

## THE EMERGENCE OF NEW MOSQUES: MAPPING ISLAMIC INSTITUTIONS, MIDDLE EAST DONATIONS, AND ITS RELIGIOUS IMPLICATIONS IN INDONESIA<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

*This paper is based on my field research during six months (April-September 2015) in Yogyakarta. The paper tries to answer research questions as follows: what are the motivations behind mosques construction by the Islamic Institutions in Indonesia? How do the recipients of mosques construction interpret the donations? Besides, the paper also wants to show current social and religious activities of the Islamic institutions in Indonesia in general and Yogyakarta in particular (as the sample of this study) that have affiliations with the Middle East donations. The method of this research is qualitative research that also utilizes quantitative data. The main technique of qualitative data collection is interviews. The result of the study shows that; 1) mosques construction in Indonesia is a consequence of the important role of Indonesian alumni from the Middle East on connecting the Islamic institutions in Indonesia to the donator from the Middle East, 2) the Islamic institutions that affiliated with the Middle East donations are very multiple and complex, 3) the responses from the recipients of mosques construction can be summarized into three responses: full acceptance, acceptance with modification, and rejection.*

Key words: Mosques construction; Islamic institutions; Middle East Donations; and Indonesian alumni from the Middle East.

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### Introduction

In the last 10 years, there is quite interesting phenomenon related to the religious life in Indonesia that is the emergence of new Islamic mosques built by the Islamic institutions through financial support from the Middle East Donations. This phenomenon appeared especially after the collapse of Soeharto regime in 1998 followed by the growing of Islamist activism in general (Mubarak, 2007: 10). According to me, there is no serious investigations on this new Islamic mosques. One of serious challenges to study the phenomenon is the need to have intimate interactions within the Islamic institutions affiliated with the Middle East Donations since to do that is not an easy way. The member of the Islamic institutions tend to have exclusive interactions with others.

Different from previous Islamic institutions such as institutions that are affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) or Muhammadiyah organization, there are new Islamic institutions that choose to have their own visions and programs that different from both organizations. These new Islamic institutions particularly initiated by those who graduated from the Middle East and tend to have "Salafi" orientation.

Regarding to my previous observations, there are several Islamic institutions in Indonesia that have intimate relations to the Middle East Donations. To mention some, in Bogor, West Java, there is *Al-Huda Foundation*; *Nidāul Fithrah Foundation* in Surabaya, East Java; and in Jakarta there is *Makkah Al-Mukarramah Foundation*. Particularly, in Yogyakarta there are two important Islamic institutions that have successful relations to the Middle East Donations; the first is Al-Madinah Nusantara Foundation (*Yayasan Al-Madinah Nusantara*) in Kragilan, Sidaluhur, and the second one is At-Turāst Al-Islāmy Foundation (*Yayasan At-Turāst Al-Islāmy*) in Piyungan. These two Islamic institutions have substantial contributions on building mosques in Indonesia in general and surrounding areas of Yogyakarta in particular. Al-Madinah Nusantara has special affiliation with Saudi Arabia, while *At-Turāst Al-Islāmy* has strong affiliation with Kuwait. *At-Turāst* in Yogyakarta itself is one of *At-Turāst* branches in Kuwait. The appearance of these two institutions cannot be separated from the emergence of new religious class in Indonesia that is Indonesian alumni from the Middle East. Therefore, these alumni are the key actors on connecting between Islamic institutions in Yogyakarta to the donator from the Middle East.

It is probably admitted that Indonesia as one of the developing countries is receiving charities and donations from the Arab countries. If it is mapped, charities on religious fields such as mosques construction and classical Islamic text (*turāth*) donations get high priority from the Arab countries mainly Qatar, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia.<sup>2</sup> These Arab countries as long as I know, are very generous on giving charities and donations in large amounts. The reason why Indonesia became one of the recipients of donations from the Middle East is that besides being considered as one of developing countries, the emotional ties or solidarity based on religious beliefs (Islam) seems to be more dominant.

