1. Introduction

1. Introduction

One can observe some of the Islamic characteristics of a specific area in Indonesia by listening to the call to prayer (Ind.: *adzan*) early in the day before the sun rises (Ind.: *subuh/ fajr*), when busy morning traffic fills small and large cities alike. The same is true for the time from sunset (Ind.: *maghrib*) to the end of the night prayer (Ind.: *isha*). I have been living in Yogyakarta in Central Java and in Palembang in South Sumatra in order to undertake long term research in these two areas. My first impressions suggest that both places reflect differences in Islamic expression and practice. One example is the contribution and the size of mosques, and connected to this the call to prayer, which can be heard by everyone. In Yogyakarta, the *adzan* comes from many different mosques, the voices fuse, and the words overlap. It quickly becomes unclear which *adzan* originates from which mosque, which *adzan* began first and which *adzan* calls out at the exact right prayer time. Mosques in Yogyakarta are small but plentiful, with some villages containing two or more. Different Islamic organizations maintain their respective mosques in different parts of the village, or different *kampung* in the city. In Palembang in South Sumatra, there is no ocean of *adzan* voices like in Yogyakarta. One clear, loud voice calls to prayer. Mosques are usually large and there are few of them.

I observed a second example of differing Islamic practices during Ramadan. An issue that always arises during this time is when to begin and when to end the month of fasting, and how to perform the extra supererogatory Ramadan prayers (Ind.: *sholat*) and additional worship (*ibadah*). The special nightly prayer of *sholat taraweh* belongs to the collective spiritual experience of Indonesian Muslims, and most men as well as women flock to the mosques to offer *sholat taraweh* in congregation (Ind.: *jama'ah).* The question which arises annually is: which mosque should one go to? When doing research in Yogyakarta, the question I faced was: should I go to the village mosque that is affiliated with the Islamic organization Nahdlatul Ulama, where twenty prayer cycles plus three prayer cycles of *sholat witr* are performed, or should I go to the new mosque near the *perumahan* (housing complex), where only eight prayer cycles plus three prayer cycles of *sholat witr* are performed[1]? In Palembang, I probably would not have experienced this dilemma, because almost all mosques perform *sholat taraweh* with twenty plus three prayer cycles. However, in the *transmigrasi* area of Sri Gunung in South Sumatra (see chapter five), a similar dilemma as in Yogyakarta arises, because different practices are followed by different mosque communities.

The third example which illustrates differences in Islamic practices on a superficial level has to do with the way Indonesian women perform the ritual prayer. The *adzan* has called for prayer. I stop at a nearby mosque in the Kraton area of Yogyakarta and join the prayer. Women in white prayer gowns (Ind.: *mukena*), as everywhere in Indonesia, line up to offer *sholat*. However, in contrast to the mosque near my house in a small village in the south of Yogyakarta, the women here stand by themselves, their feet close together. And they do not worry about whether their toes touch the toes of their neighbor. After *sholat*, the imam leads the *community* (Ind.: *jama'ah*) in supplication (*dua*) and *dzikir*. This also contrasts with the practice in the mosque near my house, where everybody seems to make *dua* silently by themselves. When I lived in Palembang for this research study, I attended communal prayer in several big mosques where *dua* and *dzikir* after prayer were always read together and led by the imam. The women, as well, stood in prayer, as they do in the small mosque in central Yogyakarta.

The examples cited above represent only a small selection of differences in Islamic practices in Indonesia that, as a practicing Muslim[2], I noticed immediately. However, much effort has been invested in describing and categorizing the different forms, practices, thoughts and interpretations of Islam and Muslims in Indonesia. While some scholars speak of a unique Indonesian Islam, others prefer to refer to 'Islam in Indonesia' rather than 'Indonesian Islam'. "How are we to understand the combination of these words[?]" (van Dijk, 2013: 15). This question automatically leads to other complicated questions: is Islam in

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[1] The issue of the *taraweh* prayer will be discussed in chapters three and five. For an extensive analysis of the *sholat taraweh* in Java, see Möller (2005, 2007).

[2] I discuss my positionality as a Muslim researcher and the reflexivity of my role as a Muslim researcher in my field in sub-chapter three of this first chapter. In addition, my positionality and reflexivity will also be discussed throughout this study where necessary.

Indonesia different from Islam in other parts of the Muslim and non-Muslim world? And what do we actually consider to be Islam or Islamic practices and teachings? How are local Islamic practices influenced by and connected to global Islamic discourses?

On the one hand, one opinion asserts that only practices that are based on the Qur'an and Sunnah can be truly seen as Islamic practices (scripturalist approach), and all other practices are traditional (pre-Islamic), syncretistic folk traditions that corrupt pure Islamic practices. This opinion is associated with the so called Islamic revival in Indonesia dating back to the 1970s, but which actually extends back to the beginning of the 20th century, with the founding of the Islamic reformist organization Muhammadiyah. On the other hand, there exists the opinion that any practice undertaken within an Islamic framework is in the end an Islamic practice. Whether these 'other' practices are of pre-Islamic origin or imported traditions from other parts of the Muslim world is debated. Many so called local beliefs and practices are very similar to local beliefs in other parts of the Muslim world, and "appear to be part of a global cultural complex that one can hardly call anything but Muslim or 'Islamicate'" (van Bruinessen, 1990: 3). However, this fact is rejected by some Muslims today, because these practices contradict contemporary concepts and imaginations of a universal, pure and consolidated Islam. However, historically, it can be said that many of these local Islamic practices came to Indonesia as part of Muslim civilization, even if they did not belong to the core of Islamic teachings (van Bruinessen, 1990).

One such example of contemporary local Islamic practices that originate from other parts of the Muslim world are the *HAUL* celebrations (commemorating the death of a Muslim personality like a *kyai*, shaykh, or saint) that are part of Islamic life among the Habaib (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad) communities around the world, and who seem to have initiated them in Indonesia. The great majority of followers of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and non-reformist Muslims, often referred to as traditional Muslims, take part in these celebrations as well (see for example Alatas, 2008, 2011, 2014). Another example of a local Indonesian Islamic practice is the commemoration of a person's death on the seventh, 100th and 1000th day after his death. Practiced widely, especially in Java, these commemorations are condemned by so called reformist Muslims as being a *bid'ah* (innovation/ deviation from pure Islamic teachings), or residue from pre-Islamic traditions. Referring to the origins of so called local Islamic practices, van Bruinessen (1990) argues that it is not important where these practices came from, but rather that they were incorporated into a Muslim system of meaning, and that therefore they cannot be called non- or pre-Islamic. Local, localized or traditional practices are often rejected as pre-Islamic or non-Muslim practices because at times they conflict with the contemporary conception and imagination of Islam as one universal religion (van Bruinessen, 1990).

The examples above reflect a general dilemma that can be observed when studying Islam in Indonesia. How do we describe who and what, and who describes who and what? How do Indonesian Muslims describe themselves and the 'other', and how do academic scholars describe Muslims in Indonesia? What are universal terms applied to groups all over the Muslim world, and what terms can be used specifically to describe Muslims in Indonesia? Ali (2007) provided an interesting overview of the different categorizations found for and among Muslims in postcolonial Indonesia. The categories range from *santri* vs. *abangan* to traditionalist vs. modernist, political vs. cultural Muslim, fundamentalist vs. liberal, great tradition vs. little tradition, and local vs. global Islam (Ali, 2007). Other categories include normative and mystically inclined Islam (Woodward, 1989). Woodward (2001) proposed that there exist five basic Islamic orientations: indigenized Islam, traditionalism, modernism, Islamism and neo-modernism. Riddell (2001) suggests almost the same categories: modernism, traditionalism, radical Islamism and neo-modernism. Neo-modernist, similar to neo-traditionalist, aim to bridge traditionalism and modernism.

At times, a dichotomy between rational and emotional emerges when referring to the different branches of Islam in Indonesia. However, although the rational approach to Islam is often connected to reformist Islam, in fact its members can just be as emotional (and irrationally passionate) about their school of thought as members of the so called traditional Islam can be rational when arguing in defense of their school of thought. I observed that the rational and emotional components mostly reflect the inner state of an individual – specifically whether he approaches his religion with the heart in a way that includes spiritual feelings and emotions, or whether he views religious practices merely as law-based acts to which emotions are a hindrance. Kyai Muhaimin (in chapter three), for example, becomes emotional during his nightly *wirid*, and his passion while reading or singing his *wirid* transfers to the attendees. In turn, he laments the emotional emptiness of people who are not reading regular *wirid*, something also observed by Day Howell (2001). She writes: "Eschewing idolatrous local customs, people find themselves left with empty formalism: prayers said, poor-tax paid, *hajj* undertaken, but simply in compliance with imposed requirements, without finding in them a deeper spiritual meaning" (Day Howell, 2001: 711).

Personally, I observed that Indonesian Muslim friends, and what I call spiritual teachers of mine, who engage in regular *wirid*, *dzikir* and other practices that cannot immediately be traced back to Qur'an and Sunnah, have usually developed a more emotional relationship with Islam in general and with Allah and His Prophet in particular. My Indonesian Muslim friends who are more oriented towards so called reformist Islam, are more concerned with the outward correctness of Islamic practices, for example the regular prayer (Ind.: *sholat*), or the importance of a reference in the Qur'an and Hadith for the justification of certain extra Islamic practices, such as, for instance, reading a certain verse from the Qur'an on a certain day. Other everyday examples of the differences between these two groups will be discussed later. The classical categories of *aqli* (rationalist) and *naqli* (scripturalist) are rarely applicable in categorizing Islam and Muslims in Indonesia. However, given the growing influence of the Wahhabi sect, the latter category in particular is gaining momentum in Indonesia as well.

While most of these categories can still be found among scholars and Indonesian Muslims alike, none of them is static, and if used to analyze belonging to a certain group, they often overlap, intertwine, and are exchanged, depending on the situation and condition of the person that is being described. And still, all of these different categories cannot convey the whole picture. This is why, at times, these categories are only road markers, street signs, that reflect the general direction without pointing exactly to the final destination. For this reason, a thick description of a person, an institution, or an event, as will be done in this study, is indispensable in comprehending the multi-layered facets of Islam in Indonesia.

