes that may occur due to the existence of the mentioned contest. The researchers interviewed a dozens of informant, observed their religious practices and the strategy that they launch to propagat their belief and recruit new members. The study showed that the contestation between the two community take place in almost all religious practices. Some of the worth mentions are ritual practices, broadening and enhancing the religiosity of respective community members, or the approach they used in approaching Islam. Apart from that, the contestation between these two groups also triggered the negotiation and reconciliation of Islamic practices of both groups. The reconciliation of religious practice is in accordance with the "culture in between" theory as proposed by Homi K Bhabha in which he believes that truly there are always no clear boundaries between two groups of different credentials. In Sidodadi, the credentials difference of each group to actualize the ideal of Islam in managing the house of God for instance, triggers the struggle of both groups for the control of the mosques and mushollas in one hand, and in other hand it brings out the empathy of each community to revive the religious activities

in worship places, though adapted with the credential feature of their respective groups.

Keywords: *Piety, Orang Sunnah, Orang Yasin, Aceh Tamiang*

Abstrak

Artikel berikut mengkaji fenomena kontestasi antara orang Sunnah dan orang Yasin di Sidodadi, Aceh Tamiang dalam memperebutkan klaim paling saleh. Fokus penelitian menelusuri bentuk-bentuk kontestasi, dan perubahan sosial keagamaan yang berlangsung akibat kontestasi tersebut. Peneliti mewawancarai lusinan informan, mengobservasi praktik keberagamaan, dan strategi yang mereka tempuh dalam memperluas keanggotaan. Studi ini akan memperlihatkan bahwa kontestasi antara kedua komunitas ini berlangsung hampir di semua praktik keagamaan, antara lain dalam soal ritual peribadatan, perluasan dan peningkatan kualitas keagamaan anggota masing-masing, maupun pendekatan yang digunakan dalam menghampiri Islam. Lain itu, kontestasi dua kelompok ini juga memantik negosiasi dan rekonsiliasi praktik Islam kedua kedua kelompok tersebut. Rekonsiliasi praktik keagamaan tersebut sejalan dengan teori culture in between sebagaimana dikemukakan Homi K Bhabha dimana sejatinya tidak ada batas-batas yang selalu jelas diantara dua kelompok yang berbeda secara kredensial. Di Sidodadi, perbedaan kredensial masing-masing kelompok dalam mewujudkan ideal Islam dalam mengelola rumah Tuhan misalnya, di satu pihak memantik perebutan penguasaan mesjid dan musholla, tetapi di pihak lain memunculkan empati masing-masing komunitas dalam meramaikan tempat ibadah sesuai dengan corak kredensial masing-masing kelompok.

Kata kunci: *Piety, Orang Sunnah, Orang Yasin, Aceh Tamiang*

A. Introduction

On Thursday night in the last week of September, 2011, we were in Sidodadi, Aceh Tamiang, attending a gathering on Yasin recitation. Toward the end of the gathering, *Pak* Ponidi who had led the Yasin recitation opened a regular meeting to determine who will become the host of the similar event for the next week. On the beginning, *Pak* Ponidi expressed, "*Pak* Sriadi visited me last night. He invited all of us to his house for *Tahlilan* on the thousandth day of his father's death, the late *Pak* Bari. We all know that *Pak* Sriadi belongs to *orang* Sunnah, therefore I didn't dare to reply him or accept his invitation. But I told him that I will discuss it with the members of *orang* Yasin. Now I leave it to all of you to discuss this matter. It is at the discretion of you, whether we accept the invitation or reject it". After a long discussion and debate, the *Jama'ah* finally agreed to accept the invitation and will attend to the event.

The scene above shows how hard it is to accept the invitation for *Tahlil* from a former member of *orang* Yasin who has converted to *orang* Sunnah. What had happened in Sidodadi is a story of a society which has been divided into groups due to credentials. The division between the adherents of the tradition of reciting Yasin congregationally and their opponents influenced the pattern of their daily social interaction. The research will study the phenomenon of contestation of piety between *orang* Sunnah and *orang* Yasin including its impact on the socio-religious changes in Sidodadi, Aceh Tamiang. The contestation of piety will be explored thoroughly based on the clash of Islamic articulation in daily practice and behavior of *orang* Sunnah and *orang* Yasin wherein the truth claim is the main issue.

The contestation of piety between the two groups goes on dynamically, in some cases brings out social tension and reconciliation between the two side.¹ *Orang* Yasin for instance, supports the tradition of *pesejuk* (kind of banquet held for the gratitude to God) on the construction of one's house, recitation of Surah Yasin congregationally, *Tahlilan* (telling la ila illa Allah in congregation), deliverance of *Talkin*² to the dead, till the musical presentation on the wedding party. Certainly, *orang* Yasin is unhappy when Yasin recitation is synchronized with the musical presentation on wedding parties. The difference often ended with the claim that their practices are the only correct Islamic practice

according to the Islamic teaching and belief, while religious practices by others are considered wrong and not Islamic.

The study based on field research which takes approximately two months to collecting the data through documentation, observation and interviews. We explored numerous documents regarding the history of the village and its population, and conducted in-depth interviews with more than two dozen key informants representing each of *orang* Yasin and *orang* Sunnah. The observation was conducted to search their ritual practice, social relation, organizational activities and routine *pengajian* (lecture). During the field research we attended religious activities of both communities. At least, we attended 5 lectures of *orang* Sunnah and two activities of *orang* Yasin. We performed Friday prayer and other congregational prayers in both mosques of *orang* sunnah and *orang* Yasin to search their religious practices. We also observed the process of learning and teaching in Pesantren al-Hidayah, a school in Sidodadi that managed by *orang* Sunnah in order to analyze their religious behavior.

There are various terms used by scholars to name the socio-religious entity that named in this paper as *Orang* Sunnah and *Orang* Yasin. Abdul Munir Mul Khan uses the term Islam *Murni* (pure Islam) for Muhammadiyah movement and Syncretism for Nahdlatul Ulama.³ Deliar Noer uses the term modernist and traditionalist.⁴ John R. Bowen also used the term Muslim modernist and traditionalist in his research about the religion and ritual of Gayo Muslim society in Aceh.⁵ Mark Woodward introduced the term normative Muslim and mysticism in his research in Yogyakarta.⁶ While Sutiyono followed the trace of L. Peacock who uses the concept of purist Muslim and syncretist Muslim in his research in Klaten, middle Java. The term purist Muslim is for Muhammadiyah, and syncretist Muslim is for Nahdlatul Ulama.⁷

However, all concepts mentioned above are not too relevant to categorize the phenomenon of Muslim diversity in Sidodadi. As a matter of fact, the Muslims in Sidodadi have their own term regarding their religious orientation that is the term of Sunnah and Yasin. The term '*orang* sunnah (people of sunnah)' sometimes they use interchangeably with the term '*orang* *pengajian* (people of lecture)', likewise, the term '*orang* Yasin' sometimes they name as '*orang* *perwiridan*'. We use the term *orang* Sunnah or people of Sunnah to refer the purist Muslim, and the term of *orang* Yasin or

people of Yasin to refer the traditionalist Muslim, because those terms are commonly used by the people of Sidodadi to identify their own community.