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<sup>2</sup> Egypt is also a generous Arab country. However, rather than giving material donations, Egyptian government prefer to send religious scholar (from Al-Azhar University) to teach and preach Islamic traditional teachings in Indonesia both in *Pesantren* and higher Islamic institutions.

Different from previous studies<sup>3</sup> that associated Islamic mosques construction with radical Islamic activism, I will look at this phenomenon as a constructed religious phenomenon by new Islamic social class in Indonesia that is the alumni from the Middle East. That is to say, the emergence of new Islamic institutions and new mosques indicates significant activities of the new educated class that affected religious life in Indonesia. Therefore, the paper will firstly portrait social and religious activities of the Islamic institutions in Indonesia in general and Yogyakarta in particular that have affiliations with the Middle East.

In a particular way, the paper tries to investigate the motivations of mosque constructions by the Islamic institutions and to elaborate recipient's interpretation of the donations. Based on preliminary observation, the recipients of mosques construction through the Middle East donations are quite multiples, some people are eager to have the donation, while others refuse it and even worst they left the new Islamic mosque that had already been built by the Islamic institutions and prefer to go back to the old mosque. Specific reasons for the denial will be explored in detail.

### Islamic Institutions With Its Middle East Connections

One of the characteristics of modern society is the presence of various institutions of charities, religious, economic, and political activism that fight and compete freely with each others based on their own platform and ideologies. The presence of these various institutions is evidence of the existence of a democratic life. The society are free to compete fairly in accordance with the legislation of government. Essentially, the efforts to create a society or a democratic life must be institutionalized in order to be legitimate.

Institution as stated by Achilov (2010: 43-44) is a set of formal and informal structure, an organization or mechanism that is represented by a group of individuals which produce a specific set of rules and norms to achieve specific objectives (social, political, economic, and religious). According to him, in the study of sociology—foundation or institution—is seen as a set of meanings that serve as a guide for those who involved in it. Therefore, following Achilov argument, I define Islamic foundation or institution as a collection of meanings in which Islam occupies a major role in formulating and defining the goals of Islamic foundation or institution. In general, Islamic institutions can be divided into three types; first, Islamic institutions or organizations engaged in politics; second, institutions working in the field of Islamic economics; and the third, Islamic institutions working in the field of education and propaganda. More specifically, Islamic institutions that are examined in this study are institutions engaged in Islamic education and propaganda (*da'wah*).

In the context of Muslim community there are at least two reasons why Islamic institutions emerge. First, Islamic institution was born as a non-governmental organization at the time of economic change on the one hand, and as a response to the rise of the secular state in the late 19th and 20th century on the other hand. The birth of non-governmental organizations is an indication of the birth of a new community group, namely the emergence of a class secondary education who tries to provide an alternative and respond to the various of state weaknesses. Second, the birth of the Islamic institution can be understood as the rise of Islamic activism or Islamism in the region (Clark, 2004: 5). As has been stated previously, after the collapse of Soeharto regime there was significant growth of Islamic and political movements trying to call back the issues of *Shari'a* implementation in Indonesia. Including in this case, also the rise of *Salafi* movement by establishing Islamic institutions that working and focusing on the field of Islamic education and propaganda (*da'wah*).

Islamic institutions that recently born by the end of 1980s and above usually have special relations with the Middle East donations (Hasan, 2008). The most influencing Middle Eastern countries are Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Qatar. From these three Arab countries there are many individual donator that donate their money for charities activities through Islamic institutions in Indonesia. The most popular Islamic institutions as mentioned above that have affiliations with the Middle East donations are: 1) Al-Huda Institution and Ibn Hajar Institution both located in Bogor, they affiliated with donator from Saudi Arabia, 2) At-Turāst Al-Islāmy and Al-Madinah Nusantara in Yogyakarta, At-Turāst Al-Islāmy affiliated with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia while Al-Madinah Nusantara affiliated with Saudi Arabia and Uni Arab Emirates, and 3) Al-Furqoun Institution located in Magelang, Central Java affiliated with donator from Saudi Arabia. These institutions have the same program that is building new Islamic mosques in Indonesia through donations from the Arab donator. Beside building mosques, they also have educational, social, and economic programs. Educational programs including formal and non-formal Islamic education: the main message is preaching "pure" Islamic doctrines. While social and economic programs depend on their own goals and targets.