Nevertheless, it has to be stressed that although these different categories and practices of Islam can be found in Indonesia, for the common people in Java and also in South Sumatra there basically exists only the dichotomy between NU and Muhammadiyah or, to frame it in other words, traditionalist vs. reformist (sometimes also referred to as modernist) practices of Islam. While I made this observation during my field research in 2013/2014, others have observed this phenomenon as well (see for example Möller, 2005). Lukens-Bull (2005) describes these "two major variants of Sunni Islam in Indonesia" (Lukens-Bull, 2005: 14) as classicalist vs. reformist. Classicalist does not refer to the original Meccan and Medinan communities, argues Lukens-Bull, but roughly to the medieval period of Islam, between the 12th and the 17th century C.E., "in which being Muslim and being Sufi were nearly synonymous" (2005: 15). One major reference for the classicalists (traditionalists) is Imam Al-Ghazali, whose writings are still taught today, as I will show in one example from my case study. I like the term classicalist proposed by Lukens-Bull because it is not as burdened with the connotations of backwardness and non-Islamic practices that seem to be inherent to the term traditionalist. Rather, it stresses the importance of learning from great Islamic scholars of the past, and affirms the legacy and plurality of centuries of Islamic learning. On a non-associational but rather educational level, the above dichotomy is referred to as *Salaf* or *Salafiyah* vs. Modern.

Interestingly, the Indonesian government uses these terms to describe the two main types of pesantren found in Indonesia, the *Salafiyah* (also referred to as traditional) pesantren on the one hand, which mainly focus on teaching Islamic sciences, and the modern pesantren (also referred to as *Khalafiyah* pesantren) on the other hand, which also include what is often called secular subject matter in their curriculum (for a detailed account see chapter two).

For the sake of simplicity, I will however make use of the established categories of traditional and reformist Islam where necessary. When I write about 'traditional Islam', or traditional Islamic practices and the like, I have in mind what Lukens-Bull (2005) refers to as classicalists. And when I write 'reformist Islam', I refer to Islamic movements that are usually called reformist or modernist in the Indonesian context, and which are rather scripturalist, focusing mainly on the Qur'an and Sunnah, and which usually do not follow any of the four established legal school of thoughts (Arab.: *madhab/ madahib* (pl.)).

Questions regarding universal and local Islam and Islamic practices that have already emerged in the discussion above, are also reflected in different values and concepts connected to Islam. While some values and concepts are universally understood, others are more locally known, and influence the perception of Islam within the local context. These local concepts and values form a tool in understanding how local Islamic practices within a certain *religioscape* are connected to Islamic practices on various spatial scales.

1.1. Local Concepts and Values

Besides the normative Islamic values that are more or less universally understood and applied in a practicing Indonesian Muslim's daily life, like *taqwa* (piety), *tawakkul* (trusting in Allah's plans), *haya* (sense of shame; modesty), *ihsan* (excellence of behavior; doing good deeds), and a relational connectedness to fellow Muslims, also referred to as *Ukhuwah Islamiyah*, there exist local values, concepts and practices that influence how Islamic knowledge is transferred, understood and ultimately applied. It is these local or localized values, concepts and practices that lead us to assume that the Islam found in Indonesia is unique without being disconnected from the rest of the Muslim world. *Silaturahmi* constitutes a central value, concept and practice found both in Yogyakarta and Palembang, South Sumatra and generally all over Indonesia and the wider Nusantara area, including Malaysia. It is in its localized formation unique to Indonesia and Malaysia. However, as the word itself already reveals, *silaturahmi* is rooted in the Islamic tradition. Particularly important to Javanese culture and people's perception of society, the cosmos and spirituality in Yogyakarta, are the two concepts of *rasa* (roughly and superficially translated as 'feelings or emotions'), and harmony. Another important concept and value for understanding the local expression of Islamic piety and Islamic practices and interpretation, is the idea of *barokah* or *berkah*, often translated as 'divine blessing', but actually encompassing a whole set of interdependent components. I encountered the use of the concept of *barokah* both during my research in Yogyakarta and in Palembang, South Sumatra. In the following section, I will introduce the above mentioned concepts in order to provide a better understanding of these ideas when referring to them in my case studies and analysis, and how they operate in Indonesian Muslims' everyday Islamic practice and interaction.

1.1.1. *Silaturahmi*

The concept of *silaturahmi* is found everywhere among the Indonesian Muslim community. Visiting a friend, family members or a teacher is often referred to as *silaturahmi*, not as *berkunjung* (visit). *Silaturahmi* consists of two levels: it is both a practice and an intention (Ind.: *niat*). Without the intention of practicing *silaturahmi*, the act of visiting (this can also include talks on telephone, emails, etc.) is not considered *sila-*

turahmi. In addition, it always takes into account a person that visits as well a person that receives the visiting party.

During my field research, I was often received as a guest undertaking *silaturahmi*. I often heard the words "It would be nice to continue our *silaturahmi* relation", or "It is nice to do *silaturahmi* with you". I eventually adapted or extended my intention of doing research, gathering data and learning, to include practicing *silaturahmi*. This extension of my intention as researcher is also an interesting example of my impact as a researcher on my field site, as well as my dual role as a Muslim researcher and the connected responsibilities that came with it. I am not only a researcher that analyzes part of the Muslim world, I am also part of that world.

According to my observations, *silaturahmi* seems to be understood by the majority of Indonesia's Muslims because the word is used on a daily basis, during religious talks, and even during political campaigns for the 2014 elections. A huge political campaign poster next to a traffic light in Yogyakarta read *"Keutamaan Silaturahmi"* (the virtues of *silaturahmi*). The poster was put up by the Islamic party PKS (Partai Keadilan Sejaterah) and uses a famous Hadith that in Indonesia is usually translated as: "*Silaturahmi* strengthens brotherhood, extends [your] age and increases [your] *rizq* [provision]". The presidential candidate (and now president) Jokowi (Joko Widodo) repeatedly used the word *silaturahmi* when referring to his many visits around Indonesia.

Kyai Muhaimin, from the Pesantren Nurul Ummahat, regularly refers to the importance of *silaturahmi* in his religious lectures. For him, *silaturahmi* means "connecting people", here relating to the Nokia slogan on purpose because according to him, the new electronic media and especially mobile phones have a discouraging influence on people's practice of *silaturahmi*. These media disconnect people, he argued in one of his talks (see chapter three). An important annual religious event that is often connected to *silaturahmi* and that will be discussed in chapter three, is *Halal Bi Halal* during the Islamic month of Shawwal (Ind.: *Syawal*) after the end of Ramadan. During *Halal Bi Halal*, also referred to as *Syawalan*, different communities meet, listen to a religious talk, and eat together. This can take place in a village, a neighborhood, or among members of the same political party, religious circle, university, school, etc. One important element of these *Halal Bi Halal* events is to ask each other's forgiveness (with the phrase *"Mohon Maaf Lahir dan Batin"*), and to greet the members of one's community by either shaking or folding hands with/ in front of the other person. Younger people often kiss the hands of their elders (referred to as *'salim'* in Indonesian).

Silaturahmi is also used for official purposes. The alumni organization FORSILAM (Forum Silaturahmi As-Salam) of the Pesantren As-Salam Al Islami (in chapter five) uses *silaturahmi* in her name. The importance to connect former *santri* through this organization in different parts of Indonesia and in other parts of the world is expressed through the localized concept of *silaturahmi*. Another organization, FORPESS (Forum Pondok Pesantren Sumatera Selatan) has a strong focus on connecting different pesantren in South Sumatra through *silaturahmi* (see chapter five).

Even practices that seem to have a purpose other than *silaturahmi* are eventually transformed when the component of *silaturahmi* is introduced. One example are the nightly security shifts (Ind.: *ronda*) traditionally undertaken by male members of a village to ensure safety. The idea behind *ronda* is to walk through the village throughout the night, making sure that no crime is committed and/ or to scare away thieves. In the village where I stayed during my field research in the south of Yogyakarta, the nightly *ronda* practice was adapted slightly. Male members of the village would meet at one member's house, drink sweet tea, eat snacks and talk from around ten until two at night. Only a short tour by motorbike was taken to collect the nightly security fee of each household, and sometimes not at all. The true purpose of the nightly *ronda*, as explained by the village head, was *silaturahmi* – to meet other members of the village, exchange news and talk. This is interesting because it shows a shift in purpose of the nightly *ronda*, and one might ask why it is necessary to hold these *silaturahmi-ronda* meetings at night.

My definition of *silaturahmi* in the Indonesian context reads as follows:

> *Silaturahmi* is a religiously motivated form of social interaction (practice) through which consciously or unconsciously translocal relations are maintained on various scales from the local to the global and on different societal levels, including kinship, educational, economic and religious connections. *Silaturahmi* is also an intention (*niat*) that can serve as a religious motivator, as well as a reminder, and is mostly, although not exclusively, used by and between Indonesian Muslims.

In the following chapters and through my three case studies, the nature of *silaturahmi* and the different social and cultural practices related to it will become clearer. It can be said that *silaturahmi* forms an underlying and connecting theme in all three case studies.

1.1.2. *Rasa* and Harmony

Two central concepts and values in the Javanese culture of Yogyakarta are *rasa* and harmony. *Rasa* constitutes the base for achieving harmony, be it social, individual or religious and spiritual harmony. At the same time, *rasa* guides all social and religious or spiritual actions. The person that has a well developed sense of *rasa* is looked up to and held in high esteem and respect. A person who has an underdeveloped sense of *rasa*, on the other hand, is seen as not being a real Javanese. Usually people from within or near the Kraton, the Sultan's Palace, in Yogyakarta, are identified as having a high sense of *rasa*, while people from the countryside are often recognized as having a low sense of *rasa*. However, there are always exceptions to this rule, explained one of my informants, Pak Herjaka, an expert and practitioner of Javanese culture, and a pearl can also emerge from the countryside depending on the individual's talent[3].

To translate *rasa* simply with 'feeling' or 'emotion' does not reflect the profound significance that this concept has within the Javanese society of Yogyakarta. On the social level, besides including the meanings of feeling and emotion, *rasa* also incorporates intuition, knowledge of the proper way to behave, knowledge of correct emotions, and also knowledge of how to suppress improper emotions. If one does not have this knowledge, *rasa* means being able to intuitively wait and observe the situation without acting spontaneously or impulsively, learning from this observation and deducing the proper manner in which to behave. It means to feel empathy and to understand symbols easily, explained Kyai Muhaimin. In Javanese, this level of *rasa* is referred to as *lantip.* It can be achieved through social learning and interaction. A traditional Javanese proverb reflects the meaning and realization of *rasa* in everyday life in a symbolic way: *"Ngono Ya Ngono Ning Aja Ngono."* Christopher Torchia (2007: 119) translates this phrase as "Do whatever you want, but don't overdo it = Don't let differences undermine group harmony." It is this stress on "group harmony" that a foreigner or stranger may feel when living in Yogyakarta. I felt that, more than in other places in Indonesia, it was expected of me to integrate into Javanese culture and behave in a Javanese way.