By using the framework of Emile Durkheim on the theory of forming social solidarity,⁸ this paper will show that the contestation of piety between the people of Sunnah and the people of Yasin actually has a double role: On one hand it becomes the source of social conflict, but on the other hand it play a role of mechanism to forming social solidarity in the society in a question related to their Islamic identity. Apart from that, the contestation between these two poles will be analyzed also on the basis of 'culture in between theory' that proposed by Homi K Bhabha.⁹ According to Bhabha, a cultural identity which is basically a product of two or more diverse identity, however be the negotiation was done through the mechanism of social conflict.¹⁰ There are no clear boundaries between diverse cultural identities in society. Nevertheless, the people of Sunnah and the people of Yasin in Sidodadi mutually negating religious views of other groups, but at the same time they do what is called mimicry by Bhabha: a process of imitation to one another.¹¹ This paper will show the contestation of piety between the Sunnah and the Yasin and at the same time giving birth to a new concept of piety which is basically a product of identitical dialog between the two groups.

To ease the description, the paper will be divided into seven sections. The first part contains an introduction, followed by a discussion that will be presented based on the systematic as follows: Sidodadi and socio-Religious Map; Scramble over the House of God; Two Different Styles of Prayer; Different Roads in Approaching Islam; Diversity, Negotiation and Reconciliation. The discussion ends with conclusions and theoretical implications of the research findings.

B. Sidodadi and Socio-religious Map

Sidodadi was formed during the reign of the Dutch East Indies, located at 460 KM from the central government of Aceh and about 180 KM from the city of Medan, North Sumatra. The village is located about seven kilometers from the border gate provinces of Aceh and North Sumatra.¹² The distance of the village from the centre of Kejuruan Muda Sub-districts is 1.5 KM, and the distance from the centre of Aceh Tamiang District is 18 KM.¹³

When the local Department of Religious Affair – both of provincial level and district level – held the program of delegating preachers to boundaries region of Aceh, Sidodadi village is one of the locations targeted in the program.

The residents of Sidodadi are relatively medium and lower economic groups. They live in semi-permanent houses, though a small portion of them live in a permanent house made of stone. A total of 40% families out of 276 families in this village listed as farmers or oil palm planters, either on their own land or property of others. The rest are entrepreneurs (21%), freelance laborers (13%), employees of non-government company (11%), widows and housekeepers (5%), drivers (3%), teachers and preachers (2,5%), and government employees/police (1%), retired government employees (1%), and economically inactive (1%). Majority of the residents are Javanese in ethnic, while Acehnese and Tamiang Melayu numbered only dozens. Nearly half of the Javanese residents (42%) are the second generation immigrant from Java.¹⁴ Since the population of the Javanese is the biggest, probably we can say that Sidodadi is a representation of Java culture in Aceh.

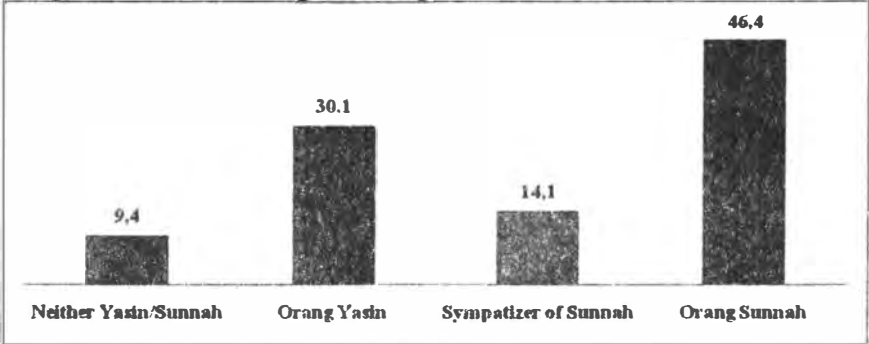
The population of *orang* Sunnah in this village experienced rapid growth. Currently their number are more than half of total population of the village, whereas according to the information of a village leader, forty years ago, only three people who adhere to the Sunnah credentials. The people of Sidodadi according to *Pak* Jasim – an eminent figures of *orang* Yasin – can be categorized into four groups; *orang* Sunnah, Sympathizers of *orang* Sunnah, *orang* Yasin, and neutral people.¹⁵

Orang Sunnah attempt to purify Islam from the practices that has no example from the prophet. *Orang* Yasin make certain practices become their religious tradition such as Yasin recitation, *Tahlil*, celebration of Maulid, celebration of Isra' and Mi'raj, and other practices that done by the traditionalist Muslim of Nusantara (archipelago). The sympathizers of *orang* Sunnah are those people who are in the process of transition from *orang* Yasin to *orang* Sunnah. The process of transition is like standing on two platforms, one is the old identity as the *orang* Yasin and the other is the new identity as the *orang* Sunnah. That is why the sympathizers of *orang* Sunnah attend the routine lectures of *orang* Sunnah, but sometimes joins the practice of *Tahlil* also with *orang* Yasin. The last mentioned group according to the term of Homi K Bhabha

situated in the position of ‘in between’ that accept the two different religious view points. As for the neutral people, they are those who are not in the three categories.¹⁶

We collected the information from Imam of the mosque, Imam of the Musholla, chief of the village and public figures to explore the affiliate of religious orientation of each family in Sidodadi. We crosschecked the information of an informant with the information from other sources. Based on the exploration we found out of 276 families, 26 families (9.4%) are non-block, cannot be categorized as *orang* Yasin, *orang* Sunnah nor the sympathizers of *orang* Sunnah. 83 families (30.1%) belong to *orang* Yasin, 39 families (14.1%) are sympathizers of *orang* Sunnah, and 128 families (46.4%) belong to *orang* Sunnah. For more detail see the following diagram.