As already stated before, the emergence of these Islamic Institutions in Indonesia, especially in Yogyakarta can not be separated from the presence of the new educated middle class group with distinctive religious orientations. They are the alumni from the Middle East universities mainly coming from Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Egypt,<sup>4</sup> and Qatar. Different from their former—Indonesian alumni from the Middle East—such as Hashim Ash'ari with his Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Ahmad Dahlan with his

<sup>3</sup> Look at the works of Greg Fealy and Anthony Bubalo (2007) in *Jejak Kafilah: Pengaruh Radikalisme Timur Tengah di Indonesia*; Imdadun M. Rahmat (2005) in *Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia*, and Gerard Clarke (2007) in 'Agents of Transformation? Donors, Faith-Based Organisations and International Development,' *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 77-96.

<sup>4</sup> Serious investigation on Indonesian alumni from the Middle East, especially those who graduated from al-Azhar (Egypt), has been conducted by Judith Schlehe and Eva F. Nisa by giving attention on "moderate" orientation of Azharites alumni. I was also acting as research assistant during her research stay in Yogyakarta (November, 2015). Occasional paper No 31 (January 2016). *The Meaning of Moderate Islam in Indonesia: Alignments and Dealignments of Azharites*. Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Freiburg (Germany).

Muhammadiyah organization, these new Middle East alumni that graduated during 1980s and above tend to have new religious, social, and political orientations. Instead of joining the two large organizations (NU and Muhammadiyah), they prefer to establish new Islamic institutions respectively. Employing their status as Middle East alumni as well as their networks with *sheikhs* from the Arab countries, they then could easily gain supports to establish centers (*markaz*) of Islamic institutions in accordance with their own vision and mission. Therefore, the rise of these new Islamic institutions will not exist without the role of Indonesian alumni with its connections to the Middle East donor.

Some of the influential Indonesian alumni from the Middle East to the rise of new Islamic institutions and also contribution to the mosques construction in Indonesia and Yogyakarta in particular are: 1) Abu Nida Chamsaha Sofwan, an alumnus from University of Muhammad Bin Su'ud, Riyadh (graduated in 1985), he is the initiator of the establishment of At-Turāst Al-Islāmy in Yogyakarta, and 2) Ridwan Hamidi, graduated from the Islamic University of Medina (graduated in 1998). Ridwan Hamidi is the initiator of the establishment of Al-Madinah Nusantara Institution in Kragilan, Godean, Yogyakarta. These two alumni are the most central figures on initiating mosques construction program in Indonesia through the Middle East donations. Although both alumni graduated from Saudi Arabia, the pattern of their relationship with the Middle East partners are different, Abu Nida has a close relationship with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia while Ridwan Hamidi closely related to Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. Other alumni from the Middle East voluntary join both At-Turāst Al-Islāmy and Al-Madinah Nusantara. In Al-Madinah Nusantara there are alumni from Yemen and Sudan, while in At-Turāst there are alumni from Egypt.

### 1. At-Turāst Al-Islāmy

At-Turāst Al-Islāmy in Indonesia formerly was founded in 1994 but its *da'wah* movement with its *Salafi* orientation has been initiated by Abu Nida since 1987. Abu Nida promoted *Salafi* teachings through his small *halaqah* (meeting) that consist of a group of committed people (most of them were university students) from universities surrounding Yogyakarta area, mainly from Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta (UNY), and Universitas Pembangunan Nasional. The members of this small *daurah* or training are expected to promote *Salafi* teachings in their own villages. This *Salafi* movement grew in progress by establishing its first Islamic mosque in 1995 which is called *Masjid Jamil al-Rahmān* (a charity of Shaikh Muhammad Jabir from Saudi Arabia) in Wirokerten, Banguntapan, Bantul. The mosque functions not only for Islamic rituals and teachings but also as the Islamic center (*markaz*) or activism of the community. This Islamic mosque intended especially for non-formal religious teachings. Each year they only accommodate exclusively 30-50 students coming from various regions. This Islamic center then becomes an exclusive village of *Salafi* community that separated from ordinary villagers. According to Hasan (2008: 71), the idea of creating an exclusive village for *Salafi* community in Wirokerten, came from an example of *Salafi* community with its Darul Arqam in Sungai Pechala, Kuala Lumpur run by Ashari Mahmud.