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[3] Interview with Pak Herjaka, 29.08.2013.

As I experienced myself and as explained to me by several informants, it is expected of non-Javanese or non-locals to Yogyakarta to try to perfectly integrate into the Javanese way of behaving and interacting. This expectation results, for example, in the strange phenomenon of Chinese descendants, having mastered *rasa*, being more Javanese in their behavior than the local population. Another Javanese expression praises non-Javanese for their ability to develop *rasa* and to integrate into the Javanese way of behaving by referring to them as *"wes Java"* or *"njawani"*. "*Njawani* means that a non-Javanese understands how he has to [behave], living on the Javanese land. In the old manuscripts, it is often repeated that Javanese people have to be polite, courteous and control their anger", explained Mas Herman, expert and practitioner of Javanese culture[4]. This integration, however, does not include the individual's religious beliefs. A Christian can be just as good a Javanese as a Muslim, Hindu or Buddhist. It is this stress on Javaneseness that might be one reason why religious pluralism has flourished in the Yogyakarta *religioscape* more so than in other parts of Indonesia.

On the religious and spiritual level, *rasa* refers to one's relationship with the divine, and is usually called *eling* (to remember). To be able to achieve this level of *rasa* called *eling*, one needs to master *lantip*, in addition to practicing *laku* – certain individual spiritual practices also referred to as *amaliyah* (see figure 1.1. below). *Laku* can include a wide range of practices, from walking long distances without talking, to abstaining from certain foods (for example sugar and salt over the course of a lifetime), fasting, *dzkir*, among other things. The ultimate goal is to improve one's relationship with the divine, to become closer to God and to control and overcome one's *nafs* (ego; lower desires). In the language of *tarekat* (Sufi brotherhoods), *laku* is referred to as *amalan* in Indonesian. Kyai Muhaimin's daily *wirid* after the nightly prayer (see chapter three) represent an example of improving one's relationship with the divine called *eling*, through additional spiritual practices, here *wirid*.

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[4] Interview with Mas Herman, 27.11.2013.

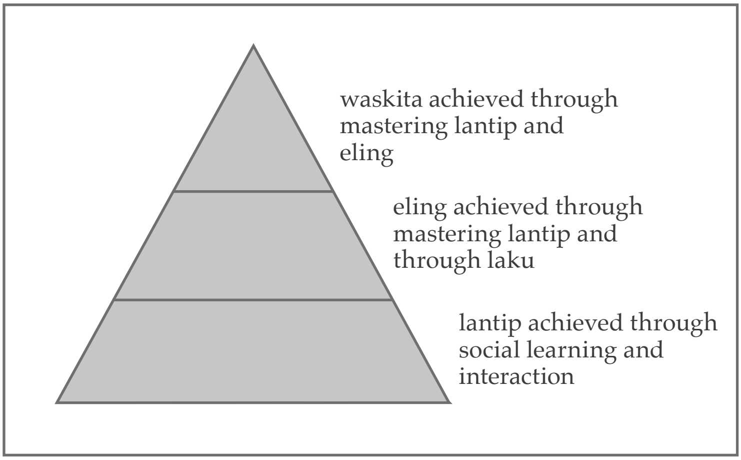
waskita achieved through mastering lantip and eling
eling achieved through mastering lantip and through laku
lantip achieved through social learning and interaction

Figure 1.1.: The different levels of *rasa* in Javanese society

The next level is called *waskita*, and refers to the supra natural level of *rasa*. It includes being able to "read what is beyond the phenomena", and taking a holistic approach to life in general and certain religious issues in particular. *Waskita* can only be found among people with a high level of spirituality. Examples mentioned by Kyai Muhaimin are Joko Joyoboyo[5] or Ronggo Warsito[6]. They are known as clairvoyants among the Javanese people[7].

Only through the *rasa* level of *lantip* can social harmony be created and prevail. And only through *eling* can an individual feel harmony with himself and the creator or the divine in general, and improve his relations with his surroundings. In relation to *rasa*, Mohammad Damami, Professor at the Islamic State University in Yogyakarta and expert in Javanese mysticism, explained the expression *"roso-pangroso"*. It describes the mutual relationship between *"aku-ku"* (my ego) and *"aku-mu"* (your ego), or the relationship between egoism and empathy, and it constitutes the source of harmony and respect within Javanese ethics or the mode of conduct. *Rasa* also serves as a very personal and subjective epistemological instrument when faced with the divine. This corresponds to the level of *rasa* that Kyai Muhaimin describes as *eling* and *waskita*. To *"olah rasa"* (to control/ manage/ sensitize *rasa*) is popular among Javanese mystics, also referred to as the *kaum kebatinan*, explained Mohammad Damami. This is usually done through *laku*, described above, or through a special form of *laku* that is *tapa*. He concludes that Javanese ethics or the moral code of conduct is based on *rasa*[8].

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[5] Joko Joyoboyo is known among the Javanese people as a mystical poet who was able to foretell the future, and some of his predictions are said to have become true.

[6] Ronggo Warsito, died 1873, Javanese poet and mystic.

[7] Interview with Kyai Muhaimin, 08.10.2013.

It is this deep prevailing social concept of *rasa* and its different levels, the tendency to see and explain the world through symbols, and an aversion towards straightforward, direct and crude forms of social interaction and approaches towards life in general, as well as a deep love and need for harmony (Ind.: *kerukunan*) which, according to Kyai Muhaimin, were deployed by the walisongo in their *dakwah* approach. They eventually caused the development and emergence of a unique form of Islam in Java, especially in the area of Yogyakarta. The need to maintain and preserve social and religious/ spiritual harmony is especially reflected in traditional Javanese practices that are often referred to as syncretistic Islamic practices, and even condemned as being *syirik* (Arab.: *shirk*) or *bid'ah* by certain Islamic groups like the Muhammadiyah, or other reformist orientated groups. These practices include preparing what is commonly referred to as ritual offerings (Ind.: *sesajen*), preparing *tumpeng* (a special rice dish for religious rituals) or commemorative gatherings held on the seventh, 100th and 1000th day after a person's death.

However, preserving social and religious harmony does not only include the sphere of human beings, but also the world of the *jin* – unseen good or evil spirits that, according to Islamic and Javanese belief, live side by side with human beings and that, just like human beings, were created by Allah[9]. To be in harmony with the world of the *jin* is essential to Javanese belief; this is the reason why the *jin* are traditionally viewed as a part of Javanese society, explained Mas Herman[10]. And this is also why, according to Mas Herman, the *sesajen* traditionally prepared by Javanese people even today serve the purpose of giving *sedekah* (alms), rather than asking the *jin* for something or for appeasing them, as is the case in Hindu belief. "We don't give sesajen because we are afraid. No. But it is a *sedekah*"[11]. Kyai Muhaimin, my main informant in my first case study in chapter three, as well, does not condemn the preparation of *sesajen*, so long as people do not undertake it with a theological intention, meaning that they expect that because of the medium of the *sesajen*, they will receive reward or answers to their *doa* (prayers).

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[8] Interview with Mohammad Damami, 30.09.2013.

[9] According to the Islamic understanding, *jin* were created of fire, while humans were made of earth or clay. Like human beings, *jin* were created to worship Allah, and like humans, there are believers and disbelievers among them. The world of the *jin* and the human world are supposed to be separated. However, interactions may occur.

The importance of harmony is reflected in yet another special feature of Yogyakarta: its religious and cultural pluralism and the tolerance that goes with it. As implied in the proverb *"Ngono Ya Ngono Ning Aja Ngono"* cited above, collective harmony as it emerges from a collectively agreed upon code of behavior, does not include the individual's religious conviction. This is the reason why, unlike everywhere else in Indonesia, there are few conflicts based on religion, and people with different beliefs live side by side, without problematizing each others' religion, so long as everyone remains faithful to the collectively agreed upon code of behavior. Interestingly, there have been attempts to give an additional name to the city of Yogyakarta because of its plural character: *Serambi Medina* (The Veranda of Medina), in contrast to Aceh being called *Serambi Mekkah* (The Veranda of Mekkah)[12].

1.1.3. *Barokah*

Barokah, often translated as divine blessing, is a spiritual concept mostly found among non-reformist and non-modernist Indonesian Muslims. I found that mostly sympathizers of the NU (for example Kyai Muhaimin in chapter three), or followers of the Habaib (for example Ustad Taufiq in chapter four), have deeply instilled the idea of *barokah* in their lives. *Barokah* is part of their spiritual reality and something to look and strive for.

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[10] Interview with Mas Herman, 27.11.2013.

[11] ibid.

[12] Different to Mecca, the city of Medina was home to different religions and tribes during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. That is why people see this plural character in Medina reflected in Yogyakarta.

Helping Kyai Muhaimin and his wife with the daily chores, for example, will bring *barokah* to the *santri* who undertakes these activities. Cooking food for a religious gathering will bring *barokah* both to the cook and to those who eat the food. Memorizing the Qur'an in pesantren A will have more *barokah* than doing the same in pesantren B. These three examples show that *barokah* can be everywhere depending on the circumstances, the people involved and the place in which certain activities take place. *Barokah* can be obtained through activities, through people, through places, or through a mixture of all of these.

Lange (2012), in her study of mourning practices in Syria, translates *barokah* as blessing power. She describes how the reading over food by a shaykh confers *barokah* (*baraka*) on this food, which is then consumed by the guests and is supposed to protect them from evil. Paulo Pinto (2012), in his article on the sufi ritual of the Darb al-Shish in northern Syria, explains that his informants see that all *barokah* (*baraka*) ultimately flows from God, but that Sufi shaykhs assert that they are necessary intermediaries in this process, and that it is only through their consent that *barokah* can flow. The ritual of Darb al-Shish is understood by Sufis who perform it as a result of the action of *barokah* over the disciple's body. In Indonesia, I found that *barokah* is less hierarchical in that it is not necessarily solely tied to a specific religious authority figure (although this exists as well). *Barokah* can also be obtained through pious acts. Day Howell (2001), in her writing about Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic revival, describes the shaykh of a *tarekat* as a source of blessing (*berkah*), in addition to his role as spiritual guide and transmitter of spiritual knowledge.