Diagram 1: Socio-religious map in Sidodadi (% : N=276)

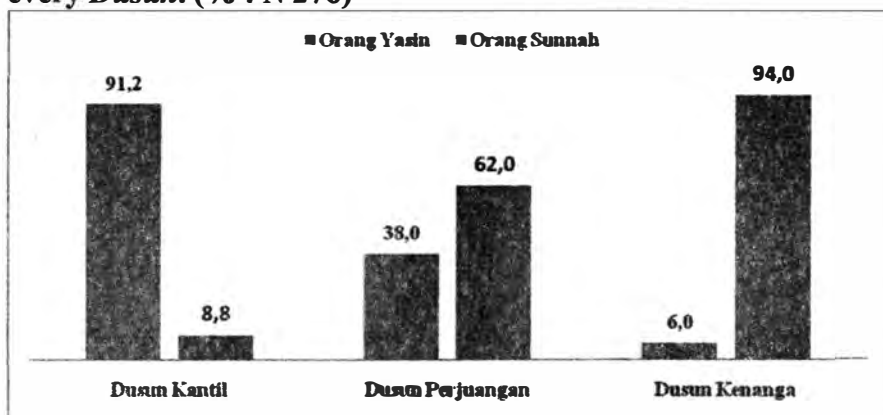


If we consider that the neutral is the Yasin and the sympathizers of Sunnah are the Sunnah, then it become 109 families (39.5%) of the total families in Sidodadi are *orang* Yasin and the rest 167 families (60.5%) are *orang* Sunnah. Based on this frame it is found that 91.2 % (62 families) in *Dusun* Kantil belong to *orang* Sunnah, and only 8.8% (6 families) are affiliated to *orang* Yasin. Contrary to *Dusun* Kenanga, 94% (94 families) are *orang* Sunnah and only 6% (6 families) are categorized as *orang* Yasin. Meanwhile, the credential orientation of the people in *Dusun* Perjuangan split, as much as 38% (41 families) are *orang* Yasin, and 62% (67 families) are *orang* Sunnah.

The credential partition caused tension in their religious expression. There are at least three fields where we can find indications of partition, they are: 1. Theology, 2. Worship, 3.

Mu'amalah. In the relation with theology, both groups believe that God is to whom a man asks help and protection but regarding the question how is the way to gain God's help and protection, they have different view. *Orang Sunnah* believe that God's help will comes when a man prays on their own directly to God without any intermediary;¹⁷ while *orang Yasin* give a place for religious agencies to mediate their communication with God. Another example, *orang Sunnah* believe that days are equal in quality, there is no quality stratification of days.¹⁸ Therefore, *orang Sunnah* reject privileging certain day compared to other days. Reversely, *orang Yasin* have rank of qualities of the days like: Friday is considered better than any other days to recite Yasin or hold *Tahlil*.¹⁹

Diagram 2: Proportion of *orang Sunnah* and *orang Yasin* in every *Dusun*. (% : N 276)



The diversity can be seen also in the question of ritual worship. *Orang Sunnah* do not hold *Tahlil*, while *orang Yasin* periodically will hold *Tahlil* congregation, including the *Tahlil* on the dead. *Takziah* (condolence visit) in the tradition of *orang Sunnah* is listening to a lecture delivered by a preacher, while in the tradition of *orang Yasin* is reciting *Tahlil* together. *Takziah* model of *orang Sunnah* is conducted over three consecutive days,²⁰ while the recitation of *Tahlil* is to be conducted on three days after the death, on the seventh day, fortieth, hundredth and thousandth.²¹ This difference of perspective – that will be discussed – has sociologically quite real implication in the society.

In the matter of social interaction, *orang Sunnah* emphasize that a Muslim should not bow his body when shaking hand with others, not even a little, because it could mean submission: it is

forbidden to offer except for God.²² On the reverse, *orang* Yasin accustom the younger to kiss the hand of elders. To their belief, kissing the hand of clergy or even local government officials would bring blessings. For Yasin people, to bow the body is not a symbol of submission but rather the expression of respect. *Orang* Sunnah remind that respect is very close to worship. Worshipping these certain individuals is what they forbid.

One might extend the list of the differences as he wishes, but it should be noted that the factual diversity between *orang* Sunnah and *orang* Yasin occurs only in practical matter and details. Things like this that might underlie the differences in winning the claim of piety between *orang* Sunnah and *orang* Yasin that potentially ignite the social friction one another.

C. Scramble over the House of God

The advent of *orang* Sunnah in Sidodadi in 1970s changes the religious pattern of its society towards the process of purification of Islam. The process is supported by a number of educational elements like *pengajian* (lectures) and Qur'anic kindergartens which have won the hearth of the people. Mosque is a vital instrument for the implementation of these activities when the administrators of this Islamic education still have no permanent places to run the education. Apart from that, mosque and *musholla* for a Muslim is the centre for the activities of disseminating religious ideas even when a child is for the first time introduced to Islam.

Musholla in Aceh tradition has more significant meaning compared to mosque. According to Andrew Beatty, since the family life is the main arena of social life and the field where moral behavior is formed, *musholla* practically has a more important meaning. A village in Aceh could survive without a mosque for Friday prayer can be performed in the mosques of the district. But without *musholla* (*meunasah*), righteousness and piety will be interrupted to become a normative guideline: scriptural obligation will remain an obligation, but the solidarity among the Muslims will fade.²³ John R. Bowen said that the control over a mosque has tremendous political significant among Muslim people of Gayo.²⁴ The domination of mosque or *musholla* brings a symbolic meaning of increasing or decreasing supporters of religious ideas that promoted.

Sidodadi has two mosques and four *mushollas*. Al-Mukmin Mosque, main village's mosque situated in the centre of the village. Not known when the mosque was built, but in 1995 it was renovated to the current shape. Another mosque is the mosque of plantation field built in 2001 in Dusun Kantil by P.T. Sisirau. Although the mosque belongs to the company but from the beginning it was built purposely to become a centre of villagers' religious activities. *Mushollas* of the village are al-Naba in Dusun Kantil, *Musholla Perjuangan* in Dusun Perjuangan, *Musholla Khadijah* and *Musholla Hidayah* in Pesantren al-Hidayah, the last two *mushollas* are situated in Dusun Kenanga. Management and pattern of worship in each mosques and *mushollas* describe the contestation of piety between *orang Sunnah* and *orang Yasin* in this village.

The contestation of both groups takes place in Raudhatul Husna mosque. According to the information of Pak Sakdun, Imam of the mosque, after the establishment of the mosque in 2001, the company appointed Pak Syafi'i as the preacher of the mosque. Apart from his responsibility over the organization of religious activities, Pak Syafi'i often leads the recitation of Yasin and *Tahlilan*. Friday prayer is organized in accordance with the credentials of traditionalist Muslim, wherein *khutbah* is performed twice. After the prayer, the Imam leads a *du'a*, and there are other rituals which matched the typology of traditionalist Muslim. However, in the year 2004 Pak Syafi'i has changed his religious orientation from traditionalist one to that one of the Sunnah. He did not any longer lead the *du'a* after prayer, nor he organized the recitation of Yasin, and now he performs only one *khutbah* in Friday prayer. The administration of the mosque has changed accordingly to the credentials of *orang Sunnah*. The number of Jama'ah of either Friday prayer or other daily prayer significantly increases due to participation of *orang Sunnah* in the surrounding areas which become a large supply to the number of the Jama'ah. On the reverse, *orang Yasin* who live around the mosque choose to perform his Friday prayer in Pekan Sungai Liput mosque which is located about three kilometers from the Dusun. No more *orang Yasin* who perform their prayer in this mosque.