In 2000, At-Turāst Al-Islāmy founded *Bin Baz Islamic Centre* in Piyungan, Yogyakarta. Different from *Ma'had Jamil al-Rahmān*, this new Islamic center offers Islamic formal educations from elementary to senior high school with its emphasis on memorizing al-Qur'an. The first building for the establishment of the Islamic center is a mosque as donation from Shaikh Bin Baz from Saudi Arabia. However, although the name of the Islamic center was associated to Bin Baz (a famous saikh, mufti, representative of *Salafi* scholar from Saudi Arabia) but their main connection is actually with *Salafi* networks from Kuwait.

### 2. Al-Madinah Nusantara

Al-Madinah Nusantara on the other hand, is a new Islamic institution founded by Ridwan Hamidi formally in 2001. However, Hamidi began teaching on Islamic theology, *fiqh*, and *tafsir* since 1998 after his graduation from Islamic University of Medina. Like Abu Nida, Ridwan Hamidi also performed a small *halaqah* around universities in Yogyakarta. Al-Madinah Nusantara is located in Kragilan, Godean, Yogyakarta. Different from At-Turāst Al-Islāmy, Al-Madinah Nusantara located in the middle of the village and not exclusively separated from other villagers. It means that they are more open and ready to interact with others although they are different in certain ways. Al-Madinah Nusantara offers only non-formal Islamic educations with special attentions to memorizing al-Qur'an and Arabic Language training. They also accommodate no more than 50 students from various villages with free of charge.

Both At-Turāst Al-Islāmy and Al-Madinah Nusantara are two Islamic institutions that are trying to compete in Indonesian social, religious and political discourses. As they are able to create their own community, they are succeeded on creating social safety nets for their own members. This phenomenon would be similar like Islamism in Egypt. As stated by Bayat (2005: 891-908), on answering question why Islamism could exist longer in Egypt that is through social safety nets, the Islamist members feel secure ideologically when they gather on their own community. Besides, they can easily spread and keep their own religious views through social and economic activities they have (Berman, 2003: 257-272).

By focusing on moral dimension, they are called by Ismail (2001: 34-39) as *small entrepreneurs of morality* that are trying to implement religious norm in public sphere. They are promoting programs that the government do not pay attention on it. That is why Al-Madinah and At-Turast are famous institutions with their mosques construction program. Both At-Turast and Al-Madinah using this program as their media on distributing religious norms in accordance with their visions and missions. Therefore, the success of both At-Turast and Al-Madinah as well as other Islamist groups lie on their abilities to link between ideas, organization, and environment (Munson, 2001: 487). On ideological level, both At-Turast and Al-Madinah are promoting *Salafi* doctrines. While on structural organization, both institutions adopt modern institutions which indicated by its structural level from chief of organization to head of divisions. Meanwhile, on environmental level there are different situations: Al-Madinah located its office or *markaz* in the middle of village which means that they are ready to interact with other people, while At-Turast in contrast to Al-Madinah located its *markaz* far from ordinary villagers in order to express freely their religious identity and activities. However, At-Turast claimed its institution as moderate *Salafi* not radical.

## MOSQUE CONSTRUCTIONS BY THE TWO ISLAMIC INSTITUTIONS

At-Turāst began to engage on donating and building mosques since 1985. The number of mosques which have already built around 274 mosques. Meanwhile, Al-Madinah Nusantara began its program in 2005, and has successfully built about 250 mosques. If it is viewed in terms of time and number of mosques that were built, then Al-Madinah Nusantara is more successful on building mosques than At-Turāst. In this section, I will explore on financial resources, architectural design, and specific requirements that the recipients should fulfil when they propose a mosque donation from these two institutions.

