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THE RUPTURE OF YOUNG MUSLIM
INTELLIGENTSIA IN THE MODERNIZATION
OF INDONESIA

Yudi Latif

MEDIA AND ISLAMISM
IN POST-NEW ORDER INDONESIA:
THE CASE OF *SABILI*

Syamsul Rijal

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Zaki Nur'aeni

Daarut Tauhiid: Modernizing a Pesantren Tradition

Abstraksi: *Perkembangan Islam Indonesia dewasa ini menunjukkan bahwa lembaga pendidikan Islam tetap eksis di tengah perubahan kaum Muslim. Pesantren, bersama dengan madrasah dan sekolah Islam, terus berkembang. Minat masyarakat untuk mengirim anak-anak mereka ke lembaga pendidikan Islam juga tetap kuat, bahkan meningkat. Kasus pesantren bisa menjadi satu ilustrasi menarik dalam hal ini. Lembaga pendidikan Islam tertua ini terbukti memiliki daya tahan tinggi untuk tetap eksis di tengah perubahan sosial-keagamaan Muslim Indonesia.*

Data Departemen Agama menunjukkan perkembangan demikian. Pada 1977 jumlah pesantren sekitar 4.195 dengan jumlah santri sekitar 677.384 orang. Jumlah tersebut mengalami peningkatan berarti pada 1981, di mana pesantren berjumlah sekitar 5.661 dengan jumlah santri sebanyak 938.397 orang. Pada tahun 1985 jumlah pesantren ini mengalami kenaikan lagi menjadi 6.239 dengan jumlah santri mencapai sekitar 1.084.801 orang. Sementara pada tahun 1997 Departemen Agama sudah mencatat 9.388 buah pesantren dengan santri sebanyak 1.770.768 orang. Dan jumlah pesantren terus meningkat mencapai 14.647 pada 2003-2004.

Terhadap data di atas, sejumlah pertanyaan tentu saja mengemuka. Pertanyaan tersebut terutama mengacu tidak saja pada sejumlah faktor yang membuat pesantren dan madrasah terus bertahan dan bahkan meningkat, tapi juga berhubungan dengan isu sekitar cara mereka merumuskan perannya di tengah perubahan yang terus berlangsung di bumi Indonesia. Penting ditegaskan, dewasa ini lembaga pendidikan Islam dihadapkan pada tantangan yang jauh lebih kompleks. Di samping berusaha menciptakan Muslim yang memahami ilmu-ilmu keagamaan, lembaga pendidikan Islam juga dihadapkan pada keharusan untuk turut serta dalam pembentukan sistem sosial-politik dan budaya Indonesia baru.

Artikel ini sedikit banyak memberi jawaban terhadap pertanyaan di atas. Artikel ini menampilkan satu kasus pesantren, Pesantren Daruttauhid di Bandung, Jawa Barat, yang mampu merespon perkembangan modernitas. Di bawah asuhan seorang ulama terkemuka, Abdullah Gymnastiar—akrab disapa Aa Gym—pesantren ini telah berkembang sedemikian rupa dalam bentuk yang disebut di sini sebagai “pesantren virtual”. Disebut demikian, Daruttauhid tetap eksis menyanggah peran tradisional pesantren sebagai lembaga pendidikan Islam namun dengan mengadopsi teknologi modern, khususnya bidang informasi.

Kondisi tersebut ditandai antara lain oleh penggunaan dan pemanfaatan secara maksimal dunia cyber. Dengan demikian, proses pembelajaran berlangsung dalam pola berbeda dari sistem yang telah lama dikenal dalam tradisi pesantren (sorogan dan bandongan). Sebaliknya, pembelajaran dilakukan dengan memanfaatkan teknologi informasi, seperti internet. Oleh karena itu, pembelajaran tidak sepenuhnya dilakukan dengan tatap muka antara guru dan murid (santri). Mereka bisa melakukan itu dalam ruang dan jarak berjauhan. Dan ruang dan jarak itulah yang kemudian diisi dengan teknologi informasi dalam kehidupan pesantren.

Dalam perkembangannya, Aa Gym memang menjadikan sarana dan fasilitas teknologi moderen sebagai media pembelajaran dan diseminasi gagasan keislaman (dakwah). TV, CD dan VCD, di samping media cetak, menjadi bagian dari kegiatan pembelajaran di pesantren. Oleh karena itu, tidak mengherankan jika popularitas dan pengaruh Aa Gym jauh melampaui batas-batas fisik pesantren yang dipimpinnya. Terutama melalui ekspose media ini, pesan-pesan keagamaan Aa Gym bisa mencapai audiens lebih luas, baik di Indonesia maupun di tingkat internasional. Dengan demikian, pesantren ini juga terbuka untuk berbagai golongan dan strata sosial masyarakat Indonesia. Ini ditopang kemampuan pihak pesantren membuat sejumlah program pengajian yang tidak hanya terbatas pada belajar Islam secara konvensional. Pesantren Daarut Tahiid memberikan misalnya paket liburan spiritual, yang mengajak kaum Muslim untuk semakin dekat dengan Tuhan di tengah kesibukan hidup di kota besar seperti Jakarta dan Bandung.

Dengan mengadopsi modernitas ini pula pesantren Daruttauhid telah berkembang sedemikian pesat. Pesantren yang berdiri sekitar tahun 1987 itu telah berkembang menjadi salah satu pusat kegiatan keislaman terdepan di Indonesia. Dan Aa Gym juga telah muncul sebagai salah seorang tokoh dan pemimpin kaum Muslim terkemuka di Indonesia.

Daarut Tauhiid: Modernizing a Pesantren Tradition*

خلاصة: يدل تطور الإسلام بإندونيسيا اليوم على أن الهيئات التربوية الإسلامية لا تزال متبقية في عملية التغييرات عند المسلمين. وتطور المعهد الإسلامي - ولا يزال - متكاملا مع غيره من المدارس الإسلامية والمدارس العامة. ولا تزال رغبة المجتمع في إدخال أبنائه في الهيئات التربوية الإسلامية قوية. وأصبحت هذه الحالة تصورا جذابا للغاية بحيث أن المعهد باعتباره أقدم هيئة تربوية إسلامية له قدرة فائقة على البقاء في أوساط عملية التغييرات الاجتماعية والدينية عند المسلمين بإندونيسيا. تثبت لنا بيانات لوزارة الشؤون الدينية ذلك التطور. كان عدد المعاهد الإسلامية في عام 1977 حوالي 4، 195 وعدد طلابها 677، 384 شخصا. وازداد هذا العدد بشكل ملحوظ في عام 1981 بحيث بلغ العدد 5، 661 معهدا وعدد الطلاب 938، 239 شخصا. وفي عام 1985 ازداد العدد ليلبلغ 6، 239 وعدد الطلاب 1، 084، 801 شخص. وفي عام 1997 لاحظت الوزارة أن العدد قد وصل إلى 9، 388 معهدا وعدد الطلاب 1، 770، 768، وازداد العدد في عام 2003-2004 ليلبلغ 14، 647 معهدا. وتثير البيانات السابقة تساؤلات تنطلق من عدة عوامل تساعد على بقاء المعاهد والمدارس بل وزيادتها إلى جانب القضايا المتعلقة بصياغة دورها في التغيير الجاري بإندونيسيا. ومما يهمني التأكيد أن الهيئات التربوية الإسلامية اليوم تواجه تحديات أكثر تعقيدا. وهذه الهيئات مُطالبَة بتمكين المسلمين من فهم العلوم الدينية إلى جانب المشاركة في تشكيل النظام الاجتماعي والسياسي والثقافي بإندونيسيا المتجددة.

وتقدم هذه المقالة ردا على التساؤلات السابقة. وتعرض المقالة دراسة حالة لمعهد دار التوحيد الإسلامي ببياندونج جاوى الغربية والذي يتمكن من تلبية تطور ومتطلبات الحداثة. وقد تطور هذا المعهد تحت العالم الشهير، عبد الله

جيمناستيار أو المشهور بـ Aa Gym تطورا ملموسا يمكن أن يقال له "معهد عملي". ولا يزال المعهد متبقيا ويقوم بالدور التقليدي باعتباره هيئة تربوية إسلامية، مهما يكن مستفيدا من التكنولوجيا الحديثة، خاصة في مجال الإعلام. ويتجلى ذلك في استخدام العالم السبراني والاستفادة منه على الحد الأقصى، فيختلف على سبيل المثال نمط عملية التعليم عن النظام الساري والمنطبق في المعاهد التقليدية من أمثال sorogan نظام التعلم الذي يقابل الطالب المعلم لإلقاء ما قد حفظه فرادا أي واحدا بعد واحد (و) bandongan نظام التعلم الصفي بحيث يكون المعلم محاضرا ومصدرا للمعلومات. (وبخلاف ذلك يتم التعليم باستخدام تكنولوجيا المعلومات مثل الإنترنت. ولذلك لا يتم التعليم عن طريق المحاضرة بين المعلم والطلاب في مكان واحد، ولكن يتم التعليم أحيانا عن بُعد وفي قاعة ومسافة متباعدتين. وهذا هو ما يمكن للمعهد أن يطبق تكنولوجيا المعلومات في الحياة المعهدية.

وفي مفردات تطور المعهد تبين أن Aa Gym يجعل ويستخدم المرافق والتسهيلات من تكنولوجيا الحديثة وسيلة للتعليم وإنماء الفكرة والدعوة الإسلامية. وأصبح التلفاز والقرص والقرص المبرمج، بالإضافة إلى الوسائل المطبوعة، وسائل أساسية للتعليم. ومن ثم فلا عجب أن شهرة Aa Gym وأثره قوية تتجاوز الحدود الجسمية للمعهد الذي يترأسه. وفضلا عن عرض هذه الوسائل، بلغت وصايا Aa Gym الدينية المستمعين والمشاهدين في نطاق أوسع، سواء على المستوى المحلي بإندونيسيا أم على المستوى العالمي. وبعبارة أخرى أن هذا المعهد مفتوح لعدة طوائف وطبقات اجتماعية بإندونيسيا. وهذا بفضل قدرة المعهد على إعداد البرامج التعليمية التي لا تقتصر على تعلم الإسلام بشكل تقليدي فحسب، وإنما يقدم المعهد أيضا على سبيل المثال برنامج الإجازة الروحية، وذلك بدعوة المسلمين الذين يعيشون في دوام الاشتغال بالمدن الكبيرة من أمثال جاكرتا وباندونج للتقرب إلى الله تعالى.

وعن طريق تبني الحدائث، لقد تطور المعهد تطورا سريعا، بحيث أسس المعهد في عام 1987، وقد أصبح الآن مركزا من مراكز الأنشطة الإسلامية التي تحتل مكانة الصدارة بإندونيسيا. كما أصبح Aa Gym من أشهر زعماء المسلمين بإندونيسيا اليوم.