In his monograph on the month of Ramadan in Java (2005), Möller writes that Ramadan is perceived by Indonesian Muslims as a month that is full of *berkah* (*berkah* means to contain *barokah*). This example shows that a certain period or time can also contain *barokah* for a Muslim who makes use of this time in a certain way. In the case of Ramadan, making use of this month in order to receive *barokah* means to do the obligatory fasting and extra (Sunnah) *ibadah* (worship), as much as possible. Taking the above examples into account, and in order to provide an easier understanding of the detailed examples in the following chapters where *barokah* or *berkah* illustrate the spiritual reality of

Indonesian Muslims, my definition of the process connected to *barokah* is as follows:

> *Barokah* describes a spiritual reality that is usually felt by an individual or group in their daily activities through the interaction with or usage of certain media. These media can be people, places, things, food, drink, etc. For the person who believes in *barokah*, it is essential for his spiritual well-being and development. However, although *barokah* is transferred through a certain medium, it comes solely from Allah; otherwise it is seen as an unacceptable practice of shirk (associating partners with Allah). To acquire *barokah* requires spiritual belief in and spiritual knowledge of it. The process of acquiring *barokah* is interactive in character, but nevertheless the actual nature of *barokah* is *ghoib* (I.: supernatural).

1.2. Research Questions, Introduction of Case Studies and Structure of the Study

The discussion and examples of different Islamic practices, understandings of Islam in Indonesia, and local concepts and values above provide a glimpse into the heterogeneous nature of Islamic practices, understandings and interpretations in Indonesia. But how are these different Islamic practices, understandings and interpretations formed? Who transmits them, and where? Who and what influences the transmitter? What kinds of networks emerge in the spread of certain Islamic practices and ideas? How did these networks grow? And what is the individual's role in these transmission processes? Conversely, how does the cultural and religious environment influence the individual? What role does place play in the formation and maintenance of Islamic practices? All these questions emerge when attempting to understand differences in Islamic practices observed in the everyday life of Indonesian Muslims. These questions lead to the overarching research questions that I aim to answer in this study: What networks, translocal connections, and places influence the interpretations, teachings and practices of Islam in Indonesia? And how are these constituted in the framework of the *religioscape*?

Through the analysis of three case studies from three different geographical areas in Indonesia, I aim to show that Islamic practices in Indonesia do not constitute one universal form or interpretation. Rather, the analysis of the three case studies will show that Islam in

Indonesia is pluriform, and that it is influenced by translocal transfers of ideas, practices, texts and embedment in local cultural contexts. I propose that this entanglement of Islam as global religion with local sets of practices can be opened up by the concept of the *religioscape*, which will be developed and described in the following sub-chapter two on "Networks, Places and *Religioscapes*". The three case studies in this study reflect different stages of grounding in a *religioscape*. My three case studies of Muslim personalities and their educational institutions are located in three different areas in Indonesia (see figure 1.2.), and describe three major types of Islamic interpretation and practice in Indonesia. The first case study in chapter three illustrates a deep historical grounding in the mystic Islam found in Yogyakarta. The second case study illustrates a mixture of local and Hadhrami influences in the Islamic practice in South Sumatra, while the third case study discussed in chapter five illustrates an 'imported' form of reform Islam in an area of recent settlement, which does not have local roots.

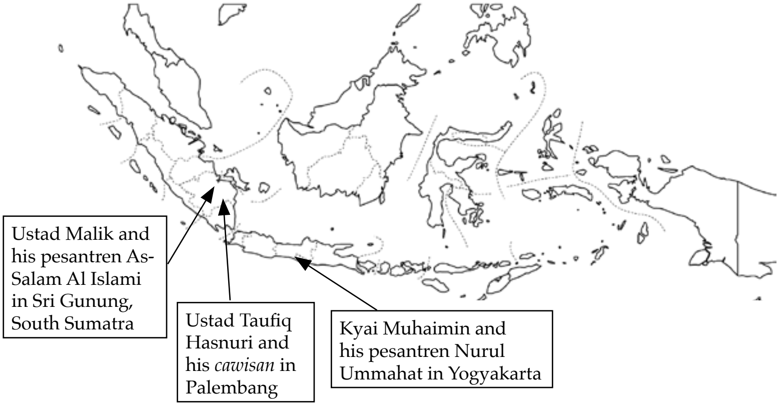
Ustad Malik and his pesantren As-Salam Al Islami in Sri Gunung, South Sumatra
Ustad Taufiq Hasnuri and his *cawisan* in Palembang
Kyai Muhaimin and his pesantren Nurul Ummahat in Yogyakarta

Figure 1.2.: Locations of my three case studies

Kyai Muhaimin and his Pesantren Nurul Ummahat in chapter three reflect the traditional form of Islamic practice in Yogyakarta which is still open to syncretistic rituals and includes what I describe as Javanese Islamic symbolism. Traditional religious tolerance and pluralism in Yogyakarta is one reason for the presence of inter-religious dialogue networks, in which Kyai Muhaimin participates. The case study of Kyai Muhaimin, his networks and interpretation and practice of Islam, reflect the *religioscape* of Yogyakarta, where the localization of Islamic practices includes pluralist and inter-religious harmony. I argue that the case study of Kyai Muhaimin represents a continuation of the "Mystic Synthesis" in Java (see Ricklefs, 2006), and Kyai Muhaimin can be seen to embody a historical phenomenon – the fusion of Javanese and Muslim identity – that was commenced under Sultan Agung. Kyai Muhaimin's outlook also reflects an embrace of openness towards new ideas and the urge to preserve harmony, which is found in Javanese culture. I will focus especially on the different Islamic and inter-religious networks that influence Kyai Muhaimin's understanding of Islam, which can be summed up in his own phrase, "Islam is Java and Java is Islam".

Ustad Taufiq Hasnuri and his *cawisan* activities in chapter four reflect two traditional, often similar and mutually related, forms of Islamic practices in the *religioscape* of Palembang, South Sumatra. The first of these practices is described by Azra (2004) as shari'a based neo-Sufism. The second is connected to the Islamic practices found amongst immigrants from Hadhramaut in contemporary Yemen. Ustad Taufiq Hasnuri's understanding and practice of Islam can be seen as a continuation of these two forms of Islamic practices, which are still found in Palembang today. Both of these Islamic interpretations and practices were once supported by the Sultans of Palembang, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. In this chapter, I will focus on the different Islamic networks, especially in the form of books and teachers, that influence Ustad Taufiq's understanding of Islam. Due to the strong presence of these two shari'a and *Tasawwuf* based Islamic practices, syncretic practices that can still be found in Java are rarely found in Palembang. On the other hand, modern reformist movements (like the Muhammadiyah, the Muslim Brotherhood or the Wahhabi) that at times appear relatively influential in Java, represent a small minority in this part of Indonesia. The second case study illustrates how local Islamic practices are connected to and influenced by Islamic practices from other parts of the Muslim world; both today as well as historically.

Ustad Malik and his Pesantren As-Salam Al Islami in chapter five reflect a rather new phenomenon in the Indonesian Islamic landscape, which is the influence of an imported understanding of Islam from the Middle East and especially from Saudi Arabia. My third case study focuses on the *religioscape* of a *transmigrasi* area, and especially the influence of a huge reformist pesantren in this region. In contrast to the two other *religioscapes*, I experienced the *transmigrasi* region as an area where no ‘naturally’ cultivated and established forms of Islamic practices could be identified. In addition to the thorough analysis of Ustad Malik’s understanding of “true” Islam, different Islamic networks maintained with the Middle East, or that influence his Islamic understanding, are analyzed in this chapter.

With these three case studies, I cover Java as well as Outer Java and especially South Sumatra. Furthermore, I include historically constituted *religioscapes* like Yogyakarta and Palembang, as well as a *religioscape* that has only been constituted rather recently, within the last thirty years, which is a *transmigrasi* area. In addition, I attempt to cover major forms of Islamic interpretation and practice found in Indonesia: two forms that can be described as reflecting ‘traditional’ Islamic practices (one of these integrates more syncretic and local elements than the other), and one form that can be described as reflecting ‘reformist’ Islamic practices. My case studies also present three main types of educational institutions found in the Indonesian archipelago, which are the traditional pesantren (in chapter three), the modern pesantren (in chapter five), and informal study circles (in all three case studies).

In chapter six, the pesantren’s students, the *santri*, become the focus of analysis. Questions that are dealt with in this chapter include: What are the motivations behind sending young Indonesian Muslims to a pesantren? How important is the Islamic orientation of the pesantren and its teachers? What teachings are adopted by the *santri*, and are the teachers successful in shaping the *santri* according to their own Islamic orientation? My main argument in this chapter is that more important than the influence of the pesantren and its teachers, is the Islamic orientation and practice learned at home. The success of the pesantren and its teachers is mainly reflected in an increased piousness of the *santri*, but not explicitly in a different understanding of Islam. Furthermore, I have observed that *santri* develop a tolerant and inclusivist attitude when confronted with different Islamic teachings, and therefore actually perpetuate Indonesia’s tolerant and moderate outlook on Islamic practices and interpretations, rather than becoming radicalized in one form of Islamic understanding.

In chapter seven, I will provide a conclusion and discussion of my data and observations. I argue that, rather than an Islamization of Indonesia (reflecting an Islamic understanding that cannot be adapted to the local context), a continuation of historically established Islamic practices and understanding can be mainly observed. My conceptual framework of the *religioscape* allows for a better grasp of the plurality of Indonesia's Islamic understanding and practices. Rather than one uniform Islam, different localizations of Islam can be observed within the greater region of Indonesia. Furthermore, my conceptual framework of the *religioscape* allows for an understanding of interconnected and interrelated processes between the local and local Islamic practices on the one hand with different spatial scales and Islamic practices on a global or translocal level on the other hand.

1.3. Method

Trained as an area specialist on Southeast Asia and especially Indonesia, and as a student of Indonesian Islam, I worked mainly with anthropological research methods. My use of different methods that are described below is also reflected in the situational analysis developed by Clarke (2005). In addition, I made use of area studies' specific research methods (Houben 2017). Taking a view from the inside, emic concepts (what I have described with local concepts above) are an important part of Area Studies' findings. These emic concepts must be translated as I have attempted above. The translation and opening up of local or emic concepts for other spatio-temporal contexts also plays an essential part in my research approach.