### 1. Partial Donation of At-Turāst Al-Islāmy

At-Turāst received donations from both Arab individual donator and from At-Turāst foundation in Kuwait. However, At-Turāst Indonesia formally received its main donations from At-Turāst foundation in Kuwait. At-Turāst in Kuwait itself accommodate any donations from various Arab individual donator which is called *muhsiniin* and distribute the collected donations to all At-Turāst branches in the World, including At-Turāst brach in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Based on information obtained from the Arabic Web of At-Turāst (<http://www.turathkw.com>), it is clearly mentioned that some of At-Turāst representatives have several times visited to At-Turāst in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, to attend ceremonial opening of new mosques built by At-Turāst Indonesia. Besides, the visit can be interpreted as a real connection between At-Turāst in Kuwait and At-Turāst in Indonesia as well.

If it is illustrated, the flow of donations from both Arab individual donator and At-Turāst Kuwait to At-Turāst in Indonesia as follows:

Figure 1. Donation flow of At-Turāst Al-Islāmy Indonesia



From the figure above, it can be inferred that donations from At-Turāst of Kuwait are dominant than donations from Arab individual donator. Therefore, it can be concluded that At-Turāst in Indonesia is real representation of At-Turāst Kuwait.

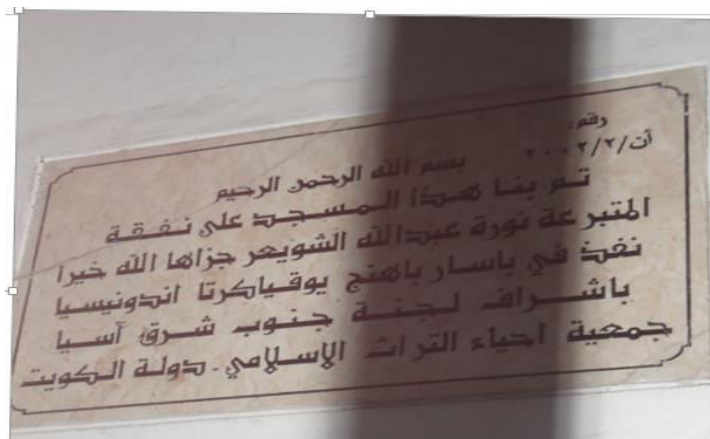
At-Turāst Indonesia usually willing to provide assistance of mosques construction as long as the recipients are ready to accept the requirements proposed by the institution. These requirements can be divided into two kinds, namely religious and administrative requirements. On religious level, the recipients should be ready to implement the teachings of Islam in accordance with the understanding of *Salafi* doctrines. This first requirement should be understood from the start before the contract signed. Meanwhile on administrative level, there should be a legal and potential location in which the people around the place need to have a mosque for worship.

On the implementation of mosques construction, At-Turāst only distributed funds from the Arab donator as stimulants or partial donation. As an illustration, if a mosque construction need 400-500 million (IDR), then At-Turāst will assist approximately 200 million (IDR). According to the institution, as this aid had been executed from the beginning they were engaged in the construction of facilities and infrastructure of places of worship.<sup>5</sup>

On the architectural art design, At-Turāst did not provide any special design which can be identified as its main characteristic. At-Turāst only attached a plaque that reads: *This mosque was built on the donations from...(name of donator) in collaboration with At-Turast Indonesia*. The plaque found in every mosques built by At-Turāst Indonesia.

Figure 2. Plaque in one of the mosques built by At-Turāst in Yogyakarta.

<sup>5</sup> It becomes suspicion that the donations from Arab only as a stimulant. It is mentioned on the plaque that the mosque was donation from the name mentioned on it. It means that the mosque was full assistance from the Arab donator. The Arab Muslims believe that building a mosque is an investment for here after. Therefore, according to information from another Islamic institution stating that if there is any Islamic institutions engaged in mosque construction but the assistance provided is not in full donation then there is a possibility that institution is not trustworthy. The donations could be reduced to finance other activities of the institution (interview with Muhari, a coordinator of mosque donations, Al-Madinah Nusantara).