Introduction

This study presents a case study of the Daarut Tauhiid Pesantren in Bandung, West Java¹, which represents an emerging trend in recent years in Indonesia, that is, the growing popularity of what we refer to here as the 'virtual pesantren'.² Employing such a term in relation to the *pesantren* tradition — a tradition that has existed in Indonesia for many centuries — palpably indicates the changing nature of the tradition.

The virtual *pesantren* is characteristically different from its traditional counterpart. In the virtual *pesantren*, *santris* (the students of a *pesantren*) learn in cyberspace using the internet as the medium of learning, as opposed to face to face teaching as would be the case in traditional and modern *pesantrens*. The role and the authority of *kyai* (the 'ulama who become the leaders of *pesantrens*) or *ustadz*s (teachers) of virtual *pesantrens* are not as strong as in traditional *pesantrens*. In virtual *pesantrens* there is no hierarchy; each participant is equal and all information is shared openly. This structure allows *santris* — or virtual *santris* as they are better known — to access the information that best matches their interests and needs, and even to skip over irrelevant material. Ideas are often examined as the learner sees fit, away from the expertise of the author.

In addition, study does not have a precise beginning, middle, or end. The study goes on as long as the *santris* are willing to participate. Furthermore, since there is no formal requirements in order to be accepted for study in virtual *pesantrens*, *santris* often come from a variety of socio-cultural backgrounds. In fact, the cyber model stresses diversity and integration rather than uniformity and fragmentation.³ Some of the better known virtual *pesantrens* that are out there today include *MyQuran* at www.myquran.com and Pesantren Virtual at www.pesantrenvirtual.com.

Pesantren Daarut Tauhiid, hereafter referred to as DT, is a model of a newly-developed virtual *pesantren*, even though the elements of a traditional *pesantren* setting still remain. Both elements will be examined in this writing. It is impossible to separate an Islamic school — including a *pesantren* — from its founder or head, and vice versa. The *kyai*, as Dhofier argued,⁴ is the most essential element of a *pesantren*, the growth and the endurance of which depends on the personal ability and vision of the *kyai*. Thus, the establishment and the development of DT cannot be properly considered without first looking at the background of DT's *kyai* Abdullah Gymnastiar, a figure of celebrity status who is affectionately known throughout Indonesia as Aa Gym.

Abdullah Gymnastiar:

The Founder and the 'ĕlim of Daarut Tauhiid

The early life of Aa Gym has been well documented in his autobiography *Aa Gym Apa Adanya*, published by MQ publishing in 2003.⁵ He was born on the 29th of January 1962 in Bandung, he was the first son of Yetti Rohayati and Engkus Koswara. His birth name was Yan Gymnastiar, however during his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1987, the Imam of Masjid al-Harĕm gave him the name Abdullah.

Aa Gym received his early education at a public school in his home town. While he was in kindergarten he lived with his grandmother, a tailor in the Kosambi market. According to Aa Gym the financial struggle of his grandmother inspired him to become a trader and merchant in later years. At an early age he sold guava and firecrackers to his friends.⁶ On entering preliminary school, he moved to his parents' home in a military complex where his father was an army lieutenant colonel.⁷ It was at this time that he began to get involved in school organizations such as scouts and the internal student organization (OSIS). His academic excellence allowed him to enter the favorite Senior High School in Bandung, SMU 5.

Although he attempted university studies a number of times, he never completed his education at the tertiary level. First he studied at the Economic Faculty of Bandung's Padjadjaran University (UNPAD), although he lasted only one year. "I was too busy with my business to attend the lectures",⁸ he reflected. He later studied at the Jendral Ahmad Yani Technical Academy, and took a variety of jobs - from selling batteries to driving a minibus - to support himself during his years as an electrical engineering student.⁹

Unlike most other *kyai* in Java, Aa Gym does not have a *pesantren* background.¹⁰ What put Aa Gym on this path of religion was a dream he had when he was 24 in which he was praying with the Prophet Muhammad and the four Caliphs Abu Bakar, 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali. He saw that Abu Bakar and 'Umar were standing on the left side of the Prophet, while he found himself standing on the right side with Uthman and Ali. The Prophet Muhammad asked him to announce *iqamat* (the call to begin prayers) at which point he awoke from his dream. This dream was the turning point of his life.¹¹

Dreams of meeting the Prophet often mark conversion to Islam in Indonesian tradition. The most famous example of this is the case of Raja Pasai Sultan Muhammad, for instance, whose own conversion to Islam was the result of a dream of meeting the Prophet, in which saliva was used to impart knowledge. The dream, amongst other things, may have served to facilitate acceptance of the faith brought by the converted ruler.¹²

According to al-Mukaffi, however, dreams of meeting the Prophet could only be had by the *sahabat* (companions of the Prophet) who knew the Prophet personally and recognized the Prophet's characters.¹³ Regardless of the reality of this dream, Aa Gym prefers to view the dream more so in terms of its impact on his attitude towards Islam.¹⁴ The dream led Aa Gym to consider studying the Prophet and Islamic teachings. Following the dream, Aa Gym felt compelled to isolate himself in the mosque and reflect on what direction he should be taking his life. Looking at the dramatic change in Aa Gym's personality, Abdurrahman Yuri, the younger brother of Aa Gym became worried and asked his father to take Aa Gym to a psychiatrist.

During the fasting month of *Ramadhan* in 1986, I met Aa Gym in At-Taqwa mosque and I felt that there was something different about him. He was always praying on time and standing in the first *shaf*(line), sometimes he was crying during or after his praying. I also often noticed him going to the sound system room of the mosque after praying, and once I followed him to the room and found him doing *dzikir*¹⁵ and crying.¹⁶

Deden Miqdad, a close friend of Aa Gym, introduced Aa Gym to his grandfather, K.H. Djunaedi in Garut, with whom Aa Gym began consulting about his spiritual experiences. Aa Gym regularly came to the *kyai* each week and sometimes he stayed overnight in the *kyai's* house. According to the *kyai* what Aa Gym experienced was the blessing of God and only certain people could reach such spiritual heights.¹⁷ There were also other *kyais* with whom Aa Gym consulted such as K.H. Ulumuddin Banani from pesantren Al-Huda and K.H. Komaruddin.¹⁸

Building on what he had learnt from K.H. Djunaedi, he got further instruction on *tauhid* (belief in the oneness of God) from K.H. Chaer Afandi the leader of pesantren Miftah al-Huda Tasik, a specialist of *'ilmu tauhid* whom K.H. Djunaedi had recommended. However due to the *kyai's* busy schedule, the instruction was mostly handled by the *kyai's* assistant (*badai*) who was the *kyai's* son in law, K.H. Jaja Abdul Jabar. Under K.H. Jaja, Aa Gym studied *kitab al-Hikam*, written by Sheikh Ahmad bin 'Atho'illah, for about one year from 1986 - 1987.¹⁹ In addition, Aa Gym regularly attended the weekly *riyadhoh*²⁰ delivered by K.H. Choer Affandy. The book used for the *riyadhoh* was *Syari' Kuliyyah* written by the *kyai* himself.²¹

In the following phase of his life, Aa Gym developed the concept of MQ (*Manajemen Qalbu*, or Heart [Spiritual] Management) which became the spiritual foundation of DT. The basic notion behind MQ is to manage and to maintain the purity of the heart, which can be done by doing *dzikir*.²²

MQ consists of three values, which should be integrated into people's daily lives. The first value is the cleanliness of the heart which ultimately controls the soul and mind. The key to changing human character is the heart and a good character is a reflection of a clean heart. The second value is that the heart, soul, and mind should all be focused on doing good, while the last value is self-correction; that should be practiced in all aspects of day-to-day life and daily activities.²³

Although Aa Gym is evidently religious, a question mark surrounds his title of *kyai* for the simple reason that he is not a graduate of a *pesantren*. This is further compounded by the fact that he cannot read the Qur'an fluently and appears to neglect studies of *fiqh*, not to mention his close relationship with government officials. Because of this, some people regard Aa Gym as promoting a benign form of Islam, which at times neglects the importance of matters of worship.²⁴

The Phenomenon of *Daarut Tauhiid*

In 1987, Abdullah Gymnastiar opened up a private business called the Entrepreneur's Association of Muslim University Students (*Kesatuan Mahasiswa Islam Wirausaha* [KMIW]). The members of KMIW were the local university students who resided around Aa Gym's parents' home.²⁵ As time went by his *jamaah* increased in number until his parent's home was no longer able to accommodate the *jamaah*. Therefore, in 1987, KMIW moved to a simple rent house with twenty rooms in Gegerkalong Girang No.38 Bandung.²⁶ In the 1980s, Gegerkalong was famous for gambling, drunkenness, and other illicit practices.²⁷ However, after *pengajian* MQ was introduced by Aa Gym the religiosity of the community evidently increased, manifest in the increased number of Muslim women wearing the veil, and the reduction of illicit activities.²⁸ In the 2004 General Elections, *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (PKS, or the Justice Welfare Party) won the Bandung seat, showing the community's support for this religious party.

In 1990, DT's foundation was established to help facilitate KMIW's activities.²⁹ In 1993, DT sought to expand by buying land and buildings. A three-floor mosque was also built, aptly called 'the thousand hands mosque' as it was built with the help of members of the surrounding community and the *jamaah*. Next, to support its activities, the *pesantren* cooperative was established in 1994. In 1995 DT built the office of the foundation, the *kyai's* residence, kindergarten, meeting room, convention room, store-room, and *santris'* residence.³⁰ At the end of 1997, a cooperative building, containing such businesses as a Super Mini Market and telecommunication shop, was established.³¹

Further to the above economic and infrastructural developments with the DT, a wider variety of educational activities have also been developed. In 1995 the DT began providing scholarships for *santris*. On the 7th of December 1997 DT opened the Center for Education and Training (PUSDIKLAT DT). One of its programs is *Manajemen Qalbu* (MQ) Training for executives, staff and employees of companies. Various companies have already participated in the training program, including Muamalat Bank, PT. Telkom Drive III, PT. Telkom Corporate Office, PT Kereta Api Indonesia, Indonesian Bank, Bukopin Bank, and PLN, amongst others.³² At the time of writing, there were three types of MQ training: MQ in-House training, MQ Synergy training, and MQ Children and Youth training. Hundreds of institutions and thousands of people have participated in this training.³³

In 1998, MQ FM Radio was established in cooperation with *Paramuda* Radio 93.3 FM. This meant that the *jamaah* no longer had to come to the DT to hear the *pengajian* but could do so by listening to *Paramuda* Radio. However, in 1999 DT established its own private radio station with contributions from those that usually listened to Aa Gym's *pengajian*.³⁴

In consideration of the above, it is important to note that the establishment of DT grew from the *pengajian* regularly held by Aa Gym. In this sense, DT has the same pattern of development as other *pesantrens* in Java, such as Tebu Ireng, Ploso and Darussalam, all of which are *pesantrens* that have grown from simple *pengajians*.³⁵