I spent more than nineteen months doing field research. Fourteen months were spent at the field sites without interruption, and I also undertook a two months follow up research visit to clear up unresolved questions. Three months were spent undertaking research for this study in 2010. Fourteen months were spent in consecutive research together with my husband and little son in the three locations of my case studies in Yogyakarta, Palembang and Sri Gunung, South Sumatra. In Palembang, I lived with a local family who rented part of the upper floor to me and my family. In Yogyakarta, I rented a house near my research site in a traditional Javanese *kampung* in the south of Yogyakarta. In my third research site in Sri Gunung in South Sumatra, I lived within the pesantren compound. Along with my family I was allowed to live in the guest quarters of the pesantren for almost two months.

I adopted a multi-pronged research approach, including interviews with *kyais*, *ustads* and *ustadzahs*, their followers and students (Ind.: *santri*), as well as their former students (see list of informants/ interviewees in the attachment). In addition, I also interviewed experts in the field of Javanese culture, Islam in Yogyakarta, and Islam in Palembang. Furthermore, I engaged in informal conversations with residents of the respective areas where I undertook research. Interview methods included structured, semi-structured and open interviews. In addition, I used groups discussions with students at the pesantren.

Besides spending considerable time in the two pesantren Nurul Ummahat and As-Salam Al Islami, where I engaged in participatory observation and took part in daily life there, I also participated in different social and religious events in the communities around the pesantren, or in other communities that were connected to my three main informants. To attend these events, I had to be flexible and mobile, and at times followed the travels of my informants, as was the case with Ustad Malik, for example. In addition, I also attended regular lectures given by my three main informants and, in some cases, engaged in the reading of books taught by them. Therefore, in a way, I became a *santri* myself. Participatory observation in the places I undertook research also included taking part in everyday Islamic rituals like prayer (Ind.: *sholat*) in different mosques, in order to understand what practices were adhered to by the majority Muslim population in that place.

I spent extensive time doing semi-structured or open interviews with my three main informants, Kyai Muhaimin, Ustad Taufiq and Ustad Malik. Thanks to my advanced language skills in *Bahasa Indonesia*, interviews, informal conversations as well as participatory observation were very fruitful, and helped me to understand not only the main issues at hand, but also their nuances. All my interviews and conversations were conducted in *Bahasa Indonesia*. In Palembang, I also had to accustom myself to the local dialect *Bahasa Palembang*, because my main informant Ustad Taufiq Hasnuri preferred to hold his lectures in the local dialect, and often switched to the local dialect during our conversations.

I usually began my interviews with biographical questions and allowed my informants to talk (biographical interviews). At the beginning, I usually posed rather open questions, asking informants to tell me about their religious education, or about the Islamic institutions or personalities that influenced or inspired their understanding and practice of Islam. After these general questions, I asked more detailed questions regarding what they had shared with me. To understand clearly what Islamic understanding my informants adhered to, I also asked, after several meetings, straightforward questions such as: According to you, what is the right Islam? or: Where do you see yourself within the Muslim world? To understand the different connections and networks of my informants, I asked questions such as: Where do you have connections? Where do you teach? What are your links to the local community? Sometimes I also asked whether there were links to concrete institutions or personalities. I usually made notes and picked up on different points mentioned by my informants in a follow up interview. However, I was always careful about what to ask and when, and tried to anticipate my informants' moods. Information and data was also obtained in unplanned conversations, especially during car rides. That was sometimes the time when the most interesting data emerged. Informal conversation with other guests, especially in the case of Kyai Muhaimin (in chapter three), provided interesting insights as well.

Listening to neighbors' informal conversations, or conversations at local *warung* (food stalls), helped me to understand the situation around my research sites. Small talk with shop owners, neighbors or taxi drivers augmented this understanding. Literature and publications in *Bahasa Indonesia* by local scholars also helped me to understand the places where I undertook research. The presentation of preliminary research results at the State Islamic University in Yogyakarta and the State Islamic Institute in Palembang, and exchange with local scholars helped me to understand certain issues that were unclear, or to view them from a different angle. In sub-chapter three of this chapter, "In the Field – Notes on Method, Positionality and Reflexivity", I will go into more detail about my personal experiences in the field, and I will especially reflect on my positionality as a German Muslim researcher who is both an insider and outsider to my field.

2. Theoretical Framework: Networks, Places and *Religioscapes*

Islam, as a revealed religion, has its roots in the Hejaz, a region in the west of present-day Saudi Arabia. From there it spread to all parts of the Middle East, Central and South Asia, Southeast Asia and the rest of the world. From the very beginning, contact within the *umma* (the Muslim community) was maintained and strengthened through the main center, the common *qibla* – direction of prayer, Mecca, home of the Kaaba and destination of the hajj. This contact was also strengthened and maintained through various intellectual centers that were established over time in various places in the Middle East and other regions. Despite being centered on the Hejaz, the Muslim world has been polycentric and highly interconnected. Although ritually the Hejaz and especially Mecca are the center of the Muslim world, different views on Islamic space exist, as exemplified by some of my informants. While some personalities prefer a centered view, others put forward a decentered, more localized view of the Muslim world, especially with regards to the knowledge qibla, as I call it. Like the qibla for prayer that is set in one particular direction – towards the Kaaba in Mecca – a certain knowledge qibla, I argue, is directed towards and adjusted to certain places and institutions of learning, as a means of safeguarding a certain understanding of Islam.

Religious scholars and traders, often one and the same, established networks across the Muslim world. Focal points in these networks were often religious educational institutions, whether informal *halaqas* (study circles), or formal schools. In the colonial and postcolonial era, these networks became denser. With the emergence of modern transport, these relations could be extended in terms of space as well as in terms of time, allowing for more frequent exchange. Overseas travel, including hajj to Mecca and "intellectual pilgrimages" (Bowen 2008: 33) to Mecca, Cairo and other places, was simplified with the extensive use of steam shipping, and made ties between the Arab peninsula and Southeast Asia much closer by the end of the 19th century (Houben, 2003). With air travel, this exchange was made even easier for those who could afford it, and with the extensive use of digital media, exchange and networking can occur without leaving one's physical place and with comparably very little financial cost. Through email conversation, Facebook and other digital media, connections between an Indonesian student at Al Azhar and his/ her parents near the Pesantren As-Salam in South Sumatra (chapter five), for example, can be easily maintained.

Traveling in search of knowledge, also referred to as *rihla*[13], is only one form of travel that can be found within the Muslim religious tradition. Other forms include the aforementioned hajj, visits to shrines called *ziyara* (Ind.: *ziarah*) and *hijra*, the obligation to migrate from a place where the practice of Islam is constrained to a place where no such constraints exist (Eickelman & Piscatori, 1990). Often, and especially in the case of Indonesia, travel in search of knowledge takes place from the 'periphery' to the 'center' of the Muslim world. Here, Indonesia is commonly considered to be on the periphery of the Muslim world, while places of Islamic learning in the Middle East are thought to be in the center. This becomes apparent in chapter five, which focuses on the educational networks of Ustad Malik and his Pesantren As-Salam Al Islami. For Kyai Muhaimin in chapter three, on the other hand, Indonesia is itself a center of Islam and Islamic knowledge, and he opposes "the projection of hierarchical order upon the periphery" (Eickelman & Piscatori, 1990: 13). For Kyai Muhaimin, the center of Islam is Indonesia and especially Java, because his understanding connects Java and Islam. For Ustad Taufiq Hansuri (chapter four), there exist different centers, depending on where his teachers are from. According to Ustad Malik, there is no center of Islam outside the Arabic speaking world in the Middle East. Locally speaking, the three Muslim personalities and their respective Islamic learning institutions presented in this study have become centers of Islam themselves, to which others turn to receive knowledge and guidance.

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[13] In Indonesia, *rihla* is also referred to as leisure travel.

Historically, Indonesian pesantren and individual actors connected to these institutions have forged and maintained relations with various institutions and individuals on a local but also on a translocal level. However, Azra (2004) argues that by the 16th century, there were religious teachers of Malay origin in Mecca. They taught new students from the Indies through the decades (Bowen 2008). Besides movement from the Indies, movement toward the Malay world was favored not only by returnees from hajj and students in the Middle East, but also by people, mostly traders with a *dakwah* mission, from the area of Hadhramaut in Yemen (Freitag 1997; Riddell, 1997). These multi-directional and multi-level movements and exchanges between Islamic institutions and the individuals therein in Indonesia, and "intellectual centers for the study of Islam" (Bowen 2008: 34) have been maintained and expanded on all levels and in all directions. New centers for the study of Islam have emerged besides the historically renowned ones in contemporary Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Egypt. One of these "new centers" is North America. Since the 1970s, Indonesian post-graduate students have also been going for training in religious studies to McGill, and especially to Chicago (Bowen 2008: 38). Nevertheless, the dichotomy between the Indonesian periphery and the center(s) of Islam being located in the Middle East is still upheld.

The three Muslim personalities and their respective learning institutions analyzed here maintain different connections on the local community level, national, and translocal levels, and are connected to various religious networks. They are receivers as well as transmitters of Islamic knowledge and practice. Translocality here describes "the sum of phenomena which result from a multitude of circulations and transfer", "the outcome of concrete movements of people, goods, ideas and symbols which span spatial distances and cross boundaries, be they geographical, cultural or political" (Freitag & von Oppen, 2010: 5). It is this process that can be observed at the two pesantren analyzed in this study. In contrast to the concept of transnationalism, translocality does not "presuppose the existence of nation-states [and does not] privilege the perspective of national elites" (ibid: 11). This is important when considering the development of Indonesian Islam, its scholars and especially its pesantren, because ties with different areas in the Middle East were forged prior to the founding of the Indonesian nation state in 1945. Secondly, the approach of transnationalism in the study of Indonesian Islam, its scholars and pesantren, would exclude the relations that are maintained with institutions and individuals or communities on the local and national levels. It is especially the connections on the local level that allow us to understand how common people come to their understanding of Islam and Islamic practices. And it is also the Islamic practices in other local contexts in different parts of the Muslim world that can be included in the notion of translocal.