Change of religious orientation ignited shock in the society. The shock culminated when a central leader of P. T. Sisirau from Medan stayed in Sidodadi for the sake of work visit. In an early

morning he heard azan and woke up. On hearing azan he performed Subuh prayer at his official residence without checking the time on his watch. He slept again after performing prayer. An hour had passed; he woke up once more and heard azan. He looked at his watch and checked the time; it was 5 am early morning. Azan of Subuh prayer in this mosque during the management of *Pak Syafi'i* was echoed twice: once as an alert for the preparation to perform Subuh prayer, the second one is the sign that it is the time to perform prayer.²⁵

This odd experience was told to the central management of the company in Medan. *Pak Syafi'i* was warned and requested to restore the religious practices in Raudhatul Husna back to the previous credentials of traditionalist Muslims. He was given three months of grace time to return to previous religious orientation but he did not budge. In July 2006 the company appointed *Pak Sakdun Muda* as the new Imam of this mosque.²⁶ Imam Sakdun is the alumni of pesantren Mustofawiyah, an Islamic boarding school in North Sumatera that becomes the centre of traditionalist Muslim reproduction. He originated from Kuala Simpang and is a Melayu Tamiang in ethnic. The new job has awaited him; to take back the constituent of Jama'ah of Friday prayer, to manage the activities of the mosque and, to restore the credentials of traditionalist Muslim. At this time some member of orang Sunnah still perform their daily prayer in this mosque though none of them has an opportunity to become Imam of the prayer.

Musholla al-Naba in *Dusun Kantil* has a story that can't be separated with the shock in Raudhatul Husna mosque. Seeing their mosque was managed on the basis of Sunnah credentials, the local residents of *Dusun Kantil* built their own *musho'lla*. The construction of the *musho'lla* was self-financed collected from every family in that *dusun*. Six months later, a non-permanent *musholla* with the size of 6x10 meters had risen. *Pak Suparman* was appointed Imam by the society. The implementation of worship activities was run according to the credentials of traditionalist Muslim. After a short period, *Pak Suparman* died.²⁷

Pak Yahman, head of the village recommended *Pak Anto* and *Pak Supar* and let the villagers to elect anyone of them as Imam of the *musholla*. *Pak Anto* belongs to *orang Yasin*, while *Pak Supar* belongs to *orang Sunnah*.²⁸ Since most of the residents are traditionalist, undoubtedly *Pak Anto* was then elected as the Imam,

and *Pak Supar* was assigned vice of the Imam. After a period of six months, *Pak Anto* resigned from his post and replaced by *Pak Supar*.²⁹ Since then a dozens of people perform their congregational prayer there. There are *orang Sunnah* who never perform their prayer here during the leadership of *Pak Anto*. Although he succeeded to enliven the mosque, but *Pak Supar* was not allowed to organize lectures for *orang Sunnah*. *Pak Ponimin*, head of the *Dusun*, had told such this directly to *Pak Supar* on behalf of the villagers.³⁰ He was allowed only to teach children how to read Quran.

In the beginning of 2011, a social shock occurred in *Dusun Kantil*. *Pak Ponimin* – the head of *Dusun* who had served as long as 20 years – was suddenly fired by the head of the village who is usually called *Pak Datuk*. He was fired for he was breaching *Reusam Gampong*, traditional regulation that he himself took part in formulating and signing that Reusam, said *Pak Datuk*. *Reusam Gampong* mentioned that organizing music shows at night in *Sidodadi* is prohibited. At the celebration of his son's circumcision, *Pak Ponimin* organized music show till night. That night, a resident called the chief of *Kejuruan Muda* Police Department complained about the breaching of the *Reusam*.

The residents of *Dusun Kantil* protested against *Ponimin's* dismissal. Rumors spread that the one who called the police that night is *orang Sunnah*. The sentiment of *orang Yasin* towards *orang Sunnah* culminated in the form of demand for re-election of Imam. They believe that *Pak Supar* was responsible for the increasing number of *orang Sunnah* in this *Dusun*. The re-election was held in June 2011 and *Pak Anto* once again elected as Imam of *musholla*. Up to this time *Pak Anto* still undertake his task as a permanent Imam of this *musholla*.³¹

The struggling over the control of *musholla* also occurred in *Dusun Perjuangan*. *Pak Jasim*, a leader of *orang Yasin*, had been trusted to be the official priest for a long period of time. However, in the last couple of years he seldom lead the prayers, that was why the congregational prayers was in turn led by *orang Sunnah*. *Orang Sunnah* said, "*orang Yasin* is not reliable to enliven the *musholla*".³² *Pak Murod* in a lecture satirized, "Shame on an imam who never led the prayer but takes a monthly stipend".³³ The satire was addressed to *Pak Jasim*. *Pak Datuk* said that he was concerned

with this fact and he has full authority to replace *Pak Jasim* from his post, but to avoid disturbance he did not do that.

Pak Jasim has no militant member who sincerely always performed his daily prayers in the *musholla*. In the beginning of 2011 he organized a lecture for *orang Yasin* in the *musholla*, but unfortunately none of *orang Yasin* could attend the lecture. On the contrary, the lecture organized by *orang Sunnah* was going on every Sunday night. When we attended the lecture of *orang Sunnah* in this *musholla* the audients have come not only from *Dusun Perjuangan* but many of them from *Dusun Kenanga*. *Orang Yasin* were there at performing congregational prayer, but went home when the lecture was strated.

Though *Pak Jasim* lost his constituent and the activities of *musholla* controlled by *orang Sunnah*, he still has the power over religious activities of the traditionalist Muslims. In the year 2010, at the occasion of Isra' Mi'raj in al-Mukmin mosque, the program was changed unilaterally to ordinary lecture by *orang Sunnah*, but *Pak Jasim* keep organized the remembrance of Isra' Mi'raj. When we ask the comment of *orang Sunnah* regarding the program organized by *Pak Jasim* they said that *orang Yasin* set an organ (played keyboard) in *musholla* till late night and at Subuh prayer none of them came to congregation. We are confirmed that *orang Yasin* actually set religious songs and music loudly. *Orang Sunnah* usually use the term 'playing keyboard' for setting a music with sound system. The struggles for the control of *musholla* in *Dusun Perjuangan* between two different Islamic credentials still go on.