However, although the donations formally came from At-Turāst in Kuwait but in case of mosque construction program it was mentioned on the plaque that the donations should be in a name of an Arab family (as a donator).

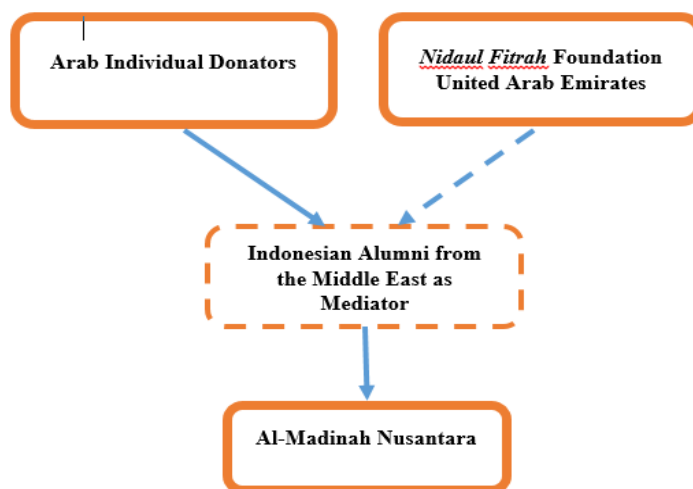
As already mentioned above that At-Turāst has engaged on building mosques since 1985 and successfully built 274 mosques scattered in various regions of Indonesia. In Central Java there is 74 mosques, 38 mosques in East Java, 7 mosques in West Java, 39 mosques in Sumatra, and 113 mosques in Yogyakarta. Particularly in Yogyakarta, At-Turāst focused its mosque construction in two main areas: Wonosari and Gunung Kidul. The reason is, both areas considered as area of Islamic propaganda (*da'wah*) in order to minimize the missionary program of Christians. At-Turāst send their students to both areas during fasting month. The program intended not only as *da'wah* training for the students of At-Turāst but also as keeping their *Salafi* network through the mosques.

## 2. Full Donation of Al-Madinah Nusantara

In line with At-Turāst, Al-Madinah Nusantara also get funding for mosques construction from Arab individual donator (*muhsinīn*) and Arab fund organization. However, funding from this Arab fund organization which is called *Nidāul Fitrah* (a charity organization from Arab United Emirates) is limited. Funding resources of Al-Madinah are dominated by the Arab individual donors.

If it is illustrated, the flow of donations from both Arab individual donator and *Nidāul Fitrah* foundation to Al-Madinah Nusantara as follows:

Figure 3. Donation flow of Al-Madinah Nusantara



In line with At-Turast, Al-Madinah also requires two conditions for those who need assistance of mosques construction. First, there should be a potential location and legal status of land for the mosque construction. The land must be authorized and certified. In detail, the following application processes of mosque assistance are: 1) the committee of mosque construction submitted a proposal for asking assistance to Al-Madinah; 2) after the proposal is accepted, Al-Madinah take a field survey to see the location and the documents (status of land and certificate); 3) after being reviewed then the proposal will be submitted to the Arab donors to make sure that they are ready to donate in accordance with the package provided by Al-Madinah (the size and extent of the mosque).<sup>6</sup> Finally, after the proposal is approved, there will be a contract between the Institution with the recipients

<sup>6</sup> The packages are: 1) size 120 M2; 2) size 190 M2; 3) size 210 M2; and 4) 270 M2.

of mosque donation. Different from At-Turast, assistance for mosques construction provided by Al-Madinah are full assistance. However, the donations are not in cash but by providing all building materials.

Second, requirements related to religious one, that is Al-Madinah asked the committee (*takmir*: any one who take care of mosque) to run any religious rituals in accordance with al-Qur'an, the Prophet's teachings and *Salaḥi* doctrines. As an illustration, when a mosque has been completely built and ready to be opened in a sermon, then the mosque should reflect Islamic nuances such as a separate place between men and women, and play Qur'anic verses rather playing *nasyid* (Islamic songs). This is a normal standard to be met by mosque committee or *takmir* during the sermon. The Arab donors usually come to attend the sermon and officially declare that the mosque is ready to use.