Pesantren DT also has two branches in Jakarta and Batam. It is an organization based on the needs of *santri*, and branches of DT are established according to those needs. DT Jakarta originally operated from a *santri*'s residence, but now has two offices located in Ciputat and Cipaku. Similarly, DT in Batam was established through the work of an ex-*santri* at DT Bandung, Zuhendra, who in 1994 went to Batam to work. Willing to spread the knowledge he received from DT Bandung, Zuhendra preached at the *Jamaah Nurul Islam* mosque that is located in the Batamindo industrial complex. As time went by, the personal *pengajian* developed into a collective *jamaah (halaqah)*. Since 1996, Aa Gym has regularly been invited to Batam to preach. Osep Roskanda, a *santri* from DT Bandung, was delegated by Aa Gym to lead the *pesantren* in Batam. This *pesantren* has concentrated on educational and social programs. Despite these promising developments, both branches are yet to build or acquire their own physical assets such as a *santri* residence, teacher residence, mosque, and educational facilities. DT Batam does however own three hectares of land on which to build its own center in the future.³⁶

Similar to the central *pesantren* of DT in Bandung, both branches run their program under the banner of DT's vision: *Ahl dzikr, ahl fikr, and ahl*

ikhthiyar. *Dzikr* (remembrance of God) reinforces the belief that God is the reason for our existence; every single action that we do should be in His name. *Fikr* (thinking) is one of God's greatest gifts to mankind. The mind has the potential to solve all of mankind's challenges and failing to use this blessing from God is like disregarding God's blessings. *Ahl ikhthiyar* (the people of free choice) refers to those who successfully combine both *dzikr* and *fikr*. Such free choice is intended to optimize Muslim initiatives and efforts to compete in the market place. Furthermore, DT declares that its primary mission is to implement the concept of MQ as the changer of behavior, the refresher of the heart, and the lifter of the spirit by facilitating Islamic education, and economic, social and cultural activities.

The central *pesantren* is involved in the management of the regional branches, sending *santris* to organize the branches, operating under the same vision, although the branches have the freedom to develop their own programs, they report to the central branch.³⁷

In terms of mainstream *pesantrens*, certain *pesantrens* in West Java regard DT as a 'mock' *pesantren*, reasoning that the model and the tradition practiced in DT do not reflect that of traditional *pesantrens*. This is particularly evident in DT's strong emphasis on the importance of economic activities, which arguably leads to the commercialization of education, while the spirit of traditional *pesantrens* is sincerity and equality.

Regardless of the debate that surrounds the *pesantren*, all who know DT acknowledge the ability of this *pesantren* DT to empower the community and to respond to the spiritual needs of the community.³⁸ What's more, the *pesantren* has continuously demonstrated a different model of Islamic boarding schools, where different people can be involved in the system of DT whoever they might be.

A Model Islamic Community:

How a *Pesantren* Should be in Aa Gym's View

Aa Gym's *pesantren* model is based heavily on his belief that a *pesantren* is a miniature of the community where Islamic teachings can be practiced and its benefits can be seen, studied, and felt by the society. Furthermore, he views a *pesantren* to be an open place that is easily accessible, there is neither status nor limitations, it allows everyone to be affiliated with the *pesantren* and its *santris* reside in the *pesantren's surroundings*. The study method is learning by doing and the fee is relative, meaning that the cost of education can be varied depending on the individual's economic circumstance.³⁹

The root of Muslim backwardness, Aa Gym argues, lies in the lack of understanding of the beauty and the glory of Islam; this misunderstanding

has led to corruption, economic inefficiency, and finally a reduction in the ability to compete globally.⁴⁰ The hegemony of global information rarely promotes Islamic teachings, and this has further contributed to a misunderstanding of Islam. Accordingly, a model *pesantren* should demonstrate how Islam – through such activities as education, training, management, arts and culture, economy and technological initiatives – can provide solutions to the contemporary problems.⁴¹

DT has for many years promoted a concept referred to as MDK, or “Model, *Diklat* (education and training), *Konsultasi* (consultation).” ‘Model’ refers to the *Pesantren*’s goal of becoming an exemplar for other Islamic institutions to follow, whereby the activities undertaken by the *pesantren* are not just compatible with Islam but also modern society, and such activities can further contribute to solving the Muslim community’s problems. *Diklat* is a program offered by DT for other institutions that are interested in implementing the model of management or the teaching of DT in their own institution. Should other institutions find difficulties in working with the knowledge acquired in the training, DT welcomes them to further consultate DT (*Konsultasi*). The consultation body is very much concerned with the psychological problems and morality of young Muslims, as well as their preparedness to face the challenges of the modern age.

Programs at DT

Four main programs are organized by DT as the implementation of its vision. These are *pengajian* MQ, an education and training program, a community development program, and an economic development program.

1. *Pengajian* MQ

Pengajian MQ is a realization of DT’s mission, i.e. to fill the spiritual needs of the community that suffers from the effects of modern times.⁴² Regular *pengajians* are held twice a week: Thursday night and Sunday noon. At the time of writing, the regular *pengajian* is attended by around 6000 to 7000 participants from various age groups and backgrounds. *Pengajian* MQ focuses on understanding the function of the heart as the fundamental source of human activity.

Pengajian MQ is usually delivered by Aa Gym. However, if Aa Gym can not give the *pengajian*, it is performed by another *ustadz* of DT. When Aa Gym is abroad or traveling around Indonesia, he delivers his talks through radio or Tele-conference facilities. The content of *pengajian* is mostly concerned with MQ, individual, and social piety.⁴³ A discussion session with the *jamaah* is conducted after the talk is delivered, the questions are

not only asked by the *jamaah* in the mosque but also by those who listen on the radio.

The *pengajian* is usually closed with *muhasabah*, which is reflection on what one has done in his or her life. The content of the *muhasabah* usually consists of asking for forgiveness for sins committed by him or herself, family, friends, the nation, and the *ummah* as a whole. At the end, after Aa Gym or another Kyai/ustadz has led the *muhasabah*, the *santri* are asked to pray on their own. It is not uncommon to see many of the *muhasabah* participants crying during the recitation of the *muhasabah*. However, the practice of *muhasabah* is criticized by al-Mukaffi, who argues that Aa Gym's manner of doing *dzikir* and *doa* contradicts the practices of the Prophet.⁴⁴

Every Monday morning, all types of DT *santri* attend the *pengajian* for *kitab al-Hikam*. The *pengajian* is opened by reading the Qur'an and its translation, followed by the reading of a passage from *kitab al-Hikam*, both in Arabic and Indonesian and then Aa Gym explains the meaning of the *kitab* in the contemporary context. The *pengajian kitab* is closed by the discussion on the internal management of DT. The occasion is dedicated to analyzing the internal activity of DT. All of the *santri* are welcome to say anything they wish related to the *pesantren's* affairs; they can give praise or criticism, including criticism of the leader of the *pesantren*, Aa Gym. If the problem is a result of the shortcomings of the *santri* or staff, for instance, the person who raises the matter is asked to choose a suitable punishment for the offending party, such as push-ups and sit-ups or giving *sadaqah*. Interestingly, the second punishment is the most popular choice.

2. Education and Training

In responding to the needs of Muslims in facing the challenges of the present era, DT founded the Center for Education and Training, as mentioned above. The purpose of the Center is to create *santri* who implement Islamic values in his or her daily activities, are pure in heart, independent, responsible, and have a spirit of leadership and entrepreneurialism. To serve these purposes, DT now has in operation two types of education: Formal and non-formal education.

Kindergarten is the only formal education offered in DT. It was established in 2000 under the name *TK Khas DT*. The program is managed based on MQ values such as performing *shalat dhuha* (an optional prayer performed before noon) and using a more direct and personal method of teaching. Accordingly, each teacher only educates 6 students and the teaching-learning process is conducted by dividing the students into two groups: 3 to 4 year olds in one class and 4 to 5 year olds in another.⁴⁵

DT, however, is planning to establish an elementary school, junior high school, and possibly even a university. The idea to form these levels of education to provide formal education originally came from the graduates of the Association of Pilgrimage Guidance (*Kelompok Bimbingan Ibadah Haji*) at DT. The idea is also supported by most of the *santri karya* and *ustadz* of DT.⁴⁶

The *Pesantren* operates three types of non-formal education, that is, commercial education, free education, and non-profit education.⁴⁷ The commercial education takes the form of MQ training specifically designed for executives, practitioners, and other middle-class professionals. The program is divided into personal and work segments that offer an alternative solution to facing the uncertainties of today's ever-changing world.⁴⁸ It is DT's view that globalization is a challenge to be faced not to be resisted.

In August 22, 2000, *Pikiran Rakyat*, a local Bandung newspaper, reported that many government and private institutions favored MQ training. It wrote that the training is believed to improve the work ethos and reduce the tendency of corruption, collusion, and nepotism among the participants. There is one institution in West-Java, which applied the concept of MQ in its institution for a year. It reported that MQ values improved the employees' quality of work. Some institutions do not mind forking out millions of rupiah for three days of MQ training and MQ's long waiting list is sufficient evidence of this. The scheduled training for the period January to December 2005 included over one hundred different companies.⁴⁹ The cost ranges from 1,150,000 to 3,000,000 rupiah per head, depending on what classes are to be taken: regular, special, or executive.⁵⁰ During the 2003-04 period, the special class was the most popular class.

Hundreds of millions of rupiah is earned through this training.⁵¹ Some of the income is used to support the operational expenses of the *pesantren*⁵² and to finance the free education provided by the *pesantren* for those who would otherwise be unable to pay for such education.

Another department, *Dompot Peduli Ummat* (DPU), also supports the operation of free education. DPU was founded to improve the awareness of the *ummat* through ZISWA - an abbreviation for *Zakat* (almsgiving), *infak* (religious donation), *shadaqah*, and *wakf* (property donated for religious or community use) - and develop the *ummat* through education, the economy and *da'wah*. DPU is a database program in which donors have their own numbers and member cards. The circulation of money in DPU is transparent as donors can check through the internet or MQ journals the receipt and use of the donations. Donors may choose the method of donation, such as through DPU staff, or by money order.⁵³

Non-profit education, as the name suggests entails using the income gained from this sector being fully allocated to the process of education itself.

3. Community Development

DT supports numerous local initiatives in such fields as family and children development; youth development; *muslimah* development, and entrepreneurial development. In order to better support relevant initiatives, the *pesantren* established the Department of Community Development and Service (*Departemen Pemberdayaan dan Pelayanan Masyarakat*), which concentrates on helping and educating members of the community who are in need, especially families and children. For example, selected families are educated on how to raise the quality of family life, and how to better raise the children.