Scramble over authority is the impact of piety contestation between *orang Sunnah* and *orang Yasin*. This struggle for the domination of the mosque is paralleled with Geertz and Sutyono – though both of them give a different analysis. Geertz said that when the struggle between the traditionalist and the purist reach its peak, the story is always ended with the reluctance of the traditionalist to perform congregational prayers in the mosque that dominated by their rival.³⁴ While Sutyono said that the struggle continued to occur and calmed for a while, the traditionalist always seek the way to take over their authority.³⁵ The story of the struggle for the domination of mosque and *musholla* in Sidodadi justifies both analyzes.

The struggle for the domination is not occurred in mosque or *musholla* that constructed by or sponsored by *orang Sunnah* or

adherent of similar ideology. This is paralleled with the analysis of Bowen in Takengon that new mosques sponsored by the government will not become the battlefield for traditionalists and purist, while in old mosques the struggle for authority continues till the winner is determined.³⁶ In Sidodadi, *musholla* that built by the fund of Wahhabi and the likes become the center of demonstration and reproduction of salafi ideology that follows their version. We did not see any symptom which indicates *orang* Yasin will take over the administration of Kenanga *musholla*, contrary to symptoms which indicates that *orang* Sunnah will take over the mosque or *musholla* which administrated by *orang* Yasin

D. Two Different Style of Prayer

The style of prayer is always the actual topic even since the Sunnah credence firstly introduced four decades ago. This theme is continuously reproduced and each group prepared its successors to preserve justification of their style of prayer. To the puritan the term of *bid'ah* is the key concept of their credence, so every practice that has no example from the prophet must be stopped. On the reverse, *orang* Yasin believe that prayer must not only bear transcendental dimension but it should strengthen immediately the horizontal relation with their Muslim fellow. To *orang* Yasin the refusal of telling du'a together in congregation, lifting the hand palm during du'a, or shaking hand after prayers; is the anomaly in submission and piety that should be terminated immediately.

We joined the congregation of Maghrib prayer several times in Raudhatul Husna mosque. The prayer usually led by *Pak* Sakdun. Since he was alone there without companion and the time of Maghrib prayer has come, he echoed the azan himself. On that day he acted as Imam and Bilal as well. When he led Maghrib prayer he read surah al-Fatihah initiated by *Basmalah*. After prayer he led the du'a. There were about 21 Jama'ah that formed two lines behind him. According to the observation, there were about five persons who were indicated as *orang* Sunnah recognized from his physical appearance and dress style. They didn't respond to the du'a led by *Pak* Sakdun. About seven minutes after prayer, the du'a was over but *orang* Sunnah had gone home earlier. The rest are about eight persons who deeply listened to the du'a and absorbed in. The sound of "amin" was heard loudly and harmonious in

rhythm. When the du'a was over, they shake hand with each other while reciting *shalawat*.

The researcher remembers what has said enthusiastically by *Pak Sutiman* – *orang Yasin* – when we discussed with him about this matter. He said, “*orang Sunnah* has no manner, they don't respect other Muslims. It won't be a problem if they wait and get out from the mosque together with other Muslims”. Passionately *Pak Sutiman* said, “They come late to the mosque but get out early. They pray in the mosque but never shake hand with other jama'ah”. Probably the moment of seven minutes for reciting du'a together and the shaking hand is what *Pak Sutiman* cares for. So far as we observed the process of shaking hand after the prayer, it done quite humbly and friendly. It seemed that they were demonstrating their identity in front of us and differentiate them with *orang Sunnah* that we observe too.

The same night, we performed Isya prayer in *Khadijah musholla*. The jama'ah of this *musholla* are *orang Sunnah*. Approximately two minutes after azan, the jama'ah of the first line stood up as a sign that they were ready for prayer. Nobody had commanded to take a preparation, but it seemed that they were well trained with this custom. *Pak Yakimin*, the Imam, observed the lines whether it is straight enough. When he was sure that the jama'ah were ready, he then commanded the *muazin* to call for *iqamah*. No basmalah was heard during the prayer. After Isya prayer was done, *Pak Yakimin* recited *tasbih*, *tahmid* and, *takbir*, 33 times each. It closed with saying *lailaha illa Allah*. Every member of jama'ah recited the same thing but they recite on their own. There were about 18 persons who attended Isya prayer that night. No shaking hand was there. Most of them performed Sunnah prayer before they left for home or for the lecture that was organized on that night.

On other occasion we performed Maghrib prayer in *al-Naba musholla* in *Dusun Kantil*. The *musholla* which is now administrated by *orang Yasin*. Prior to this they have replaced *Pak Supar*, the previous Imam who ever led the prayer in this *musholla* according to the way of *orang Sunnah*. The prayer here is similar to that of *Raudhatul Husna* mosque: reciting *basmalah* before *Fatihah* and in the beginning of every surah after *Fatihah* recitation. We heard the word “*usholli*” being told twice by a member of jama'ah when he was starting to raise his hand for *takbir*. None of them

went home early; they recited du'a in congregation after the shalat done. By standing, they shake hand with each other. Then they went home or sat for a while with others. We sat with *Pak Anto* and other jama'ah in musholla discussing certain matters while smoking a cigarette. We never smoke whenever we sit with *orang Sunnah*, let alone doing it in the mosque or *musholla*.

The style of worship has triggered a polemic between the two different ideologies. All realize the unimportance of debating this matter, since both views will never meet. However, based on our exploration during the collection of the data, the claim that their respective style of worship is the best way of worship can't be denied. A supporter of Sunnah told us – in the way of humiliating – that raising the hand while performing du'a after shalat like the one who request rain falls. *Pak Zubir*, *orang Sunnah*, said that shake hand is not limited to be done only after shalat. It can be done with everyone everywhere, unless with non-muhrim.³⁷ Contrary to this, *Pak Sutiman*, *orang Yasin*, assumes that *orang Sunnah* are arrogant and impolite because they refuse to shake hand after congregational prayer.³⁸ *Pak Anto*, the Imam, said that he cannot understand why *orang Sunnah* refuse to perform congregational du'a after shalat.³⁹

E. Different Way in Approaching Islam

Although the religious orientation of *orang Sunnah* is different from that of *orang Yasin*, both stand on one same foundation. Al-Quran and Hadits are the main reference to build the authority of their religious life. The definition and zone of religious scope are also generated by them from these two sources of Islamic teachings, but to apply the ideal contained in the holy text to the real life, both have their respective version of interpretation. Both sides take up a different way to approach Islam. The following description will elaborate the approach used by both group in approaching Islam. To elaborate it, we utilize the theory of Bernard Adeney-Risakota.