For Mandaville as well (2001: 6), translocality is concerned with how people flow through space rather than with how they exist in space, stressing the movement of actors. However, besides the importance of movement, it is necessary to see what happens in the time-bound situatedness of people within a particular space such as a *religioscape*, or a certain place such as a pesantren and its environment, because it is there where interaction and exchange occurs. "Places are about relationships" (Sheller & Urry 2006: 209; In: Verne 2012: 19), they are not just containers filled with objects. Translocality is not only a phenomenon to be researched, but also a particular condition of people living in a particular place (Freitag & von Oppen, 2010: 8). It includes both mobility and emplacement, and analyzes what flows through places as well as what can be found in them (Verne 2012: 19).

Making use of this understanding of translocality allows us to see how Indonesian pesantren's and especially their actor's connections, lead to movements and vice versa, and in what ways these connections lead to exchange or often to acceptance of Islamic practices. When I use the terms 'translocal' or 'translocality' in my analysis, I have in mind these definitions of translocality as describing movement as well as a time-bound situatedness. These translocal connections exist on several different spatial scales that include local, national, transregional and global dimensions. In this sense, I understand that 'translocal' refers to connectedness, while the different spatial scales refer to space. Connectedness is space-bound, whether this be space in the real, tangible sense, or imaginary or inspirational space. What I describe as imaginary or inspirational space includes for example how ideas or interpretations of earlier Islamic scholars, their writings and teachings influence the informants in my case studies.

Different spatial connections are maintained in various ways and forms, which can be illustrated and visualized through different approaches and models. "To be Muslim is to be connected" (Cooke & Lawrence, 2005: 1), but not only to other Muslims who also turn towards Mecca five times a day, but to Muslims with the same understanding of Islam, to teachers and teachers' teachers, to ideologically similarly minded people, to educational institutions, to one's students, to the community in one's living place and others. "Muslim networks include trade, language, Sufism, and scholarship, but above all they include common moral ideals and social codes" (Cooke & Lawrence, 2005: 5)[14].

There exist different network theories that describe interactions and connections between several actors usually referred to as nodes. 'Classical' social network theory analyzes the structure of relationships between social entities, which can be individuals but also institutions, groups, etc. Simmel, in his thoughts on sociology and the construction of social forms (1908; 1890), developed the key idea of network concepts very early. Since then, research on networks has been present in various disciplines and different theories on networks and the processes within them have been developed. They are largely based on social network analysis established especially during the 1970s (In: Verne 2012:

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[14] Loimeier (2000) also discussed how to use network theory in the Islamic context.

20). Connections between two actors or nodes are usually described as linear, with both points confining and bordering the relation between the two nodes. Networks are often portrayed as a closed container with a limited number of actors or nodes and ties between them. This is a rather static imagery of often flexible, fluid and hard to predict connections between humans or institutions made up of human beings. Although Norbert Elias and Edward Sapir did not write about networks in particular, their understanding of individuals in society, who cannot be seen in isolation, depicts what have become known as networks.

There exist various approaches to and analysis of the network. The 'ego network' characterizes the network of an actor who is at the center of many other actors, and provides them with valuable connections and is therefore beneficial for society (see Borgatti & Halgin, 2011: 4). Granovetter analyzed in his "The strength of weak ties" (1973) the different ties that exist between actors and how they influence a possible outcome, for example for obtaining a new job position. He argues that weak ties, connections between acquaintances, as opposed to strong ties, relations between close family members or friends, tend to be of greater importance with regard to obtaining necessary information, for instance. Burt's structural holes theory (1992) follows a similar approach. Jackson's 'Connection Model' (2007) describes an important actor within a social network as the center of a star that serves society by linking up individuals that have indirect connections through him/ her. In his influential work *The Rise of the Network Society* (2010), Castells contributed to the analysis of networks with the assumption that globalization will lead to an extension, deepening, speeding up and increased impact of global networks, and through this hypothesis he evokes the view of the world as a network. Digital media, Castells argues, play a significant role in this process.

Much attention on network analysis is paid to the classification, functionality and causality of networks, and only little attention is paid to how networks and relations are formed and how these affect the different actors therein. A different approach to network theory was developed by Deleuze and Guattari (1976) with the metaphor of the rhizome. They posit the rhizome as a toolkit that helps us visualize processes of networked, relational, and transversal thought (In: Verne 2012: 23). In contrast to the classical tie and node image of networks, the metaphor of the rhizome is based on a "genuine relational understanding of the world" (ibid: 25). A second advantage of the rhizome as described by Verne is its non-dualistic way that aims at overcoming established dichotomies of structure and agency, global and local, economy and culture and so on (Verne 2012: 27), thus enabling the researcher to focus on heterogeneity and "a more sophisticated "inbetweenness" (ibid: 28).

However, what is missing in the network models and approaches introduced here is the inclusion of place and interdependencies between various actors within the network, as well as a way to account for the influence of, in my case, the Muslim personalities and their Islamic learning institutions on their surrounding communities and beyond. The influence of the surrounding area and community on the individual is also of importance in my study. Furthermore, the historical component of relations, places and influences on the individual is not included. In my study this historical component emerges especially in terms of the influence of earlier scholars or their writings on my informants.

It seems that neither classical network theory nor the rhizome described above satisfactorily illustrate the multidimensional phenomenon of different spatial connections and interdependencies of the networks of Muslim personalities, their learning institutions, and their interactions with the community that will be analyzed in this study. Furthermore, place as an important factor in understanding individuals, their connections and decisions concerning religious practices is missing. Therefore, I propose a different conceptual framework for understanding these individuals, their surroundings, networks and the places they inhabit, a framework I term the *religioscape*. As will be described shortly, my idea of *religioscape* includes movement, change, and transformation, which is usually triggered by relations and connections, that is networks. Furthermore, a *religioscape* can extend and shrink depending on the individual's preference, influence and connections. This also points to and includes networks. Therefore, I propose that the analysis of a specific *religioscape* and its actor(s) can be seen as an extended form of network analysis. However, it is more than that. In addition, the *religioscape* connects the local perspective of place with levels of different spatial scales, including the global perspective. *Religioscape* is the connecting element between local and global and it is able to illustrate the relations that exist between local and global and other spatial scales. The framework of the *religioscape* introduces place, space and scale in the analysis of networks.

All three Muslim personalities and their respective learning institutions analyzed in this study are located in distinct geographical, social and cultural places that influence the individual and the learning institution, and are in turn influenced by the latter. This mutual process of influence between individual and society has already been described by the sociologist Norbert Elias in his *Society of Individuals* (1939), and by Edward Sapir in his lectures between 1933 and 1936, which were later compiled by his students in *The Psychology of Culture*. Sapir as well as Elias argue that the individual is part of society or culture, and that he has his special share in influencing and impacting the processes of society or culture, despite the fact that the individual cannot be viewed in isolation from society.

With regard to religious practices, and with a strong focus on the geographical location, Le Bras in his analysis of religious practices in Catholic villages in France argues that the geographic location influences the religious perceptions and practices of its population. Le Bras argues "that there was in various regions historical continuity in the stability of religious manifestations and opinions" (In: Dobbin 1998: 299). Dobbin applies his idea to Indonesia, and argues that the Kamang region of West Sumatra provides an excellent example of the stability and continuity of religious fervor in a particular locality (ibid: 300). However, historical and cultural processes and exchanges between different geographic areas, as well as the role of individuals, are insufficiently addressed by Dobbin in her analysis of the Kamang region.

Appadurai's (1996) category of scapes[15] and their dynamic and fluid character without clear borders seems to grasp the mutually influential processes between individual, culture and society, and place that I aim to describe in my analysis of the three Muslim personalities and their respective networks. However, Appadurai does not include religion among his different scapes[16]. Several authors have modified or, to be more precise, added to his categories of cultural flows. Thomas Tweed in his *Crossing and Dwelling* (2006) introduces a parallel image to Appadurai's categories that is *sacroscapes*. Tweed's sacroscapes, however, do not include metaphysical claims, and his category does not distinguish religion from other cultural forms. For Tweed, *sacroscapes*, as well as his definition of religions in general, have to be imagined using an aquatic, not a terrestrial analogy. He adds that *sacroscapes* are historical as well as geographical. Elizabeth McAlister adds *religioscapes* to Appadurai's set of categories "as the subjective maps – and attendant theologies – of immigrant, or diasporic, or transnational communities who are also in global flow and flux" (2005: 251). For my purposes, McAlister's definition is too narrowly confined to the diasporic context. More focused on physical places is Hayden and Walker's (2013) usage of *religioscape*. They refer to "the distribution in spaces through time of the physical manifestations of specific religious traditions and of the populations that build them" (Hayden & Walker: 2013: 407). Both population as well as physical manifestations of the religion form components of a *religioscape*. Hayden and Walker further argue that *religioscape* is a social space marked by physical icons.

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[15] Appadurai's scapes include: ethnocapes, technoscapes, financescapes, mediascapes and ideoscapes.

[16] However, it might be argued that religion is included in ideoscapes.

Although I prefer the aquatic image of *sacroscapes* posited by Tweed and the way it reflects my understanding of the position of my three religious figures and their Islamic learning institutions within a certain area, I cannot overcome the sense of *sacroscapes* as sacred, somewhat holy places or areas with certain restrictions, rules and rituals attached to them, even though Tweed explicitly denies this analogy. In my opinion, the term *religioscape* on the other hand does not "involv[e] hierophanies that mark some spaces as distinct" (Tweed 2006: 61). The physical manifestations mentioned by Hayden and Walker are of importance as well. Although change and transformation of religious practices are ever present in certain geographical areas, continuity exists as well and is, among other things, reflected in physical manifestations of religious practices. However, what is missing in Tweed's as well as Hayden and Walker's definition is what Dobbin describes as the "historical continuity in the stability of religious manifestations and opinions" (Dobbin 1998: 299). In order to describe the places that feature heavily in my analysis and that cannot be separated from the religious personalities living in them, I propose the following definition of *religioscape*:

> *Religioscapes* are dynamic social spaces where one religious practice and/ or religious interpretation is predominant. *Religioscapes* are neither purely static nor entirely fluid. Cultivated historically, they include movement, change, and transformation, as well as continuity and stability of religious practices and interpretations. *Religioscapes* are influenced by individuals and influence individuals. This constitutes a mutual process. *Religioscapes* can extend and shrink depending on the

> individuals' preference, influence and connections within it. Different *religioscapes* can exist within one geographical region and several *religioscapes* can overlap. *Religioscapes* allow for an analysis and understanding about relations and dynamics between different spatial scales ranging from the local to the global.