There is a special program which targets street children. The children are trained how to be independent and strong, to never complain and to be able to give a positive meaning to life. Another program, *Youth Pioncers (Pemuda Pelopor Warga)*, focuses on guiding the youth. Participants study how to recite the Qur'an, self-management, *fiqh*, *aqidah*, combined with camping and outbound training. This program functions to involve the surrounding society and further seek society's ideas and views about *pesantren* affairs.

While many of DT's programs are spiritually-oriented, the *pesantren* also carries out activities on the social side. DT has established the Daar as-Syifa Medical Center. This center provides such services as nutrition consultation, traditional healing (reflection massage), health advice, and home visits.⁵⁴

The Environmental Program run by DT is similar to the Clean Up Australia Day program carried out every year throughout Australia. Through the Friday Clean (*Jum'at Bersih*) program, DT *santri* and members of the local community work together to clean up the areas of Gegerkalong and Isola. The benefit of the program is that it brings the local community together and fosters communication, not to mention promotes a culture of cleanliness in the community. The success of the program was recognized when the government awarded the Gegerkalong and Isola districts the provincial cleanliness and beauty award.⁵⁵

The 'Misykat (Microfinance Syari'ah Berbasis Masyarakat)' program seeks to empower the poor by lending money to those who have completed special training for certain skills, such as hat making. Its aim is to educate people and create opportunities and institutional mechanisms for their participation in the local or even global markets. The participants in *misykat*, residents of the Gegerkalong district, numbered 200 in 2005. Each participant strives to carry out his or her activities in accordance with the tenets of Islam, while endeavoring to conduct business in an honest, trustworthy, and hard working manner. The members do not re-

ceive a loan until they are actively involved in the regular training and invest money in the program.

The success of the program is evident, with the average monthly income of participants increasing between 200,000 to 400,000 rupiah.⁵⁶ In this case, DT not only acts as a provider of services but also creates employment opportunities, particularly for Gegerkalong residents.

DT also pays special attention to the empowerment of Muslim women (*Muslimah*) through a wide variety of programs such as pre-marriage counseling, the 'Talk about Woman' program, and *Muslimah* personality courses. Muslim women can also participate in short courses on baby sitting, sewing, cake making, and so forth. All these programs are managed under the direction of the *Daarul Muslimah* division.

4. Economic Activity

In order to advance the independence of the *pesantren*, DT developed business activities under the trademark of "*Manajemen Qalbu*." The businesses are generally managed and staffed by DT *santri* DT. However, the difference between DT businesses and others is that the Muslims operate their businesses in order to strengthen their faith and to widen the social network (*silaturahmi*). They maintain that even if the business makes a loss, in the sight of Allah they have profited for they have earned the blessing of Allah and contributed to the welfare of the society.⁵⁷

DT's cooperative was founded to improve the economic potential of the *pesantren* and the Muslim community in general. The cooperative has business activities in such sectors as trade, industry, manufacture and production, and telecommunication. A wide variety of services are offered including *shari'ah* banking, and education and training in Islamic economics.

Business divisions are run within the cooperative. The Super Mini-Market (SMM) is one of them; it sells a variety of goods including food, clothing, and books. This division is the most productive business in the cooperative; in 2003 it averaged 350 million rupiah monthly. BMT is another division of the cooperative, aiming to facilitate and help improve the economic conditions of small-businesses that have difficulties in getting loans from banks. The circulation of money in this institution is significant, with about 8 billion rupiah being circulated daily.

The cooperative plays an essential role in promoting products made by the *santri* at DT. The income derived from the business activities conducted in the cooperative are allocated to cover the operational budget of DT institutions and for social empowerment.

The MQ Corporation, on the other hand, is a holding company consisting of small and middle-sized enterprises belonging to Aa Gym. About 27 business divisions are organized in this institution, including MQ media, MQ travel, MQIT, MQ fashion, MQ Communication, MQ consumer goods, MQ publications, MQTV, MQ sound system, MQ electronic, MQ caff, MQ card, Al-Quran cellular, and many others. The MQ Corporation is purely business oriented although the MQ Corporation contributes to the development of DT.

Apart from the MQ Corporation, there are other institutions in DT: *Daarut Teknik* property, which concentrates on architecture, interior design, property, and supplier services, and CV.Adz Dzikr entertainment.

The development of Daarut Tauhiid is apparently a result of the support it receives from a number of rich professionals from Jakarta and Bandung who have become dedicated members of the organization. Of the five members of the advisory board, four are engineers and one of them is chief president of Astra International, one of Indonesia's giant conglomerates, and president commissioner of several other large companies.⁵⁸

Main Teachings

The distinguishing feature of DT is its teachings. The teachings are very much influenced by the concept of *Managemen Qalbu*. For instance, DT's concept of cleanliness is taken from the Hadith '*Cleanliness is part of belief*' which is not taken literally. DT interprets this Hadith as meaning 'TSP' – *Tahan buang sampah sembarangan* (refrain for littering); *Simpan sampah pada tempatnya* (put garbage in the right place); *Pungut sampah adalah sadaqah* (picking up garbage is a form of public charity). The implementation of this concept is more than apparent when we walk through the *pesantren* grounds; almost every corner of the *pesantren*'s environment is spotlessly clean, and there are a countless number of garbage bins around the *pesantren*. Interestingly, every garbage bin separates organic and inorganic garbage for compost and recycling purposes.

There are many aspects of social and spiritual life that are espoused by MQ teachings - the most important of which are known as *Daarut Tauhiid tekad kehormatan* (determination to be honorable) - include: (1) our honor is to be an honest Muslim and trusted till the end of our lives; (2) to be a responsible Muslim, keep our promises, and to be loyal; (3) to live as a fighter, defend justice, and be truthful and willing to sacrifice anything in the name of Allah; (4) to be a disciplined Muslim, persevering and tough, strong, never complaining, never giving up, and never betraying others; and (5) to always be a *Muslim* with good morals and a clean heart.

The *santris* at DT are exposed to the teachings in a variety of ways, one of which includes transforming the teachings into lyrics for *nasyid* (Islamic music). Transforming the values of DT into song lyrics makes it easier to disseminate the ideas to the wider *santri* community. These songs not only influence the values held by each and every *santri*, but can reduce their stress levels also.

Life at the Pesantren

This section provides an outline of the daily activities of the *santri* living at DT (*santri mukim*). In conducting their daily activities, the *santri* are accompanied by facilitators (*mudabbir*) who stay with them at all times.

At 3:00 a.m. the *santri* are awoken by the facilitator for the *night* prayer (*shalat tahajud*). The prayer can be done alone or in a group (*berjamaah*) depending on the *santri*. This is followed by the morning prayer (*fajr*) which must be performed in the mosque. This is followed by the morning MQ *pengajian* in the mosque, ending around 6:00. From 6:00 to 7:00 a.m., the *santri* participate in cleaning activities around the *pesantren* complex, followed by group exercising together.

One hour between 7:00 and 8:00 a.m. is private time for the *santri*; some use this time to prepare for their studies, others cook, while some buy food from the shops that are widely available around the *pesantren*.

From 8:00 a.m. to 22:00 p.m. the students have classes which are conducted in classrooms, residences, or the mosque depending on the availability of space. Outdoor activities are conducted outside the *pesantren* grounds. It is interesting to note that during these times when the *adzan* is heard, all activities are stopped, including business activities, and all *santri* go to the mosque to pray together.

At 22:00 P.M. the *santri* sit together with their facilitator in their dormitory, share with one another his or her activities for that day and what *hikmah* (wisdom) or lesson he or she has learned that day.

To sum up, life at Pesantren DT encourages the *santri* to actively pursue the basic needs of life and live life as defined by religion, whilst at the same time emphasizing the importance of spiritual reflection by religious means.

Virtual Elements of Daarut Tauhiid and the Consequences of such an Approach

A recent revival of civil society has occurred in the Muslim communities of Southeast Asia. This region is now characterized by rapid economic growth, emergence of the middle class, resurgence of Islam, and increasing demands for democratic reforms. These developments have oc-

curred in the context of increasing globalization of the world economy and the use of information technology.⁵⁹ Computers and communication systems are now a part of everyday life in almost all parts of the world. The spread of the internet has brought about significant benefits to people all over the world in the form of electronic commerce, distance education, electronic publishing, digital libraries, and virtual communities. Aa Gym was aware very early on that these conditions presented both opportunities and challenges to *pesantrens'* existence.

People change because of their understanding and people understand due to the information they have and in part by their willingness to understand. Technology has made access to information easier and more widespread. In the period of the Prophet, there were approximately only one hundred thousand people in the world, but now more than hundred million, even six billion people inhabit the world. It will be difficult to reach the furthest part of the world without the aid of information communication technology.⁶⁰

DT's modern approach to providing education, spurred by modernization and globalization, has led to a number of positive developments and had encouraging implications for both the local and wider community, as discussed below.

A. Multiculturalism and Pluralism

The quotation above from the leader of Pesantren DT mentioned above clearly illustrates his rationale for emphasizing the importance of information technology and creating information networks. The implication of this idea is clearly reflected in the model of *pesantren* that led to the creation of the virtual *pesantren* of DT. It is an unlimited *pesantren*, physically and conceptually. Physically, the *pesantren* complex blends with its surrounding society. Conceptually, there is no limitation or conditions for being a *santri* of DT. DT has a wide variety of programs to cater for the different needs of the people, it is available for every single individual who strives to be a better human being.⁶¹ The institution accepts *santris* from a wide range of cross-cultural, religious, social, political, and economical backgrounds and has positioned itself as an advocate of multiculturalism.⁶²

It appears from this study that the success of DT is a result of it encouraging multiculturalism⁶³ and creating a community of shared beliefs through a sense of inclusiveness. Aa Gym encourages his *santris* to stay within their own *madzhab* (school of thought) and in this he is unique. Interestingly, a number of non-Muslim *santri* have embraced Islam after participating in the activities of DT, especially *pengajian*.⁶⁴

Therefore, it is not surprising that we find people from different religious backgrounds who are followers of Aa Gym. It also appears that *Daarut Tauhiid* is successful because its leader Aa Gym encourages simplicity in Islam and creates a community based on an inclusive approach whereby *santri* are accepted regardless of their association with a particular religious group such as NU (Nahdlatul ‘Ulama), Muhammadiyah, Persis, amongst others.⁶⁵

Afing, a Protestant Christian, and Mudji Sutrisno, a Catholic, both agreed that Aa Gym and his teaching represent something that is needed by people from different cultural backgrounds. MQ values stand as the basis of pluralism, “Aa Gym, is trying to open religious compartmentalization” said Mudji. Along with his family, Afing, who has followed Aa Gym since Ramadhan 2001, regularly watches Aa Gym’s preaching on TV.⁶⁶