Adeney-Risakota adapting H. Richard Niebuhr,⁴⁰ said at least there are five ideal types to analyze the types of relation between Islam and Culture: (1) Islam against human culture; (2) Islam is Arab's culture which is the noblest culture of human culture; (3) Islam in tension with all human culture, including Arab's culture; (4) Islam is itself a culture, that is Islamic culture; and (5) human culture is actually good and must be respected by Islam. The type

of religious behavior of Muslim in Sidodadi, we consider, should be in either second category, third, or fourth, in viewing the relation between Islam and culture. *Orang Sunnah* in this village, for instance, always view all practices that don't match the Arab's Islamic practices as not Islamic, while *orang Yasin* view the inevitability of negotiation between Islamic teachings and local custom.

Based on these five categories we are inclined to say that the dynamics of Islam in Sidodadi describe contestation between two groups, one is a group who believe in "Islam is Arab's culture", and another one is a group who view "Islam is in tension and negotiation with all human cultures". *Orang Sunnah* claim that Islam is represented by Arab's culture like the example that have been given by the Prophet Muhammad. Therefore, the life that practiced by the Prophet Muhammad is a critical standard to evaluate other cultures. God has given sharia to mankind in Arabic language that pointed to the context of social, culture, economic and politic of Prophet Muhammad's era. Hadith talks about the life and way of life of Prophet Muhammad who live in the context of Arab's culture. Making the use of *Pak Murod*'s words, "to be a good Muslim means following the way of the Prophet in every dimension of his life."⁴¹

That is the reason why *orang Sunnah* dress like an Arab, keep their beard long and use the words that rooted from Arabic. They believe that the pure Islam is Islam that has its example from the Prophet Muhammad. In a lecture that we had joined, *Pak Murod* said that the tradition of *Tahlil*, reciting *Yasin* on certain days in congregation, festival of *Isra' Mi'raj*, celebration of Prophet's birth, the custom of *halal bi halal* in the month of *Shawal*, or other practice that has no example from the Prophet Muhammad is believed to impure Islam.⁴² Since there is no example in the time of the prophet the usage of carpets in the mosque at congregational prayers, *orang Sunnah* avoid using it in mosque and musholla.

Orang sunnah do not agree to implement the practice that based only on tradition though it had been practiced by many. Criticizing *taklid* and calling to *ijtihad* is the mirror of *orang Sunnah*'s thought in Sidodadi. Such this behavior brings crucial religious implication. Mankind is requested to know exactly what should he do in his religion. For instance, if someone wanted to

perform prayer, he must know exactly what should be recited in his prayer. The worship will go in vain if it is implemented on the basis of tradition or copying the practices of others without knowing the reasons. To make use of *Pak Murod*'s words, "the standard of being a Muslim is not copying others".⁴³

Certainly this requirement cannot be implemented easily. Not all stratification of the society is able to interpret the holy text. Simply we can say that only certain groups that well learned in religion who can understand Arabic. However, due to the requirement of self-responsibility, every Muslim has to understand Islamic teachings. On this reason *orang Sunnah* seek the way out by translating Al-Quran and hadith to the local language. That is why in every lecture that delivered by him, *Pak Murod* frequently asks some jama'ah to carry the Quran along with its translation and asks the jama'ah of his lecture to recheck the existence and the meaning of the verses that recited by him.

The approach to Islam used by *orang Sunnah* is different from that of *orang Yasin*. *Orang Yasin* realize that probably there is always a tension between Islam and human culture. They do not believe that pure Islam means copying exactly the Islam of Arabs at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. To them, Islamic practices may develop in varied culture. Islam could adapt with several context of culture without forcing any Muslim to be like a Muslim in the Middle East. To them, praying on the carpets in the mosque is as valid as praying in the mosque without carpets. Man's piety is not recognized from the length of his beard or from the model of his dress.

Orang Yasin realize that the adaptation between Islam and variety of culture is not that simple. When ones agree that interpretation of Quran (*ijtihad*) is needed, and obedience to the teachings of Islam is does not always means following all sharia law or following the hadith textually, then the relation between Islam and culture is more complicated. Social structure, culture, economics, and politics have changed significantly compared to the situation in 14 centuries ago. Interpretation needs contextual understanding of the interpreter and the motive behind the text of the holy book. To *orang Yasin*, the textual meaning of the holy text does not necessarily meet the original meaning of the holy text. If we want to know what the real purpose of God in his text, then we have to understand the original context where the text was

revealed. Words in whatever language, does not have an abstract meaning that is not related to the context in which the words are spoken or written. Words and sentences are addressed to a certain person in certain context.

The true understanding of the holy text is not necessarily to understand only the original context where the text was revealed but additionally there must be the understanding of the new context from the readers. To *orang* Yasin, Islam could be presented in the context of Iran culture, Egypt, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Saudi Arab, Qatar, China, Swiss, Indonesia, and United State of America or Aceh Tamiang. *Orang* Yasin rejected the view of uniformity expression of Islamic culture. Every culture has advantages and disadvantages, or contains things that are more or less in accordance with the religion of Islam. Hence, Indonesian tradition of shaking hand after the completion of shalat should not be confronted with Islam because the people in this country has a tradition that relatively different with the Arabs.

To *orang* Yasin, the meaning contained in al-Quran and Hadith is not as simple as the assumption of orang Sunnah. While orang Sunnah believe that the meaning contained in those two sources is clear, *orang* Yasin believe the reverse instead. Absolutely not all people are able to master the skills required to understand religion. Only limited certain circle of people who can understand and explain the content of the Quran and Hadith adequately. Hence, *orang* Yasin believe that Islam which has been practiced by the *ulama* (clerics) is Islam that God please with it. No matter they read al-Quran without understanding, because such deed will be rewarded by God. The understanding of the Quran, to them, can be left to the scholars who have requirements to understand al-Quran and Hadith. Therefore, they do not reject the *taklid* (imitation) in practicing Islam.

As a matter of fact, Muslim scholars have different views with each other over the real meaning of the Quran. To *orang* Yasin, the difference is common because every scholar has his own method to uncover the real meaning of al-Quran and hadith. Apart from that, the variety of practice and understanding is a logical consequence of cultural difference of Muslim society. There is no reason to reject the diversity of interpretation since the historical context of the interpreter is varied. Borrowing *Pak Anto's* framework, "Islam in Indonesia needs to adjust itself to the

tradition and culture of Indonesia.” Furthermore he said, “if they (*orang* Sunnah) want to practice Islam like Qatar Muslim, they may change their citizenship and go to Qatar, don’t stay in Indonesia’.⁴⁴ The words of *Pak* Anto though not seriously uttered by him, but it sufficiently describe the contrast of each group in approaching Islam.