Al Madinah Nusantara in particular made a specific mosque design as its own mosque characteristic. In terms of art, the art of architectural mosque adopt mosque design of Mosque Prophet in Medina (*Masjid Nabawi*), which is characterized by many doors of window in front of it. The design is not a request of the donors, but it is an initiation from the institution itself to show the uniqueness of their own mosques. Here are two examples of the mosques built by Al-Madinah Nusantara.

Figure 4. Masjid Al-Hikmah in Sendang Tirto, Berbah, built by Al-Madinah Nusantara (Personal Document).



Figure 5. Plaque of Masjid Al Hikmah, it is mentioned on the plaque that the mosque was built on collaboration between Al-Madinah and *Nidaul Fitrah Foundation* in the name of Muhammad Ath-Thoniji from Saudi Arabia.



Figure 6. Seremonial open of Masjid Al-Islahlah in Jomblangan, Wonocatur, Yogyakarta. It was officially opened by Al Madinah Nusantara. The name of the donator is Ibrahim Sulaiman Al-Udhaibi from Saudi Arabia



It should be mentioned here, although on the plaque clearly mentioned that the name of the mosque based on donator's name but Al-Madinah allow the recipients to create their own mosque name. That is why the name of the mosque mentioned on the plaque different with the name written in front of the mosque (look at figure 2 and 3).

Since it began working on the constructions of mosque, Al-Madinah has successfully built 252 mosques in various regions of Yogyakarta, Central Java, West Java, and a small portion in East Java. In Yogyakarta itself, there are 100 mosques spread in the city of Yogyakarta, Sleman, and Bantul.

As their mission is to spread *Salafi* doctrines, both At-Turast and Al-Madinah enjoy their mosques construction program and use the mosques as their Islamic propaganda networks.

### Mosque recipients' responses

Any response of mosques donation recipients and how the sustainability of the mosques in society is determined by the core committee of *takmir* mosque as people who are trusted by the Muslim community to manage the mosques. Besides as caretaker of the mosques, *takmir* are functioning as intermediary between the community of ummah and the institutions (both Al-Madinah and At-Turast). In realities, *takmir* responses and society in general toward mosque constructions from Islamic institutions affiliated with the Middle East donations are: 1) full acceptance, 2) acceptance with modifications, 3) refuse any assistance or the presence of new mosques affiliated with the Middle East donator.

First, the *takmir* who received any help and are willing to accept consequences and fulfill conditions required by the institutions usually have *Salafi* background. That is, they have already know that the institutions associated with *Salafi* teachings and they are ready to accept it. However, not only *takmir* with *Salafi* background that support the implementation of *Salafi* teachings in the mosque, there is also *takmir* with Muhammadiyah background committed to implement *Salafi* doctrines. Later on, religious orientation of the *takmir* becomes more inclined to the *Salafi* teachings.

Masjid al-Hikmah in Berbah is the best example of the first case. The *takmir* has Muhammadiyah background but he prefers to adopt any *Salafi* doctrines. Masjid Al-Hikmah is new mosque in Berbah built by Al-Madinah Nusantara with very limited Muslim community (*jema'ah*) that are active in it. The people around the village prefer to conduct every day prayers in their old mosque. The people said that actually they are happy of having new Islamic mosque, but because the *takmir* strictly do not allow any religious seremonials that were not stated both in al-Qur'an or al-hadist such as reading *surah Yaasiin* on Friday night, *tahlilan*, and other traditional religious practices, the people prefer to leave the mosque and back to their previous mosque that is located not so far from Masjid Al-Hikmah. In Yogyakarta in general, reading *surah Yaasiin* in several mosques especially associated with Muhammadiyah organization is allowed since the rituals did not disturb other religious sermons.