In this sense, *religioscapes* describe the cultural and social surroundings of an individual in which culture and social interaction are mainly based on religious values. Kyai Muhaimin, Ustad Malik as well as Ustad Taufiq Hasnuri, are influenced by and impact on a unique *religioscape* that will be described in the respective ethnographical account in order to illustrate the mutual processes between the individual and his learning institution and his surroundings (the *religioscape*). The mutual processes involving the individual and his immediate surroundings is part of the individual's networks and the different connections within these networks. Figure 1.3. illustrates in a simple way how the *religioscapes* connected to the three case studies discussed here can be imagined. The center of a *religioscape* is visualized in the light grey, grey or dark grey dot in the middle of a circle. The circles around the dot represent the influence of the respective *religioscape* that extends to other geographical regions, across official borders or islands. As described in the definition of *religioscape*, different *religioscapes* can overlap, which is visualized by the circles of different shades of grey that exist within other circles or cross into other circles.

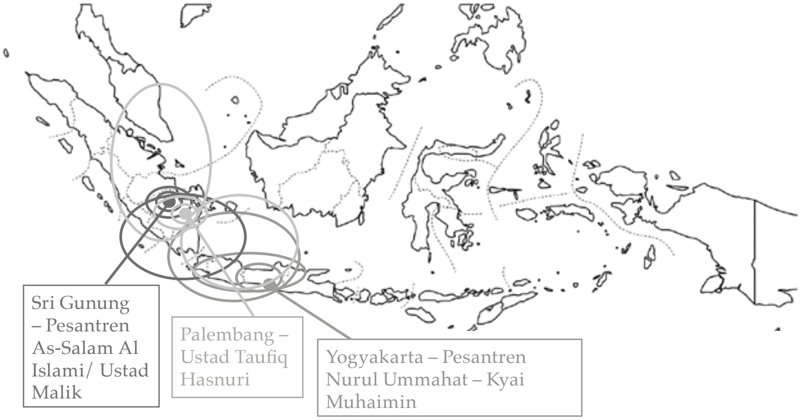
Sri Gunung – Pesantren As-Salam Al Islami/ Ustad Malik
Palembang – Ustad Taufiq Hasnuri
Yogyakarta – Pesantren Nurul Ummahat – Kyai Muhaimin

Figure 1.3.: Illustration of the *religioscapes* of the three case studies

I argue that the concept of *religioscapes* and their unique character within the area of Indonesia reflect the historically cultivated plural character of Islamic practices in Indonesia, and points to an ongoing pluriformity of Islamic interpretations, teachings and practices in the present day. The three *religioscapes* that emerge through my case studies represent part of this pluriformity without claiming to represent all of Indonesia's different *religioscapes*. Furthermore, I see *religioscapes* as a framework that allows for an analysis and understanding of how the local and the global and other spatial scales are connected and which relations exist between them. The local practices of Islam in Indonesia cannot be analyzed on its own without taking into consideration the dynamics and interactions found in the universally understood global Islam and the discourses connected to it or in local Islamic practices in other parts of the Muslim world. Local Islamic practices as described in this study cannot be essentialized because they are always connected, through different networks, to discourses and negotiations within the greater Muslim world. The framework of the *religioscape* introduces place, space and scale into the analysis of networks. In the case of Islam in Indonesia, this means that the framework of the *religioscape* forms an analytical tool as well as a spatial structure without clear borders (in the sense of Appadurai's use of scape). Through the framework of the *religioscape*, I will be able to show the connection between local practices of Islam that I encountered in the respective places where I undertook field research, with Islamic practices on different spatial scales. Through the lens of the *religioscape*, I will be able to contextualize local Islamic practices and understandings described in my three case studies within the broader discourse of Islam in and outside of Indonesia.

3. In the Field – Notes on Method, Positionality and Reflexivity

When I embarked on this research project on different Islamic practices and interpretations in Indonesia, one of the first questions and concerns that arose from my academic surroundings was the issue of my own Muslim identity. As a German Muslim who only recently discovered Islam for herself in early 2008, I was both an insider and outsider (see Hamdan, 2009) to my field. I have been living and traveling in Indonesia since 2004, including research for my bachelor's thesis on women's micro businesses, and research for my master's thesis about the implementation of normative Islamic values in everyday pesantren life. Over time Indonesia, its people and culture became a part of me. The melodious call to prayer (Ind.: *adzan*), the white prayer gown (Ind.: *mukena*), riding the motorbike everywhere, the traffic jams, *nasi goreng* (fried rice), *nasi bungkus* (wrapped rice), batik, and the different smiles for different situations, the proper behavior, the heart-aching longing for *kampung halaman* (home), the smell of clove cigarettes, the melancholic pop songs sung on long bus journeys, the sweet black coffee, tea with sugar became part of my own identity. At times I was so immersed in Indonesia that I was surprised to see my white European face in the mirror. Friends used to say that I was an Indonesian born to German parents.

It was in 2008 when I decided to become Muslim, and to follow the teachings and wisdom of Allah as revealed in the Qur'an and through His Prophet Muhammad. It was the outcome of a long search for my own spiritual identity that had already commenced in childhood. As it was, religion or spirituality had no place in my family, which lived under the socialist-communist regime of the former German Democratic Republic, and which had internalized its anti-religious doctrines. The first two years of my Muslim life were spent in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. A place that is home to a great variety of different Islamic groups, interpretations and practices.

It was in this religious plurality where I received my basic Islamic education. My Qur'an teacher was a medical student from the special province of Aceh where a very 'traditional' form of Islam is predominant. One of my close friends was a local from Kauman, Yogyakarta, the cradle of the 'reformist' Muhammadiyah. Another good friend often invited me to support the struggle for a *Khalifat*. I lived in a traditional Javanese *kampung* (village) where the reading of Surah Yasin on Thursday night was a common practice and different offerings (Ind.: *sesajen*) could be found in different places around the village. The man I came to marry is originally from the province of South Sumatra, where traditional Islamic practices are strongly influenced by the traditions of descendants of immigrants from the area of Hadhramaut in contemporary Yemen (see chapter four). It was this plurality of different Islamic practices and thoughts that always fascinated me, and that eventually led me to write my research proposal.

The deep knowledge of the local, the familiarity with different Islamic practices, and my own immersion in Islam in the process of acquiring Islamic knowledge seemed to be a promising precondition for successfully conducting research and obtaining deep insights into the practice of Islam in Indonesia. Although I reflected on my own Muslim identity and how this might impact on my research, I could not anticipate the different challenges I actually encountered during my time in the field. But it seems that this is a general phenomenon experienced and felt by researchers doing qualitative research. We can never properly prepare for what we will actually encounter, and what the field will do to us and with us, as well as how we as researchers with all our private experiences, emotions and perceptions influence our field and our informants. Fieldwork changes you (the researcher) was what has been told to many of us (Turner, 2011). But it is not only us that change during the course of research, but also our informants and our field. Yes, at times we actively change our field and engage in mutual processes of exchange, become active agents, even activists in our own research field. We adapt our identity, we slip into a different identity, we change our identity. At times it seems we become a different person altogether, all for the sake of acquiring interesting, insider information. The identity as researcher fades into the background.

"[B]eing able to acknowledge and embrace contradictory and emergent selves (and contradictory experiences) is a significant accomplishment of modern personhood" (Anthias 2002: 497). Similar to what Anthias writes about narratives of our informants that are "mediated by intentionality and intersubjectivity in terms of 'for what' and 'for whom' the narrative is intended" (ibid: 499), we as researchers as well adapt our identity in terms of 'who we face' and 'what information we seek'. It can happen that our research selves emerge all of a sudden, change during the period of an interview several times, and even contradict other research selves or our own pre-research self.

I became the student who seeks Islamic knowledge, the 'adopted' daughter who needed advise, the new Muslim, the *dakwah* (proselytizing)-subject who did not know about the 'true' Islam, the fellow Muslim who sympathizes with the 'correct' form of Islam, the fellow Muslim that needs help, and sometimes I was the researcher who just wanted facts. Alone with my material, alone at home, I was the ordinary Muslim who just wants to please Allah and who was now confused by all the different teachings, interpretations and practices, and who needed to reposition her own Muslim identity. I was both an insider and an outsider to my field. I was an insider because I was a fellow Muslim. I was an outsider that tried or was pushed to be an insider when faced with different Islamic practices and interpretations that I was expected to incorporate into my own Muslim identity. I was an outsider because of my white skin and my status as a 'beginner', convert, revert (Ind.: *mualaf*), a new Muslim compared to my informants who were born Muslims. This status automatically included the perception that I needed to be informed, that I did not know the 'correct' way of living my Muslim identity. From my side, it required constant humility with regards to my own knowledge and conviction concerning Islamic practices.

In the following section, I will give a brief description of three exemplary situations that illustrate how my different research identities were at play and how reflexivity[17] of my own positionality was a constant aspect of my research experience, and how I had to adapt my method of conducting interviews and participatory observation and my identity as researcher to the situations I encountered (see also Cerwonka & Malkki, 2007). The first example illuminates the dilemma of research and *ibadah* (act of devotion/ worship). The second example analyzes my double identity as researcher and/ or Muslim, and the third example illustrates how becoming a student helped me to gain my informant's trust. While analyzing these situations I will try and provide a short insight into how my different research identities influenced my material, and especially the analysis and selection after field research.

Ustad Malik is one of the co-founders of the Pesantren As-Salam Al Islami (see chapter five) and today serves as the head of the foundation and one of the main decision makers and authorities in the pesantren. It was Ustad Malik who decided that I could do research in the pesantren, and welcomed me so long as I worked "within the framework of *ibadah* and (with) the intention to spread the revival of the values of the Sunnah of the Prophet [Muhammad]". After I assured him that I did not intend anything negative, he replied that the true Islamic teachings have been left behind and shunned, and are even viewed with hostility by the Muslim *umma*. He added that he felt fortunate and happy that someone was trying to re-implement and re-purify the following of the Prophet Muhammad.

This message shows that from the very beginning, it was assumed that I shared Ustad Malik's conviction and interpretation, as well as the way he implements it in the Pesantren As-Salam Al Islami as a whole. Why else would I choose this pesantren? Of course, my short field research in 2011 for my master's thesis, and my sending a hard copy of it to the pesantren, helped in building this relationship of trust. But what kind of understanding or interpretation of Islam was expected of me was not made clear, and only through my extensive conversations with Ustad Malik and the other teachers at the pesantren was I able to grasp what was meant by the 'true Islamic teachings' mentioned in Ustad Malik's short text message (see chapter five). However, Ustad Malik's message made me feel slightly uncomfortable, because I felt that throughout my research I had to show and pretend that I was of the same opinion as he was. I had to pretend that I shared the same understanding of the "true" Islam and Islamic practices, or at least I had to pretend that I was eager to learn and share them.