F. Diversity, Negotiation and Reconciliation

Character difference between the two and the difference of religious orientation, according to Bowen, do not guarantee each party to remain in their exclusive territory.⁴⁵ In other words, conflict between traditional practices is not always ended with lose-win relationship, but it opens the probability to adaptation, mimicry and synthesis value between two polar opposite views. Mimicry or mutual imitation often lead to the emergence of synthesis tradition might not be imagined without the existence of such contestation. The social process that called by Homi K Bhabha as mimicry in turn gave birth to the theory of “culture in between”,⁴⁶ a synthesis tradition which is the product of negotiations between *orang* Sunnah and *orang* Yasin.

Orang Sunnah and *orang* Yasin often engage in a debate on issues of mutual concern. Each orientation seeks to provide interpretation and arguments for their own beliefs and practices. Frequently, the differences between the two opinions present the new synthesis within their religious diversity. The clearest example of this synthesis is the deliverance of *Talkin* to the dead. The argument of *orang* Yasin regarding this practice strongly related with their understanding on the hadith of the Prophet that orders to teach person from birth to the grave. That is why *orang* Yasin wishper *azan* to the ear of new born baby and deliver *talkin* to the dead a moment after his burial, though both the baby and the dead don’t understand it.

To the Yasin, *talkin* is more than simply teaching the dead how to answer the questions of the angel after the burial of the dead body, but it is an expression of responsibility of a Muslim toward a member of society who has just died. To pray for the dead is part of obligation bore by everyone.⁴⁷ Hence, to them, the relationship between two Muslims does not go on their life time only, but to the death. It has become the obligation of the living one to pray for his brother who has died may peace be upon him in the hereafter.

Including teaching the dead about du'a or other things that he may faces after the death.

Regarding the question that the dead would not understand the du'a recited to him by the living one is not a big deal. The point is that the obligation has already been fulfilled; hence, a person is no longer burdened by the unfulfilled obligation. *Pak Elpiadi* in his lecture reminded that delivering *talkin* to the dead is a sign that "the relationship between the living and the dead does not end although one of them has died".⁴⁸ Borrowing the words of *Pak Ponimin*, "the dead body of a Muslim cannot be treated as a trunk of Bananas that has been chopped",⁴⁹ in a meaning that the living has an obligation to pray for the goodness of the dead. Giving charity to the guests who come for *tahlil* is also believed to be beneficial to the family of the deceased.

The argument foundation of *orang Sunnah* is far from this sketch. *Pak Murod* said that one's responsibility towards God is individual in its origin. Islam does not recognize the concept of representation in account on deeds. They believe that the living cannot have relationship with the deceased.⁵⁰ To them, believing that certain ritual could ease the burden of the deceased is equal to denying the death as the last human journey in the world and it reject the autonomous authority of God as well. Quoting *Jamhari*, one who is alive cannot have relationship with the deceased. The destiny of the deceased has nothing to do with the one who is alive. Good or bad of his destiny is totally on account of his own deeds during his life time.⁵¹

However, the debate regarding the rituals over the dead leaves a room for negotiation. On the question of *talkin*, *Pak Jasim* confessed that the view of *Pak Murod* when he was saying "there is no benefit of teaching the dead" is sensible. "If we think over it", said *Pak Jasim*, "it makes sense when *Pak Murod* said that the dead cannot be taught anymore", he further said, "now, if I lead the funeral ritual I leave *talkin*. I only lead the du'a and *tahlil* after burial. No one complains so far". According to him, *orang Yasin* now don't practice *talkin* in the funeral, since he don't practice it any longer.⁵²

Absolutely only a few credence of *orang Sunnah* can be accepted by *orang Yasin*. *Orang Yasin* totally denied the opinion that *tahlil* is a *bid'ah* which has no benefit and has no examples from the prophet. But the debate on *tahlil* gave birth to a synthetic

tradition. According to *Pak* Jasim, if the deceased belongs to Yasin, they practice *tahlil* in the house of the deceased; on the other hand if the deceased belongs to Sunnah there will be only ordinary condolence. Nonetheless, if the family of the deceased is a mixed of *orang* Yasin and *orang* Sunnah, as the case of *Pak* Sriadi, there will be a synthesis between the followers of these two groups. Rejection of *tahlil* among the followers of Sunnah gave birth to the tradition of *takziah*. For instance, during the condolence, either *orang* Yasin or *orang* Sunnah prepare food for the family of the deceased three days consecutively. Likewise, The rejection over the celebration of Isra' Mi'raj and Maulid (Prophet Muhammad birthday) gave birth to new program namely *Pengajian Akbar* (big lecture) replacing the old tradition.

G. Conclusion

The description above shows the symptoms of the rapid growth of Islamic Puritanism in rural Aceh Tamiang. The phenomenon corrects the theory of Geertz and Bowen, on the contrary, strengthens the theory of Saiful Mujani. Geertz, through his research in Java and Bowen in his study in Gayo said that Islamic Puritanism is the phenomenon of urban society. Geertz said that Muhammadiyah is more acceptable by the Muslim traders in Mojokuto city. Bowen saw that Muhammadiyah can grow in urban area of Takengon, and not well accepted by the rural society. On the contrary, Mujani was on the opinion that although Puritanism experienced rapid growth in Indonesian cities, but the background of its followers is always the villagers who migrate to the cities. The rapid growth of purist Muslim in Sidodadi shows that Islamic Puritanism is also accepted by rural society.

Contestation over the claim of the most pious goes on the question of rituals and worships, broadening and increasing the religious quality of each member, as well as the approach they use in approaching Islam. This is paralleled with the view of Adeney-Risakota that there are various approaches used by Muslim society to understand the relation between Islam and tradition. The diversity often ended in an antagonistic relation between different followers of approach. *Orang* Sunnah believe that to be a pious Muslim one have to practice the Islamic teachings as precisely as possible with the practice at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. They also believe that Arab culture is the representation of Islamic

culture; hence, Muslims in various regions outside Arab have to imitate the Islamic culture in Arab. Islam, in other words, has to conquer the culture that does not suit the normative lines of Islam.

Orang Yasin admitted that there is always tension in the relation between Islam and tradition. Nevertheless, they believe that Islam will accommodate the tradition and locality wherever Islam is presented. To them, the traditions that run in the society, though has not been found in the time of the prophet or practiced by Arab Muslims could not be necessarily considered bad. Recitation of congregational du'a for the dead or recitation of Yasin is religious innovation which is even encouraged. Islam in the view of *orang* Yasin doesn't need to be looked as the conqueror of the traditions that exist outside the birthplace of Islam.

Furthermore, diversity triggers contestation, negotiation and reconciliation of practicing Islam. This finding strengthens the theories that have been developed previously, some of them as expressed by Homi K Bhaba that the antagonistic social diversity will ignite the emergence of negotiation and reconciliation for the points of similarities and mutual adjustment. Conception of each group in realizing the ideal of Islam in managing the house of God on the one hand triggers the struggle for control of mosques and *musholla*, but on the other hand raises empathy in each community to enliven worship places.