Zacnal, a trader from Garut, has been a follower of Aa Gym since 1994. For Zacnal, NU is his way of life. He said, however, “being an NU follower and being part of the MQ *jamaah* are not mutually exclusive; practicing MQ values does not mean I am not a devotee of NU. MQ is universal, it touches every heart, Aa Gym especially, speaks my language and my mind, he told me to spread love, every one is the same, whether he is a Muslim or a non-Muslim...NU, Muhammadiyah, or Persis.”⁶⁷ Additionally, when one participant of the *pengajian* was asked about his religious ideology and his reason for coming to *pengajian Manajemen Qalbu*, he said, “Actually I am the Persis member, I was born and raised in a Persis community, but I come to the *pengajian* just to listen to Aa Gym as I can easily understand what he says”⁶⁸

Another intriguing example of DT’s pluralistic ways came during 2001 when a group of Shaolin monks from China came to DT, teaching the *santri* of DT a technique of Shaolin kung fu; they stayed in the *pesantren* for three months.⁶⁹ Perhaps of even greater significance is Aa Gym’s feat of being the only Muslim leader in Indonesia to have publicly spoken at a Christian Church in Poso, which has in recent times been ravaged by conflict between Christian and Muslim communities.⁷⁰

He often promotes in his speeches that recognition and respect for every individual’s uniqueness and humanity is important. Treating all people equally lies at the core of MQ values. In DT, every individual is treated with equal dignity, regardless of whether one is a man or woman,⁷¹ Muslim or non-Muslim. In spite of the overwhelming buoyancy that is associated with DT’s activities, there are some who view DT’s inclusive approach, particularly of other religious groups, as deviance from Islamic teaching and, at worst, a source of heresy.⁷²

B. DT, Modernization, and Technology

Newly urbanized Muslims, separated from their traditions and faced with dislocation and alienation, tend to desire a link with their cultural roots without going against the trends of modernity and globalization. Vatikiotis argues that there “has been [a] social dislocation which plagues any fast-growing urban society. Many people have strengthened their faith as a reaction to the flagrant disregard for traditional moral values they see around them.”⁷³ DT, in this sense, is an institution which provides for the needs of the urbanized.

Lukens-Bull argues that “Tertiary education is seen as the vanguard of Indonesian modernization and globalization.”⁷⁴ Hence, Lukens-Bull maintains, many *pesantren* leaders see the necessity of engaging in this relatively novel educational arena in shaping the moral and religious values and practices of Indonesia’s future generation. They do this in a number of ways, for instance, holding religious lessons on campus, establishing colleges in *pesantrens*,⁷⁵ and establishing religious colleges with no *pesantren* features, such as State Institutes for Islamic Studies (IAIN).

In the case of *pesantren* DT, it has established a *pesantren* for mature-age students, going beyond the scope of tertiary education. This form of education seems to target those, who have completed their preliminary and higher education, be it in secular or religious institutions. However DT certainly caters for those who have not graduated from school also.

Some *pesantrens* often have the opportunity to utilize services and facilities provided by the government or other institutions. For example, DT has made arrangements with ITB (the Bandung Institute of Technology) enabling *santri* to make use of some of the University’s facilities and technology as part of their studies.

Since DT is located in one of Indonesia’s biggest cities, Bandung, it’s not surprising that many of the *pesantren*’s *santris* come from the urbanized middle class. Middle class here does not solely refer to one’s wealth, but also their level of formal education, and their characteristics as professional, modernist, and culturally attuned.⁷⁶ What’s more, this middle class is one that also sees the importance of spiritual guidance, and thus seeks suitable religious activities that fulfill this need. Because their time is quite limited, DT appears to offer the perfect solution by providing Islamic teachings thorough the use of technology as DVDs and the internet. This coincides with the MQ training provided by the *pesantren* to members of that business community and essentially the middle class, thus reinforcing its role as a broker, mediator, integrator and motivator of the Muslim community. These programs are beneficial especially for those who live in urban area, where the sense of being productive, creative and innovative is important.

Aa Gym owns 15 publishing, broadcasting, and other media ventures that help spread his message. In this regards, *Daarut Tauhiid* and Aa Gym are a unique phenomenon as no other *pesantrens* and *kyais* can offer the same thing. He spreads his speeches through VCDs and CDs, while his book, as well as his cassette and VCD, were once the best sellers in two bookstores, Gramedia Mall Taman Angrek (MTA) and Karisma MTA. A manager from one of the bookstore noted that both Muslims and non-Muslims bought the book, because "Aa Gym's language is more universal."⁷⁷

Management Qalbu's official website included e-mail facilities, chat rooms, ftp facilities,⁷⁸ and Telnet facilities⁷⁹. About nine million people in eighty-two countries all around the world have accessed the MQ webpage.⁸⁰ In addition Aa Gym's speeches can now be heard live through the website.⁸¹

The internet has not only served to spread the teachings of Aa Gym but also provides a setting in which *santris* can develop their skills through exploration and discovery. The use of various mediums of mass communication - books, leaflets, booklets, cassettes, tabloids, journals, CDs, VCDs, and DVDs - can be seen as a *pesantren* response to the ever changing needs created by globalization, and which creates a public sphere in which the literate, semiliterate and illiterate members of society can participate.

Essentially, by maintaining this approach, DT is able to overcome the dilemma faced by a number of *pesantrens*, that is, how to keep up with the modern world and yet still maintain some sense of tradition in *pesantren* education.

Globalization is seen as "...The widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual."⁸² But how do the main players of DT view globalization? Aa Gym said that globalization has threatened the moral fabric of society as about ninety four percent of media is dominated by non-Muslims,⁸³ however it is something that should be dealt with creatively as a challenge.⁸⁴ Similarly *ustadz* Mumuh,⁸⁵ a member of the teacher council, noted that globalization should be accepted fact part of the world's evolution, and harnessing technology is one of the most important ways of dealing with this modern phenomenon. Globalization, according to *ustadz* Deden, is a frame of thinking in which its influence depends on mental acceptance.⁸⁶ Another member of the council said that employing mass media to disseminate the universal values of Islam is an alternative vision of globalization.⁸⁷ And this beautifully summarizes the stance of teachers and staff at DT; They want to employ technology within the framework of Islamic values.

Santri at DT generally have a similar understanding to their teachers. Specifically, they maintained that globalization is the spreading of information through technology and the advancement of economic development. One *santri karya* said:

Globalization is a general term, in terms of technology we have to utilize it as a medium to reach the aim faster and easier. There are no negative effects of globalization as there will always be a positive aspect (*hikmah*) from the development of this world, depending on the individual intentions of the community itself. Thus, every person should embrace universal values such as honesty, love and affection as a foothold in life that will last forever. Technology is negative when people use it negatively.⁸⁸

Another *santri mukim* explained that to face globalization Muslims should creatively follow the development of knowledge and technology so that Muslims are not left behind.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the students frequently commented that Islamic education was an essential component in reinforcing economic development framed by Islamic values.

Seeing economic development as a challenge has led DT to compete for resources — economic resources, manpower and support — both with other religious groups and with other social agencies. DT aims to create a network and to lead its institution as an independent body that can develop its own economic resources. It is commonly known that Pesantren Daarut Tauhiid has initiated relationships and cooperation with other religious institutions and government bodies. The cooperation is often built upon the idea of *Management Qalbu* training. For example, on August 21st 2004 DT held such training for government officials of the Bandung province. The purpose was to train the officers to deal with others as justly and humanly as possible. Accordingly, “after joining the training the officer hopefully has the potential to reflect and improve him or herself,” said Dada Rosda, a head of Bandung City.⁹⁰

As for the use of technology, DT diversified its activities through the use of appropriate technology. For example, DT has extended its economic activities into the agribusiness sector, cultivating 700 hectares of fertile soil in Sukabumi and which produces about 350-tons of chilies each day. Additionally, DT has been involved in an export-import business; it exports fish to Singapore through Batam Island. DT Batam plays an important role as the main gate of this activity.

The economic strategies and activities of economy of DT are not solely traditional, but progressive, open to economic and technological innovation, and able to create sources of wealth. Meaning that in order to secure their success, its actors prefer long-term and rational strategies; it promotes economic globalization but in an Islamic context.

To balance these global teachings, DT introduced ‘*ma’rifatullah*’ to its study curriculum. *Ma’rifatullah* is the art of knowing God, and the primary source used in teaching *ma’rifatullah* is *kitab al-Hikam*, available in the Indonesian language (translated by Salim Bajhres). The book is the second most widely used Sufi text in the *pesantren* after al-Ghazali’s *Ihya’ ‘Ulumuddin*.⁹¹ Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis, the argument of Aa Gym is interesting to take into account regarding people’s perception toward the practice of mysticism in DT. He said that the practice in DT is merely an effort of reflecting on the deeds and the words of the Prophet not mysticism (or Sufism).⁹²

C. Learning by Doing⁹³

DT’s development has been guided by an ethos of striving for social change. In fact, the ability to adapt is important for a *pesantren* to maintain its roots in the community, which are contingent upon the ability of the *kyai* and the *pesantren*’s leaders to adapt to its ever-changing environment.⁹⁴ Interviews with a number of *santri*, *jamaah*, *ustadz*, and parents of *santri* regarding why they choose DT revealed a number of interesting points.

Some respondents came to DT as a result of limited access to information and services in other *pesantrens*.⁹⁵ Other *pesantrens* do not offer comprehensive information regarding their activities and tend to be isolated from the community in that they only allow certain people to visit the *pesantren* such as those who have a special relationship with a *santri* or staff member of the *pesantren*. In DT, on the other hand, people can freely come and go, which has had the expected impact of making DT more effectively integrated with the surrounding community.

The respondents who had studied in other *pesantrens* prior to coming to DT stated that they were bored studying in their previous *pesantren* and the curriculum did not meet their expectations. “I get bored when I have to finish studying certain *kitab*,”⁹⁶ explained one of the *santri*. “In DT the curriculum is practical and the method of study is varied”⁹⁷ added another.

Unlike other *pesantrens*, DT has been purposely developed as a *pesantren* emphasizing practical studies in *ma’rifatullah*, leadership and entrepreneurship. *Ma’rifatullah* involves studying the Qur’an, *fiqh*, *aqidah*, MQ and *akhlak*, while subjects on entrepreneurship, leadership, self-management, and economic *shari’ah* are also offered. Such valued Islamic practices as *dzikir*, prayer, and *infaq* (donation), as well as a clean and tidy culture support these two themes.

The proportion of theory and practice in the DT curriculum is equal. Here we will refer to the *santri bcasiswa* (SB) program for 2004 as a case

study.⁹⁸ SB lasts for a six-month period: three months studying and another three months working in certain departments of DT. The first three months are divided into three phases (*marhalah*) of learning: basic training and education (DIKLATSAR), the teaching-learning phase (KBM), and the 'putting learning into practice' phase. In *the first phase*, the *santri* are trained to be mentally and physically fit through physical training and military drills. These include marching exercises based on army regulations. In this way, the *santri* are trained to be disciplined and tough. There are also three days of solo bivouacking, which fosters independence as they have to live alone and fend for themselves in the wild.