Second, because the *takmir* realize its position as an intermediary between community of ummah and the Islamic institution as funding resource, they choose negotiation approach to the institution. Negotiations conducted were not just only naming the mosque, but also related to the practice of worship. This case was found in Masjid Al-Ishlah, Jomblangan, Wonocatur, Banguntapan. Since the *takmir* realize that the institution affiliated with *Salafi* doctrines and do not allow any traditional religious practices (such as reading *Yaasin* on Friday night), they prefer to follow the rules while allowing any *jema'ah* to read *suurah Yaasiin* on the other night (Wednesday night). Therefore, the *takmir* successfully run the requested from the institution (not read *suurah Yaasiin* on Friday night), but on the other hand continued to read the *suurah* though in a different night.

In addition, Masjid Al-Ishlah which is originally result of a mosque donation from Al-Madinah Nusantara is able to increase public interest by creating a variety of programs ranging from *tafsir*, *hadith*, and reciting al-Qur'an. Given these busy activities, the mosque becomes the only mosque that did not receive any envoys from Al-Madinah Nusantara because it was considered as an active mosque and did not need any guidance. It is also the key success of the *takmir* in performing various activities so they are ideologically not affected by the teachings of the institution.

Third, rejection for mosques construction usually found in Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) community. They confirmly reject any donations from the Islamic institutions affiliated with the Middle East because of different vision and ideology. NU strictly hold traditional Islam while the institutions imported religious practices based on shari'ah only. Besides, the rejection also came when the mosque has already built but the people did not allow to express their religious practice they will leave the mosque. As mentioned above, Masjid Al-Hikmah could be the best example of this rejection. Before the rejection, the mosque was crowded and active, this is evidenced by many trophies of Islamic kids activities (or TPA: Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur'an). However, the people gradually leave the mosque and back to their old mosque when the *takmir* finally do not allow any traditional religious practices. According to At-Turāst, there are several requests from NU members who proposed for the donations but finally cancel the proposals when they know that the institutions required to implement Islamic syari'ah on the strict ways.

### Concluding Remarks

Based on the description above, it can be concluded some of the following findings. First, Islamic institutions affiliated with the Islamic Middle East donor both in Yogyakarta and Indonesia in general are very diverse and complex. The existence of the Islamic institutions cannot be separated from the role of Indonesian alumni from the Middle East, where after their return they prefer to build new Islamic institutions through donations from the Middle East donor. In Yogyakarta, Islamic institutions that have strong affiliation with the Middle East are Al-Madinah Nusantara and At-Turāst. Both institutions have the same mission, that is to apply 'pure Islam' in accordance with *Salafi* teachings. Nonetheless, Al-Madinah tend to be more moderate which is indicated by its main building that located in the middle of the villagers. In contrast to Al-Madinah, At-Turāst decided to build its main building in an exclusive village and separated far away from the villagers. Although both institutions show their distinctive religious they cannot be associated as radical Islamism.

Second, both At-Turāst and Al-Madina are Islamic institutions affiliated with the Middle East donors engaging in mosques construction program. Nevertheless, the implementation of the program between the two have several differences in terms of kind of assistance, cooperation contract, and resource fund. Al-Madinah provided full assistance for mosque construction, while At-Turāst merely provided stimulant fund. At the level of ideology, At-Turāst seems to be more exclusive than Al-Madinah Nusantara.

Third, from the response of the recipients of mosque donations, there are three main responses as follows: full acceptance, acceptance with modifications, and rejection. The three responses show that not all Muslim community in Indonesia ready to accept assistance or donations coming from the Middle East charities. The rejection is a natural response from the people who believe that there is certain religious practices which they believe. Therefore, receiving donations from foreigners (the Arabs) would "undermine" their religious practices. On the one hand, there are some people who precisely want to take advantage of mosque donations program while negotiating any conditions requested by the institutions through strengthening *takmir* position.

These findings are limited in Yogyakarta as the sample of this study. It means that some regions may have different responses on dealing with mosques donation program from the institutions affiliated with the Middle East donations. There should be further research on the topic in order to find new findings and possibilities on building theories on how religious donations interpreted by the recipients in different locations and situations.

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