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[17] Hamdan (2009) provides a good general overview on reflexivity, its development and its importance during research.

Agreeing to Ustad Malik's precondition to conduct research at the Pesantren As-Salam Al Islami as part of my *ibadah* placed me internally in a precarious situation. I felt that I was not being true to my own self, my own convictions. At times I felt like an outright liar. At other times I was worried that I might have become a hypocrite (Ind.: *munafiq*). The pre-condition of conducting research as part of my *ibadah* was emotionally challenging, because it strained my own Muslim identity; my Islamic commitment to be true to my words and actions, to safeguard my fellow Muslims from my own (bad) actions, and not to engage in the spread of defamation (Ind.: *fitnah*) about fellow Muslims who were also my informants. From the beginning, it has never been my intention to look for errors or discord among my informants or in my field of research. My intention was to provide a deep insight into various Islamic practices found in Indonesia without focusing too much on single negative examples, as has been done before in some research on contemporary Islam in Indonesia. However, the connection to my own Muslim identity made me more cautious during research, while analyzing my data and during the process of writing. Sometimes, I have to admit, overcautious. I started to notice that this overcautiousness did not reflect the richness of my material, and I felt that this was a real pity. I decided to change my analysis and writing strategy. Placing my informants at the center of my narrative and letting them speak for themselves at length, helped me to overcome this dilemma. Instead of summarizing their points of view, I use translated interview quotations, which I then contextualize within the local and Indonesian *reli-*

gioscape, and where necessary within the wider Islamic world as well as in existing Islamic discourses within Indonesia and beyond.

An issue closely related to the challenge mentioned above is my double identity as a Muslim researcher. Similar to non-Muslim researchers whose non-Muslim identity influences their researcher identity, my Muslim identity impacts on my identity as researcher. It influenced the way I approached my informants, the way I interacted with them, the questions I asked or did not ask, and the way they explained things to me. One major difference is what my informants assumed I knew already about basic Islamic knowledge and tenets, because of the simple fact that I am a practicing Muslim. We share a common base, a common belief system, have the same hopes of entering paradise, the same fears of being punished in hell. We face Allah in our five daily prayers, we fast in Ramadan, we struggle to make our lives pleasing to Allah. This is a common emotional base, an emotionally felt connection. We are brothers and sisters in Islam. We are one Muslim family. Many of my informants were ready to help me to enrich my research simply because I was a fellow Muslim, and they felt obliged to help me as their sister in Islam. They took time out from their very busy schedules to meet me, opened their homes for me and my family, and often extended their hospitality beyond what I expected.

One major factor that may have supported the perception that I was a fellow Muslim who could be trusted, was the fact that I came to the field with my husband and my little one year old son. Many times, especially during my research in South Sumatra, I met my male informants together with my husband and son, because I felt it more appropriate in terms of Islamic etiquette. I myself felt safer and more comfortable, and my informants certainly felt more at ease as well when my husband was present during our interview. I believe bringing my family with me to interviews was a major advantage for obtaining valuable, and insightful, information. However, it also contributed to blurring my identity as a researcher and Muslimah even more. Because my informants were not faced with a formal interview situation, but rather with a private encounter with a Muslim family, certain information was communicated that would have otherwise not been revealed. Now it was up to me to weigh which information was appropriate to include in my analysis, and which information was secretive or private. Again, I feel that this was a dilemma caused by my double identity as a Muslim researcher who feels an ethical responsibility towards my informants that is grounded in a religiously motivated emotional attachment to them.

Another interesting aspect of my identity as a Muslim researcher was the curiosity of my informants about my own person. The story of finding my way to Islam, my experiences as a Muslim woman in Germany, the reaction of my family and friends, often became the topic of our interactive interviews. For many of my informants, I was the first white woman they met in person who had become one of them, a Muslim. Although stories of new Muslims are widely shared on the internet and in popular Islamic magazines and journals, to get first hand information was a chance very few of my informants wanted to miss. Many times these "conversion" stories serve as motivating tools used by religious personalities, and are shared with their respective congregation (Ind.: *jama'ah*). It also happened several times that I was asked to tell my story in front of a congregation, for example at the Pesantren As-Salam Al Islami, or at the women's gathering held by Kyai Muhaimin. Therefore I always had to be ready to adapt my story to the respective congregation, to the time frame and to the expectations of the person who had asked me to share my story. It was during these 'private sessions' that my researcher identity vanished almost entirely. Then, I was the German Muslimah who felt that her presence touched people's hearts, moved people's souls, and reminded people of what a gift it was to be born a Muslim. I sensed the joyful looks, I felt the solid handshakes and the deep eye contact, the warm embrace of some of the Muslim women. All of these gestures expressed the same thing: You are one of us and we love you for that.

However, it was these emotional highs that sometimes triggered a sense of guilt when I was alone after a long day of research. Was I taking advantage of my special status as a white Muslimah who touched people's hearts? Was that the reason why it was easy for me to open doors, to get information, to obtain my data? These kinds of thoughts probably originate from the deeply internalized perception many of us still carry, that researchers per se should be detached individuals who engage as little as possible with their research subjects or informants outside the actual research process. However, as insiders to a group we are accepted and treated differently to outsiders. We trigger different emotions in our informants, as well as in ourselves. As an outsider, there will always be a gap between us and our research subjects that will enforce the research relation, while in the case of an insider researcher, the research relationship might at times merge with the private relations we have established. And this is exactly the ethical dilemma at hand which every researcher has to face for herself: Where do I draw the line between my research and my private relations? To what extent do I make use of the emotional ties formed between myself and my informants because of my insider status?

The third aspect connected to my positionality as a Muslim researcher that emerged during a multi-layered (in terms of time as well as place and situation) process of reflexivity, is my identity as a student (Ind.: *murid*) of Islam. As already briefly mentioned above, besides being a (Muslim) researcher, I was often viewed as a student of religion. Sometimes this identity could not be separated from my identity as a *dakwah*-subject who needed to be educated about the 'true' Islam and the 'right' form of practicing Islam. However, when I noticed that my informants viewed me as their student, I gratefully went along with it because it enabled me to understand firsthand how they actually engaged in the process of knowledge transfer. I usually joined the religious gatherings involving lectures (Ind.: *pengajian*) in my role as a student. This role included embodying several essential emotional components like humility and humbleness. It also required adhering to the culturally and religiously sanctioned acceptance of my informants' religious authority, and respect for their older age. In my role as student, I usually did not ask any uncomfortable or displeasing questions, particularly if I was part of a larger audience. If I happened to slip or was pushed into my student identity during an interview with my informants, I usually did not switch my identity within the interview situation, but kept my questions for a follow up meeting. This consistency in keeping one identity at a given time seemed to work well with my informants.

In one case, my research identity as *murid* became crucial in gaining access to a pesantren in Yogyakarta. Only through becoming a student of religious knowledge was I able to do research in this school. Nyai Wahyu (name changed) did not want to engage in formal or informal interview situations. However, because I felt it important to talk to her and to obtain data from this pesantren due to its historically cultivated influence in the Yogyakarta region and beyond, and due to its connection with Kyai Muhaimin's Pesantren Nurul Ummahat, I changed my strategy in approaching Nyai Wahyu. I asked her whether I might join her religious classes. She wholeheartedly agreed and I became one of her *santri*. Every Wednesday, I joined her class and studied a classical religious text about good behavior (Ind.: *akhlaq*), which she read, translated and then explained. Although I was not exactly like the majority of her students, my role as her *santri* helped me to gain her trust and goodwill. After class, we would usually sit for around ten minutes and talk over tea. It was during this time that I was able to slowly put forward some of my questions, depending on her willingness. Sometimes it was she who wanted to know more about me, and I had to wait until the next class to speak to her again. All in all, becoming Nyai Wahyu's *santri* was an enriching experience, but it cost a lot of time given the data I was able to obtain.

4. Conclusion and Outlook

In this first chapter, I introduced the framework of my study and described the goals of my research. I attempted to provide an impression of and feel for the different Islamic practices, interpretations, and thoughts found in Indonesia, and especially in the three main areas where I undertook extensive field research. In addition, I provided an overview of the academic discussion on Islam in Indonesia, and focused in particular on the various labels applied to Islam in Indonesia. This overview forms the background to the second chapter, in which I situate my three case studies, and especially my three main informants, within this discussion. In the discussion around Islam in Indonesia, it was also important to look at several specific concepts and values that are unique to Islam in Indonesia. I described the concepts and values of *silaturahmi*, *rasa* and harmony, and *barokah*, because these concepts and values also emerged during my research. With the help of a definition for each concept, and concrete examples for illustration, the local character of Islam in Indonesia is made clearer. The introduction of my three case studies followed a description of my method. Using a multipronged research approach, I attempted to grasp as many aspects as possible of my case studies, especially of my main informants and the *religioscapes* they inhabit. My theoretical framework revolves around the concept of *religioscape*, which I see as an extension of network theory, and which enables us to understand how place and individual mutually influence each other. It further allows for an understanding of the inter-relational processes between local Islamic practices in one place and Islamic practices found on different spatial scales. I ended this chapter with a discussion of my positionality and reflexivity as a female Muslim researcher, and how this influenced my research, the analysis of my data, and my writing process.

I will now turn to the extensive analysis of my three case studies described above. After an introduction to the institution of the pesantren in Indonesia, I will situate my three case studies within the Indonesian landscape of Islam. After this introduction, the three individual case studies will be the focus of my study. Kyai Muhaimin and his traditional Pesantren Nurul Ummahat in Kota Gede, Yogyakarta will be discussed in chapter three. Ustad Taufiq Hasnuri and his informal study circles called *cawisan*, are the focus of chapter four. In chapter five, Ustad Malik and the Pesantren As-Salam Al Islami will be analyzed. In chapter six, I will turn my attention to the students of my three main informants and their institutions. The influence of the personality and the institution on the student will be the main focus of this chapter. The last chapter will provide a conclusion and discuss different overarching themes of this study[18].

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[18] A detailed content structure has been provided in sub-chapter 1.1.