The *second phase* includes the study of the theory of leadership, entrepreneurship, and self-management through lectures, discussions, problem solving and games. In this phase the *santri* are divided into three groups: the first group goes to the mosques around the district where the *pesantren* is located, carrying out such duties as cleaning the toilets. The second team looks for ways to earn money in order to feed the three groups, which requires a great deal of ingenuity on their part for if they fail to obtain the cash the three groups will starve. Some *santri* sell bread and corn in the streets, while others *ngojek* (drive motorcycle taxis). Some clean shoes and cars. The *santri* from the last group does domestic duties such as cleaning the dormitory, and cooking and washing for the three groups. These three groups rotate their activities every four days during the month.

The *last phase* is placing the *santri* in different departments throughout DT by rotation, which gives them training in leadership, business, and administration.

This method of learning by doing has successfully created a dynamic educational system, producing *santri* who not only have a strong spirit of entrepreneurship and creativity, but are morally sound. Because of this, it's not surprising that many refer to DT as *bengkel akhlak*, or the 'morality workshop'.

While the positive views on DT are seemingly endless, there were three *santri* interviewed who had something negative to say about this *pesantren*. That is, although they felt that they gained a great deal of knowledge and experience studying at DT, the shortfall of the institution is that the duration of studying is too short.

While the name *Daarut Tauhiid*, which means 'the House of the oneness of God', indicates that DT is more oriented towards improving religious values and practices, another reason this *pesantren* is so popular is that it also advances the importance of day-to-day values. For example,

the spirit of cleanness permeates the Pesantren. It is not surprising, then, that many people visit DT just to learn and study the culture. "I come here for two days. My purpose is to see the condition of the DT campus directly and to learn the secrets of cleanliness...I hope Aa is willing to explain this to us" stated Darmasguntur, a participant in the February 2005 MQ *Pengajian*. Aa Gym explains how his *pesantren* has managed to instill his followers with such important values as cleanliness and hygiene:

"I start with myself....when I first promoted cleanliness to my *santri*, I did it by showing them how to create a clean environment. I still remember how I pulled a garbage can around the *pesantren* and I did it almost everyday. So, if you want to introduce this culture in your campus, firstly you have to be a model, an example for everybody there, and then may be you will find some of your students saying, 'Waaah...look at *pak dosen*, he is so diligent, he has two titles now: cleaner and lecturer! I am so proud of you *Pak*'. This does not mean, however, that they will not imitate you! Therefore, you also have to make them understand your purpose. In doing so, you have to talk to them, bring them to your vision in a beautiful way. If you do not take this way, the meaning of your message will be lost. This is just like when two people who are suffering from hunger come to a village and tell the villagers, 'Oh villagers... We have not eaten for three days,' to which the villagers respond, 'Wow, cool! Bravo! Great! You are so strong! We salute you both!' They thought that these two people were showing their power, and failed to see the plight of their visitors! So communication is important here."⁹⁹

Some people choose DT because of its success in combing the study *da'wah*, business, and management. While some would argue that *da'wah* and business are very conflicting concepts, this appears not to be the case for Aa Gym and DT. In support of such an attitude, Qodri Azizy pointed out that a *pesantren* should not only focus on the hereafter but also emphasize economic development and knowledge.¹⁰⁰

Another reason DT is a popular choice of study is its efficient management and professionalism. Management is certainly a dominant theme at DT. There are six types of management that are taught at DT, that is, *Managemen Qalbu*, time management, human management, trusteeship management, environment or neighbor management, and finance management. While DT is not the only *pesantren* to maintain such a strong focus on modern management — joining *pesantrens* such as Gontor and *pesantren* Darul Falah in Bogor¹⁰¹ — this is certainly one of the strengths of DT. To help promote effective management at DT, in 2001 Aa Gym stood down as leader of DT to give the younger generation vital experience in managing *pesantren* affairs.

D. *Pesantren* DT: Spiritual Vacation?

Tebuireng *Pesantren* in Jombang is considered by many to be a pilgrimage site.¹⁰² The graveyard that is located in the center of this *pesantren* attracts about two or three thousand pilgrims each month. *Pesantren* DT, in contrast, is not a pilgrimage site, yet twelve to thirteen thousand people visit it each month. One of the reasons for this large number of visitors is that people view DT as a destination for spiritual tourism.¹⁰³

On 26 April 2003, DT and BP Budpar (the Body of Culture and Tourism Development) signed a memorandum of understanding to arrange tours of the *Pesantren*. Virtually hundreds of thousand of tourists come each year. In 2003, for instance, this program attracted about one hundred thousand tourists from all over Indonesia.¹⁰⁴ The number ranges from 5 thousand to 6 thousand each week and consists of 40 to 50 groups. There are a variety of tourist packets offered, starting from 70,000 up to 450,000 rupiah per person, including meals and accommodation.¹⁰⁵ The weekends are the periods for DT, starting from Thursday night (the regular *pengajian* and *tausiyah*), Friday noon (*shalat jumat*), and Sunday morning (regular *pengajian*), with the tourists often coming to the school at the same time MQ training is being conducted.

In opening the *pesantren* up to tourism, DT has tried to design programs that would involve members of the local community and thus benefit the economic development of the community as a whole. Hence, such services as transport, accommodation, and food are provided for the visitors by those from the local community.

A lot of the visitors are attracted to DT purely because of Aa Gym, and therefore meeting and taking photos together with Aa Gym is a huge novelty for the visitors. "It will be fascinating if we get to take a photo with Aa" said one middle aged women. The woman came from Bogor with fellow villagers simply to see Aa Gym.¹⁰⁶ It is not surprising, then, that in 2004 Aa Gym was noted by the Indonesian Guinness Book of Records as the most visited person in Indonesian society. Visitors come from all over Indonesia, with about 75 percent coming from outside Java. Visitors include school children, *pengajian* groups, as well as educational and religious institutions (including other *pesantrens*). In 2004 *pesantrens* that visited DT included: *Pesantren al-Hikam Bandar Lampung*, *Pesantren DDI South Sulawesi*, *Pesantren al-Muniroh Gresik*, *Pesantren Daarussalam Gontor*, *Pesantren Miftah as-Salam Banyumas*, and *Pesantren al-Hidayah Grobogan*.¹⁰⁷

During visits to DT tourists are able to watch videos of DT's development, take tours of the *pesantren* complex and attend *nasyid* performances. Furthermore, taking photos with Aa Gym and attending a *pengajian* are

offered during the tour as well. Tourism and the development of DT are inherently intertwined. The tourists not only provide income for the school, but also help promote the school's ever growing reputation.

Visitors to DT come for a variety of reasons; some come just to relax in its serene setting, others come to study, conduct research, meet Aa Gym or even go shopping. Others come for less touristy reasons such as to attend *pengajian* MQ, fundraising¹⁰⁸, to visit a student, healing, and consultation.

Conclusion

The emergence and development of Daarut Tauhiid is a response to globalization. The establishment of the *pesantren* can not be disassociated from the process of globalization that has brought about rapid social change and transformation. The growth of the international market, urbanization, the rapid development of information technology and the use of global media have all played a great role in this change.¹⁰⁹

For some people, globalization has led them to uncertainty, conflict, and deprivation resulting from an inability to adapt to change, as well as feelings of disorientation and loss of identity.¹¹⁰ Those who face this challenge of dealing with globalization tend to turn to religion for guidance and to rediscover the inner-self.¹¹¹ This has led to a new pattern of Sufism, vastly different to traditional Sufism; it is a kind of Sufism that has resulted from a "creative synthesis of the existing world order, which lies mainly in its tendencies to promote the esoteric dimension of Islam, as well as its side that shows respect for pluralism and tolerance."¹¹² One method of dealing with this phenomenon that has developed in the Islamic world is the virtual *pesantren*, which attempts to fulfill the needs of those such as the urban communities by offering the practice of religiosity in the global context.

The relevance of tradition is an issue here that cannot be forgotten. Muslims in Indonesia have long been associated with the backwardness that plagues the wider Muslim world. Most Islamic educational institutions, such as *madrasahs* and *pesantrens*, which should be the leading lights in the fight to solve the problems facing the Muslim community, are in fact incapable of producing leaders, scholars, and the human resources needed to do so. Part of the problem here is that scholars of today in Indonesia have become separated from reality and intellectually do not understand tradition, having failed to recognize the relevance of tradition and the contemporary context.

Finally, *pesantrens* cannot cope with the changes competitively.¹¹³ That is to say, they can't keep up, and now *pesantrens* are viewed as old-

fashioned, if not backwards. The virtual *pesantren* counters this perception because of its success in empowering Muslims both socially and economically, and further by promoting inclusiveness by developing an attitude of 'We're all humans, it doesn't matter what schools of thoughts and understanding of Islam you have, or even what you religion is'.

The uniqueness of this *pesantren*, DT, lies precisely in its diversity and distinctive approach to managing its own affairs. Cooperation with other bodies has not only allowed DT to grow, but also be accepted among the government bodies. We might point out, also, that while the *pesantren* needed the assistance of political institutions to be established and maintain its institutions, it is politically advantages for the government to be associated with this overwhelmingly popular institution. Mutual cooperation benefits not only both institutions involved but also the wider community. DT's cooperation with PT. Telkom, for example, could be explained as a positive response to the rapid challenges of Information Communication Technologies (ICT). The involvement of DT in various economic activities illustrates its interpretation of *jihad*.¹¹⁴