Endnotes:

¹ Thanks to Muhammad Nasir, the former chairman of Majelis Permusyawaratan Ulama (MPU) Aceh Tamiang – a consultative assembly of Muslim scholars – for the initial mapping on the conflict of Islamic articulation in varied religious credentials adherents in Aceh Tamiang. Based on his experience during his chairmanship, he confessed that he received numerous complaints from the society about the conflict between religious communities. Later on, this discussion became the inspiration of choosing the title: 'The contestation of piety'.

² *Talkin* is teaching the deceased person what to answer the question of angels in the grave.

³ Abdul Munir Mulkhan, *Islam Murni dalam Masyarakat Petani*, (Yogyakarta: Bentang, 2000), p. 53

⁴ Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia: 1000-1942*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2000)

⁵ John R. Bowen, *Muslim Through Discourse*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 21-30

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- ⁶ Mark Woodward, *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif versus Kebatinan*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999), p. 1
- ⁷ Sutyono, *Benturan Budaya Islam: Puritan dan Sinkretis*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), p. 5-9
- ⁸ Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1994), p. 64
- ⁹ Homi K Bhabha, 'Culture's in Between', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (ed.) (London, Thousands Oak, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1996), p. 54
- ¹⁰ Homi K Bhabha, 'Culture's in Between', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (ed.) (London, Thousands Oak, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1996), p. 54
- ¹¹ Homi K Bhabha, 'Culture's in Between', in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (ed.) (London, Thousands Oak, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1996), p. 54
- ¹² Medium term village development plan 2009-2003, Sidodadi village, Februari 15, 2011 (Document of village development in 2011)
- ¹³ Document of village development in 2011
- ¹⁴ Residence data of 2010 Sidodadi
- ¹⁵ An interview with Jasim, September 29, 2011
- ¹⁶ An interview with Jasim, September 29, 2011
- ¹⁷ Transcription of Murod lecture, September 15, 2011
- ¹⁸ Transcription of Murod lecture, September 15, 2011
- ¹⁹ An interview with Jasim, September 29, 2011
- ²⁰ An interview with Yakimin, September 17, 2011
- ²¹ An interview with Suwarno, September 2011; interview with Jasim, September 29, 2011
- ²² Transcription of Murod lecture, September 15, 2011
- ²³ Andrew Beatty, *Variasi Agama di Jawa: Suatu Pendekatan Antropologi*, (Jakarta: Murai Kencana, 2001), p. 200
- ²⁴ John R. Bowen, *Muslim Through Discourse*, p. 309
- ²⁵ An interview with Sakdun Muda, September 23, 2011
- ²⁶ An interview with Sakdun muda, September 23, 2011
- ²⁷ An interview with Ponimin, September 20, 2011
- ²⁸ An interview with Ponimin, September 20, 2011
- ²⁹ An interview with Anto, October 20, 2011
- ³⁰ An interview with Ponimin, September 20, 2011
- ³¹ An interview with Ponimin, September 20, 2011
- ³² An interview with Zubir, September 19, 2011
- ³³ Transcription of Murod's lecture, September 17, 2011
- ³⁴ Clifford Geertz, *Santri Priyai dan Abangan*, p. 190
- ³⁵ Sutyono, *Benturan Budaya Islam*, p. 252
- ³⁶ John R. Bowen, *Muslim Through Discourse*, p. 311-314
- ³⁷ An interview with Zubir, September 19, 2011
- ³⁸ An interview with Sutiman, September 20, 2011
- ³⁹ An interview with Sutiman, September 20, 2011

⁴⁰ According to Niebuhr, there are five type of relation between religion and culture, they are (1) religion against culture, (2) religion is the noblest part of culture, (3) religion is above culture, (4) tension between religion and culture, and (5) religion transforms culture. Niebuhr viewed the five types as series of unity between these two extreme poles: *religion against culture*, and *religion as the noblest part of culture*. Between these two extremes, Niebuhr put three types in the middle as a compromise between the two. The type *Tension between religion and culture* is closer to the type *religion against culture*, while *religion above culture* is closer to *religion is the noblest part of culture*. The type *religion transforms culture* is located in the middle. See H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951). Quoted in Bernard Adeney-Risakota, *Islam and Culture*, paper presented in Annual Conference on Islamic Studies, in Pangkal Pinang, 10-13 October 2011, p. 1-2

⁴¹ Transcription of Murod's lecture, September 17, 2011

⁴² Transcription of Murod's lecture, September 17, 2011

⁴³ Transcription of Murod's lecture, September 17, 2011

⁴⁴ An interview with Pak Anto, September 29, 2011

⁴⁵ John R. Bowen, *Muslims Through Discourse*, p. 24-25

⁴⁶ Homi K Bhabha, 'Culture's in Between', p. 54

⁴⁷ Jamhari, 'Wacana, Satu Alternatif Memahami Islam', dalam *Studia Islamika*, Volume I, Number 3, 1994, p. 238

⁴⁸ Transcription of Elpiadi's lecture, October 6, 2011

⁴⁹ Transcription of Elpiadi's lecture, October 6, 2011

⁵⁰ Transcription of Murod's lecture, September 23, 2011

⁵¹ Jamhari, 'Wacana, Satu Alternatif Memahami Islam', p. 236

⁵² An interview with Jasim, September 29, 2011

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Jasim (63), *Imam of Musholla in Dusun Perjuangan Sidodadi*, September 23, 29, 2011

Juliono (62), *Imam of al-Mukmin Mosque in Sidodadi*, September 22, 2011 .

M. Nasir (38), Former Head of MPU in Aceh Tamiang, April 7, 14, 2011

Murod (72), Ustadz in Sidodadi, September 15, 17, 23, 2011

Ponidi (41), A resident of Sidodadi, October 6, 2011

Ponimin (38), Former Head of Dusun Kantil, September 20, 2011

Ponirun (41), Datuk (Head) of Sidodadi, September 15, 17, 19, 2011

Rikasah (72), Former Head of Sidodadi village, September 14, 15, 2011

Sakdun Muda (45), Imam of Raudhatul Husna Mosque in Sidodadi, September 19, 23, 2011

Sutiman (57), A resident of Sidodadi, September 20, 2011

Suwarno (59), Head of Dusun Kantil Sidodadi, September 20, 23, 2011

Tirimidzi (76), Former Head of MDSK in Sidodadi, September 22, 2011

Yakimin (46), Head of the Foundation of al-Hidayah Sidodadi, September 14-17, 23, 25, 2011

Zubir/Supiono (39), A resident of Desa Sidodadi, September 17, 19, 25, 2011.