Notes

1. A number of theses have been written on *Daarut Tauhiid* by Indonesian scholars including Dindin Salahudin (1996, Australian National University), Sa'dun Akbar (2000, UPI), Enung Asmaya (2004, UIN Syahid), Dede Somarya (2005, UPI), and Asep Jahidin (2005, University of Indonesia). Additionally, a number of works have been published such as *Aa Gym Apa Adanya: Sebuah Qalbugrafi* by Abdullah Gymnastiar, and *Raport Merah Aa Gym: MQ di Penjara Tasawuf* by Abdurrahman al-Mukaffi. This study seeks to cover aspects of DT that have not previously been covered by other works on the subject.
2. Lexically, the term 'virtual' has the meaning of "being something in essence (or effect), although not so formally or in name." See Robert K. Barnhart, *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology: The Origins of American English words*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1995), p.862.
3. In analyzing the typical characteristics of virtual *pesantrens*, this study mostly refer to the work of Robert K. Logan, *The Sixth Language: Learning a Living in the Internet Age*, special section on "The Internet as the Sixth Language" (Toronto: Stoddart, 2000), pp.259-296.
4. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: The Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java* (USA: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1999), p.41.
5. Abdullah Gymnastiar, *Aa Gym Apa Adanya: Sebuah Qalbugrafi*, (Bandung: MQ publishing, 2003).
6. Throughout his life, Aa Gym has worked on developing his entrepreneurial management skills. One of his greatest qualities is his vast management skills and his strength in organizing his *dakwah* (propagation of Islam) and business. He received his management knowledge from his contact with many people and by reading various books. He has read hundreds of books related to management such as *Manajemen Desain* by Bagas Prasetyo Wibowo, *Sun Tzu: Perang dan Manajemen* by Wee Chow How, and *Manajemen Fikiran: Metode Ampuh menata Pikiran untuk Mengatasi Depresi, Kemarahan, Kecemasan, dan Perasaan Merusak Lainnya* by Dennis Greenberger and Chirstine A.Padesky. This last book Aa Gym recommends *santri karya* of DT to study. Aa Gym has also had close personal contact with many prominent figures in the business world including Palgunadi, the leader of Astra Mitra Ventura (an automotive enterprise), and Chairul Tanjung, Chairman of Bank Mega. Furthermore, he has regularly traveled abroad to both Muslim and non-Muslim countries to pursue knowledge and gain valuable experience.
7. Although Engkus Koswara served as lieutenant-colonel, a high rank within the military, he lives in modesty and associates with ordinary people. See special section on "Ayah Saya" in *Aa Gym Apa Adanya*.
8. Gymnastiar, *Aa Gym Apa Adanya*, p.18.
9. *Ibid.* See in particular the first section entitled *Jejak Masa Bclia*.
10. One scholar who has written about the pattern of traditional Islamic leadership, particularly on Sundanese *ulama*, is Hiroko Horikoshi. She argues that among the Sundanese, the more prominent *kyais* tend to come from a non-pesantren background. What's more, for the Sundanese the term *kyai* implies charismatic, transient and naturally non-hereditary leadership. In my opinion, Aa Gym perfectly fits the Sundanese perceptions of a *kyai*. Perhaps the greatest difference is that Aa Gym is not a traditional leader as his lifestyle is more so that of a modern and urban Muslim. See Hiroko Horikoshi *A Traditional Leader in a Time of Change* (Urbana-

- Champaign: University of Illinois, 1976). Gym's background is quite different to that of typical Javanese *ulama*, who are generally closely associated with famous religious educational centers and have a *pesantren* background. See Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition*, p.59.
11. The turning point in Aa Gym's life was not solely the dream, but also the terminal illness of his younger brother, Agung Gun Martin. Gym often spoke of the great impact his brother had on him; Gun Martin, in spite of his disability (he could not hear nor walk) was a patient and persevering person. Although half of his body was paralyzed he used to pray at midnight and attend religious lectures. Gym once asked Gun Martin about his disability, to which he responded, "I won't complain about my sickness, it will only burden the listener. Allah is the only one who knows the lesson of my sickness." See *Aa Gym Apa Adanya*, p.22; 26
 12. Russell Jones, "Ten Conversion Myths from Indonesia," in Nehemia Levtzion (ed.), *Conversion to Islam* (New York/London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), pp.129-158.
 13. Abdurrahman al-Mukaffi, *Raport Mcerah Aa Gym: MQ di Penjara Tasawuf* (Jakarta: Darul Falah, 2003), p.75.
 14. Gymnastiar, *Aa Gym Apa*, p.26.
 15. *Dzikir* is the repeated chanting of part of the confession of faith or remembrance of God's name, often in unison, as a form of worship.
 16. Commentary of Deden Miqdad, quoted in *Aa Gym Apa Adanya*, p.31.
 17. Interview with Aa Gym from *Pikiran Rakyat*, quoted in Hernowo & Ridwan, *Aa Gym dan Fenomena Daarut Tauhiid*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2003), p.25.
 18. Deden Miqdad, interview by the author, March 27, 2005.
 19. Shaykh Ahmad Ibn 'Ata'illah (1250-1309) lived in Egypt during the reign of the Mamluks. Originally from Alexandria, he moved to Cairo where his professional life involved teaching religious law in various institutions including the al-Azhar Mosque. He was also a well known Sufi saint famous for the work, *Kitab al-Hikam*, a book that has attracted universal Muslim up to this very day. This highly treasured book embodies the essence of spiritual life in the Islamic tradition.
 20. Literally means 'spiritual exercises' that are usually practiced by members of *tarekat* (Sufi orders), disciplining themselves by following certain regulations, and devoting themselves almost exclusively to *dzikir* and *wirid*. The weekly *riyadhoh* referred to here were regular *pengajian* held every Wednesday night in the *pesantren* Miftah al-Huda. This was an open *pengajian* delivered by KH.Chacr Affandy on *tauhsud* attended by *kyais* from all over Indonesia to join the *pengajian*.
 21. Muhammad Nurdin, staff at Miftah al-Huda Pesantren, interview by the author, March 25, 2005.
 22. Since the teachings and practices of MQ are very much based on Sufism, some people see the practice of MQ as a form of Sufism. Azra and Yusuf maintained that Aa Gym's mission and preaching reflect the spirit of Sufism, which is largely popular for a society suffering from disorientation. Aa Gym, however, insists that DT does not practice Sufism, but rather implements the simple teachings of the Prophet.²³ Al-Mukaffi, however, has argued that Aa Gym knows full well that this is Sufism, but hides this with claims to the contrary.²⁴ DT might be categorized as a *pesantren* that promotes and practices 'neo-Sufism'²⁵ where there is no *murshid* and *murid* relationship. DT's Sufism is not regarded as mystical in nature, but as moral teachings on the basis of the Qur'an and Hadith; its aim is not to achieve unity with God, but to gain closeness to God as His servant. People can practice Sufism without being affiliated to a particular Sufi order (*tarekat*). This type of Sufism is also called

- 'positive Sufism,' that is, Sufism that encourages Muslims to actively participate in worldly matters. Neo-sufism can also be regarded as 'McSufism', that is a practical form of Sufism that promotes synergy and encourages creative development in society. See Herry Mohammad, *Mcjaga Hati, Meraih Cinta Illahi*, (Bandung: Mizan, ___); Hernowo, *Aa Gym dan Fenomena Daarut Tauhiid*, p.102; Al-Mukaffi, *Raport Merah Aa Gym*, section entitled '*Benarkah Aa Gym tidak Tahu tentang Tasawuf?* [Is it true that Aa Gym doesn't know about Sufism?]. For further discussion on the term "neo-sufism" see Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, 2nd edition (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1979), p. 206. He interpreted the term to illustrate a Sufi movement in North Africa who reject the metaphysical aspects of Sufism and are more concerned with individual experiences in an attempt to get closer to the Prophet. See also Azyumardi Azra, "Akar-akar Historis Pembaruan Islam di Indonesia: Neosufisme Abad ke-11-12/17-18 M" in *Manusia Modern Mendamba Allah: Renungan Tasawuf Positif* (Jakarta: Hikmah & IIMaN), pp.99-119.
23. Hernowo, *Aa Gym dan Fenomena Daarut Tauhiid*, pp.26-27.
 24. Bambang Pranowo, a UIN lecturer, quoted in Asmaya, *Aa Gym: Dai Sejuk*, p.102.
 25. Mulyadi al-Fadil, a leader of DT's Department of Education and Training, interview by the author, February 17, 2005.
 26. Foundation profile of *Daarut Tauhiid* without year of publication.
 27. Pak Dadang, Gegerkalong resident, interview by the author, February 17, 2005.
 28. Nining Suningsih, Gegerkalong resident, interview by the author, February 20, 2005.
 29. Yopi H.R. et.al., *Welcome to Daarut Tauhiid*, (Bandung: MQ Publishing, 2003), p.15.
 30. Enung Asmaya, *Aa Gym: Dai Sejuk dalam Masyarakat Majemuk*, (Jakarta: Hikmah, 2004), p.77.
 31. Company Profile of DT Cooperation 2004.
 32. Yopi H.R. et.al., *Welcome to Daarut Tauhiid*. Note in particular the section on DEPDIKLAT.
 33. The official record of MQ training and personal interview of the training's staff, February 22, 2005.
 34. Yopi H.R. et.al., *Welcome to Daarut Tauhiid*. MQ Radio can be found on 102.65 FM, while approximately forty other radio stations around Indonesia actively broadcast some of MQ's programs.
 35. Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition*, p.13.
 36. Yopi H.R. et.al., *Welcome to Daarut Tauhiid*.
 37. Ustadz Ahmad Ramdani, interview by the author, February 22, 2005. According to Retni, a *santri* from DT Batam (interview by the author 8 February 2005), the system of DT Batam is similar to DT Bandung, in that it engages the surrounding society. There are also *santri mukim* and *santri kalong* in Batam. There is no significant difference between both types of *santri*: they learn a similar curriculum. Yet, the former live in the *pesantren* and pay 150,000 each month for school fees, while the latter live outside the *Pesantren* and pay 40,000 per month for school fees. The school fees do not cover food costs. They study from Monday to Friday and the session is divided into morning classes from 8:30 to 11:00 and evening classes from 18:30 to 22:00. The topic of study is the same as the central *pesantren*: *ma'rifatullah*, leadership, and entrepreneurship. Additionally, once every three months, Aa Gym comes to DT Batam to give public preaching to the *jamaah* there. The number of *santri* fluctuates as most of the *santri* in DT Batam are employees of electronic industries in Batam, and usually their living in Batam depends on their job contract.

38. This opinion is based on interviews with some *kyais* and *ustadz*s in certain *pesantrens* in West Java. Most of them claimed that they never visit DT directly, they know DT only from the media and from Aa Gym's speeches. I have not listed these individuals' names at their request.
39. Gymnastiar, *Aa Gym Apa Adanya*, section entitled *Mimpi Untuk Daarut Tauhiid*.
40. *Ibid.*, p.58.
41. *Ibid.* See section entitled *Cetak Biru Daarut Tauhiid*.
42. Individuals, however, may vary in degrees of discomfort from modernity. According to Erikson quoted by Ramanujam (White, 1986) maintains that "there are three basic form of human apprehension: *fears* aroused by new facts such as discoveries and inventions, which radically change and expand the whole world image; *anxieties* aroused by symbolic dangers vaguely perceived as consequences of the decay of existing ideologies; and in the wake of disintegrating faith, the dread of an existential abyss devoid of spiritual meaning."
43. Asmaya, *Aa Gym: Dai Sejuk*, p.169.
44. Al-Mukaffi, *Raport Merah*. See section entitled "Dzikir dengan kata tunggal 'Allah' dan rangkain doa yang menyelisihi sunnah."
45. Yopi H.R. et.al., *Welcome to Daarut Tauhiid*, pp.50-52.
46. Council of *Asatidz* (teachers), interviews conducted by the author throughout February 2005. One *ustadz* explained that the reason the idea has not been implemented until now is due to such difficulties finding a suitable location, while some *kyai* at DT still prioritize non-formal education over formal education.
47. In Indonesian language these three types of education are known as *pendidikan menguntungkan*, *pendidikan subsidi silang*, and *pendidikan plus-plos*. Deden Miqdad, interview by the author, March 27, 2005.
48. Yopi H.R. et.al., *Welcome to Daarut Tauhiid*, p.57.
49. Official record of MQ training issued February 2005
50. Proposal Kegiatan Pelatihan Manajemen Qalbu issued by DPP.
51. Hernowo, *Aa Gym dan Fenomena Daarut Tauhiid*, p.92.
52. DT is made up of three independent institutions, each of which serve different purposes: The Foundation, Cooperative, and MQ Corporation. The foundation acts as facilitator and organizer of the *pesantren* affairs. The cooperative was built as a center to develop the community. MQ Corporation, on the other hand, is a holding company for affiliated firms belonging to Aa Gym.
53. *Jurnal MQ* Vol.1, No.1 (May 2001), p.15.
54. Daarut Tauhiid, Annual Report for 2003.
55. Djatmiko, the officer of the Isola district, February 17, 2005.
56. "Misykat, Program Pemberdayaan Ekonomi untuk Pengusaha Mikro," *BEWARA: Bermartabat Bersama Warga*, No.01, Muharram 1426/February 2005. The bulletin published by the DT foundation aimed at being a mediator of communication between the *pesantren* and society.
57. Gymnastiar, "Kiat Bisnis," in *Aa Gym Apa Adanya*; and personal interview with the members of DT conducted during participatory observation.
58. Noorhaidi Hasan, "In search of Identities: Contemporary Islamic Communities in Southeast Asia," *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, Vol.7, Number 3 (2000): p.91.
59. Nakamura Mitsuo, 'Introduction', in Nakamura Mitsuo, Sharon Siddique, and Omar Farouk Bajunid (eds), *Islam and Civil Society in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001), p.6.
60. Abdullah Gymnastiar, *Aa Gym Apa Adanya*, p.104.

61. Aceng Imam, *santri karya* of the Cooperative, interview by the author, February 25, 2005.
62. Ramdani, interview by the author, February 22, 2005. See also Gymnastiar, *Aa Gym Apa Adanya*, p.110. Other *pesantrens* that promote the idea of pluralism is Darul Da'wah, South Sulawesi, and Nurul Hakim Kediri, Cipasung Tasik Malaya in which the elite of the *pesantren* have been actively involved in the process of reconciliation between different religious and ethnic communities. See "Penelitian LP3ES: Pesantren Merupakan Agen Perdamaian." *Republika* February 25, 2005.
63. Multiculturalism means "the acknowledgment and promotion of cultural pluralism as a feature of many societies." It also "celebrates and seeks to protect cultural variety." See D.Jary & J.Jary, *The Harper Collins Dictionary of Sociology* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), p.319. Multiculturalism is a dominant theme at DT which openly allows other groups to be involved in its activities. Ideologically, DT emphasizes equality and seems to respect and accept other truths. What this means is that DT accepts other truths by arguing that differences are a natural fact of life. At the personal level, however, DT believes that the only truth is Islam.
64. On February 23, 2005 I came to the Office of the Council of *Asaatidz* to conduct an interview, where I interestingly overheard a couple of teenagers, non-Muslims in fact, talking to one *ustadz*. The teenagers wanted to convert to Islam, and had evidently been influenced by *pengajian* MQ. Additionally, on March 4, 2005, I witnessed a teenager who embraced Islam during the *pengajian*.
65. I conducted interviews with *jamaah* while they were at DT. Extracts from these interviews and the data that I collected during my stay at DT underline the fact that they come from different religious traditions and different cultures, yet they appear to find no contradiction in being a *santri* of DT. I collected interviews conducted by other researchers or journalists about DT. I received a variety of responses, and the sample indicates both their wide cultural base and their singular devotion to following Aa Gym.
66. Asmaya, *Aa Gym: Dai Sejuk*, pp.100-101.
67. Zaenal, interview by the author, February 10, 2005.
68. Personal interview of participant of *pengajian* MQ in *pesantren Daarut Tauhiid*, Bandung, October 21, 2004.
69. Ustadz Deden Miqdad, the director of DT's foundation, interview by the author, March 27, 2005.
70. Further information available online at <http://www.tempointeraktif.com> and <http://time.com/time/asia/magazine> [November 11, 2002].
71. Most *santri karya* at DT are women and they are recognized professionally based on their skills.
72. Al-Mukaffi, *Raport Merah*, chapter entitled "Kabut Wihdatul Adyan..."
73. Michael Vatikiotis R.J., *Political Change in Southeast Asia, Trimming the Banyan Tree*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p.153, as quoted by Moeflich Hasbullah, "Cultural Presentation of the Muslim Middle Class in Contemporary Indonesian," in *Studia Islamika, Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, Vol.7, No.2 (2000).
74. Ronald A. Lukens-Bull, "Two Sides of the Same Coin: Modernity and Tradition in Islamic Education in Indonesia," in *Anthropology and Education Quarterly: Journal of the Council of Anthropology and Education*, Vol.32, No.3 (September 2001).
75. Examples of this type of *pesantren* are: Tebuireng, al-Fallah, Suryalaya, and Gontor.
76. Robert K. Logan, *The Sixth Language: Learning a Living in the Internet Age*, (Canada: Stoddart, 2000), p.131. See also Hasbullah, *Cultural Presentation*, p.11.

77. "Penjualan Buku dan Kaset Rohani Islam Naik," December 6, 2003. [Available online] KOMPAS, [cited February 21, 2005]; available from <http://www.kompas.com>.
78. The facility that allows files to be transferred from one computer to another through the medium of the Internet.
79. The facility that allows users to access their servers or home computers from anywhere in the world through the internet.
80. MQ website, statistics from 2004.
81. Fiqi Fauzi, chief editor of MQIT, interview by the author, March 29, 2005.
82. D.Held. et.al., *Global Transformation: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Cambridge: Polity, 1999), p.2. Quoted in Stephen Castles, "Development, Social Transformation and Globalization," paper presented at the Center for Asia Pacific *Social Transformation Studies* (CAPSTRANS) workshop of 23-25 June 1999, p.7.
83. Hernowo, *Aa Gym dan Fenomena Daarut Tauhiid*, p.96.
84. Gymnastiar, *Aa Gym Apa Adanya*, p.104.
85. Mumuh A.M., interview by the author, February 23, 2005.
86. Deden M., interview by the author, March 27, 2005.
87. Alek K., interview by the author, February 21, 2005.
88. Dadang Saepudin, interview by the author, February 28, 2005.
89. Widyastuti, interview by the author, February 19, 2005.
90. <http://www.klikdt.com>
91. Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "Islamic Education and Traditional Ideology on Java," in A.G. Muhaemin (ed.), *Tradition and Change in Indonesian Islamic Education* (Jakarta: Office of Religious Research and Development, 1995), p.33.
92. Interview of *Risalah* journalist, dated February 11, 1994. Quoted in Hernowo, *Aa Gym dan Fenomena Daarut Tauhiid*, p.98.
93. The term of learning by doing was first popularized by John Dewey in the educational field. Here, however, the term is used merely to describe that the learning at DT is not fully concerned with theory but also included practical aspects.
94. Dawam Rahardjo, "The Kyai, the Pesantren, and the Village: A Preliminary Sketch," in *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asian*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), p.245.
95. No particular *pesantren* was used during the interviews to compare to DT, except for those *santri* who had studied in other *pesantrens*.
96. Personal interview with Encng, a *santri* who had studied previously at a *salaf pesantren* in West Java before coming to DT. Interview conducted by the author February 19, 2005.
97. Imam, a *santri karya* and graduate from a *salaf pesantren salaf* in West Java., interview by the author, February 25, 2005.
98. Nurma, a participant at SIB 2004 (now working as a *santri karya* in Gemma Nusa), interview by the author, February 19, 2005.
99. Quote taken during the author's participation in *pengajian* MQ.
100. Director General of Institutional Islam (BAGIN), Department of Religious Affairs. Quoted in "Penelitian LP3ES," in *Republika*.
101. Rahardjo, "The Kyai, the Pesantren."
102. Ronald A. Lukens-Bull, "The Accidental Imago Mundi: Spatializing Social and Religious Change in Islamic Java." in Ronald A Lukens-Bull (ed.), *Sacred Places and Modern Landscapes: Sacred Geography and Social-Religious Transformations in South and Southeast Asia* (Arizona State University: Monograph Series Press, 2003). pp.203-226.

103. Like in other *pesantrens*, DT offers a program of *pesantren kilat* (short study program in the *pesantren*), which is quite similar to the program of spiritual tourism in the sense that they both seek to provide visitors with a spiritual experience and short living experience in the *pesantren*.
104. Annual report of 2003. Pondok Modern Gontor is another *pesantren* that is visited by thousands of people each year. However this *pesantren* does not promote tourism.
105. Personal interview with one coordinator of spiritual tourism, February 22, 2005.
106. Personal observation of Spiritual Tourism activities, February 26, 2005.
107. Official DT records for Spiritual Tourism, issued in 2004.
108. During my stay at DT, I met a young mother whose husband is a rickshaw rider. She came to DT just to look for some donations for her girl's eyes operation. She required 5 million rupiah for it, and had previously come to the *pesantren* and collected 400,000 rupiah. On another occasion, I found a young mother who had come to the office of Gema Nusa in DT to pawn her mobile phone; she needed the money to feed her four sons who had not eaten for two days. The Gema Nusa official gave her 200,000 rupiah but took her mobile phone as a guarantee.
109. Castles, "Development, Social Transformation and Globalization," p.10.
110. Nurcholish Madjid as quoted by Edy Supriyono, "Pesantren di Tengah Arus Globalisasi," in *Mcnggagas Pesantren*, pp.58-59.
111. Haidar Bagir (ed.), "Manusia Modern Mendamba Allah," in *Manusia Modern Mendamba Allah: Renungan Tasawuf Positif* (Jakarta: IIMaN & Hikmah, 2002), p.xii.
112. Hasan, "In search of Identities".
113. See Malik Fadjar, *Tantangan dan Prospek Madrasah (Kasus Madrasah Ibtidaiyah)* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), p.41-44. In fact, *pesantrens* have long been know for their successful role as agents of community development and the production of distinguished *ulamas*. See Mahmud Yunus, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Mutiara, 1979). In recent times, however, *pesantrens* have tended to be concentrated in rural areas, a result of earlier efforts to avoid the repression of the colonial rulers. Furthermore, Madjid argued that if there was no colonization, the dominant form of educational system in Indonesia would be the *pesantren* system. See Nurcholish Madjid, *Bilik-bilik Pesantren: Sebuah Potret Perjalanan*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), p.3.
114. Gymnastiar, *Aa Gym apa Adanya*, p.62.

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